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Youth participation in national parliaments

10 years of empowering
youth in parliament



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Sida

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Cover Photo: Young MPs from around the world gathered in Asunción, Paraguay for the IPU's Sixth Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, September 2019

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Contents

Foreword	6
Key findings	7
Introduction	9
Youth – features and definitions	9
Ten years on: the IPU Resolution on Youth Participation	11
About this report	11
Methodology	12
Young parliamentarians worldwide	13
Global patterns	13
Regional snapshot	15
Results after recent renewals: more seats for youth	17
Correlation between age and gender: Gender equality is greater in younger parliaments	21
Correlation between population and MP age averages	28
Youngest MPs and young heads of government	29
Youth representation targets	32
IPU targets	32
Interventions to increase the numbers of young MPs	35
Eligibility age for parliamentary office	35
Electoral systems	38
Political financing	39
Life-cycle challenges	40
The “old is gold” syndrome	41
Disillusionment of young people	41
Youth quotas	42
Party youth wings	45

Promoting youth participation in parliamentary work	46
Youth policies	46
Youth caucuses	47
Caucuses on youth issues	49
Specialized bodies	49
Youth parliaments	50
Youth representation in upper parliamentary chambers	50
Modernizing parliaments: the digital revolution	51
COVID-19 and youth	52
Recommendations	54
Annex 1 Rankings	58
Annex 2 Information sources	67
Endnotes and sources	70

Foreword

A fundamental principle of democracy is that political systems should mirror society as a whole and represent the desires and best interests of all citizens. And yet, again and again, we are seeing that youth are under-represented in parliaments and in politics more generally. This challenge is growing. From pro-democracy movements during the Arab Spring to climate protests in recent years, intergenerational challenges are emerging, but youth are not sufficiently involved or engaged with the political process. If we do not address this marginalization, then we risk a generation of disaffected youth and the steady erosion of support for our democracies.

The IPU, the global organization of parliaments, began exploring these issues more than a decade ago. In April 2010, its Standing Committee on Democracy and Human Rights examined its [Resolution on Youth Participation in the democratic process](#). After much deliberation, and guided by the leadership of a young MP from Croatia, Marija Lugaric, IPU Members officially adopted the text at the 122nd Assembly in Bangkok. I was Secretary to that Standing Committee at the time, and it has been fascinating since to see how the Resolution has guided the worlds' parliaments to empower their youth.

Ten years on, the Resolution continues to make a difference. It led to the creation of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians, a permanent IPU body that acts as the voice and force of action for the world's youngest MPs. It led the IPU to collect data and information on youth participation in parliaments, keeping the international community abreast of the current state of youth participation, including best practices. In a way, we see this report as a shared resource to further help translate the Resolution into concrete action. The IPU's Report, Youth participation in national parliaments, has been published every two years since 2014.

In August 2020, the Fifth World Conference of Speakers of Parliament, a gathering of the world's parliamentary leaders was convened by the IPU, to assess, among other things, the current state of youth participation. Their report – "[Stepping up youth participation in politics and parliaments: from words to action](#)" – calls for a new chapter in our collective mission to empower the youth of today.

Indeed, despite progress ranging from the growth of parliamentary youth caucuses and committees to a slight increase in youth quotas, the rate of increase in the numbers of young men and women and their leadership in parliament has been too slow. There is a strong case to be made for greater youth representation in our parliaments. In most countries, too many young people are old enough to vote but disqualified from office on the basis of their age.

My wish is that this report – replete with facts, figures and concrete guidance – can boost implementation of the promise of 2010. As young MPs keep reminding us, and I agree, the time to act is now.



Martin Chungong
Secretary General

Key findings

This report is the fourth biennial IPU review of youth participation in national parliaments. It builds on the previous 2018 report by adding new data from the last two years, using age data from 148 parliamentary chambers, as well as other quantitative and qualitative data from 258 chambers.^a The data is current as at 14 September 2020. Scholarly studies and information from interviews also helped provide a full picture of youth participation in parliaments around the world. Key findings and examples of good practices on addressing youth under-representation are included throughout the report, as are recommendations for further action.

Key figures

- Only 2.6 per cent of the world's parliamentarians are under age 30, a small increase of 0.4 per cent since 2018.
- Some 17.5 per cent of the world's MPs are under age 40, up 2 percentage points from 15.5 per cent in 2018.
- Some 30.2 per cent of the world's MPs are under age 45, up 2.1 percentage points from 28.1 per cent in 2018.
- Some 25 per cent of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs under age 30, nearly 5 per cent fewer than in 2018. Approximately 1 per cent of single and lower chambers have no MPs under age 40, down from 3 per cent in 2018.
- Upper chambers of parliament have made slower progress. Some 73 per cent have no MPs under age 30, down from 75 per cent in 2018. Sixteen per cent have no MPs under age 40.
- Of the countries surveyed in 2020 which have had an election since 2018, MPs under age 45 have been elected or appointed to all but one chamber, the Senate of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- Europe and the Americas, in that order, have higher shares of young MPs under all three age thresholds (ages 30, 40 and 45) than any other region.
- In 69 per cent of countries, the voting age was younger than the minimum legal age to hold parliamentary office. For lower chambers and unicameral^b parliaments, the average waiting time for an eligible voter to become eligible for office was 3.5 years. For upper chambers, the difference was 10.4 years on average.
- Lower eligibility ages lead to a younger average age within the chambers. A one-year increase in the minimum age of eligibility leads to a 0.6-year increase in the age of the youngest member.
- On average, countries whose heads of government are under age 45 have slightly younger parliamentarians as compared to others, with an average 48.2 years compared with 50.5 for all parliaments surveyed for this report.

Trends disaggregated by gender

- Male MPs continue to outnumber their female counterparts across all age groups.
- The gender imbalance is greater among older cohorts and smallest among the youngest. In the 21-30 age group, the ratio of male to female MPs is about 60:40.

Best performers

Young MPs under age 30

- The Nordic countries (average 8.16 per cent) and South America (average 6.3 per cent) have the highest proportion of MPs under age 30.
- In lower and unicameral chambers, Norway (13.6 per cent), Armenia (12.1 per cent), San Marino (11.7 per cent) and The Gambia (10.3 per cent) have the highest under-30 representation. For upper chambers, Belgium is in the lead with 10 per cent. Somalia is second place with 3.7 per cent.
- In Europe's lower and unicameral chambers, Norway stands in first place (13.61 per cent). In sub-Saharan Africa, it is The Gambia (10.34 per cent). In the Americas, first is the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (9.8 per cent). In the Middle East and North Africa, it is Tunisia (6.9 per cent). In Asia, it is Afghanistan (5.7 per cent), and in the Pacific region, it is New Zealand (1.7 per cent).

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

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

Young MPs under age 40

- South America and the Nordic countries have the highest under-40 representation (29.8 per cent and 29.2 per cent, respectively).
- In lower and unicameral chambers: Armenia (57.6 per cent), Ukraine (46.3 per cent) and Italy (42.7 per cent) all register over 40 per cent under-40 representation. In upper chambers: Belgium's Senate stands at 42 per cent, while Burundi's, the next highest, stands at 28 per cent.
- In lower and unicameral chambers in Europe, the best performer is Armenia. In sub-Saharan Africa, it is The Gambia (36.2 per cent). In the Americas, it is Suriname (37.3 per cent). In the Middle East and North Africa, it is Oman (26.7 per cent). In Asia, it is Afghanistan (37.1 per cent), and in the Pacific region, it is New Zealand (21.7 per cent).

Young MPs under age 45

- The Nordic countries (an average of 44.4 per cent) and Central Asia (an average of 43 per cent) have the highest under-45 representation.
- In lower and unicameral chambers, Armenia (72 per cent), Ukraine (63.4 per cent) and Turkmenistan (63.2 per cent) all stand at over 60 per cent under-45 representation. In upper chambers: Belgium's Senate stands at 48.3 per cent, with Afghanistan coming next at 41 per cent.
- In lower and unicameral chambers, the best performer in Europe is Armenia. In sub-Saharan Africa, it is The Gambia (56.9 per cent). In the Americas, it is Suriname (52.9 per cent). In the Middle East and North Africa, it is Bahrain (47.5 per cent). In Asia, it is Turkmenistan (63.2 per cent), and in the Pacific region, it is New Zealand (35.8 per cent).

Youth quotas

- Evidence gathered for this report further confirms that youth quotas help increase youth representation. This occurs in different ways, as existing quotas have a variety of targets and take different forms, including reserved seats, legislated quotas and party quotas.
- Only four countries, Rwanda, Morocco, Kenya and Uganda, have specially reserved seats for youth representatives.
- All countries which have adopted youth quotas have often done so after introducing gender quotas. That suggests that the many countries with quotas for women may be fertile ground for youth quotas.
- While quotas have been proven to produce positive outcomes, it is important to carefully examine their design in order to ensure successful implementation and, by implication, their role in increasing young people's influence in parliament.

Youth and parliamentary work

- An ever increasing number of parliaments are establishing networks of young MPs and caucuses dedicated to promoting youth issues. Young MP networks are found in 16 per cent of the parliaments covered in this report, 16 per cent have young MP caucuses, and 21 per cent have caucuses on youth issues.
- More than 64 per cent of parliaments covered in this report have parliamentary committees on youth issues. However, such committees often handle other issues in addition to those relating to youth.
- Some 56 per cent of countries organize youth parliaments as a means to educate and engage greater numbers of young people in parliamentary work.

Introduction

In September 2019, millions of young people poured into the streets in cities around the world to vent their anger at the failure of political leaders to adequately address the climate crisis. In the past two years, youngsters have also marched for democracy in the Middle East, and racial equality in the United States. Whereas our youth are deeply invested in public affairs all around the world, they are hardly represented in our parliaments.

This report shows, for example, that while 49 per cent of the global population is under age 30, a mere 2.6 per cent of MPs belong to that age group.

However, the past 15 years have seen a change in the way that youth participation and under-representation in parliaments are perceived. The expectation is no longer that young people are merely consulted, but rather that their engagement in parliamentary processes must be enhanced both in terms of political *representation* by enabling more of them in the decision-making process as members of parliament (MPs) and ensuring that they *participate* more broadly in the political process through a full and meaningful contribution to parliamentary processes and work.^c Not only has youth participation brought issues affecting young people into focus, but it has also become a more widely recognized component of representative democracy.

On 12 August 2020, International Youth Day, the IPU celebrated the 10th anniversary of its Resolution on [Youth Participation in the democratic process](#), adopted by IPU Member Parliaments in 2010, which calls for greater inclusion of young people in political decision-making.

IPU Members have since adopted many of the measures proposed in the Resolution, ranging from adopting youth quotas to lowering the age of eligibility to stand for office. Youth parliaments have been convened. Young MPs have joined delegations to international gatherings. Also, in many countries, parliamentary bodies, including committees and caucuses, are increasingly engaging with youth groups.

Meanwhile, a number of initiatives have emerged, reflecting growing recognition of the need to bolster the numbers of young MPs in the world's democracies. Such initiatives include the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 (UNSCR 2250) on youth, peace and security.

The IPU has also taken action, establishing the [Forum of Young Parliamentarians](#), which is currently the premier platform for the world's young MPs. Most importantly, perhaps, the IPU saw the need for reliable information on young parliamentarians. Now publicly accessible on the IPU's open data platform, [Parline](#), IPU data on young parliamentarians has become the primary global source of information on the subject. To complement the data and the investment in youth forums and peer support, the IPU also helps to share [good practices from its Member Parliaments](#).

This report highlights the opportunities to further increase the numbers of young MPs, including by eliminating barriers and implementing interventions. Most of the conclusions are positive:

- the numbers of young MPs continue to increase;
- young people are becoming more engaged in parliamentary processes;
- parliaments, government institutions, international agencies and the wider public continue to improve youth participation with legal, informal and structural interventions; and
- young MPs address, at length and with great enthusiasm, new ways of working in the future, encouraging greater youth participation and challenging established and institutional norms in order to create a more conducive and friendly environment for inclusive participation.

However, there is a need to step up the pace of progress. If youth cannot achieve greater involvement in our parliaments and politics, they could feel disenfranchised and seek other avenues for political change other than formal political institutions. We must urgently devise ways to increase youth participation in parliaments. This is especially true considering that climate change and other real-life challenges will impact our youth the most.

Youth – features and definitions

The definition of youth differs substantially from country to country. Pursuant to the Statutes of the IPU, a young parliamentarian is one who is under the age of 45. However, in order to try to accommodate the diversity of definitions of “youth” and because a young MP in their early- forties will likely face different circumstances than a young MP in their twenties, since 2014 our data has highlighted three age thresholds for young MPs, namely under ages 30, 40 and 45. This has also

^c In this report, the term “youth representation” refers specifically to membership of young men and women 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.

allowed for more in-depth analysis of young MPs in more specific age groups, namely those in their twenties and thirties. These particular age thresholds have been maintained over the years to allow for comparison over time. As with previous reports, this 2020 edition provides updated and sex-disaggregated data on young parliamentarians within these age brackets.

Youth is a transitional status. Unlike that of most other under-represented groups, such as women or minority ethnic groups, the status of young people is not permanent! A young MP in a given election may have transitioned out of that age-based status by the next election. To account for this, the survey carried out to collect data and information from national parliaments requested data as it stood at the start of the current legislative term.

Also noteworthy is the fact that unlike gender distributions, where marked deviations from 50/50 are uncommon, age distributions vary from country to country. Across countries featured in 2019 UN data, the proportion of adults under the age of 30 varied between 5 and 23 per cent, with an average of 13 per cent. This report compares the gap between youth populations and the proportion of young parliamentarians per country. Unless otherwise specified, the comparison is between the proportion in the parliaments and the proportions within the *adult* population. Due to limitations in UN data, this report considers adulthood to begin at age of 20. Child suffrage is germane to youth representation, but very few countries extend suffrage to under 18s at the national level.

This report uses parliaments and MPs as general terms designating representatives from unicameral, lower and upper chambers of parliament (e.g. senates).



Woman taking part in a student rally on climate change in Brussels, Belgium
© Emmanuel Dunand/AFP

Ten years on: the IPU Resolution on Youth Participation

To commemorate the anniversary of the IPU’s adoption of its Resolution on Youth Participation, several parliaments have described how they are implementing it. Their measures include lowering both the voting age and the age of eligibility for election, creating parliamentary youth committees and caucuses of young MPs, convening youth parliaments and allowing for young parliamentarians to join delegations to international meetings.

The following parliaments provided information:

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------------|---------------|
| • Afghanistan | • Malta | • New Zealand |
| • Benin | • Malaysia | • Norway |
| • Bhutan | • Mexico | • Poland |
| • Costa Rica | • Montenegro | • Qatar |
| • El Salvador | • Federated States of Micronesia | • Romania |
| • Gambia (the) | • Nicaragua | • San Marino |
| • Ireland | • Netherlands (the) | • Serbia |
| • Luxembourg | | |

About this report

Following this Introduction, the report is divided into four sections: (i) young parliamentarians worldwide, consisting of a snapshot of the situation in national parliaments currently; (ii) targets for youth representation; (iii) interventions to increase numbers of young parliamentarians, considering the barriers to increased youth representation; and (iv) promoting youth in parliamentary work. A summary of recommendations on enhancing young people’s participation in parliament and eliminating barriers to their participation in politics is followed by two annexes, consisting of lists of updated data on youth representation in parliaments around the world.

The report, researched and published during the global COVID-19 pandemic, uses data-driven analysis on youth representation, as well as qualitative data to explore cross-cutting social, cultural and lifestyle issues that constitute barriers to parliamentary office. As with previous reports, this 2020 edition also provides the latest data on special measures and mechanisms to enhance the participation of young people in national parliaments. To help mark the 10th anniversary of the IPU’s 2010 Resolution on Youth Participation, this edition also examines updates on IPU recommendations introduced since then.

It has now been a little over 10 years since the IPU’s Member Parliaments adopted the 2010 Resolution on Youth Participation in the democratic process. Through this resolution, the IPU positioned itself as one of the first (if not the first) international organizations to recognize the need for greater youth participation in parliaments and to propose measures to achieve that objective.

In 2014, the IPU began collecting information on youth participation in national parliaments, as a means of measuring progress. At that time, just 1.6 per cent of MPs were under age 30. The data collected was published in the IPU’s first report on youth participation in national parliaments, and the report has been published approximately every two years since then.

In 2018, the IPU became the first international organization to adopt statutory measures aimed at enhancing youth participation at its formal meetings (i.e. IPU Assemblies).

Methodology

The IPU's Parline database is a free-access global platform on national parliaments. Capturing over 600 points of data provided directly by national parliaments, it also includes updated data on the ages of MPs, global rankings and youth quotas. The platform permits comparing data between parliaments and extracting it for public use. It can be accessed at <https://data.ipu.org/>

This report is based on a combination of desk research, qualitative interviews and analysis of quantitative data from surveys, the IPU Parline database and UN population data. The desk research examined published literature, peer-reviewed research and policy papers on a range of subjects, such as young parliamentarians, youth representation, electoral eligibility systems, political party youth support, barriers to youth participation and the link between trust in public institutions and youth engagement with politics.

Also, the IPU sent out a standardized IPU questionnaire to gather information on the age distribution of male and female MPs, the youngest MP, any changes in the voting age or eligibility for parliamentary office and any parliamentary measures to promote youth participation. For bicameral parliaments, we requested separate survey responses for each chamber.

In total, the IPU received responses from 148 parliamentary chambers in 118 countries. Of these, 108 in 91 countries submitted responses in 2020. Age data on MPs was requested as at the first session of the current legislature (following the most recent election or renewal). The compilation of age data is valid as of 14 September 2020. Data from a greater number of chambers (up to 258) was used for other areas of enquiry, such as the ages of eligibility to stand for office. In a small number of cases where this information was not available, average ages of MPs were approximated from the distribution of age ranges.

Population data is drawn from the UN World Population Prospects 2019 dataset, the Eurostat demo_pjan dataset and the Andorra Department of Statistics to include data from micro-states such as Andorra and San Marino.

Qualitative information is drawn primarily from online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with parliaments and young parliamentarians. Information is also taken from publicly available interviews of young MPs posted on the IPU website and [iKNOWPolitics.org](https://www.iknowpolitics.org), as well as their respective YouTube channels.

Young people taking part in a Black Lives Matter protest in Tokyo in June 2020
© Charly Triballeau/AFP



Young parliamentarians worldwide

This section presents the latest data on youth participation in national parliaments worldwide. Countries are ranked according to the share of parliamentarians under ages 30, 40 and 45. The data is gender disaggregated. It is also disaggregated by chamber (upper and single or lower chambers). Progress and challenges in promoting greater youth representation in parliaments are examined, and so is the question of gender as it relates to age.

Global patterns

Data for 2020 shows that parliaments have become slightly younger since the IPU’s previous youth report, albeit with significant variation around the world. This is more perceptible in countries and regions where the general population is much younger than the average within their parliaments.^d The data also shows that young women face double challenges as to becoming MPs, including age- and gender-based discrimination.

Table 1

Average proportion of MPs under ages 30, 40 and 45 in 2020			
Criteria	All %	Single and lower chamber %	Upper chamber %
Under 30	2.6	3.0	0.5
Under 40	17.5	19.8	6.7
Under 45	30.2	33.4	15.1

The data for the 2020 report shows slight increases in youth representation over the past two years in all three thresholds used.

- **Under 30.** The proportion of under-30 MPs was 2.6 per cent in 2020, up 0.4 per cent from 2.2 per cent in 2018.
- **Under 40.** The proportion of under-40 MPs, was 17.5 per cent in 2020, up 2 per cent from 15.5 per cent in 2018.
- **Under 45.** The proportion of under-45 MPs was 30.2 per cent in 2020, up 2.1 per cent from 28.1 per cent in 2018.

Table 2

Percentage of parliaments with no young MPs according to various thresholds in 2020			
Criteria	All %	Single and lower chamber %	Upper chamber %
No under-30 MPs	36.7	24.6	73.0
No under-40 MPs	4.8	0.9	16.2
No under-45 MPs	0.7	0.0	2.7

^d In this report, the composition and categorization of regional and sub-regional groupings follows that used in the IPU’s Parline database: <https://data.ipu.org/content/regional-groupings>



Young MPs from around the world gathered in Asunción, Paraguay for the IPU's Sixth Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, September 2019
 © IPU/Parliament of Paraguay

- The number of parliamentary chambers with zero youth representation is also declining. This is true for both upper and lower chambers, as well as unicameral parliaments.
- **Under 30.** Some 25 per cent of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs under age 30, i.e. a 5 per cent decrease from 30 per cent in 2018. Some 73 per cent of upper chambers currently have no MPs under age 30, i.e. a decrease of 2 per cent from 75 per cent in 2018.
 - **Under 40.** One per cent of single and lower chambers have no MPs under age 40, down from 3 per cent in 2018. Sixteen per cent of upper chambers have no MPs under age 40.
 - **Under 45.** All single or lower chambers have MPs under age 45, but 2.7 per cent of upper chambers have none in that age group.

Table 3

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

Under age 30			Under age 40			Under age 45		
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Norway	13.61	1	Armenia	57.58	1	Armenia	71.97
2	Armenia	12.12	2	Ukraine	46.34	2	Ukraine	63.36
3	San Marino	11.67	3	Italy	42.70	3	Turkmenistan	63.20
4	Gambia (the)	10.34	4	Suriname	37.25	4	Maldives	59.77
5	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	9.82	5	Afghanistan	37.10	5	Italy	59.52
6	Suriname	9.80	6	Gambia (the)	36.21	6	Gambia (the)	56.90
7	Denmark	9.50	7	Romania	35.26	7	Netherlands (the)	55.33
8	Sweden	9.42	8	Turkmenistan	35.20	8	Kyrgyzstan	54.17
9	Djibouti	9.23	9	Kyrgyzstan	35.00	9	Belgium	54.00
10	Chile	8.39	10	Norway	34.32	10	Suriname	52.94

Table 4

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

Under age 30			Under age 40			Under age 45		
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Belgium	10.00	1	Belgium	41.67	1	Belgium	48.33
2	Somalia	3.70	2	Burundi	28.21	2	Afghanistan	41.18
3	Trinidad and Tobago	3.33	3	Jamaica	23.53	3	Burundi	41.03
4	Australia	2.63	4	Trinidad and Tobago	23.33	4	Romania	34.56
5	Mexico	1.96	5	Myanmar	21.43	5	Colombia	33.02
6	Spain	1.89	6	Kenya	20.59	6	Myanmar	32.59
7	South Africa	1.89	7	Somalia	20.37	7	Kenya	30.88
8	Kenya	1.47	8	Colombia	16.98	8	Trinidad and Tobago	30.00
9	Netherlands (the)	1.33	9	Afghanistan	16.18	9	Somalia	29.63
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.92	10	South Africa	15.09	10	Mexico	29.41

Regional snapshot

At the regional level, Europe and the Americas, in that order, are in leading position as to the proportion of young MPs below all three age thresholds (30, 40 and 45) in lower and single chambers.

Table 5

Regional proportions of parliamentarians under ages 30, 40 and 45 (lower and single chambers)

Region	Under age 30	Under age 40	Under age 45
Europe	4.27	24.13	39.94
Americas	3.83	24.13	36.67
Asia	1.94	16.01	29.21
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.82	16.15	29.92
Middle East and North Africa	1.49	16.4	29.27
Pacific	0.33	13.31	23.40

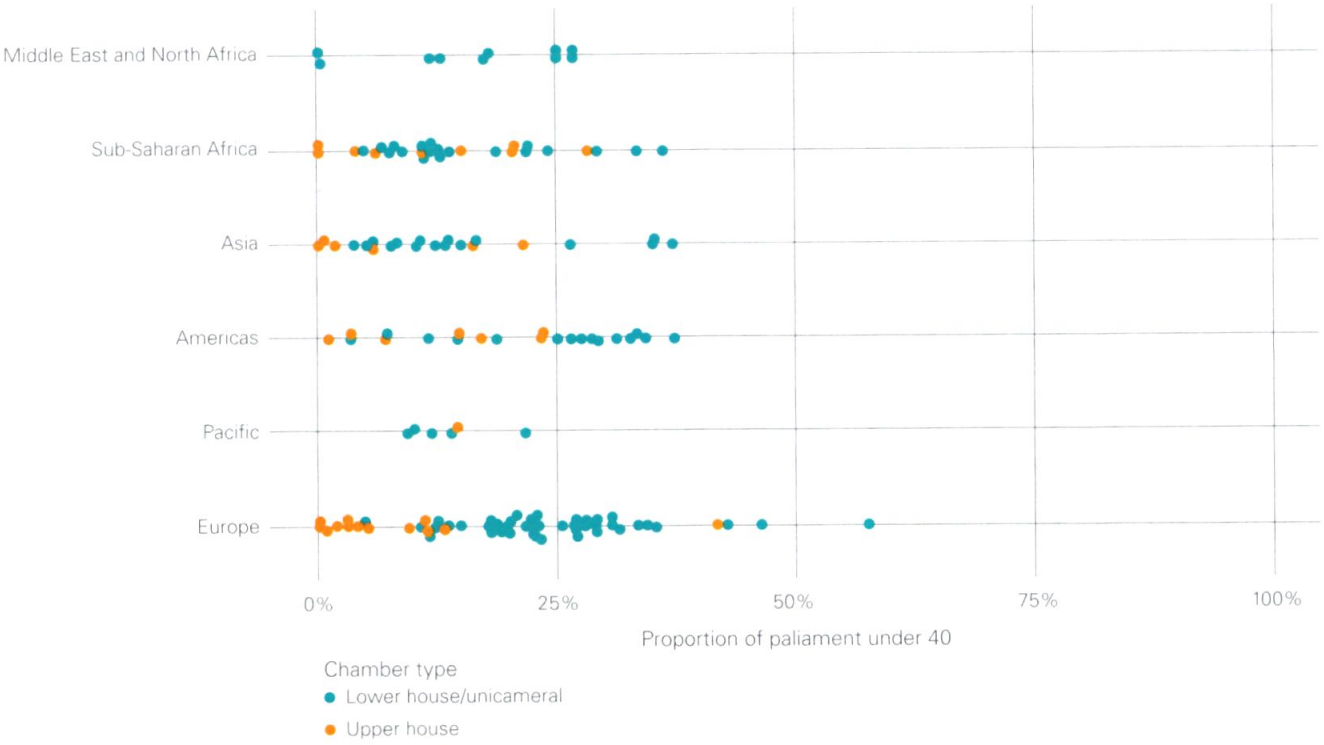
Table 6

Regional proportions of parliamentarians under ages 30, 40 and 45 (upper chambers)

Region	Under age 30	Under age 40	Under age 45
Pacific	2.63	14.47	28.95
Europe	1.02	7.97	16.75
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.89	11.69	19.86
Americas	0.76	12.83	21.33
Asia	0	7.59	18.37
Middle East and North Africa	0	0	10.59

Figure 1

Proportion of MPs under age 40



Results after recent renewals: more seats for youth

There has been a slight increase in the numbers of young MPs in countries where parliamentary chambers were renewed since 2018.

Lower chambers registered a 0.6 per cent increase in MPs under age 30, a 1.3 per cent increase in MPs under age 40, and a 1.7 per cent increase in MPs under age 45. Many countries registered higher increases, but they were offset by decreases in the proportions of young MPs elsewhere.

The lower the age of eligibility, the lower the average age within the chamber. In a linear regression, every one-year increase in the eligibility age is followed by a 0.6-year increase in the age of the youngest MP. This shows that a higher eligibility age constitutes yet another barrier for the youngest MPs.

The changes across the under-30, under-40 and under-45 age groups are due to several factors, including the activities and behaviours of political parties, the composition of the voter base, contextual and historical factors at both the local and national levels, campaign policies, the personal qualities of individual candidates, as well as specific interventions or initiatives, such as youth quotas.

Under-30s

Among the surveyed parliaments which have renewed since 2018, 16 recorded an increase in under-30 representation in their lower chamber, while 9 recorded a decrease. The overall average movement was a 0.6 percentage point increase in MPs under age 30. Slovakia recorded the biggest increase, by almost 5 points, from 0.7 to 5.4 per cent, while Finland recorded the biggest decrease, by almost 7 points, from 10 per cent to 3.5 per cent.

Two upper chambers recorded an increase in the number of young MPs, while two recorded decreases. As for MPs under age 30, the average increase was 1.8 percentage points. Belgium recorded the biggest increase, up by more than 8 points, from 1.7 per cent to 10 per cent while the Netherlands recorded the biggest decrease, dropping 1.4 percentage points from 2.7 per cent to 1.3 per cent.

Figure 2
Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in under-30 representation since 2018 (percentage points)



Figure 3

Upper chamber renewals, changes in under-30 representation since 2018



Under 40s

Among the surveyed parliaments which have been renewed since 2018, some 24 (67 per cent) lower or single chambers had recorded an increase in under-40 representation in their lower chamber, while 12 (33 per cent) recorded a decrease. The overall average movement was a 1.3 percentage point increase of under-40 MPs. Suriname recorded the biggest increase, gaining about 14 points, from 23.6 per cent to 37.3 per cent, while Andorra recorded the biggest decrease, declining by about 29 points, from 39.3 per cent to 10.8 per cent.

Seven upper chambers recorded increases in representation while seven recorded decreases. The overall average movement was a 2.7 percentage point increase of MPs under 40. Belgium recorded the biggest increase, gaining over 21 points from 20 per cent to 41.7 per cent, while Bosnia and Herzegovina recorded the biggest decrease, declining by 13 points, from 13 per cent to 0 per cent.

Figure 4

Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in under-40 representation since 2018 (percentage points)



Figure 5

Upper chamber renewals, changes in under-40 representation since 2018 (percentage points)



Under 45s

Among the surveyed parliaments that have renewed since 2018, some 23 lower chambers recorded an increase in under-45 representation while 11 recorded a decrease. The overall average movement was a 1.7 percentage point increase of MPs under age 45. Slovakia recorded the biggest increase, gaining almost 21 points from 31.3 per cent to 52 per cent, while Andorra recorded the biggest decrease, declining by 25 points, from 60.7 per cent to 35.7 per cent.

Some 11 upper chambers recorded increases of MPs under age 45, while 6 recorded decreases. The overall average movement was a 1.4 percentage point increase of MPs under age 45. The Democratic Republic of the Congo recorded the biggest increase, gaining over 15 points from 2.9 per cent to 18.4 per cent. Uruguay recorded the biggest decrease, declining by over 13 points, from 23.3 per cent to 10 per cent.

Figure 6

Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in under-45 representation since 2018 (percentage points)

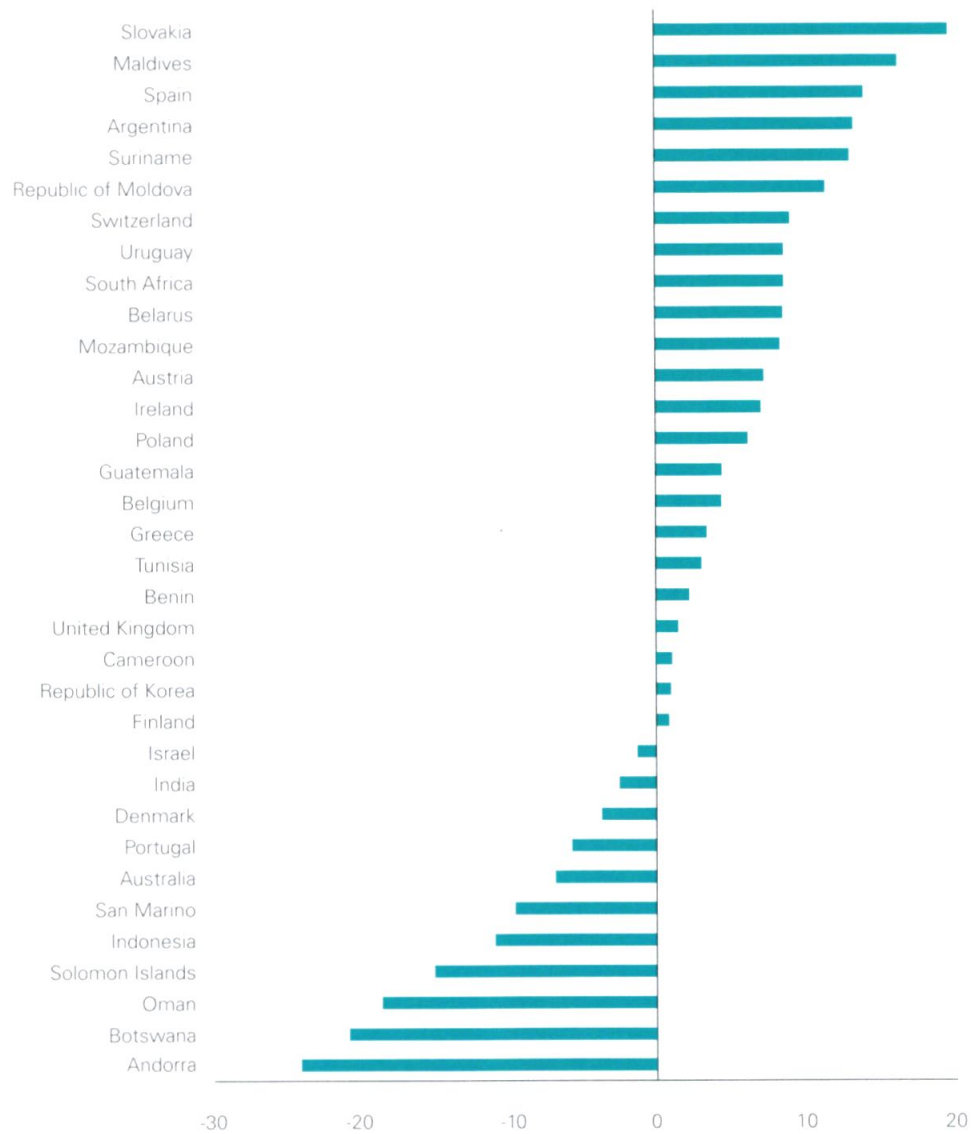
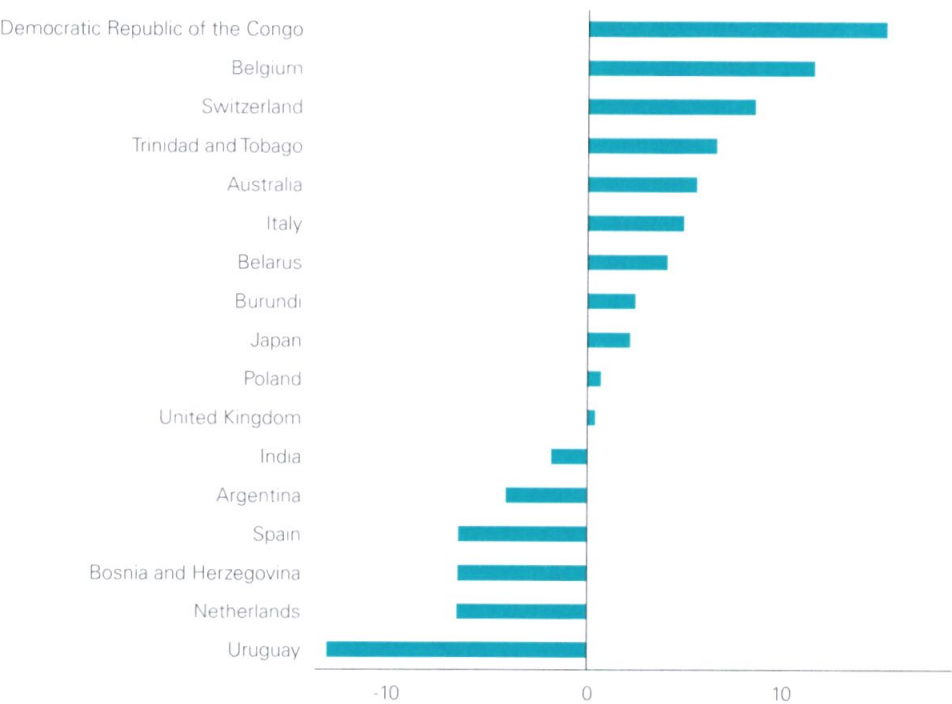


Figure 7

Upper chamber renewals, changes in under-45 representation since 2018 (percentage points)



Correlation between age and gender: Gender equality is greater in younger parliaments

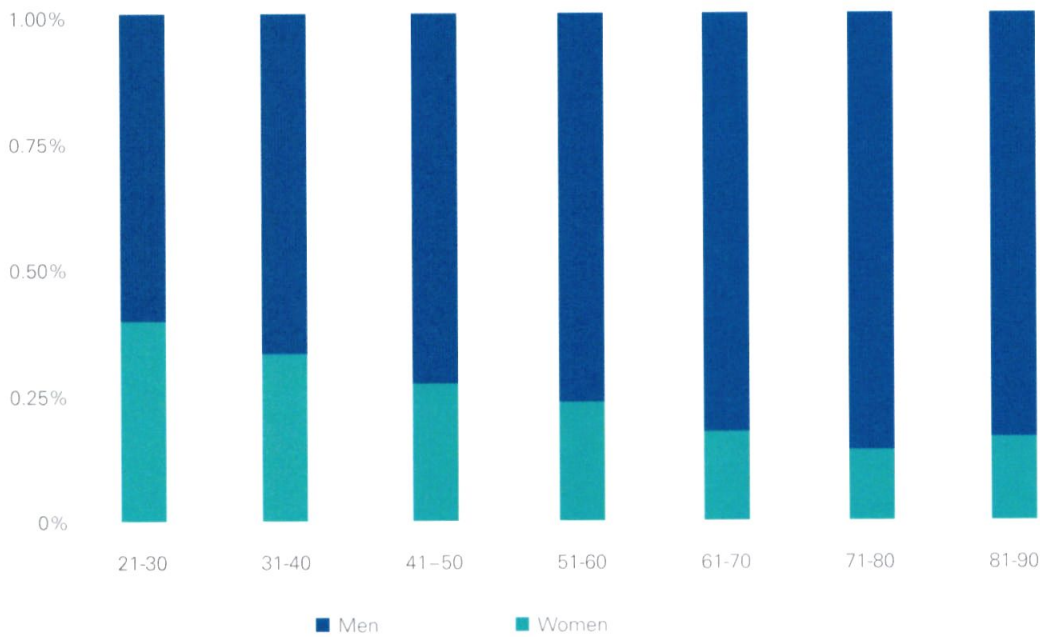
While male MPs outnumber their female counterparts in every age group, gender balance is more likely to be observed among younger cohorts of MPs than among their older colleagues. Figure 8 shows that the proportion of women is higher among younger cohorts and lower within each subsequent age group through to the oldest cohort. Within the 21-30 age group, the male to female ratio among MPs is approximately 60:40. For the 31-40 age group, that ratio increases to about 2:1.

Men between the ages of 51 and 60 accounted for 23 per cent of all MPs in the countries surveyed. Male MPs tend to be older than the general population. Figure 9 shows that the age of female MPs is likely to be closer to or below that of the general population’s average adult age.

As stated above, the proportion of men is greater than that of women across all age groups. Young women face “double discrimination” (age- and gender-based) in gaining access to public office.

Figure 8

MP gender as proportion of age bands



Ms. Cynthia López Castro,
Member of the Board of the IPU
Forum of Young Parliamentarians
and parliamentarian from Mexico
© IPU/Parliament of Paraguay

Figure 9

Average age within single and lower chambers by gender compared to population of same gender.

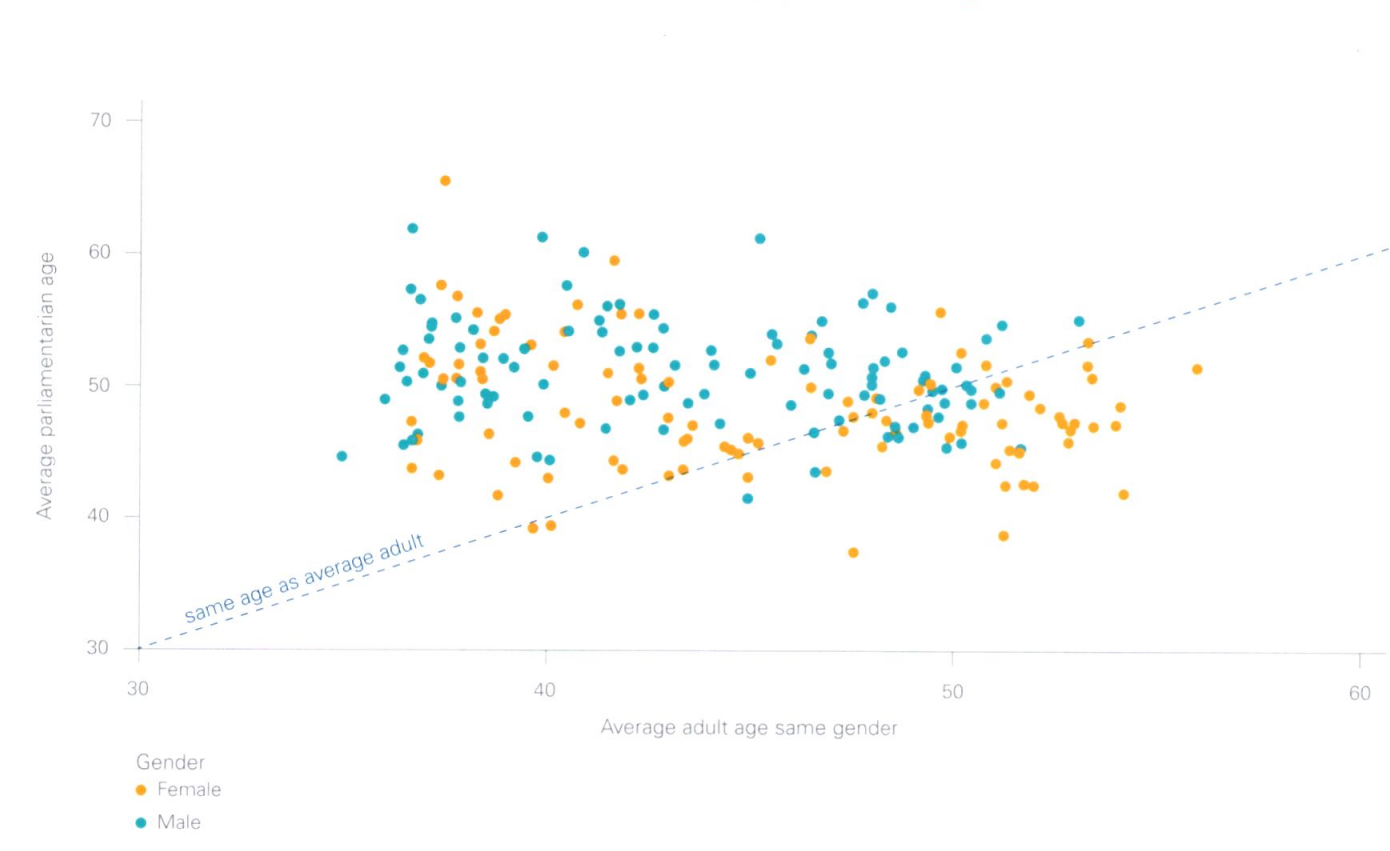


Figure 10

Global population graph of MPs by age and gender.

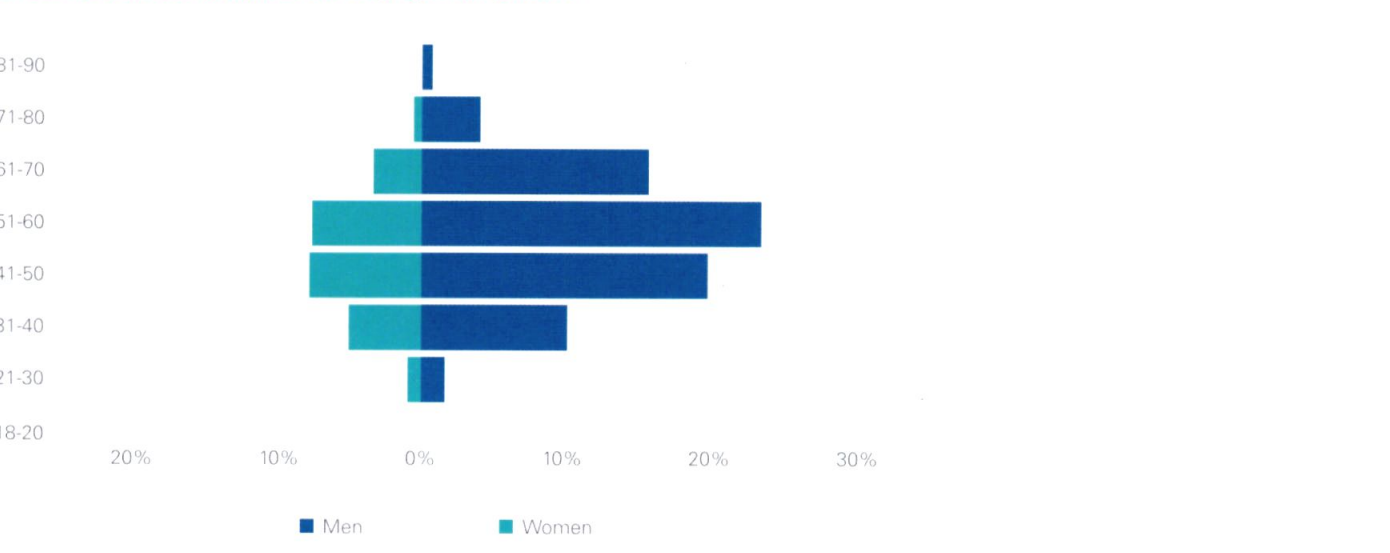


Table 7

Gender divide by age group

Age Range	Male %	Female %	Total
18-20	100.00	0.00	2
21-30	59.57	40.43	700
31-40	66.11	33.89	4,087
41-45	70.58	29.42	3,474
46-50	72.70	27.30	3,975
51-60	75.45	24.55	8,431
61-70	81.29	18.71	5,152
71-80	84.93	15.07	1,281
81-90	82.33	17.67	215
Total	74.23	25.77	27,317
Youngest Members	55.56	39.26	135

In general, the scores for age targets and gender parity are correlated. In other words, countries which perform better on one score also tend to perform better on the other.

Figures 11 and 12 below show the regional and sub-regional correlation between the age and gender parity scores for single and lower chambers. Regions on the right perform better as to age representation; regions towards the top of the graph perform better as to gender parity within these age groups. In some cases, high scores on gender equality are linked to a limited number of MPs within the age group in question. For example, having one female under-30 MP out of two counts for a high score for gender equality, but a low score for age

representation. For all regions, sub-regions and countries, the goal is to evolve towards the upper right corner of the graph.

On average, Europe is the best performer in terms of overall age score, but the Americas perform slightly better on gender parity within the age groups.

With respect to sub-regions, South America scores higher on age representation among MPs than most sub-regions in Europe, while the Nordic countries perform well on both age and gender. North Africa and North America perform highly on gender parity.

Figure 11

Regional averages plotted by gender and age score



Figure 12

Sub-regional averages plotted by gender and age score



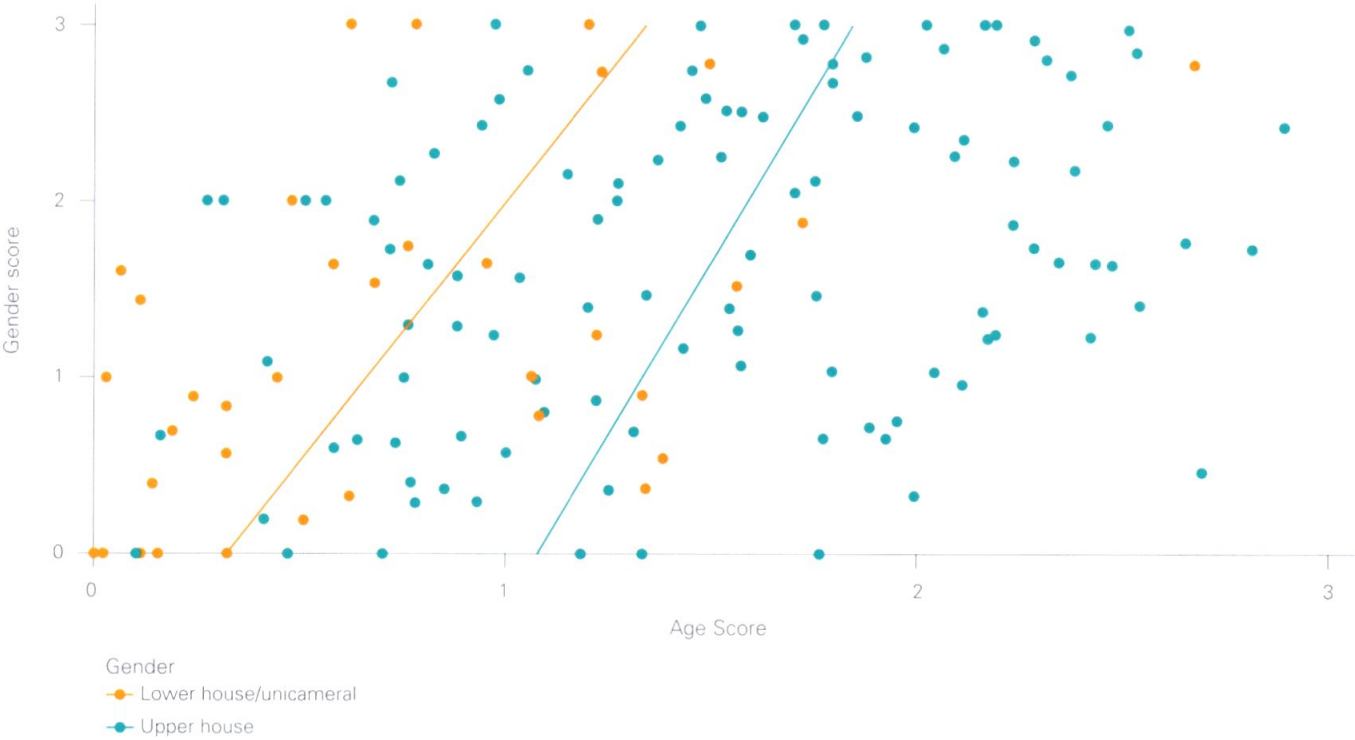
Figure 13 (below) shows the country's overall age and gender distribution by single/lower and upper chamber. In general, upper chambers are on the lower end of age and gender parity scores. However, there are outliers, such as Belgium's Senate, which is on the upper right side.

The trend lines for both single/lower and upper chambers in Figure 13 are more vertical than diagonal, thus reflecting a better range of progress on gender parity than age targets. Some countries perform very well on gender scores (50+ per cent representation of women in all age areas) across all age scores and are therefore positioned at the top of the graph. Countries in the lower right segment, such as The Gambia, perform well on age scores, but have made less progress on gender parity. Tracking gender parity progress separately helps identify which parliaments register under-representation of young female MPs specifically as opposed to younger MPs in general.

Figure 13

Country upper and single/lower chambers plotted by gender parity and age score

Progress towards meeting age and gender targets: by lower and upper house



To support the representation and participation of young women in parliament, the IPU recommends the following action points:

- introducing quota systems for women in parliament;
- implementing outreach activities to engage with younger women who may not have considered political careers, for example young women in remote areas, with diverse social and economic backgrounds, and experiences;
- implementing support and empowerment initiatives for young women aspirants to political office, including fair allocation of financial resources for campaigns;
- strengthening capacity of young women in political office by establishing or enhancing peer support, capacity building programmes and mentoring networks;
- supporting social movements as stepping stones for young women’s engagement in formal politics;
- implementing the IPU Plan of Action for Gender-sensitive Parliaments, including by promoting leadership roles in parliament for women,
- eliminating all forms of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament; and
- ensuring that delegations to international events are gender balanced and include young women MPs.

Correlation between population and MP age averages

Figure 14 shows that Europe's general population has proportionately greater under-40 MP representation than other regions. The reason for this is, at least in part, because Europe's population is older than other regions, with a smaller proportion of young people under-40. As a proportion of the general population, sub-Saharan Africa has twice as many adults under age 30. Indeed, the majority of its population is within this age group. Even so, fewer than half of the sub-region's MPs are under age 40.

Data seems to suggest that countries with an older population tend to have younger lower chambers, but the relationship only has marginal significance. In general, close parity between a given country's average adult age and the average age of MPs tends to be due to the fact the population is older and not because a higher proportion of MPs are young.

Figure 14

Proportion of under-40 adults in parliament as compared to the general population

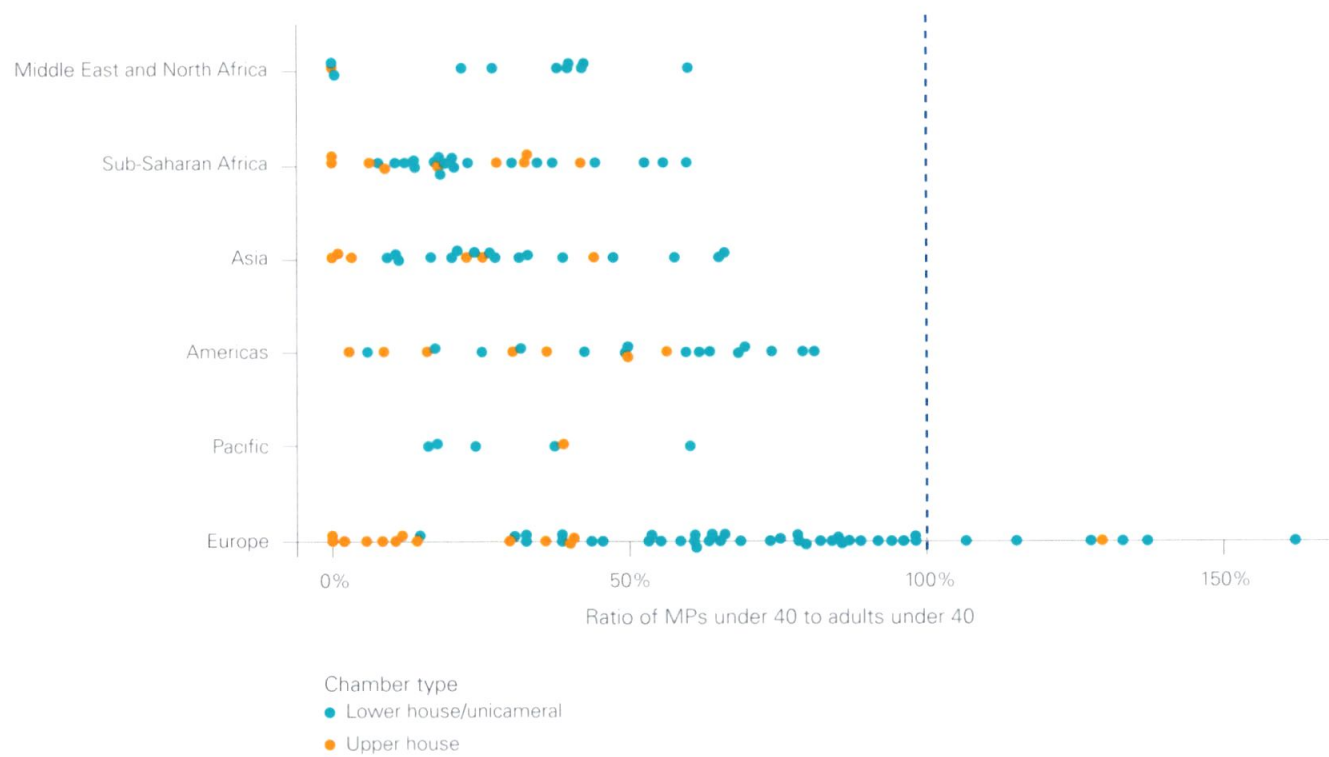
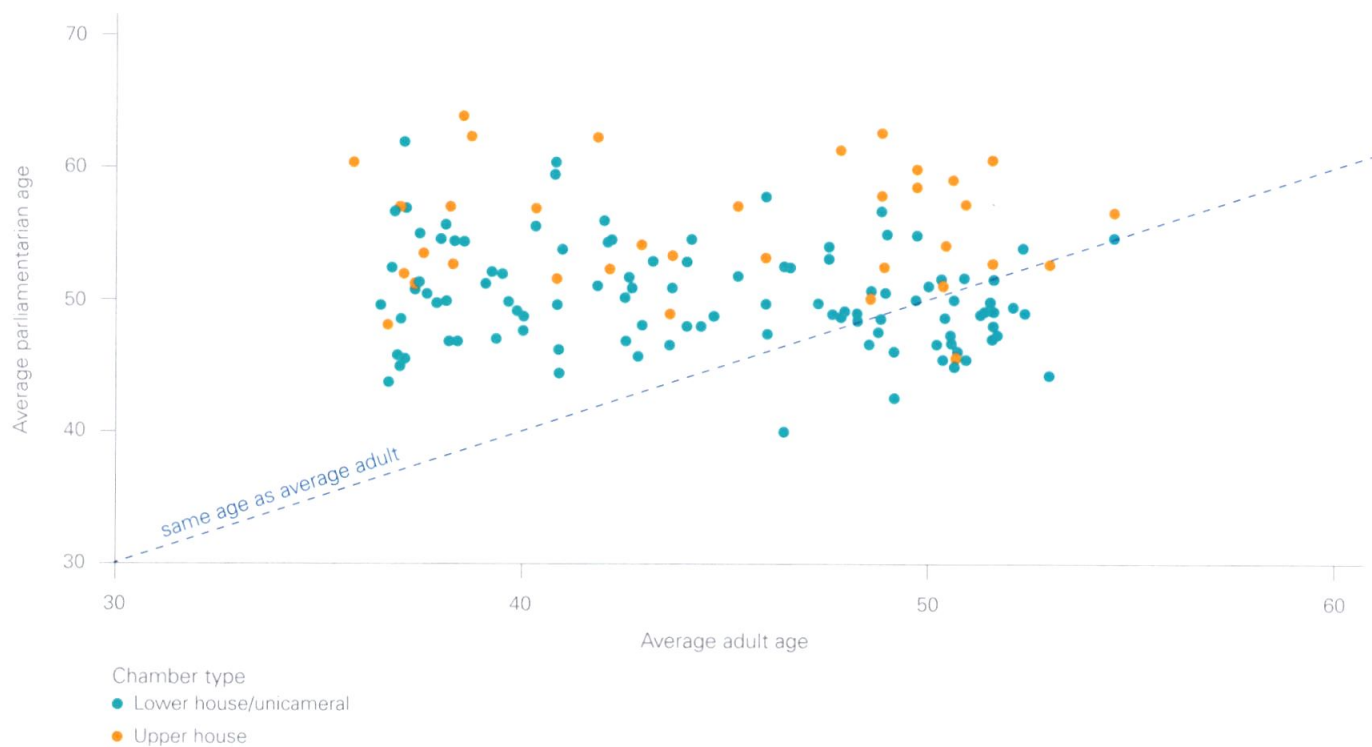


Figure 15

Comparison of the average age of MPs with that of the adult population



Youngest MPs and young heads of government

On average, the youngest MP in a given parliament is 28. Guatemala has the world’s youngest MP, who is 19. The average age of the youngest MPs tends to be slightly higher than the average age of a given country’s population, including children. So even though those MPs are considered young within the context of their parliament, they are older than the majority of members of the general population.

The age of the youngest MPs tends to be about half of the average MP age in their respective chambers. The youngest member is more likely to be female (about 40 per cent) than the average member (26 per cent are female). This 40 per cent ratio is similar when looking at the proportion of female MPs in the 21-30 age group.

Young speakers of parliament, young heads of government

While the quantitative data reflects slow but steady overall progress in the numbers of young MPs, this simple insight often fails to reflect the visibility and impact of younger parliamentarians. The election of young representatives often receives extensive press coverage. This can last well beyond the election, raising the prominence of the individuals concerned, providing them with additional platforms to be heard and helping to ensure that society accepts young people as MPs. Some studies show a close link between the level of political engagement of young people and their legislative representation. Such studies also show a steady growth in the numbers of youth representatives.²

In theory, this effect is amplified when the young representatives become leaders of their countries, thereby putting their young age in the limelight. Some evidence suggests that younger leaders may implement specific programmes to increase youth participation. One such example is Canada, where Prime Minister Justin Trudeau set up the Prime Minister’s Youth Council.

As at 5 November 2020, several countries had national leaders under age 45:

Table 8
Examples of youngest heads of government

	Sanna Marin (Prime Minister) Finland Aged 34		Carlos Alvarado Quesada (President) Costa Rica Aged 40
	Sebastian Kurtz (Chancellor) Austria Aged 34		Jacinda Arden (Prime Minister) New Zealand Aged 40
	Nayib Bukele (President) El Salvador Aged 39		Mette Frederiksen (Prime Minister) Denmark Aged 42
	Irfaan Ali (President) Guyana Aged 40		

The countries featured in Table 8 tend on average to have slightly younger parliamentarians than others, with an average age of 48.2 as compared to 50.5 for all the parliaments surveyed for this report. All these leaders are approximately 10 years younger than the average MP in their chambers.

Young speakers of parliament

The presiding officers of parliamentary chambers, usually known as *speakers*, are prominent politicians, who can also contribute to the visibility and leadership of youth.

As at the end of 2020, the average age of speakers of parliament was 61. However, an increasing number of speakers are of a lower age. Among the countries featured in the IPU

Interestingly, while the countries in Table 8 have the world’s youngest leaders, their general populations are slightly older, averaging 48 years, as compared to the other countries surveyed in this report. Finland and Austria have the world’s two youngest leaders, but they are home to the world’s two oldest populations.

Parline database, 1 speaker of parliament was under 30, 20, 1 of whom was female, were under age 40. Also, 34 speakers, including 2 women, were under age 45. Of the latter, 20 were appointed in the last 2 years.

As at 5 November 2020, the ten youngest speakers were as listed below:

Table 9
Youngest speakers

Country	Chamber	Chamber type	Speaker’s gender		Name	Age at appointment
San Marino	Great and General Council	Lower	Male		Alessandro Cardelli	29
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Chamber of Senators	Upper	Male		Andrónico Rodríguez	31

Country	Chamber	Chamber type	Speaker's gender		Name	Age at appointment
Tonga	Legislative Assembly	Lower	Male		Lord Fakafanua	32
Chile	Chamber of Deputies	Lower	Male		Diego Paulsen	33
Montenegro	Parliament	Lower	Male		Aleksa Bečić	33
Tajikistan	National Assembly	Upper	Male		Rustam Emomali	33
Georgia	Parliament	Lower	Male		Archil Talakvadze	36
Oman	Shura Council	Lower	Male		Sheikh Khalid bin Hilal Al Maawali	36
Ukraine	Parliament	Lower	Male		Dmytro Razumkov	36
Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	National Assembly	Lower	Male		Juan Guaidó	36

The geographic distribution of the young speakers of parliament listed above reflects the global nature of efforts to increase youth leadership in parliament. Further progress in this area could have significant symbolic value in sub-Saharan Africa, where young people account for large proportions of the national populations.

There are no women among the world’s 10 youngest speakers. This reflects a flagrant gender imbalance and, by implication, a dire need for improvement.

To increase the numbers of young parliamentary leaders, both male and female, the IPU recommends the following action points:

- Implementing internal quotas in parliament for youth representation in leadership structures such as bureaus and committees, as well as political and friendship groups, and ensure that such quotas include provision for 50/50 gender balance;
- Implementing quotas for the age and gender composition of delegations to international forums and in national activities, such as constituency outreach missions;
- Ensuring age and gender diversity among MPs on panels at meetings, seminars and other parliamentary activities; and
- Championing the work of younger MPs in parliamentary communications and the media.

Youth representation targets

IPU targets

In 2018, the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians identified a [set of targets](#) to be reached by 2035. Those targets are aligned with age groups within the global population:

- A minimum 15 per cent of under-30 parliamentarians, corresponding to the proportion of the global population aged between 20 and 29 (18 per cent);
- A minimum of 35 per cent of under-40 parliamentarians, corresponding to the proportion of the global population aged between 20 and 39 (38 per cent);
- A minimum of 45 per cent of under-45 parliamentarians, corresponding to the proportion of the global population aged between 20 and 44 (48 per cent).

Each target requires 50-50 gender parity. The targets were developed since the 2018 IPU report on age data. To track progress towards these goals, Figure 16 shows that points can be awarded for age representation and progress towards gender parity in that age range. Over time, countries should aim for a 6 out of 6 score.

Students taking part in a march for the environment in Brussels, Belgium, February 2019
© Emmanuel Dunand/AFP



Figure 16

Scoring criteria

Scoring criteria:

Criteria 1	Criteria 2	Criteria 3	Criteria 4	Criteria 5	Criteria 6
Progress towards 15% under 30	Progress towards 50% women under 30	Progress towards 35% under 40	Progress towards 50% women under 40	Progress towards 45% under 45	Progress towards 50% women under 45

Worked example: Chile

8.39% Under 30	53.85% Women under 30	26.45% Under 40	31.71% Women under 40	41.29% Under 45	29.69% Women under 45
8.39/15	53.85/50	26.45/35	31.71/50	41.29/45	29.69/50
Score: 0.56	Score: 1	Score: 0.76	Score: 0.63	Score: 0.92	Score: 0.59

Tables for each age target

The tables below show a presentation by region of the average proportion of MPs within an age range (under ages 30, 40, 45) and the proportion of those MPs who are women. Similar tables by sub-regions are found in the Annexes. The age and gender target columns represent progress, whereby 100 per cent would be meeting the target.

Table 10

MPs under age 30 (lower and unicameral chambers) regional averages

Region Averages	% under 30	% of women under 30	Age target %	Gender target %
Europe	4.27	34.10	28.45	68.20
Americas	3.83	29.63	25.55	59.26
Asia	1.94	21.38	12.90	42.75
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.82	19.52	12.15	39.03
Middle East and North Africa	1.49	24.92	9.96	49.83
Pacific	0.33	10.00	2.22	20.00

Table 11

MPs under age 30 (upper chambers) regional averages

Region Averages	% under 30	% of women under 30	Age target %	Gender target %
Pacific	2.63	50.00	17.54	100.00
Europe	1.02	11.54	6.78	23.08
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.89	27.78	5.91	55.56
Americas	0.76	14.29	5.04	28.57
Asia	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Middle East and North Africa	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 12

MPs under age 40 (lower and unicameral chambers) regional averages				
Region Averages	% under 40	% of women under 40	Age target %	Gender target %
Americas	24.13	43.16	68.95	86.33
Europe	24.13	34.97	68.95	69.93
Middle East and North Africa	16.40	24.34	46.85	48.68
Sub-Saharan Africa	16.15	25.87	46.15	51.73
Asia	16.01	34.68	45.74	69.37
Pacific	13.31	17.41	38.03	34.81

Table 13

MPs under age 40 (upper chambers) regional averages				
Region Averages	% under 40	% of women under 40	Age target %	Gender target %
Pacific	14.47	45.45	41.35	90.90
Americas	12.83	35.41	36.66	70.82
Sub-Saharan Africa	11.69	26.32	33.39	52.64
Europe	7.97	25.56	22.77	51.12
Asia	7.59	27.06	21.68	54.12
Middle East and North Africa	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 14

MPs under age 45 (lower and unicameral chambers) regional averages				
Region Averages	% under 45	% of women under 45	Age target %	Gender target %
Europe	39.94	34.22	88.75	68.43
Americas	36.67	39.52	81.49	79.04
Sub-Saharan Africa	29.92	23.34	66.49	46.67
Middle East and North Africa	29.27	25.21	65.04	50.43
Asia	29.21	29.50	64.90	59.00
Pacific	23.40	20.61	52.00	41.22

Table 15

MPs under age 45 (upper chambers) regional averages				
Region Averages	% under 45	% of women under 45	Age target %	Gender target %
Pacific	28.95	40.91	64.33	81.82
Americas	21.33	31.70	47.41	63.40
Sub-Saharan Africa	19.86	26.39	44.13	52.78
Asia	18.37	30.45	40.82	60.89
Europe	16.75	26.51	37.22	53.01
Middle East and North Africa	10.59	44.44	23.53	88.88

Interventions to increase the numbers of young MPs

Proactive and innovative interventions have been demonstrated to improve youth representation in parliament. Moreover, many of the approaches can be adapted for use in more countries and regions. However, taking deliberate steps to increase youth representation requires identifying impediments to achieving that goal and devising targeted and effective interventions which can offer solutions.

This section is based on a desk review of existing literature, interviews and discussions with young parliamentarians, as well as relevant data, and examines the various barriers and challenges to increasing the representation of younger people in national parliaments. It also explores existing as well as potential strategies and initiatives to overcome those barriers and challenges so as to achieve impactful change.

Eligibility age for parliamentary office

The age of eligibility to stand for public office is a key impediment to youth representation in parliament. In 69 per cent of countries in 2020, the voting age was lower than the legal age to hold parliamentary office.³

In the same year, in 65 per cent of lower and single chambers, and 83 per cent of upper chambers, the age of eligibility to vote differed from the age of eligibility to hold elected office. For lower chambers and unicameral parliaments, the average waiting period for an eligible voter to be eligible to hold office was 3.5 years. For upper chambers, this waiting period was 10.4 years on average.

Moreover, current data shows that, in lower chambers where the minimum eligibility age is above 18, some 80 per cent of the corresponding upper chambers have an even higher age of eligibility. For example, in some lower chambers, the minimum age is 25, but in the upper chamber of the same parliament aspiring candidates must be aged at least 30. For lower chambers, the average eligibility age is 21. For upper chambers, it is 29. As shown in Figure 18, the average eligibility age for lower chambers or unicameral parliaments mostly revolves around 18, 21 and 25.

Nigeria offers an example of positive change in this respect. In 2018, its parliament committed to lowering the age of eligibility for parliamentary office in response to a campaign by youth groups and supportive political parties. The eligibility age for the lower chamber was lowered to 25. Within just one election cycle, youth representation in parliament improved by 9 per cent thanks to that initiative. It also helped to raise awareness, build partnerships, mobilize political will and sensitize voters of all age groups. Nigeria's voting age is 18.

In 2007, Turkey also lowered its eligibility age from 30 to 25. That age was subsequently lowered to 18 following a constitutional referendum in 2017. The changes facilitated the election in 2018 of Turkey's youngest ever MP, Rumeysa Kadak, who was an 18-year-old high school student at the time of her election.

Political will makes a difference and creates space for youth participation. Rayya al-Manthari (young MP, Oman) is a member of the Board of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians. On this subject, she said: *"The government encourages young people to join the Council. The lower age limit to run for the Council is 30. It is worth pointing out that in its current term, young people aged 30–45 have won the majority of the seats, making up 65 per cent of the total."*

Figure 17

Eligibility requirements and average age

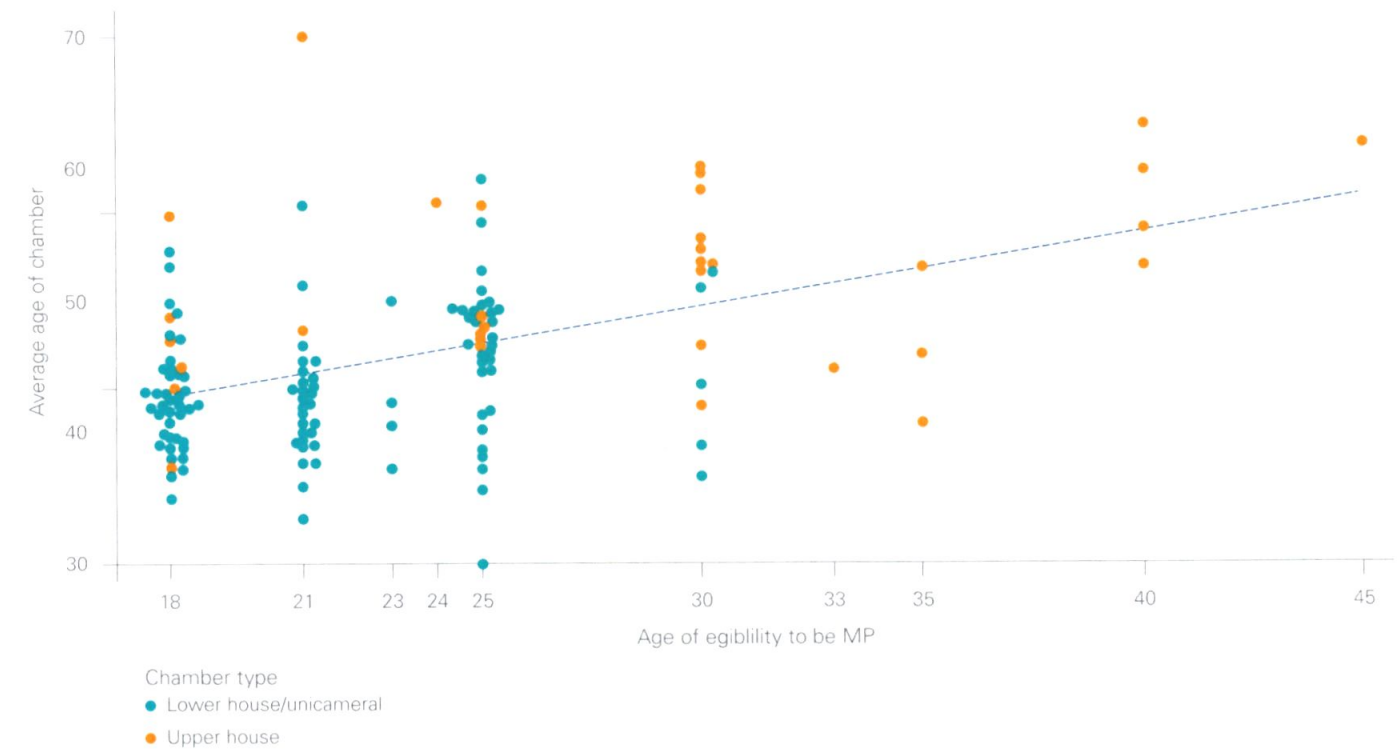
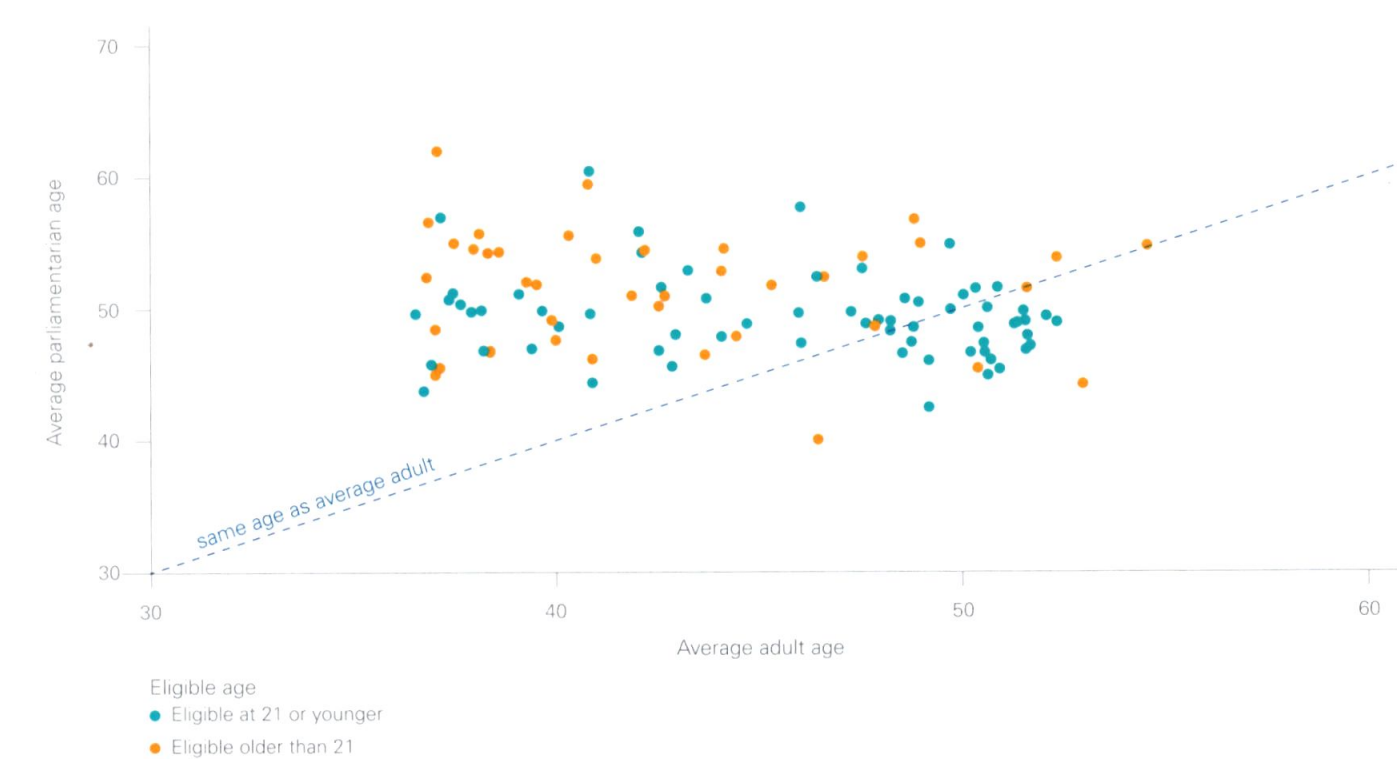


Figure 17 shows the relationship between eligibility requirements and average MP age. Chambers with an eligibility age of 21 or lower tend to be younger than those with a higher eligibility age.

Figure 18

Parliaments with younger ages of eligibility tend to be younger



Infographic



Inter-Parliamentary Union
For democracy For everyone

Youth participation in national parliaments

10 years of empowering youth in parliament

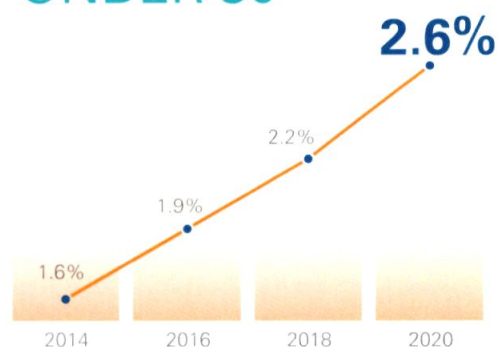
QU

AGE

Based on our 2020 surveys, only **9 countries** have **youth quotas** in their legal frameworks, a number that remains **unchanged since 2016**.

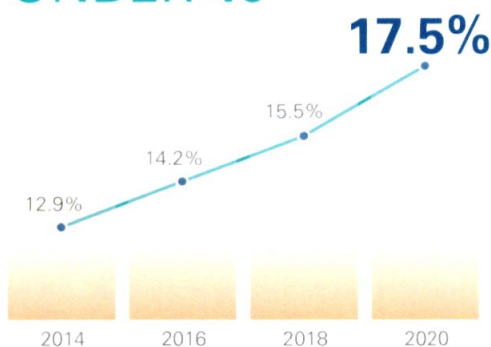
Global percentage of young MPs (men and women) by age category

UNDER 30



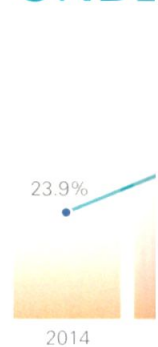
2.6 per cent of the world's MPs are aged under 30 – increase of **1 per cent** since 2014.

UNDER 40



17.5 per cent of the world's MPs are aged under 40 – increase of **4.6 per cent** since 2014.

UNDER 50



30.2 per cent of the world's MPs are aged under 50 – increase of **6.3 per cent** since 2014.

Percentage of women in each age category of young MPs

1.1%

6.1%

ELIGIBILITY

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



69%

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

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



The age requirements for upper chambers range from 18 to 45, with an average of 28.6.

The average waiting time is **10.4 years**.



The age requirements for single and lower chambers range from 17 to 30 with an average of 21.6.



37%

37 per cent of chambers of parliament have no MPs under 30.

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

25%

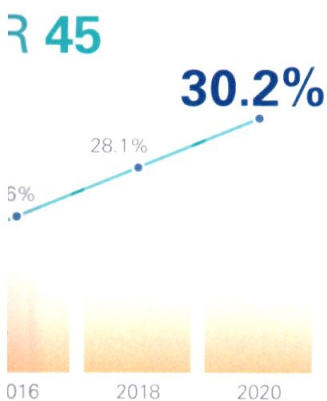
73%

73 per cent of the world's upper chambers have no MPs aged under 30.

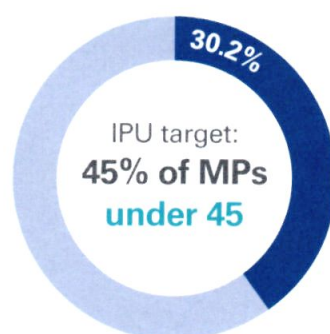
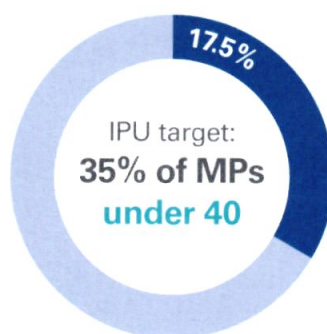
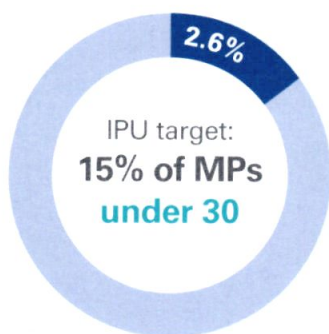
Source: Youth participation in national parliaments 2021



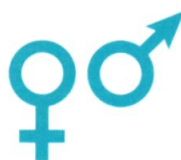
Progression of number of young MPs towards the respective targets set by the IPU



of the world's MPs are
5 – increase of 6.3 per
4.



Each target also calls for
50-50 gender parity



9.8%

voting age

chambers.

30

The average
waiting time
is 3.5 years.



39%

Only 39 per cent of chambers analysed have a **committee** whose name explicitly refers to "youth".

16%

16 per cent of parliaments have a **caucus** of young MPs.

Infographic

Figure 18 shows the relationship between the average age of a country’s adult population and the average MP age for different eligibility ages. Parliaments with eligibility ages at 21 or lower tend to have lower average MP ages. At the same time, the average age of the adult population appears to have little effect on the average MP age.

Table 16

Eligibility age and voting age in different chambers

Criteria	Lowest	Highest	Mean	Median
Eligibility age (all)	17	45	23.62	21
Eligibility age (lower chamber)	17	30	21.59	21
Eligibility age (upper chamber)	18	45	28.56	30
Voting age (all)	15	25	18.08	18
Voting age (lower chamber)	15	21	18.05	18
Voting age (upper chamber)	16	25	18.15	18

It is necessary to lower the eligibility age in order to achieve legislative political equality for young adults. It is also important to align the eligibility age with the voting age in order to promote the political empowerment of youth in general and their representation in parliament in particular.

A protester holds a placard in Khartoum, Sudan, April 2018
© Ozan Kose/AFP



Electoral systems

A given country’s electoral system also impacts the election of younger MPs in that it defines how electoral votes translate into parliamentary seats. It also affects the relationship between parties and candidate selection. In proportional systems, where electorate preferences are reflected in the distribution of parliamentary seats, parties generally create candidate rosters. In majoritarian or ‘first-past-the-post’-based systems, the “winner takes all” in respective electoral constituencies. The incentive structures of these systems can deliver differing outcomes.

Where parties draw up candidate rosters, they have greater control. They tend to be more interested in supporting candidates who are (a) most likely to win and (b) most likely to be loyal to the party. Parties place their preferred candidates at the top of the list, thereby enhancing their chances of winning. Younger candidates may enjoy less party support and thus tend to be lower down on the list, making them less likely to be elected.

In first-past-the-post systems, younger candidates are sometimes selected for ‘unwinnable’ constituency seats, where the party stands little to no chance of victory. Some young MPs characterize this variously as a ‘training exercise’, a ‘test of mettle’ or a ‘try-out’. They therefore stand less chance of being elected than their older, more established fellow party members.

The introduction of quota systems improves representation. However, quota systems must be designed so as to prevent tokenism. Peru used youth quotas to increase youth representation. Yet, according to one specialist on Peruvian Youth Participation, a member of the National Jury of Elections (JNE), “*young people are considered as filling candidates*”. The fact that they are placed at the bottom of the list diminishes their chances of securing a seat. Experience shows that quotas require regular review in order to ensure efficacy.

Figure 19
Lower houses: electoral systems and representation of under 40s

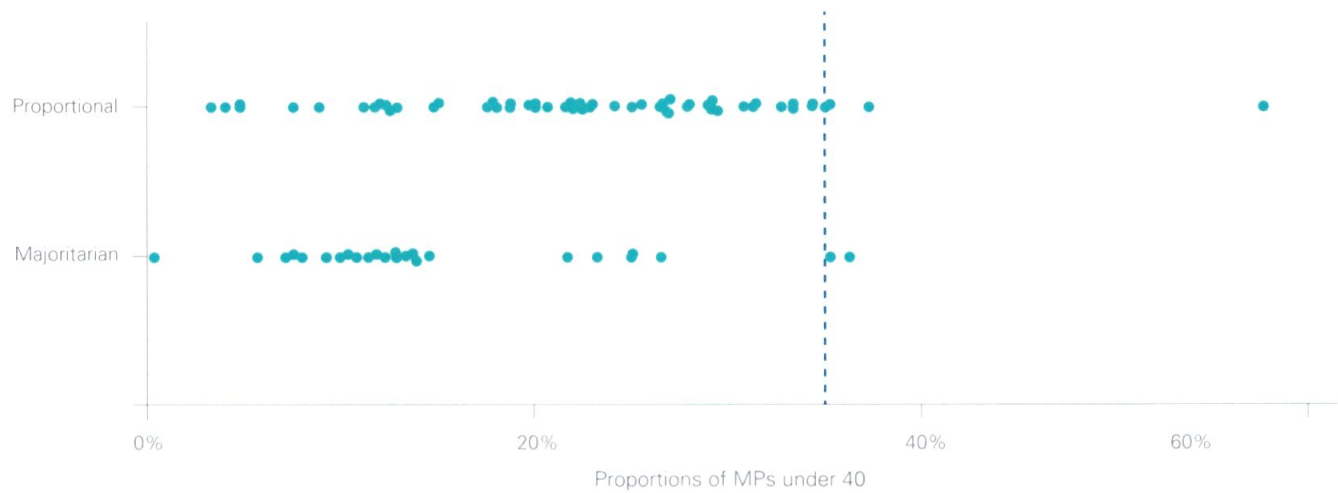


Figure 19 above compares the under-40 representation in lower chambers/unicameral systems for different electoral systems. Chambers elected through proportional representation tend to have a higher proportion of under-40 MPs than first-past-the-post systems. Table 17 reveals a similar trend, namely that the proportions of young MPs are greater in proportional systems along various age thresholds.

It is important to note, however, that the results shown here are also influenced by the eligibility age. Lower chambers with proportional representation systems have an average eligibility age that is 2.1 years lower than the ones that do not.

A regression analysis of the average ages of parliamentary chambers shows a significant effect when compared to a proportional system. However, the effect is lower when the eligibility age is taken into account.

Table 17
Electoral systems and proportion of MPs under ages 30, 40 and 45 (single and lower chambers)

Criteria	Majoritarian	Proportional	Other
Under 30	1.6	4.0	2.8
Under 40	14.0	22.7	21.0
Under 45	26.7	37.1	34.2

Political financing

Political financing can represent a major barrier for many young people aspiring to a parliamentary seat. Campaigning for public office costs money. Moreover, many electoral systems require candidates to have financial backing and to pay a registration fee in order to stand for election.

In Nigeria, for example, candidates must pay an estimated US\$3,000 for nomination to the House of Representatives, and an estimated US\$50,000 for nomination to stand for president. For younger people with no political connections or personal wealth, those costs are prohibitive.

Political parties may provide financial support, but younger people may struggle to secure such financial backing if they are seen as competing against seasoned party members. Dorji Khandu (young MP, Bhutan) summarized this by saying, *“People look for candidates with money. Politicians cannot just talk. You also need to spend.”*

According to Pavyuma Kalobo (young MP, Zambia), the financial aspects of seeking elected office dissuade many young people from pursuing a political career, because they often have more pressing financial priorities in their day-to-day lives.

Irene Putri (young MP, Indonesia) also considers finances to be an issue. She said, *“It’s not cheap to run, and how big is a 25-year-old’s salary?”*

Moussa Timbiné, a former MP (Mali), echoed that opinion, saying, *“Young people will first look for a source of livelihood, because they do not have a guaranteed future.”*

Capping electoral campaign spending can be a good means of levelling the playing field for all candidates, particularly for young candidates.

There are other options to increase financial support for young candidates. Some require legislation. One option is to require political parties to spend a minimum amount, usually expressed as a percentage, on youth candidates. Another is for electoral authorities to give minority candidates, such as youth, a discount on the registration fees. Finally, electoral authorities can support youth candidates through grants and loans.

Life-cycle challenges

Addressing life-cycle factors can also have a significant impact on increasing the numbers of young MPs in parliament. The issues may differ from region to region, but many are common across the globe.

Education, experience and mobility

Many young people over 18 are pursuing higher education, undergoing training or beginning a career. For many, this is a period of learning and planning. This is also when young people are likely to leave their parental home and perhaps move to another town, city or even country in search of new opportunities. They may be unable to support themselves financially. They may also have growing student-loan or training debt. While they may be exposed to new ideas and become interested in thematic political issues in this phase of their lives, a focus on completing university education or securing employment may make it less appealing for them to seek political office.

Several young MPs who were interviewed for this report confirmed these assumptions. They said that they had wanted to honour their educational commitments before seeking elected office. However, this does not prevent them from engaging in political activities, for example within youth organizations, which can help them to gain credibility and solidify their expertise in their fields of choice.

Melvin Bouva (young MP, Suriname) is President of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians. He spoke passionately about his love of politics and his aspiration from an early age to become an MP. He also said that finishing school and university was key to ensuring his credibility as an MP. *“I entered parliament when I was 27. Before that I spent a lot of time, and did everything I could, to prepare and get experience, so that I would be taken seriously when I was elected. I was active in many youth organizations, I participated in the Student Council and National Youth Parliament. I studied law at university which meant I had important expertise and knowledge for parliamentary work.”*

Bida Youssoufo, (young MP, Benin) echoed that view, saying, *“Education is also a factor that blocks youth participation in different parliaments. A young person who has no education, who has no experience, is not so easily able to go to the public.”*

Further, studies show that older individuals may have a better sense of the political goals they aspire to achieve, and that they are likely to have migrated from issue-based to ideology-based views. By age 40, many will have experienced state-funded education until at least secondary school, paid taxes and may even hold views on the interest rates on their student loans. They may have benefitted from the healthcare system or used social welfare to support an elderly relative. They may have navigated government bureaucracy to claim maternity or paternity pay, or enrolled their children in school. Indeed, the accumulation of such personal experiences often prompts individuals to consider political office as a second career. Personal experience is also cited as an illustration of the fact that prospective younger candidates may be seen as lacking sufficient life experience to cope with the rigours of a political career.

Career, finances and family

Research has shown that young people over 18 often aspire to establish themselves in their chosen field, purchase property, enter a long-term relationship or choose to start a family.⁴

The World Bank Group’s programme on Women, Business and the Law shows a clear correlation between childcare support and women’s representation in parliament. According to its study, providing employers, childcare providers and parents with government support for early-years childcare may increase women’s representation in national parliaments by 25 per cent or more.⁵

Trust: Younger people are generally more mistrustful of the political system, and more likely to disengage from it than engage with it



Higher education: Younger people are likely to be focusing on completing university or training for a specific profession



Family: Younger people are likely to be starting families and caring for young children which can be incompatible with standing for office



Finances: Younger people are likely to prioritize reducing student debt, and securing a residence above political campaign spending



Career: Younger people are more likely to be focusing on getting a foothold in their chosen career than standing for public office



Mobility: Younger people are more mobile than older people, and are likely to rent and move frequently, reducing the likelihood of committing to serve a single constituency



Prejudice: Younger people are likely to experience age-related prejudice within political parties concerning their suitability for public office



During this period, young people often consider making life choices a priority over seeking political office so as to ensure stability and security. In many places, political office is not considered stable or secure employment.

Possible ways for parliaments to eliminate such barriers to youth participation include:

- establishing childcare facilities within the parliamentary premises;
- developing and implementing policies on maternity and paternity leave;
- developing and implementing remote working and voting solutions for MPs;
- allowing the 'pairing' of MPs to enable them to better cope with unforeseen circumstances and emergencies;
- developing non-partisan outreach programmes to enable sitting MPs to connect with young aspiring MPs and provide advice and guidance;
- underlining the role of parliaments in increasing funding allocation for youth programmes in the general budget, especially those related to enhancing the participation of young people in political life and their contribution to political decision-making, the goal being to ensure that the budget is responsive to young people; and
- investing in and implementing programmes to educate children and young people on democracy and kindle their interest in the democratic process.

The "old is gold" syndrome

Voters and party members may associate youth with a lack of experience or being unqualified. That mentality is observed around the world.

Shahzaib Durrani (young MP, Pakistan) is a member of the IPU Board of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians. Speaking on this subject, he said, *"Currently, 64 per cent of Pakistan's population is under 30 years of age. Although Pakistan's youth has great potential to play a role in the national parliament, there are barriers that prevent youth from running for office... The 'old is gold' mentality – prioritizing the experience of older people over the innovative outlook of youth in Pakistan – is a barrier."*

The 'old is gold' mentality is mirrored in many other countries. In interviews with the IPU, academics, civil society actors and parliamentarians commonly cite the older generation's monopoly on power as a key barrier preventing young people from considering a parliamentary career. Some countries show more reverence for older people and their accumulated wisdom. Such countries value older people's experience more than that of the younger generation. In some countries, political parties have a rigid hierarchy, and value longevity and loyalty. In such countries, parliamentary candidates are selected on the premise that 'it is their turn' to hold office owing to the many years of good service and commitment to the party. Longevity may trump competitive selection on the basis of qualifications and expertise.

In that regard, one Tunisian official said, *"We have many old politicians with very old mind-sets. One young mayor who was elected to office had several Councillors resign on the grounds that he (the mayor) was not fit to hold office."*

In the face of such overt hostility, many young people do not view parliamentary office as a worthwhile career. Yet, those young people who are determined to serve and are elected as MPs often very quickly demonstrate their value and expertise.

According to Emma Theofelus, a young MP who is Namibia's Deputy Minister of Information, Communication and Technology, young MPs are better equipped to embrace new technologies and to successfully use social media to broaden and diversify their support.

While many countries experience intergenerational discord, Marta Grande, a young MP in Italy, considers herself lucky. In 2013, she was elected from the majority party, whose MPs were all under age 40. She notes that she received invaluable support from her peers in the initial stages of her service, which helped her deal with age-based bias on the part of more established politicians. She said, *"People were looking at us like we were kids ... but the whole party was under 40, so we all supported each other and had a lot of energy for the work."*

Alona Shkrum (young MP, Ukraine) has a similar story to tell. She welcomed support from fellow party members, who were younger and more gender-balanced than in other parties, saying that this enabled her to perform her duties.

This highlights another important factor as to increasing youth representation in parliaments. Without critical mass or peer support, young people may be marginalized or unable to influence fellow, older parliamentarians. Electing just one or two younger MPs is likely to be insufficient to change the perceptions of young people.

Disillusionment of young people

All around the world, younger people often express the lack of trust in politicians, political parties and institutions as a key factor for their disengagement.⁶ This is a recurring issue in interviews and analyses of under-representation of youth in politics. However, there is some variation at the national and regional levels.

In Europe, the more established democracies tend to have higher rates of youth engagement. Political participation is demonstrably lower in the newer democracies.⁷

In Mexico, young people are concerned about corruption in parliament and government, and are thus reluctant to engage in politics. In that regard, Andrea Garcia (young MP, Mexico) said, *"Ninety per cent of young people surveyed in Mexico don't know or care about politics. Corruption is a big problem."*

In regard to Tunisia, birthplace of the Arab Spring, and Egypt,⁸ some studies suggest that youth disillusionment with the political process has increased because of a perceived failure by those countries' new governments to effect meaningful change and to address the key issues facing their citizens. The euphoria and optimism that surrounded the power shift brings these grievances into focus.⁹

In sub-Saharan Africa, youth say they are frustrated with inflexible, impenetrable and aging political institutions which do not adequately represent them. They fear violence relating to political protests.¹⁰

If young people are disillusioned with or distrust their political systems, they may be reluctant to consider politics as an attractive career.

On this subject, Alona Shkrum (young MP, Ukraine) noted, *"There is no trust in the political process, in political parties. And they (young people) do not feel that they can change something by actively being involved in politics. A lot of young people have fought, have been killed, have been wounded. But they still did not come to elections and they still didn't want to elect a politician because they did not feel that somebody would represent them as they want."*

However, in many countries, young people are overcoming this obstacle through greater engagement. As Iqra Khalid (MP, Canada) explains: *"Justin Trudeau becoming Prime Minister of Canada set a really good example. He looked young, he was energetic, he talked more like the younger generation. And he also was encouraging to other younger candidates. It helped to be able to see those things."*

In 2014, the Scottish referendum on independence gave 16- and 17-year-olds the right to vote. Some 80 per cent of them registered to vote, and approximately 75 per cent cast a ballot.¹¹ That was a single-issue plebiscite, unlike a general election, and it is in single-issue politics that young people report the greatest interest.¹² In a European Union-wide study, 42 per cent of young people aged between 16 and 24 reported having an interest in politics.¹³ The overwhelming majority of those who took part in the climate and Black Lives Matter protests in 2019 and 2020 were younger people. For example, according to Pew Research, 41 per cent of the Black Lives Matter protesters were under 30.¹⁴

A key challenge for all political institutions, including parliaments, is to harness such interest in politics, and also to encourage younger candidates by affording them opportunities to seek elected office.

Youth quotas

Countries around the world use a variety of quota systems to increase youth participation in parliament. In some instances, such systems require a minimum number of young candidates. Other systems require setting aside parliamentary seats for young people.

Youth quotas are relatively new. Unlike the already existing women and minority quotas, youth quotas are unique in the sense that people inevitably transition out of them having reached the upper age threshold while others transition in.

Quotas can generally be grouped into three categories:

- **reserved seats:** parliamentary seats that are specially set aside for youth representation. They are reserved by law and are an integral part of the electoral process;
- **legislated candidate quotas:** political parties are legally required to have a minimum number of young people on their roster, typically as part of party lists; and
- **political party quotas:** individual parties adopt their own quotas, without any legal requirement.

Research shows that for quotas to be effective, the selected candidate must have a reasonable chance of success at the ballot box. According to the IPU analysis of women in parliaments for 2018, "Country-level experiences with quotas have shown that not all quotas are equally effective. In most cases, simply mandating quotas, without including placement mechanisms or sanctions, has failed to result in major breakthroughs in women's parliamentary representation."¹⁵



A young MP speaking out about violence against women during the 139th IPU Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland
© IPU/Pierre Albouy

Reserved seats

The system of reserved seats for youth in parliament is used in four countries: Rwanda, Uganda, Morocco and Kenya. Under that scheme, the seats are part of a wider grouping of seats which are reserved for under-represented groups. Candidates may be elected via a separate closed list, as is the case in Morocco. They can be elected by delegates at a youth council, as is the case in Rwanda and Uganda, or they can be appointed by political parties, as is the case in Kenya.

Reserved seats typically derive from constitutional provisions pursuant to which seats are specially set aside for groups to be appointed or elected via a different process as compared to other MPs. Gender requirements are typically ‘embedded’, requiring gender balance among the representatives.

Table 18

Detailed view of reserved seat systems by country

Country	Age group	Quota (percentage)	Gender	Appointment method
Rwanda	Under 35	1.8 (2 seats)	Embedded	Elected by National Youth Council
Morocco	Under 40	7.6 (30 seats)	Embedded	Elected from closed party lists
Kenya – Lower Chamber	Under 35	3.4 (12 seats for young people with disabilities and workers)	Embedded	Nominated by parties
Kenya – Upper Chamber	Under 35	2.9 (2 seats)	Embedded	Elected from party lists
Uganda	Under 30	1.2 (5 seats)	Embedded	Elected by national youth delegates conference

Legislated candidate quotas

Legislated candidate quotas for youth are employed in slightly more countries (see Table 19). They constitute a legal requirement for parties to set aside slots (typically on their party lists in proportional systems) for members of certain groups. This also more commonly takes the form of gender quotas.

Table 19

Countries with legislated candidate quotas

Country	Age group	Quota (percentage)	Gender
Philippines	–	50 (50 per cent of proportional lists must be from different segments of the population, including youth)	Mixed
Tunisia	Under 35	25 (in districts with four or more seats, one young candidate is to be placed in one of the top four positions on the roster)	Separate quotas
Gabon	Under 40	20	No quotas
Kyrgyzstan	Under 36	15	Separate quotas
Egypt	Under 35	Varied (at least 16 young candidates must be nominated across four electoral districts)	Separate quotas

Voluntary political party quotas

While parties are not legally bound to adopt quotas, they still do so in certain instances. These so-called voluntary party quotas are rare, but still more common than legislated quotas. In cases where our survey showed that parties use quotas, the precise implementation mechanisms were not recorded.

Table 20
More details about countries with party quotas

Country	Age group	Quota (percentage) for candidates (commas separate different parties)	Gender
Nicaragua	--	40 (women and youth) 15	Mixed
Romania	--	30	Separate
Mexico	Under 30	30, 20	Separate
Montenegro	Under 30	30, 20	Separate
Viet Nam	Under 40	26.5	Separate
El Salvador	Under 31	25	Separate
Sweden	Under 35	25	Separate
Mozambique	Under 35	20	Separate
Cyprus	Under 45, 35	20	Separate
Lithuania	Under 35	--	Separate
Hungary	--	20	Separate
Senegal	--	20	Separate
Angola	--	15	Separate
Turkey	--	10	Separate
Croatia, Israel, Switzerland, Ukraine	Some parties have rules, but details are scant.		

Thus far, youth quotas have not had a statistically significant impact.^e This does not mean that quotas are not working, but rather that due to their novelty there is not enough information about their effectiveness. Very few countries have them in place, and not since very long. Any effect they may have had may be too small to be discernible.

However, it is also possible that some quotas are not sufficiently effective. The reasons for this would be similar to those relating to gender quotas whereby 50 per cent of a party list must be women. These quotas were not always effective because women were consistently assigned to lower-ranking slots. This problem is solved by zipped lists allowing candidates to alternate by gender. For example, by alternating male and female candidates on a party roster.

Quotas are often expected to yield immediate results. However, this is not always the case. In Peru, for example, quotas did not prove to be as effective as originally anticipated.^f In 2006, youth quotas were implemented sub-nationally, requiring that young people comprise 20 per cent of the roster. The scheme had some initial success, with youth representation increasing from 8 per cent to 13 per cent. However, after plateauing over the last three electoral cycles, it remains well short of the 20 per cent target.

Even so, youth quotas have increased youth representation. It is now higher than in many other parliaments around the world. Moreover, youth quotas can send a powerful signal to young people that politics is open to them and that they are encouraged to participate. In the long run, young people may feel encouraged to participate if they believe that institutions are more open to them.

e This was tested using a t-test, a method of determining whether differences in averages between two groups are likely to be significant or represent random chance.
f See page 38.

To date, many youth quotas have been implemented together with gender quotas. A recent study on youth quotas in Tunisia and Morocco suggests that, unlike the various gender quotas, youth quotas were not part of a civil society agenda, but rather a top-down initiative launched by political elites in those countries.¹⁶ Another study found that combining youth and gender quotas tended to redistribute power among women and youth, rather than challenge the parliamentary dominance of older men.¹⁷ The same study suggests that youth and gender quotas should be integrated (or “nested”) with a view to making them more effective than implementing two separate quotas. This can be achieved either as paired candidate quotas or as nested reserved seats.

Involving young people in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of youth quotas may make them more effective, both by leveraging their perspectives so as to improve their design and engaging and empowering them to participate in political process.

- Youth quotas must be ambitious, well adapted to the electoral system and inclusive of strong implementation measures, such as sanctions for non-compliance;
- Young men and women should be involved in their design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation;
- The IPU targets should be used as references for youth representation objectives (see section on targets above);
- Acknowledging the specific challenges preventing young women from entering politics and parliament, each target should provide for a 50 per cent young women to 50 per cent young men gender parity; and
- The implementation of youth quotas should be monitored and evaluated so as to adapt the quota provisions accordingly.

Party youth wings

Political parties play a key role in recruiting, supporting and championing younger candidates. Many parties use ‘youth wings’ to build a talent pipeline. Studies have shown that where youth wings are well thought out and nurtured, they produce good outcomes. For example, a study on youth wings in Portugal found: *“Through their activity, the wing’s members acquire and display high levels of political efficacy, critical thinking and effort regulation regarding political involvement.”*¹⁸

While youth wings are an effective means of engaging younger people, their subordinate status within the main party structure can prevent youth members from participating on an equal footing and being viewed as serious contenders for parliament. One study on Timor-Leste found that participation in youth wings was conditioned and that the opportunities for young party members to contribute to party and policy development were ‘tokenistic’.¹⁹ Similar issues have been identified in the UK²⁰ and Ghana.²¹

Party youth wings are also less influential when their membership is relatively homogenous,²² in terms of education, affluence, race, place of origin or even age. They are less likely to respond to the full range of issues affecting their generation.

The partisan nature of youth wings may also adversely affect their efficacy. Young people are increasingly mistrustful of political parties and, rightly or wrongly, they can view party youth wings as political tools or propaganda machines rather than as genuine initiatives towards inclusion.

In order for political parties to increase openness to young people and to empower their youth wings – where they exist – they should:

- have clear constitutions, goals and measures of success in establishing such youth wings;
- ensure that the youth wings are not separated from the party per se and that they are empowered to influence party policies, deliberations and decision-making;
- ensure that, if eligible to stand for election, young men and women within the youth wing are empowered to do so;
- promote the recruitment of young men and women and the elimination of barriers, such as high nomination fees, so as to facilitate their inclusion;
- open up political parties to youth, including by giving them leadership positions within decision-making structures in order to increase their reach to younger demographics; and
- devise clearly stated and stringently implemented gender equality policies and measures, including in order to promote gender parity and women’s empowerment and to combat gender-based discrimination, harassment and violence against women members.

Promoting youth participation in parliamentary work

Youth policies

A meaningful approach for youth participation in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of youth-related laws and policies enhances their participation. This is another key area where parliaments have a strong role to play. Through their representative, legislative, oversight and budgetary functions, parliaments and their members are well placed to serve as channels for youth engagement.

Held in Baku, Azerbaijan, the 2014 Global Youth Policy Forum brought together hundreds of youths from around the world to define a number of key principles for youth participation in all stages of the policy cycle.²³ The Forum concluded that youth policies should be:

- rights-based;
- inclusive;
- participatory;
- gender-responsive;
- comprehensive;
- knowledge-based and evidence-informed;
- fully resourced; and
- accountable.

Recognizing the role of parliaments in promoting these principles for youth participation in the policy cycle, the IPU partnered with the World Future Council, the United Nations and other organizations, to host the 2019 Future Policy Award on youth empowerment and to reward the world's most exemplary empowerment policies.

Nepal was recognized for the impact of its amended constitution (2015) on youth-related representation and participation commitments. This constituted a major step towards the country's peaceful transition to democracy. Since the amended constitution was promulgated, a series of youth policies and institutional developments have been put in place, including the approval of a National Youth Policy (2015) and the establishment of a National Youth Council.

Estonia was recognized for its efforts to promote youth-focused laws and initiatives. The country's Youth Field Development Plan (2014-2020) is a comprehensive policy that is aimed at ensuring each young person has ample opportunities for self-development and self-realization. It is among the first youth policies in the world that are fully compliant with the Baku Principles.

While some parliaments have not amended laws or official policies, they have nonetheless actively engaged with youth in a variety of ways with a view to involving them in political processes. Many parliaments also undertake ongoing educational outreach activities for young people and students.

In Afghanistan, the Wolesi Jirga (House of the People) involved young people in parliamentary discussions on youth issues. Together with the Deputy Minister of Youth Affairs, the Wolesi Jirga invited youth activists and university students to a parliamentary exchange programme.

In Canada, MPs use constituency youth councils and advisory boards to enable youth to discuss political issues with their MPs. Youth councils also serve as an educational training tool to help young aspirants acquire political experience.

In France, an 'Impact Clause' was introduced with a view to assessing the impact of newly introduced laws and policies on the younger population.

In Costa Rica, the Legislative Assembly's Citizens Participation Department engages with young people and organizes simulations, forums and workshops in order to strengthen political leadership skills.

In Norway, the Speaker of Parliament has prioritized outreach to young people and contributed to a guide for youth on how to participate in social debates.

In Bahrain, the parliament regularly marks International Youth Day by hosting educational events for young people and reaching out on social media and television.



The President of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians and a student representative present the Future Policy Awards on Youth Empowerment at the 141st IPU Assembly in Belgrade, Serbia in October 2019
© IPU/Pierre Albouy

Youth caucuses

Caucuses is a collective term designating formal or informal groupings of MPs. They may be formed around a common premise, such as ethnicity, gender, religion, age, or around an issue of common interest.

An increasing number of parliaments have established youth caucuses. Some are networks of young parliamentarians and focus on networking and capacity-building. Others focus on youth issues, engaging parliamentarians of all ages to work on policy and other youth-oriented initiatives.

As part of the IPU youth participation surveys conducted for this report, parliaments were asked whether they had caucuses dedicated to youth issues or caucuses of young MPs. Among the respondents, 16 per cent had a caucus of young MPs and 21 per cent had a caucus on youth issues.

Caucuses of young MPs

In 2016, El Salvador amended its Legislative Assembly rules in order to form the first parliamentary youth group. The goal was to promote initiatives for young people, uphold their rights, increase their engagement and improve their living conditions. The youth group consists of young parliamentarians aged between 25 and 35.

Spain, Indonesia and Latvia have all formed such caucuses or networks since the publication of the 2018 IPU Youth Report.

The list of parliaments reporting such networks is found in Table 21.

Table 21

Parliaments with a caucus or network of young parliamentarians.

Country	Name of group	Status
Benin	APF Young Parliamentarians Network	Formal
Cameroon	Réseau des Jeunes Parlementaires	Formal
Colombia	Youth in Congress	Informal
Costa Rica	Parliamentary Youth Group	Formal
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Network of Young Parliamentarians of the Senate	Formal
El Salvador	Youth Parliamentary Group	Formal
Finland	Nuorten kansanedustajien kansainvälinen verkosto (International Network for Young Members of Parliament)	Informal
Indonesia	Kaukus Pemuda Parlemen Indonesia (Indonesian Parliamentary Youth Caucus)	Informal
Italy	Intergruppo giovani parlamentari (group of young parliamentarians)	Informal
Kenya	Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association	Formal
Latvia	Group Parliamentarians under the age of 40	Formal
Madagascar	Réseau des Jeunes Parlementaires de moins de 45 ans (Network of Young Parliamentarians under 45)	Formal
Mozambique	Youth Parliamentarians Cabinet	Formal
Nigeria	Young Parliamentarians Forum of the National Assembly	Formal
São Tomé and Príncipe	Young Parliamentarians Network	Formal
Spain	Youth Parliament Network	Formal
Viet Nam	Viet Nam Young Parliamentarians Group	Formal

Caucuses on youth issues

Some parliaments have formed caucuses dedicated to youth issues, whereby MPs of all ages are able to discuss and organize around issues of importance to young people. These caucuses tend to be more inclusive than parliamentary standing committees, which restrict numbers and are therefore not necessarily inclusive of all younger MPs.

New Zealand also reported that it is considering the creation of a youth reference group during 2021. Table 22 shows the respondents who had a caucus on youth issues with an indication as to whether a formal or informal association with the corresponding parliament exists.

Table 22

Parliaments with a caucus on youth issues

Country	Name of group	Status
Argentina	Youth Observatory	Formal
Benin	Network of parliamentarians for the employment and professional integration of young people and the Network of Parliamentarians for education	Formal
Estonia	Youth Support Group	Informal
Israel	Lobby for Young People	Formal
Mexico	Ordinary Commission on Youth and Sexual Diversity	Formal
Niger	Nigerien Parliamentary Network on Youth Parliament Issues	Formal
North Macedonia	Club on Youth Affairs and Policies	Informal
Poland	Senators' grouping on Education of Young Generation	Formal
Republic of Korea	Parliamentary Forum for the Development of Human Resource; Youth Plan 2.0; China-Korea Future Leadership Forum	Formal
Switzerland	Kinder und Jugend (PGKJ) / Enfance et jeunesse (IPEJ)	Informal
Thailand	Youth for Democracy Programme	Formal
Turkmenistan	Committee on science, education, culture and youth policy	Formal
UK	[Wide range of youth-related All-Party Parliamentary Groups]	Informal

In the same spirit, the IPU established its Forum of Young Parliamentarians in 2013 to serve as an international youth-led platform for young MPs around the world. Its goal is to enhance youth participation, empower young parliamentarians, strengthen their influence and bring youth perspectives to policymaking in the IPU and in parliaments all around the globe.

Specialized bodies

In most countries, parliaments have set up committees to provide youth perspectives on new laws, and to ensure scrutiny thereof. Mexico, for example, reported that it established a committee on youth as part of its implementation of the IPU's Resolution on Youth Participation in the democratic process.

Some 64 per cent of parliaments reported having a specialized body or committee on youth issues in at least one chamber. A comparative analysis of the 2018 and 2020 survey results shows that 11 more chambers currently report having a specialized committee on youth issues, and that 24 chambers no longer have any such body. This may be because the committee has been discontinued or was not correctly identified at the outset.

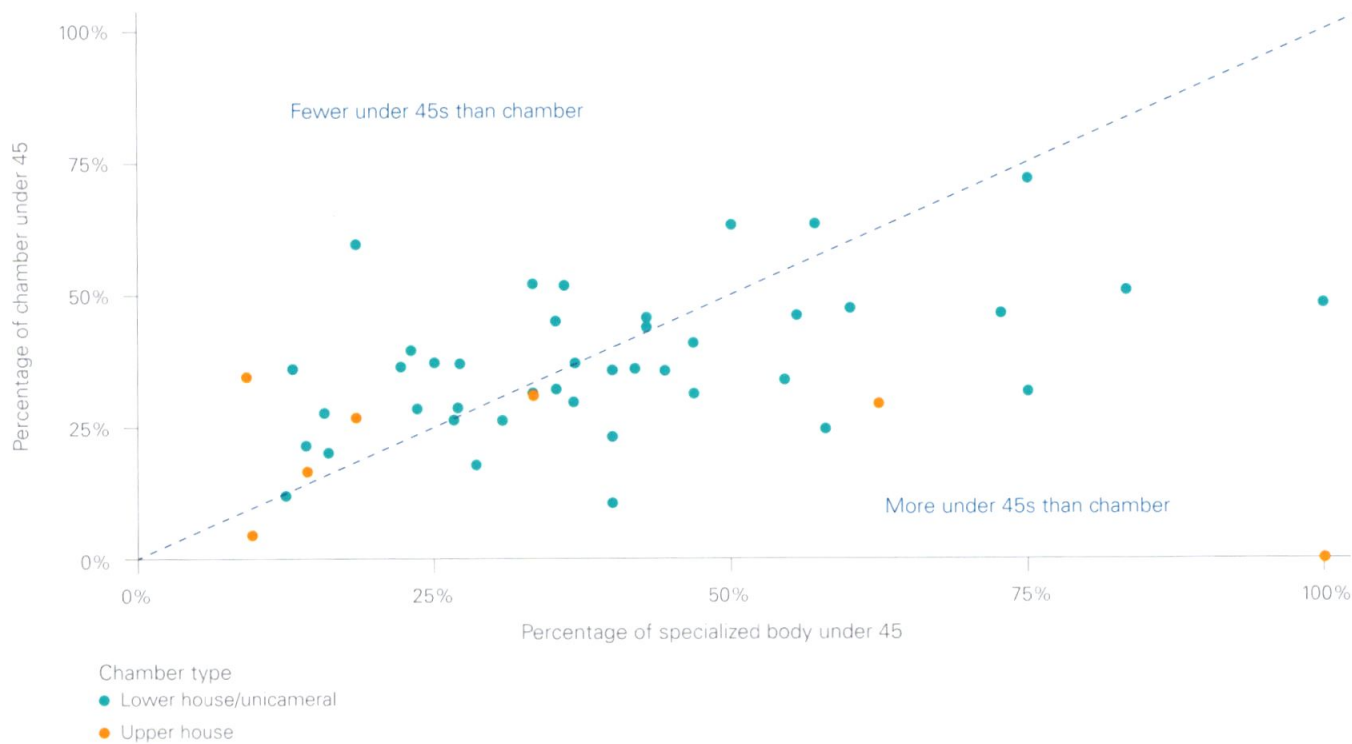
The average age of a youth committee chairperson stands at 47, which is above the threshold for young parliamentarians.

"Youth" is frequently conflated with education, science, sports and culture, and many parliamentary youth committees deal with as many issues. In some cases, parliaments have committees on youth issues even though they may not be described as "youth" committees. This means that such bodies may place limited focus on matters affecting youth or that youth may have to compete for their time. Only 39 per cent of parliaments reported having a committee whose official name explicitly referred to "youth".

Figure 20 shows that members of committees dealing with youth issues are of lower age than the average member of parliament (with 3 per cent higher under-45 representation). However, this is not always the case, as some bodies have a proportionately lower representation of younger MPs.

Figure 20

Proportion of young MPs in the chamber versus the proportion in the specialized body



Youth parliaments

The term “youth parliaments” generally refers to youth-oriented events which replicate parliamentary procedure and debates. In many cases, they are organized by youth organizations for the purposes of educating young people and raising their awareness about the political process. They can also help highlight the importance of youth policy, feed into parliamentary deliberations and help recruit younger MPs. Some members of youth parliaments are in their teens, while others are in their thirties.

Youth parliaments are reported in 56 per cent of parliaments around the world. Although data shows that the existence of a youth parliament was not associated with a younger national parliament, MPs interviewed for this report were of the view that such bodies can contribute to preparing young people for parliament. In this regard, Melvin Bouva, an MP from Suriname and President of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians, said, “I grew up with politics, I studied law, and the youth parliament gave me an opportunity to prepare well to be an MP. I knew that as a young MP I could ensure there are more inclusive and effective policies... and taking part in the youth parliament was a good path to election.”

Youth representation in upper parliamentary chambers

Parliamentary upper chambers could help enhance youth representation if they so choose, given that 73 per cent of them have no under-30 representation, and that 16 per cent have no under-40 representation.

In 60 per cent of the upper chambers featured in the IPU Parline database, members are appointed, not elected. Appointing an increased number of younger members has the potential to produce positive and innovative outcomes.

- Establish specialized parliamentary bodies, such as youth committees and forums of young parliamentarians, to mainstream youth issues in parliamentary business and bring youth perspectives to issues affecting youth.
- Open up parliamentary processes to youth in society so as to ensure that they contribute to parliamentary work throughout the policy and law-making cycles, including development, monitoring and evaluation. Concurrently, encourage parliaments and their members, both young and older, to reach out to youth in their spaces, for example, on social media, as well as in schools, universities and public spaces. One way to strengthen this link is through establishing constituency-level youth advisory councils for individual MPs.
- An increasing number of parliaments are creating “youth parliaments” composed of youth representatives who debate policy and legislation, question government members and take initiatives. The key aim of these parliaments is to give young people the opportunity to get a sense of what a member of parliament’s work involves. Parliaments should ensure that young people who participate in youth parliaments enjoy continuous support and mentoring.

Modernizing parliaments: the digital revolution

The need to modernize parliaments and political activity is increasingly being recognized. Parliaments need to find innovative ways to increase the participation of citizens and interaction between parliaments and citizens. The overwhelming majority of young MPs interviewed for this report were of the view that the innovation, creativity and openness to change of younger parliamentarians' count among the main benefits of having them on board.

On this subject, Raphael Igbokwe (former MP, Nigeria) said: *"Young people bring innovation and creativity to institutions that sometimes need a good injection of fresh blood and ideas. They can also act as a pressure group in parliament, holding government and the executive to account. It's important that their voices are heard to ensure that the policies and laws that will change the future are not taken without those who will be most affected. Finally, as young people are generally more technologically savvy than their elders, they communicate better and faster to the electorate, which is crucial in a time of disconnect between people and their institutions."*

Younger MPs consider themselves to be more aware than their older colleagues of the emerging digital challenges in parliamentary governance. They also consider that they have a better understanding of how digital technologies are changing the conduct of political and parliamentary business. In a series of interviews conducted for this report, they discussed the almost unavoidable consequence of social media on their work, thus acknowledging the benefits and drawbacks of the medium. Newer technologies enable MPs to communicate more easily with their constituents and the public at large. They provide for greater visibility of their work and help promote the causes that are important to them.

Yet, there is a dark side to social media. Indeed, younger MPs reported that they found it very difficult to deal with the constant online exposure and the negative, offensive and sometimes violent discourse. On this subject, Iqra Khalid, a young MP from Canada, said, *"I miss having any privacy, and being young and a woman means that it's not a very friendly world out there [on social media] for me."*

Ms. Emma Theofelus, MP from Namibia, was a delegate at the IPU's Third Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians in Lusaka, Zambia, in 2016. She is currently Africa's youngest minister.
© IPU/Zambian Parliament



According to several studies, a disproportionate number of female parliamentarians are targeted on social media. Some 85.2 per cent of female MPs had experienced harassment. Also, according to IPU studies on sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament, female MPs below the age of 40 are more frequently subjected to psychological and sexual harassment.²⁴

Author Lucina Di Meco has conducted research on the subject of social media, women and politics. She says, "Social media is a double-edged sword for women in politics. It can be used to bring them closer to government, or push them out. It's high time that social media platforms take responsibility for their role in shaping democratic institutions' inclusiveness, and fairness."²⁵

When interviewed for this report or as stated in related recent IPU events, MPs also reported they could not reasonably respond to each and every message they receive on social media. Younger MPs often feel bombarded by messages on WhatsApp and other such platforms. They expressed a desire to prioritize their workload and to achieve more structured and purposeful digital interactions. The world has yet to find a solution to the overwhelming volume of communication, as is also highlighted by the IPU and UNDP in the 2012 edition of the Global Parliamentary Report.²⁶

Nonetheless, younger MPs are enthused and informed by digital interactions with a broad range of constituents.

Emma Theofelus (young MP, Namibia) commented that, through social media, MPs *"are able to create an honest and authentic conversation [...] using a platform that younger people are most comfortable with."*

Younger MPs also champion the digital transformation of parliamentary business. They are enthusiastic about better data practices for internal parliamentary work, publishing parliamentary information as open data and using digital tools to promote wider public participation in parliamentary work. Younger MPs interviewed for this report have many ideas for the future of parliamentary business, such as digitizing and publishing voting records, broadcasting plenary and committee sessions, remote meetings and voting facilities, and participatory portals on the parliamentary website. They note that support for more operational transparency in parliamentary proceedings will help restore trust in the institution and also enable a more participative, accountable and engaging digital political landscape. In their view, increased visibility of their votes, speeches, committee work and meeting schedules will demonstrate their worth and commitment, and it can be shared during campaign periods to showcase their record.

On this subject, Shahzaib Durrani, a young MP from Pakistan, stated, *"Young people have the potential to better harness technological innovations in bringing about change in the social, economic and political conditions of their countries and regions. We currently face social, economic, political, technological and environmental challenges. These demand youth participation in national, regional and international politics through their parliaments because only youth can find solutions for these numerous challenges."*

Paula Forteza, a young MP from France, is among the younger MPs who manifestly use new technology to improve their parliamentary work and to broaden public participation. She has championed parliamentary activity and the scrutiny of emerging technologies, and has also been active in supporting proper regulation of data-based services. She has further promoted digital platforms as a means to leverage higher volumes of input from the public on scrutiny and policymaking processes.

To involve young MPs and support them in the effort to modernize parliamentary business, parliaments should:

- review their technical and digital working capacity on an annual basis;
- establish modernization committees, groups or networks that include them;
- facilitate young MPs' peer-to-peer support in digital transformation in parliamentary business;
- promote the use of modern technologies so as to more closely connect youth with parliamentary processes, including through innovations, such as online petitions, virtual hearings and submissions, as well as online interactions and voting, and
- invest in modern technologies, particularly social media technologies, so as to involve young people in politics. Unprecedented access to information and technologies is providing youth with new means to express their aspirations and concerns more freely and to connect with others in order to debate issues that concern them.

COVID-19 and youth

Parliaments are often seen as institutions where change and modernization happen slowly. Also, many parliaments place a high symbolic value on parliamentary traditions and rites. These traditions have been institutionalized for years and changing them tends to be slow and incremental. Nonetheless, in times of crisis, even changes that were previously considered inconceivable can be realized.

This report was produced in 2020, during the on-going global COVID-19 pandemic. In the early stages of the pandemic, many countries either suspended or amended normal parliamentary business. Some parliaments rapidly implemented virtual meetings and voting. Most experienced a vast increase in the volume of digital communications.

Emma Theofelus was named her country's Deputy Minister of Information, Communication and Technology in March 2020, and immediately thereafter, she had to perform her duties more virtually than previously expected. She said, *"I'm not really sure how being a normal MP in the normal scheme of things really worked before COVID-19."*

For the first time ever, young parliamentarians all over the world found themselves undertaking supportive and mentoring roles for their older colleagues.



Young French Senator wearing a mask during a parliamentary meeting in Paris, France
© Daniel Pier/NurPhoto/NurPhoto via AFP

Melvin Bouva (young MP, Suriname, President of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians), Iqra Khalid (young MP, Canada) and Pavyuma Kalobo (young MP, Zambia) all found themselves having to quickly transition to digital working methods and to handle related questions from older colleagues. They had been accustomed to relying on older parliamentarians to “show them the ropes”, but noted, “[now] we must be patient with the older ones, because they do not understand”. Older MPs may have been reluctant to engage with technology in the past, but they realized that they now have very little choice in the matter.

Moreover, older MPs in many countries have been advised to avoid reporting physically to their parliaments due to the increased risk of serious illness from COVID-19 for those of advanced age. Some of the younger MPs interviewed for this report said that, owing to the pandemic, they have acquired a heightened sense of responsibility for their country, constituents and fellow parliamentarians. They also reported they feel compelled to conduct themselves in an exemplary fashion. According to one such MP, the pandemic is an opportunity “to drag the parliament into the 21st century.”

Emma Theofelus reported that COVID-19 has affected not only the health of her constituents but also parliamentary business. Emergency legislation and scrutiny naturally took priority over other matters. She said, however, that other issues unrelated to COVID-19 were also important to younger people in Namibia and that she intended to raise them in parliament. She added, “Some young people are even worse off now with COVID-19. I [wanted to] address student issues like student funding, issues for young entrepreneurs, young women’s issues around reproductive health rights, and so on.”

This highlights the importance of youth participation. Issues affecting younger people should not be neglected or marginalized when other priorities come about.

Young parliamentarians have shown that they are flexible and adaptable in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic. They should use this as political and parliamentary capital to encourage increased youth participation. The pandemic will likely continue to dominate parliamentary time into 2021. Continued participation of young people in parliaments will help protect their interests in these difficult times.

Recommendations

The majority of these recommendations are laid out in the corresponding segments throughout the report. However, they are compiled here for easier reference.

Eliminating barriers to becoming an MP

- Governments, parliaments and political parties should undertake institutional reforms in order to alleviate youth under-representation, as it constitutes a democracy deficit. Such reforms could include lowering the age of eligibility to stand for office and aligning it with the voting age, devising new recruitment strategies, establishing youth quotas and empowering party youth wings. Possible further action could include:
 - ✚ equalizing the eligibility age for office holders in both chambers, where applicable;
 - ✚ commissioning research into the exclusionary effect of the financial costs involved in securing parliamentary office and devising and implementing measures to address this issue. This could include reducing or eliminating the official candidacy fees; and
 - ✚ regulating or incentivizing political party spending so as to require a percentage of the funding to be allocated to young candidates.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties seeking to enhance youth participation in parliament should make it a priority to address the double discrimination young women suffer on account of their age and gender. Possible action to support the promotion of young women in parliament could include:
 - ✚ introducing quota systems for women in parliament;
 - ✚ implementing outreach activities to engage with younger women who may not have considered political careers; this includes young women in remote areas with diverse backgrounds from the social, economic and experience standpoint;
 - ✚ implementing the IPU Plan of Action for Gender-sensitive Parliaments;
 - ✚ implementing support and empowerment initiatives for young women aspiring for political office, including fair allocation of financial resources for campaigns;
 - ✚ strengthening young women's capacity in political office by establishing or enhancing peer support, capacity-building programmes and mentoring networks;
 - ✚ promoting parliamentary leadership roles for women;
 - ✚ eliminating all forms of sexism, harassment and violence against women in politics;
 - ✚ ensuring that delegations to international events are gender-balanced and include young women MPs; and
 - ✚ supporting social movements so as to promote the engagement of young women in formal politics.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should build a support package for younger representatives so as to enable them to work as MPs amidst conflicting life-cycle factors. The package would include childcare facilities, a flexible work schedule, as well as training and mentoring support. Possible further action could include:
 - ✚ developing and implementing policies on maternity and paternity leave;
 - ✚ developing and implementing remote working and voting solutions for MPs;
 - ✚ 'pairing' MPs to enable them to better cope with unforeseen circumstances and emergencies;
 - ✚ developing non-partisan outreach programmes to enable sitting MPs to provide advice and guidance to young people who are considering becoming MPs;
 - ✚ investing in youth empowerment more broadly; this includes ensuring accessible, quality education for young men and women, including in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), and supporting youth employment, vocational training, entrepreneurship and financial services, such as youth empowerment banks and micro-financing initiatives; and
 - ✚ expanding "political simulation" initiatives on training youth in political practice, and promoting the participation of indigenous actors by focusing media attention on such initiatives in order to emphasize their importance and encourage young people to engage in them, and lastly, providing policy actors with more opportunities to share their real-life experiences with youth participants.

Championing youth participation

- Governments, parliaments and political parties should simplify and promote recruitment and election procedures and timetables to make them more easily accessible to younger people. This should be undertaken far ahead of the elections so as to give young people ample time to seek support for their candidacy. A more transparent timetable will enable youth wings and young party members to be more proactive in seeking such support. Possible further action could include:
 - ✚ publishing election schedules one and a half to two years ahead of an election;
 - ✚ requiring parties to produce and circulate their timetable for the candidate selection process at least six months ahead of nominations;



Young MPs from around the world gathered in Asunción, Paraguay for the IPU's Sixth Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, September 2019
© IPU/Parliament of Paraguay

- requiring parties to enunciate criteria to enable candidates to understand how their requests for support are to be assessed; and
 - requiring parties or parliaments to specify financial requirements, if any, for aspiring candidates.
- Wherever possible, governments, parliaments and political parties should ensure that younger parliamentarians are provided with prominent opportunities to represent their constituents and age group. This should include membership of key committees, and inquiries on youth-related issues. Where such bodies do not exist, parliaments and young MPs should consider establishing parliamentary bodies mandated to deal with youth issues or to connect parliament to youth. These can include parliamentary committees, caucuses, and/or young parliamentarians, networks. Possible further action could include:
 - implementing a quota for youth representation on all parliamentary committees, caucuses, inquiry or other official bodies which focus on youth issues;
 - ensuring that leaders of parliamentary committees, caucuses, inquiries or other official groups are youth representatives;
 - requiring that youth representatives be included in deliberations on youth issues;
 - opening up parliamentary processes to youth in society so as to secure their contribution to parliamentary work throughout the policy and law-making cycles, from development to monitoring and evaluation; at the same time, encouraging parliaments and their members – younger or older – to reach out to youth in their spaces, for example, social media, schools, universities and public forums; one way to strengthen this link is through establishing constituency-level youth advisory councils for individual MPs;
 - creating and/or strengthening “youth parliaments” composed of youth representatives who debate policy and legislation, question government members and take initiatives; parliaments should ensure that members of youth parliaments are afforded continuous support and mentoring; and
 - developing measurable standards and indicators to monitor progress on enhancing the active participation of youth in political life at all levels and in all areas, such as making the political agenda more responsive to youth needs, measuring the percentage of youth representation within organizational and leadership frameworks in different political institutions and, in particular, the impact of young MPs on political decision-making; this can be achieved through monitoring the contributions of young MPs in parliamentary debates and the effects of their proposals on final policy decisions, notably those that affect youth.

Working towards attaining youth representation targets

- Governments, parliaments and political parties should introduce or strengthen youth quotas. This can be achieved most effectively by setting aside seats specially for them or through direct appointments, and also ensuring that young people are not simply 'token' or 'filler' candidates during an election period.
 - Acknowledging the specific obstacles preventing young women from entering politics and parliament, each target should provide for a 50 per cent young women and 50 per cent young men gender parity.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should devise ways to increase youth representation in upper chambers. This will not only improve the representative balance among age groups in upper chambers, but also leverage new skills and experience into them. Possible further action could include:
 - lowering the eligibility age to stand for election to the upper chamber;
 - implementing a quota system to ensure that a percentage of the upper chamber is set aside for youth representatives; and
 - appointing youth representatives to the upper chamber.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should also institute youth quotas for local elections. This will enable younger people to acquire political experience before pursuing higher office. Moreover, it may be less daunting for younger people with no prior political experience. Possible further action could include:
 - introducing youth quotas for local, regional, devolved and other levels of representative governance;
 - encouraging young people to consider sub-national candidacy as a channel to a political career, through educational and outreach programmes; and
 - publicizing the work that incumbent young MPs performed locally before they were elected to parliament.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should ensure that youth and gender quotas are designed in such a way as to promote a more balanced demographic composition, and that they do not compete with each other or simply redistribute limited existing representation. Those quotas should be ambitious, well adapted to the electoral system and inclusive of strong implementation measures, such as sanctions for non-compliance. Possible further action could include:
 - analysing current youth quotas in order to determine whether they have achieved their original purpose of increasing representation. Involving young men and women in the design/implementation, monitoring and evaluation of youth quotas is encouraged;
 - assessing whether increases in youth representation correlate with decreases in female representation; and
 - amending any underperforming quota systems.

Ensuring the effectiveness of youth wings

- Political parties should establish or review the functioning of their youth wings and ensure that they are not simply talent pipelines for use in a distant future, but rather a conduit for giving consideration to eligible young people and nurturing them for parliamentary roles in the nearer-term. Possible further action could include:
 - establishing party youth wings with clear constitutions, goals and measures of success;
 - ensuring that youth wings are not separated from the party and are empowered to influence party policies, deliberations and decision-making;
 - ensuring that, if eligible to stand for office, youth wing members are empowered to do so;
 - more generally, opening up political parties to young people, including by assigning them leadership positions within decision-making structures in order to increase their reach to younger demographics; and
 - instituting clearly stated and stringently implemented gender equality policies and measures, including to promote gender parity and women's empowerment and to eliminate gender-based discrimination, harassment and violence against women members.

Empowering young MPs to effect change

- Governments, parliaments and political parties should regularly invite young MPs to discuss how to improve and modernize parliamentary business and its effectiveness and to join committees on digital and innovation issues. This will enable younger MPs to play a leading role in shaping the future of governance and to harness their experience and expertise in emerging technology and cultural attitudes. Possible further action could include:
 - parliaments reviewing their technical and digital working capacity on an annual basis in processes led by young representatives;
 - young MPs participating in innovation and modernization committees, groups or networks;
 - facilitating young MPs' peer-to-peer support in digital transformation in parliamentary business;
 - promoting the use of modern technologies to more closely connect youth with parliamentary processes, including through innovations such as online petitions, virtual hearings and submissions, as well as online interactions and voting; and
 - investing in modern technologies, particularly social media, so as to involve young people in politics.

- Parliaments and political parties should place young MPs in visible leadership roles, such as speaker or deputy speaker of parliament, and on committees, for example, as chair or vice-chair. Parliaments should also enable young MPs to participate in delegations to international events. Possible further action could include:
 - implementing quotas so as to promote youth representation in leadership roles;
 - implementing quotas as to the age and gender composition of delegations;
 - ensuring age and gender diversity among the MPs on panels at meetings, seminars and other parliamentary activities; and
 - championing the work of younger MPs in parliamentary communications and the media.

- Parliaments and political parties should provide additional support and mentorship of both young MPs and aspiring candidates for office. This will ensure an invaluable transfer of knowledge and expertise and make becoming a member of parliament a more attainable goal for aspiring candidates. Possible further action could include:
 - establishing a programme whereby new or young representatives are matched with older MPs who are willing to act as mentors; and
 - developing non-partisan outreach programmes, allowing sitting MPs to provide young aspirants for parliamentary office with advice and guidance.

ANNEX 1

Rankings

Rankings by sub-region, age threshold and chamber type

Table A1

Under 30s, lower and unicameral chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 30	% of women under 30
Nordic countries	8.16	58.72
South America	6.30	32.51
East Africa	4.90	41.66
Southern Europe	4.61	33.52
North Africa	4.47	57.92
Central and Eastern Europe	3.83	29.03
Central Asia	3.18	38.33
Western Europe	3.11	32.26
Central America	2.89	19.32
North America	2.83	84.62
South Asia	2.04	12.50
West Africa	1.92	0.00
South East Asia	1.83	30.40
Southern Africa	1.28	22.92
Central Africa	1.12	30.00
Australia and New Zealand	0.83	25.00
Middle East	0.75	16.67
East Asia	0.00	0.00
Caribbean	0.00	0.00
Pacific Islands	0.00	0.00

Table A2

Under 40s, lower and unicameral chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 40	% of women under 40
South America	29.76	32.22
Nordic countries	29.22	47.24
Central Asia	25.92	32.94
Central and Eastern Europe	25.07	30.73
Southern Europe	23.21	35.10
Central America	22.75	59.36
Western Europe	21.15	36.48
East Africa	21.06	39.65
North America	20.06	42.97
North Africa	19.82	43.60
Australia and New Zealand	17.79	33.52
West Africa	16.59	18.38
South Asia	16.46	33.48
Caribbean	15.56	47.22
Middle East	15.54	19.52
Southern Africa	15.31	28.23
Central Africa	14.68	26.51
South East Asia	13.52	36.55
Pacific Islands	10.33	6.67
East Asia	6.05	36.25

Table A3

Under 45s, lower and unicameral chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 45	% of women under 45
Nordic countries	44.45	48.95
South America	42.95	32.39
Central Asia	42.90	26.40
Central and Eastern Europe	41.11	29.97
Southern Europe	39.06	33.93
Western Europe	36.78	34.98
East Africa	34.13	31.54
Central America	33.27	49.26
North America	32.77	44.56
North Africa	32.09	34.25
South Asia	31.50	28.55
West Africa	31.07	15.91
Australia and New Zealand	30.83	35.27
Caribbean	29.15	39.81
Central Africa	28.89	26.66
Middle East	28.56	22.95
Southern Africa	28.23	25.26
South East Asia	24.01	30.67
Pacific Islands	18.45	10.83
East Asia	14.78	34.07

Table A4

Under 30s, upper chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 30	% of women under 30
Australia and New Zealand	2.63	50.00
East Africa	2.59	75.00
Western Europe	2.27	30.00
Caribbean	1.67	0.00
North America	0.98	50.00
Southern Europe	0.95	0.00
Southern Africa	0.94	0.00
Central Africa	0.18	20.00
Central and Eastern Europe	0.00	0.00
East Asia	0.00	0.00
Middle East	0.00	0.00
South America	0.00	0.00
South Asia	0.00	0.00
South East Asia	0.00	0.00

Table A5

Under 40s, upper chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 40	% of women under 40
Caribbean	23.43	33.93
East Africa	20.48	37.01
Australia and New Zealand	14.47	45.45
Western Europe	13.28	41.56
South East Asia	10.71	5.21
Southern Africa	9.47	12.50
South America	9.09	37.78
Central Africa	9.05	27.58
North America	7.85	33.34
Southern Europe	7.09	42.22
South Asia	6.13	36.36
East Asia	5.71	42.86
Central and Eastern Europe	3.83	6.67
Middle East	0.00	0.00

Table A6

Under 45s, upper chambers (by sub-region)

Sub-region averages	% under 45	% of women under 45
East Africa	30.26	38.54
Caribbean	29.71	26.66
Australia and New Zealand	28.95	40.91
Southern Europe	24.61	37.47
Southern Africa	22.86	20.84
South Asia	19.22	22.88
East Asia	18.78	39.13
South America	18.51	31.75
North America	17.21	36.66
Western Europe	17.20	41.44
South East Asia	16.89	37.44
Central Africa	14.50	23.75
Central and Eastern Europe	13.75	10.41
Middle East	10.59	44.44

Country rankings by age threshold and chamber type

Table A7

Under 30s, lower and unicameral chambers

Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30	Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30
1	Norway	13.61	39.13	43	Spain	3.43	50.00
2	Armenia	12.12	31.25	44	Belgium	3.33	60.00
3	San Marino	11.67	14.29	-	Luxembourg	3.33	50.00
4	Gambia (the)	10.34	0.00	46	Estonia	2.97	0.00
5	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	9.82	31.25	47	Lithuania	2.84	50.00
6	Suriname	9.80	20.00	48	Bulgaria	2.51	50.00
7	Denmark	9.50	58.82	49	United Arab Emirates	2.50	100.00
8	Sweden	9.42	52.78	-	Rwanda	2.50	50.00
9	Djibouti	9.23	83.33	-	Czech Republic	2.50	20.00
10	Chile	8.39	53.85	-	Bahrain	2.50	0.00
11	Austria	7.65	50.00	53	Thailand	2.40	33.33
12	Colombia	7.27	25.00	54	Pakistan	2.08	0.00
13	Ukraine	7.09	26.67	55	Morocco	2.03	62.5
14	Tunisia	6.91	53.33	56	Netherlands (the)	2.00	33.33
15	Guatemala	6.88	27.27	57	Congo	1.99	0.00
16	Italy	6.83	37.21	58	Argentina	1.95	60.00
17	Romania	6.38	28.57	59	Belarus	1.82	50.00
18	Malta	5.97	25.00	60	Viet Nam	1.81	77.78
19	Ecuador	5.84	37.50	61	Cyprus	1.79	0.00
20	Afghanistan	5.65	50.00	62	New Zealand	1.67	50.00
21	France	5.55	31.25	63	Turkmenistan	1.60	0.00
22	Slovakia	5.41	25.00	64	Turkey	1.33	50.00
23	Portugal	5.22	41.67	65	Zambia	1.22	0.00
24	Mexico	5.20	69.23	66	Niger	1.20	0.00
25	Republic of Moldova	5.00	20.00	67	Mozambique	1.20	100.00
26	Montenegro	4.94	0.00	68	El Salvador	1.19	0.00
27	Iceland	4.76	100.00	69	Cameroon	1.11	100.00
28	South Africa	4.71	37.50	70	Uruguay	1.01	0.00
29	Slovenia	4.44	50.00	71	Egypt	1.01	33.33
30	Poland	4.35	20.00	72	Hungary	1.01	0.00
31	Kyrgyzstan	4.17	40.00	73	Malaysia	0.90	0.00
32	Albania	4.10	80.00	74	India	0.79	25.00
33	Switzerland	4.00	62.50	75	Greece	0.67	50.00
-	Latvia	4.00	0.00	-	Georgia	0.67	0.00
35	Indonesia	3.83	40.91	77	Croatia	0.66	100.00
36	Kazakhstan	3.77	75.00	78	Kenya	0.57	0.00
37	Ireland	3.75	50.00	79	Angola	0.56	0.00
38	United Kingdom	3.69	50.00	80	United States	0.46	100.00
39	Andorra	3.57	0.00	81	Germany	0.42	0.00
40	Costa Rica	3.51	50.00	82	Bangladesh	0.29	0.00
41	Finland	3.50	42.86	83	Myanmar	0.23	0.00
42	Maldives	3.45	0.00	84	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.00	0.00
				-	Cabo Verde	0.00	0.00

Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30
-	Monaco	0.00	0.00
-	Israel	0.00	0.00
-	São Tomé and Príncipe	0.00	0.00
-	Trinidad and Tobago	0.00	0.00
-	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00	0.00
-	Nepal	0.00	0.00
-	Senegal	0.00	0.00
-	Nicaragua	0.00	0.00
-	Republic of Korea	0.00	0.00
-	Australia	0.00	0.00
-	Madagascar	0.00	0.00
-	Oman	0.00	0.00
-	Japan	0.00	0.00

Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30
-	Haiti	0.00	0.00
-	Solomon Islands	0.00	0.00
-	Chad	0.00	0.00
-	Botswana	0.00	0.00
-	Kuwait	0.00	0.00
-	Fiji	0.00	0.00
-	Nigeria	0.00	0.00
-	Qatar	0.00	0.00
-	Papua New Guinea	0.00	0.00
-	Benin	0.00	0.00
-	Liechtenstein	0.00	0.00
-	Yemen	0.00	0.00

Table A8

Under 40s, lower and unicameral chambers

Rank	Country	% under 40	% of women under 40
1	Armenia	57.58	28.95
2	Ukraine	46.34	28.57
3	Italy	42.70	42.75
4	Suriname	37.25	31.58
5	Afghanistan	37.10	28.26
6	Gambia (the)	36.21	14.29
7	Romania	35.26	26.72
8	Turkmenistan	35.20	25.00
9	Kyrgyzstan	35.00	23.81
10	Norway	34.32	39.66
11	Ecuador	34.31	53.19
12	Costa Rica	33.33	63.16
-	Netherlands	33.33	40.00
-	Cabo Verde	33.33	16.67
15	Colombia	32.73	18.52
16	Sweden	31.41	45.83
17	Uruguay	31.31	16.13
18	Denmark	30.73	54.55
19	Georgia	30.67	17.39
20	Guatemala	29.38	36.17
21	Djibouti	29.23	52.63
22	Monaco	29.17	28.57
23	Slovakia	29.05	16.28
24	Finland	29.00	50.00
-	Republic of Moldova	29.00	24.14
26	Mexico	28.60	55.94

Rank	Country	% under 40	% of women under 40
27	Belgium	28.00	57.14
28	Austria	27.87	47.06
29	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	27.61	24.44
30	Latvia	27.00	22.22
31	Portugal	26.96	40.32
32	Malta	26.87	16.67
33	Oman	26.74	0.00
34	Tunisia	26.73	36.21
35	San Marino	26.67	25.00
36	Chile	26.45	31.71
37	Maldives	26.44	8.70
38	Switzerland	25.50	43.14
39	United Arab Emirates	25.00	80.00
-	El Salvador	25.00	38.10
-	Saint Kitts and Nevis	25.00	75.00
-	Bahrain	25.00	20.00
43	South Africa	24.12	47.56
44	France	23.22	47.01
45	Bulgaria	23.01	30.91
46	Spain	22.86	45.00
47	Croatia	22.52	35.29
48	Poland	22.39	24.27
49	Montenegro	22.22	22.22
50	Mozambique	22.00	47.27
51	São Tomé and Príncipe	21.82	33.33

Rank	Country	% under 40	% of women under 40
52	United Kingdom	21.69	36.88
53	New Zealand	21.67	38.46
54	Iceland	20.63	46.15
55	Luxembourg	20.00	41.67
-	Czech Republic	20.00	27.50
57	Estonia	19.80	30.00
58	Lithuania	19.15	29.63
59	Rwanda	18.75	53.33
-	Ireland	18.75	30.00
61	Argentina	18.68	50.00
62	Hungary	18.09	16.67
63	Albania	18.03	31.82
64	Kuwait	18.00	0.00
65	Slovenia	17.78	31.25
66	Israel	17.50	33.33
67	Thailand	16.60	33.73
68	Indonesia	14.96	34.88
69	Turkey	14.83	30.34
70	Haiti	14.53	0.00
71	Australia	13.91	28.57
72	Madagascar	13.89	20.00
73	Pakistan	13.69	21.74
74	Belarus	13.64	40.00
75	Myanmar	13.36	13.79
76	Morocco	12.91	50.98
77	Kenya	12.89	26.67
78	Zambia	12.80	9.52
79	Cyprus	12.50	42.86
80	Greece	12.33	37.84
81	Viet Nam	12.30	65.57

Rank	Country	% under 40	% of women under 40
82	Chad	12.02	9.09
83	Congo	11.92	5.56
84	Egypt	11.76	22.86
-	Fiji	11.76	0.00
86	Germany	11.57	32.93
87	United States	11.52	30.00
88	Angola	11.11	25.00
89	Senegal	11.04	50.00
90	Andorra	10.71	33.33
-	India	10.71	31.48
92	Malaysia	10.36	34.78
93	Solomon Islands	10.00	20.00
94	Papua New Guinea	9.21	0.00
95	Cameroon	8.89	31.25
96	Japan	8.39	17.95
97	Botswana	7.94	20.00
98	Kazakhstan	7.55	50.00
99	Nigeria	7.50	11.11
100	Trinidad and Tobago	7.14	66.67
101	Niger	6.63	18.18
102	Bangladesh	5.71	25.00
103	Nepal	5.09	85.71
104	Benin	4.82	0.00
105	Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.76	100.00
106	Liechtenstein	4.00	0.00
107	Republic of Korea	3.70	54.55
108	Nicaragua	3.30	100.00
109	Yemen	0.33	0.00
110	Qatar	0.00	0.00

Table A9

Under 45s, lower and unicameral chambers

Rank	Country	% under 45	% of women under 45
1	Armenia	71.97	26.32
2	Ukraine	63.36	26.87
3	Turkmenistan	63.20	22.78
4	Maldives	59.77	7.69
5	Italy	59.52	41.33
6	Gambia (the)	56.90	9.09
7	Netherlands (the)	55.33	39.76
8	Kyrgyzstan	54.17	23.08
9	Belgium	54.00	51.85
10	Suriname	52.94	37.04
11	Slovakia	52.03	20.78
12	Georgia	52.00	15.38
13	Romania	51.67	27.06
14	Latvia	51.00	29.41
15	Afghanistan	50.81	30.95
16	Denmark	49.72	48.31
17	San Marino	48.33	31.03
18	Republic of Moldova	48.00	25.00
19	Bahrain	47.50	15.79
20	Ecuador	46.72	48.44
21	Colombia	46.67	18.18
22	Oman	46.51	0.00
23	Malta	46.27	19.35
24	Rwanda	46.25	64.86
25	Sweden	46.07	46.59
26	Cabo Verde	45.83	21.21
27	Costa Rica	45.61	53.85
28	Finland	45.00	55.56
29	Norway	44.97	42.11
30	Mexico	44.80	55.80
31	Austria	43.72	48.75
32	Guatemala	41.88	29.85
33	Bulgaria	41.42	25.25
34	Chile	41.29	29.69
35	Ireland	41.25	22.73
36	Haiti	41.03	0.00
37	Spain	40.86	44.06
38	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	40.49	27.27
39	United Arab Emirates	40.00	75.00
40	Croatia	39.74	40.00
41	Tunisia	39.63	31.40

Rank	Country	% under 45	% of women under 45
42	Switzerland	39.50	48.10
43	Portugal	39.13	38.89
44	Djibouti	38.46	40.00
45	Montenegro	37.04	30.00
46	Poland	36.96	29.41
47	France	36.92	45.54
48	Iceland	36.51	52.17
49	São Tomé and Príncipe	36.36	25.00
-	Uruguay	36.36	16.67
51	Argentina	36.19	49.46
52	Czech Republic	36.00	22.22
53	Zambia	35.98	8.47
54	New Zealand	35.83	37.21
55	El Salvador	35.71	46.67
-	Andorra	35.71	40.00
57	Estonia	35.64	33.33
58	South Africa	35.29	48.33
59	United Kingdom	34.00	37.10
60	Monaco	33.33	25.00
61	Mozambique	33.20	39.76
62	Hungary	32.66	18.46
63	Slovenia	32.22	31.03
64	Israel	31.67	36.84
65	Pakistan	31.25	21.90
-	Madagascar	31.25	20.00
67	Albania	31.15	47.37
68	Kuwait	30.00	0.00
69	Kenya	29.80	23.08
70	Turkey	28.67	27.33
71	Lithuania	28.37	32.50
72	Luxembourg	28.33	29.41
73	Niger	27.71	15.22
74	Myanmar	27.19	15.25
75	Thailand	26.40	28.03
76	Indonesia	26.26	29.14
77	Australia	25.83	33.33
78	Nigeria	25.56	3.26
79	Saint Kitts and Nevis	25.00	75.00
-	Cyprus	25.00	35.71
81	Greece	24.67	33.78
82	Morocco	24.56	37.11
83	Germany	23.27	31.52

Rank	Country	% under 45	% of women under 45
84	Chad	22.95	9.52
85	Viet Nam	22.18	50.91
86	Japan	22.15	13.59
87	Egypt	21.51	22.66
88	Trinidad and Tobago	21.43	44.44
89	Belarus	20.91	39.13
90	United States	20.74	33.33
91	Congo	20.53	9.68
92	India	20.24	25.49
93	Papua New Guinea	19.74	0.00
94	Fiji	19.61	20.00
95	Bosnia and Herzegovina	19.05	50.00
96	Senegal	18.40	36.67
97	Cameroon	18.33	24.24

Rank	Country	% under 45	% of women under 45
98	Malaysia	18.02	30.00
99	Angola	17.78	25.00
100	Nepal	16.36	55.56
101	Solomon Islands	16.00	12.50
-	Liechtenstein	16.00	0.00
103	Botswana	15.87	10.00
104	Benin	12.05	10.00
105	Kazakhstan	11.32	33.33
106	Bangladesh	10.57	29.73
107	Nicaragua	9.89	66.67
108	Republic of Korea	7.41	54.55
109	Qatar	7.32	33.33
110	Yemen	3.99	0.00

Table A10
Under 30s, upper chambers

Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30
1	Belgium	10.00	50.00
2	Somalia	3.70	50.00
3	Trinidad and Tobago	3.33	0.00
4	Australia	2.63	50.00
5	Mexico	1.96	100.00
6	Spain	1.89	0.00
7	South Africa	1.89	0.00
8	Kenya	1.47	100.00
9	Netherlands (the)	1.33	100.00
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.92	100.00
11	Burundi	0.00	0.00
-	Switzerland	0.00	0.00
-	Argentina	0.00	0.00
-	Colombia	0.00	0.00
-	Jamaica	0.00	0.00
-	Italy	0.00	0.00
-	Japan	0.00	0.00
-	Afghanistan	0.00	0.00
-	Romania	0.00	0.00

Rank	Country	% under 30	% of women under 30
-	Myanmar	0.00	0.00
-	United Kingdom	0.00	0.00
-	India	0.00	0.00
-	Equatorial Guinea	0.00	0.00
-	Russian Federation	0.00	0.00
-	Oman	0.00	0.00
-	Thailand	0.00	0.00
-	Namibia	0.00	0.00
-	France	0.00	0.00
-	Nepal	0.00	0.00
-	Belarus	0.00	0.00
-	Poland	0.00	0.00
-	United States	0.00	0.00
-	Uruguay	0.00	0.00
-	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00	0.00
-	Czech Republic	0.00	0.00
-	Gabon	0.00	0.00
-	Congo	0.00	0.00

Table A11

Under 40s, upper chambers

Rank	Country	% under 40	% of women under 40
1	Belgium	41.67	44.00
2	Burundi	28.21	54.55
3	Jamaica	23.53	25.00
4	Trinidad and Tobago	23.33	42.86
5	Myanmar	21.43	10.42
6	Kenya	20.59	28.57
7	Somalia	20.37	45.45
8	Colombia	16.98	33.33
9	Afghanistan	16.18	9.09
10	South Africa	15.09	25.00
11	Mexico	14.71	66.67
12	Australia	14.47	45.45
13	Switzerland	13.04	50.00
14	Spain	11.36	40.00
15	Romania	11.03	20.00
16	Democratic Republic of the Congo	11.01	58.33
17	Netherlands (the)	9.33	57.14
18	Argentina	6.94	80.00
19	Equatorial Guinea	6.06	25.00
20	Japan	5.71	42.86
21	Belarus	5.00	0.00
22	Poland	4.00	0.00
23	Namibia	3.85	0.00
24	Uruguay	3.33	0.00
25	Russian Federation	2.96	20.00
26	Italy	2.81	44.44
27	France	1.74	16.67
28	Nepal	1.72	0.00
29	United States	1.00	0.00
30	United Kingdom	0.64	40.00
31	India	0.49	100.00
32	Oman	0.00	0.00
-	Thailand	0.00	0.00
-	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.00	0.00
-	Czech Republic	0.00	0.00
-	Gabon	0.00	0.00
-	Congo	0.00	0.00

Table A12

Under 45s, upper chambers

Rank	Country	% under 45	% of women under 45
1	Belgium	48.33	44.83
2	Afghanistan	41.18	17.86
3	Burundi	41.03	43.75
4	Romania	34.56	19.15
5	Colombia	33.02	28.57
6	Myanmar	32.59	8.22
7	Kenya	30.88	33.33
8	Trinidad and Tobago	30.00	33.33
9	Somalia	29.63	43.75
10	Mexico	29.41	53.33
-	Jamaica	29.41	20.00
12	Australia	28.95	40.91
13	Italy	26.88	32.56
14	Namibia	23.08	16.67
15	South Africa	22.64	25.00
16	Spain	22.35	42.37
17	Japan	18.78	39.13
18	Democratic Republic of the Congo	18.35	50.00
19	Switzerland	17.39	37.50
20	Belarus	16.67	10.00
21	Argentina	12.50	66.67
22	Equatorial Guinea	12.12	25.00
23	Nepal	12.07	28.57
24	Netherlands (the)	12.00	66.67
25	Russian Federation	10.65	22.22
26	Oman	10.59	44.44
27	Uruguay	10.00	0.00
28	Poland	9.00	11.11
29	Bosnia and Herzegovina	6.67	0.00
30	France	6.38	18.18
31	United States	5.00	20.00
32	Czech Republic	4.94	0.00
33	India	4.41	22.22
34	United Kingdom	1.91	40.00
35	Thailand	1.20	66.67
36	Gabon	1.00	0.00
37	Congo	0.00	0.00

Table A13

Change in representation due to elections since 2018

Country	Under 30 - Lower Chamber	Under 30 - Upper Chamber	Under 40 - Lower Chamber	Under 40 - Upper Chamber	Under 45 - Lower Chamber	Under 45 - Upper Chamber
Andorra	-3.57		-28.57		-25.00	
Argentina	-0.39		6.23	4.17	14.01	-4.17
Australia		-0.11	-0.28	2.14	-7.28	5.66
Austria	-1.09		2.19		7.65	
Belarus			8.13	-0.36	8.98	4.17
Belgium	1.33	8.33	-0.67	21.67	4.67	11.67
Benin			2.41		2.41	
Bosnia and Herzegovina				-13.33		-6.67
Botswana	-1.56		-13.94		-21.63	
Burundi				17.95		2.56
Cameroon			4.44		1.11	
Democratic Republic of the Congo						15.41
Denmark	3.35		-10.61		-3.91	
Estonia	0.99		-3.96			
Finland	-6.50		-7.00		1.00	
Greece	-0.33		0.33		3.67	
Guatemala	3.50		11.13		4.71	
India	-1.42		-1.86	-2.02	-2.68	-1.86
Indonesia	0.97		-2.90		-11.42	
Ireland	1.76		2.86		7.48	
Israel	-1.74		-2.50		-1.38	
Italy				2.50		5.00
Japan				-0.48		2.25
Maldives	2.11		2.44		17.10	
Mozambique			4.80		8.80	
Netherlands (the)		-1.33		-2.67		-6.67
Oman			-5.02		-19.37	
Poland	1.74		3.26	0.91	6.52	0.75
Portugal			1.74		-6.09	
Republic of Korea			1.37		1.07	
Republic of Moldova	2.00		7.00		12.00	
San Marino			-10.00		-10.00	
Slovakia	4.74		12.39		20.69	
Solomon Islands			5.12		-15.71	
South Africa	1.96		8.62		9.04	
Spain	2.57	0.39	8.82	-4.05	14.78	-6.60
Suriname	3.92		13.73		13.73	
Switzerland	2.00		6.50	4.35	9.50	8.70
Trinidad and Tobago				10.00		6.67
Tunisia	0.46		4.15		3.23	
United Arab Emirates			5.00			
United Kingdom	0.66		2.71	0.38	1.62	0.40
Uruguay	-2.02		10.10		9.09	-13.33

ANNEX 2

Information sources

Members of Parliament

Marta Grande, Italy
Iqra Khalid, Canada
Melvin Bouva, Suriname
Pavyuma Kalobo, Zambia
Emma Theofelus, Namibia
Rayya al-Manthari, Oman
Shahzaib Durrani, Pakistan
Raphael Igbokwe, Nigeria
Omar Abudl Muhsen Altabtabaee, Kuwait
Fatuma Gedi Ali, Kenya
Bida Youssoufo, Benin
Alona Shkrum, Ukraine
Irine Putri, Indonesia
Moussa Timbiné, Mali
Dorji Khandu, Bhutan
Sharren Miriam Haskel, Israel
Abdullah Rifau, Maldives

Respondents

Respondent	Chamber
Afghanistan*	Lower
Afghanistan	Upper
Albania	Lower
Andorra*	Lower
Angola	Lower
Argentina*	Lower
Argentina*	Upper
Armenia	Lower
Australia*	Lower
Australia*	Upper
Austria*	Lower
Bahrain	Lower
Bangladesh	Lower
Belarus*	Lower
Belarus*	Upper
Belgium*	Lower
Belgium*	Upper
Benin*	Lower

Data sources

IPU Parline
IPU Parliament age survey, 2020
UN World Population Prospects, 2019
Eurostat demo_pjan
Andorra Department of Statistics

Other experts

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Riadh Bouhouchi, Tunisia
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Christiane Fox, Canada
Richard Lamoureux, France
Alida Diaz, Peru

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Alex Parsons, mySociety

Respondent	Chamber
Bosnia and Herzegovina*	Upper
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Lower
Botswana*	Lower
Bulgaria	Lower
Burundi*	Upper
Cabo Verde	Lower
Cameroon*	Lower
Chad	Lower
Chile	Lower
Colombia*	Lower
Colombia*	Upper
Congo	Lower
Congo	Upper
Costa Rica	Lower
Croatia*	Lower
Cyprus	Lower
Czech Republic	Upper
Czech Republic	Lower

Respondent	Chamber
Democratic Republic of the Congo*	Upper
Denmark*	Lower
Djibouti*	Lower
Ecuador	Lower
Egypt	Lower
El Salvador	Lower
Equatorial Guinea	Upper
Estonia*	Lower
Fiji	Lower
Finland*	Lower
France	Lower
France	Upper
Gabon	Upper
Gambia (the)	Lower
Georgia	Lower
Germany	Lower
Greece*	Lower
Guatemala*	Lower
Haiti	Lower
Hungary	Lower
Iceland	Lower
India*	Upper
India*	Lower
Indonesia*	Lower
Ireland*	Lower
Israel*	Lower
Italy*	Upper
Italy	Lower
Jamaica	Upper
Japan*	Upper
Japan	Lower
Kazakhstan	Lower
Kenya	Lower
Kenya	Upper
Kuwait	Lower
Kyrgyzstan	Lower
Latvia	Lower
Liechtenstein	Lower
Lithuania	Lower
Luxembourg	Lower
Madagascar*	Lower
Malaysia	Lower

Respondent	Chamber
Maldives*	Lower
Malta	Lower
Mexico	Lower
Mexico	Upper
Monaco	Lower
Montenegro*	Lower
Morocco	Lower
Mozambique*	Lower
Myanmar	Lower
Myanmar	Upper
Namibia	Upper
Nepal*	Upper
Nepal	Lower
Netherlands (the)*	Upper
Netherlands	Lower
New Zealand	Lower
Nicaragua	Lower
Niger	Lower
Nigeria*	Lower
North Macedonia	Lower
Norway	Lower
Oman*	Lower
Oman*	Upper
Pakistan	Lower
Papua New Guinea	Lower
Poland*	Lower
Poland*	Upper
Portugal*	Lower
Qatar	Lower
Republic of Korea*	Lower
Republic of Moldova*	Lower
Romania	Lower
Romania	Upper
Russian Federation	Upper
Rwanda	Lower
San Marino*	Lower
São Tomé and Príncipe	Lower
Senegal	Lower
Slovakia*	Lower
Slovenia	Lower
Solomon Islands*	Lower
Somalia	Upper

Respondent	Chamber
South Africa*	Lower
South Africa*	Upper
Spain*	Lower
Spain*	Upper
Saint Kitts and Nevis*	Lower
Suriname*	Lower
Sweden	Lower
Switzerland*	Lower
Switzerland*	Upper
Thailand*	Lower
Thailand*	Upper
Trinidad and Tobago*	Lower
Trinidad and Tobago*	Upper
Tunisia*	Lower
Turkey	Lower
Turkmenistan	Lower
Ukraine*	Lower
United Arab Emirates*	Lower
United Kingdom *	Lower
United Kingdom *	Upper
United States*	Lower
United States*	Upper
Uruguay*	Lower
Uruguay*	Upper
Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Lower
Viet Nam	Lower
Yemen	Lower
Zambia	Lower
* = new data since 2018	

Endnotes and sources

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