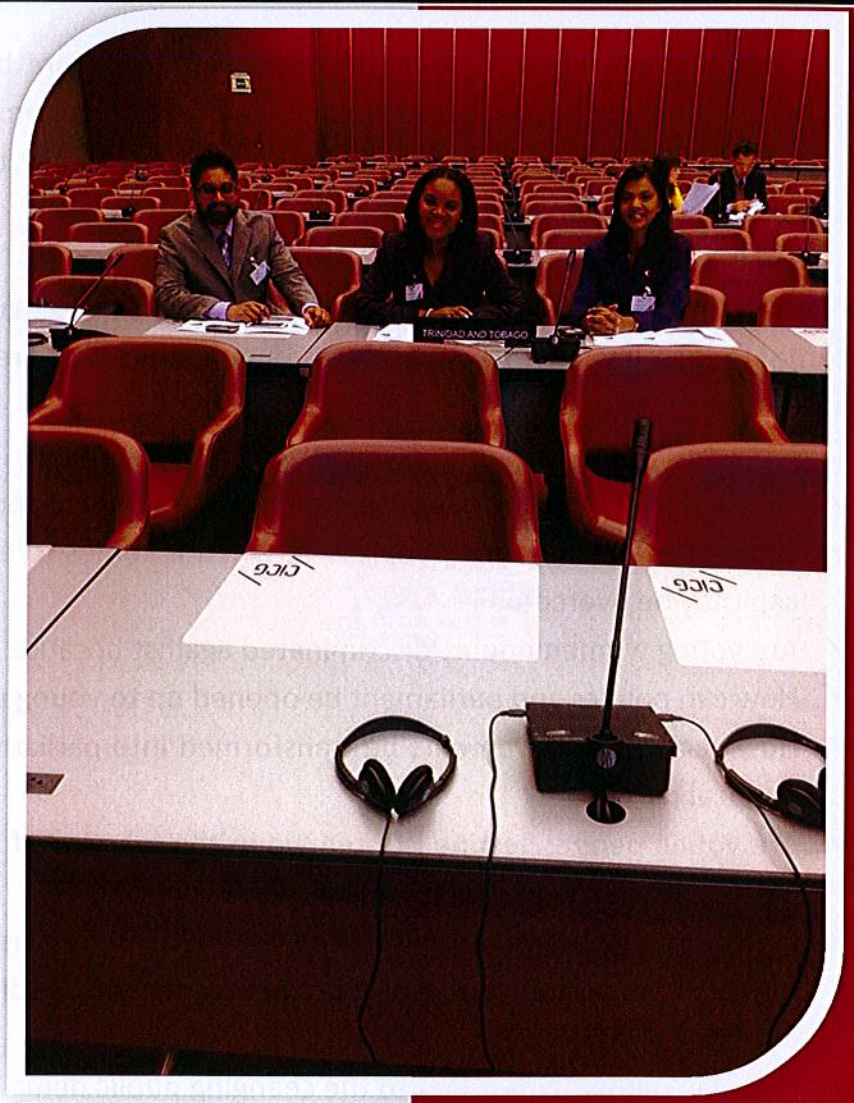
PARLIAMENT
Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

Levels G - 7, Tower D
The Port-of-Spain International Waterfront Centre
1A Wrightson Road, Port-of-Spain

REPORT

FIRST IPU GLOBAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG PARLIAMENTARIANS



FIRST IPU GLOBAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG PARLIAMENTARIANS

OCTOBER 10 TO 11 2014

Introduction

The Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago was invited to participate in the first IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians which was hosted in Geneva, Switzerland on October 10 and 11 2014 at the International Conference Centre in Geneva (CICG), on the eve of the 131st IPU Assembly.

The Conference was open to young Members of Parliament below the age of 45 and brought together young parliamentarians, youth leaders from other walks of life and experts from across the world in a bid to "take democracy to task" and focused on youth participation in politics.

The Conference provided a platform for reflection and debate for young parliamentarians on the following common concerns that are challenging democracy today:

- ✓ Why are so few young people members of parliament today?
- ✓ What barriers do young people face when it comes to entering politics and how can they be overcome?
- ✓ Are young women doubly discriminated against because of their age and sex?
- ✓ How can politics and parliament be opened up to young people?
- ✓ How can youth movements be transformed into parliamentary programmes and political parties?
- ✓ Are young people destined to remain in the margins of the democratic process? Or can other scenarios be envisaged?
- ✓ What forms of political participation are young people using today?
- ✓ How can young people be encouraged to become involved in political decision-making?
- ✓ How can parliaments adapt to the changing public demands for representation?
- ✓ How can political parties establish stronger connections with young people?
- ✓ How can young people and parliaments share the responsibility of ensuring that legislation responds to young people's concerns?

DELEGATION

The delegation comprised -

Ms. Stacy Roopnarine	MP for Oropouche West
Mr. Collin Partap	MP for Cumuto/Manzanilla
Ms. Shamfa Cudjoe	Opposition Senator
Ms. Chantal La Roche	Legal Officer

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

The delegation arrived in Geneva, Switzerland on Wednesday October 8, 2014. Geneva is located at the south-western end of Lake Geneva and is surrounded by two mountain chains, the Alps and the Jura. It is the capital of the Republic and Canton of Geneva with a population of approximately 479,000.

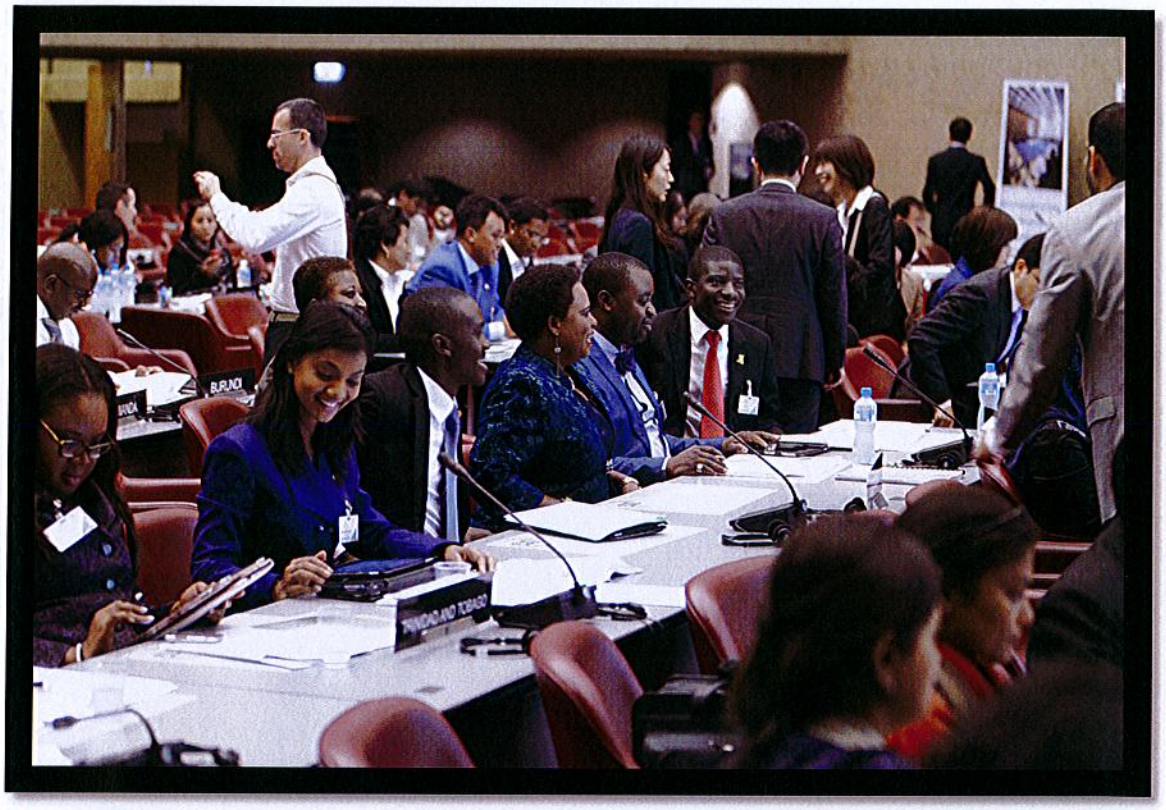
Geneva is a global city, a financial centre, and worldwide centre for diplomacy due to the presence of numerous international organizations, including the headquarters of many of the agencies of the United Nations and the Red Cross. Geneva is the city that hosts the highest number of international organisations in the world. It is also the place where the Geneva Conventions were signed which chiefly concern the treatment of wartime non-combatants and prisoners of war[1].

The delegation was greeted at the airport by Ms. Simone Young, Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geneva


Geneve - Water Fountain

CONFERENCE DAY ONE



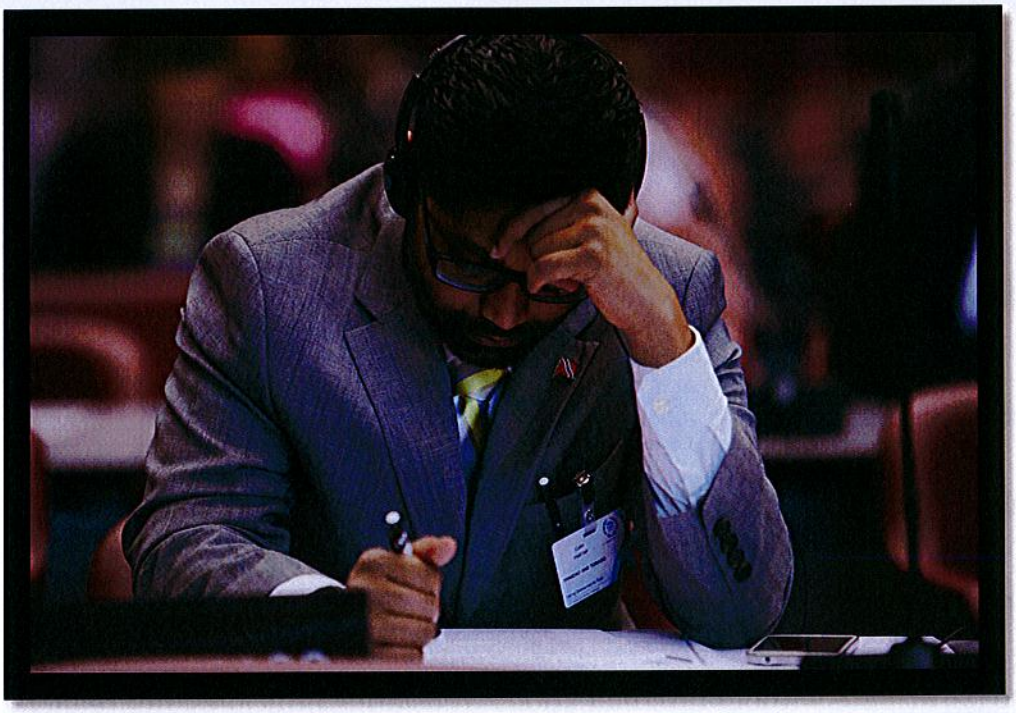
Opening Session

The opening session commenced with an address by Mr. Abdelwahad Radi, IPU President. A representative of the WSD also addressed the group to give opening remarks on behalf of the Chairman of the WSD.

The right to participate without discrimination: Translating principles into reality

Following the opening session the first topic for debate was *"The right to participate without discrimination: Translating principles into reality"*. Introductory remarks were delivered by Mr. Ahmad Alhendawi, United Nations Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth Mr. Alhendawi expressed his honour to address the first conference of young parliamentarians since he was first appointed to office at age 29. During his address he conveyed the importance of improving the appeal of the political process instead of criticising or blaming young persons for not participating.

Ms. Marija Lugaric, Member of Parliament and Rapporteur of the IPU resolution on Youth participation in the Democratic Process (Croatia) also delivered an address. Ms Lugaric was elected to office at age 21, and was responsible for proposing the IPU resolution on *Youth Participation in the Democratic Process* in 2010, which was eventually adopted at the 122nd Assembly. She expressed the concern that young people are perceived as being incapable of making decisions on their own and as a result are underrepresented in the decision making processes. It was also her belief that age-based discrimination (ageism) is yet to become a political issue to the degree that gender discrimination has. Her address called for an enabling environment which provides opportunities for youth to be given greater visibility and a role in the developmental process, making them equal stake holders within political institutions.



Taking stock: IPU analysis of youth participation in Parliament

This first session was followed by a session entitled *"Taking stock: IPU analysis of youth participation in Parliament"*. A presentation on this topic was made by Ms. Mona Lena Krook, Professor, IPU consultant. Professor Crook shared statistics in relation to a survey which had been conducted by the IPU. Responses to the survey were received from 76 countries. Trinidad and Tobago out-ranked several countries in terms of young

Members of Parliament. Trinidad and Tobago ranked 2nd in relation to number of Parliamentarians in the upper house under the age of 30 and 18th in relation to Members of Parliament under age 30 in the lower house.

A copy of the IPU Report on Youth Participation in National Parliaments is attached as Appendix I.

Barriers to young people entering politics

The third session was a debate on the barriers to young people entering politics. The debate was preceded by presentations by Ms. Anette Trettebergstuen, Member of Parliament, Norway, Mr. Faisal Al Tenaiji, Member of Parliament, UAE, Mr. Diego Vintimilla, Member of Parliament Ecuador and a moving speech by Ms. Betty Amongi, Member of Parliament Uganda described the unique challenges she faced in her own country as a young woman entering politics.

Ms Amongi opined that barriers to youth participation occurs at three levels of capacity. The first is on the individual level, where barriers include a lack of skill, motivation to participate in formal adult-led processes, lack of economic resources as well as awareness and knowledge. The second level is the organizational level, where youth-led groups frequently face hindrances to economic and other resources and have limited knowledge and know how. Among formal political organizations such as political parties and parliaments, internal mechanisms, rules and procedures do not favour the inclusion of youth and thus created the third barrier.

Are young women facing double discrimination based on age and sex?

Professor Krook delivered her second presentation on whether women face double discrimination based on age and sex. She also described barriers to youth such as the disparity between the legal age to vote and the qualifying age to run for office, lack of prior political experience, and low party membership among youth. She also added that women were often overlooked as candidates by their political parties as their political skills are usually underestimated.

Potential solutions were offered by Professor Crook during her presentation, including gender quotas, youth quotas and tandem quotas. During this session MP Stacy Roopnarine made a short presentation. She questioned whether the introduction of gender and age quotas to balance the deficits revealed by the survey would lead to a compromise in the quality of candidates produced. Ms. Roopnarine also felt that improvements at the party level could be a viable option for dealing with the issue, but opined that it might be difficult to achieve since many political parties had been created and exist in male dominated societies.

This was followed by an interactive panel discussion on whether it is true that young people are apathetic, apolitical and angry citizens. The discussion was moderated by Mr. Jamil Chade, UN and European correspondent for the Brazilian daily O Estado de Sao Paulo in Geneva.

Youth movements and platforms as a stepping stone to Parliament

The final session on the first day of the Conference focused on youth movements and platforms as a stepping stone to parliament. Presentations on this topic were delivered by Ms. Tania González Peñas, Podemos Party, Member of the European Parliament (Spain), Mr. Moutaz Abu Rumman, Member of Parliament (Jordan) and Ms. Birgitta Jónsdóttir, Pirate Party, Member of Parliament (Iceland).

CONFERENCE DAY TWO

How to open up politics and parliament to young people? The win-win scenario

The second day of the Conference commenced with a session entitled: "How to open up politics and parliament to young people? The win-win scenario". Presentations were delivered by Ms. Mona Lena Krook, Professor, IPU consultant and Ms. Zeina Hilal, Programme Officer (IPU). Each expressed concern that although there had been some effort by political institutions to become more accessible for young people and women, change has been very slow and efforts were insufficient to break the hierarchical structure of these institutions.

Professor Crook offered several practices which could foster youth participation including:

- ✓ Aligning the minimum voting age and the minimum age of eligibility to run for office;
- ✓ Introducing youth and women's quotas in electoral laws; and
- ✓ Identifying and addressing context-specific legal barriers to youth participation, such as facilitating and registering youth-led organisations.

The presentations were followed by a debate on the issue. During the debate Senator Cudjoe made a short intervention during which she questioned how parliaments can translate discussions on youth engagement into implementation. She also noted that these conversations have been taking place over a number of years and questioned whether there have been meaningful changes, particularly in the area of including and empowering youth-led organisations.

How to maintain youth participation on the international agenda

The penultimate session focused on how to maintain youth participation on the international agenda. Presentations were delivered by Mr. Ahmad Alhendawi, United

Nations Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth, Mr. Yves Leterme, Secretary General of International IDEA and Mr. Klaas Dijkhoff, Member of Parliament (Netherlands). The presentations preceded a debate on the matter.

The final item was an interactive session between young parliamentarians and young leaders from other walks of life, moderated by Mr. Jamil Chade, UN and European correspondent for the Brazilian daily O Estado de Sao Paulo in Geneva

The conference closed with the presentation and adoption of the outcome document. The report is attached at Appendix II.

CULTURAL AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Mr. John C.E. Sandy, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago in Geneva graciously hosted the delegates along with the delegation attending the 131st IPU General Assembly on the evening of Saturday October 11, 2014 for dinner at the Hotel Kempinski, Geneva.

During the visit the staff of the Mission made very kind arrangements for the conference participants to visit tourist attractions around Geneva, including Geneva's ancient Old Town, the Jet d'Eau and Lake Geneva. Ms Stacy Roopnarine, leader of the delegation, extended her gratitude to Ambassador Sandy on behalf of the delegation for the generosity and assistance extended to the delegation by the Mission during the visit.

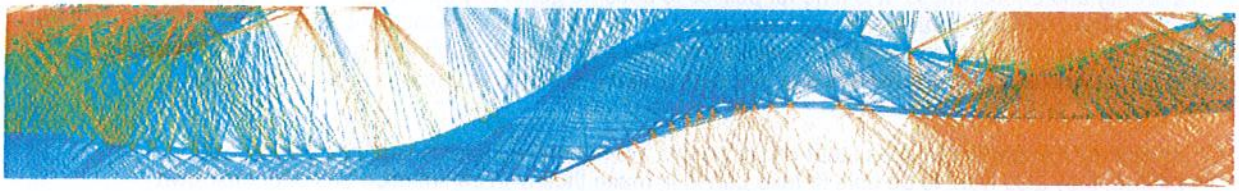
Stacy Roopnarine, MP
Leader of the Delegation
November 5, 2014

APPENDIX I

Inter-Parliamentary Union
For democracy. For everyone.

First IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians

Taking Democracy to Task



Geneva, 10-11 October 2014

Final report

Rapporteur: Mrs. A. Lambelin (Belgium)

As young men and women parliamentarians from 61 of the world's countries, we gathered in Geneva on 10 and 11 October 2014 at the first IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians in order to take stock of youth participation in parliament. The 180 participants (average age 37) were joined by some 20 leaders of youth parliaments and of the Pacific Forum of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Several of us are the youngest parliamentarians in our respective countries, and many of us were the youngest when we were first elected. Our Conference was organized with support from the Worldwide Support for Development (WSD) foundation, which we wish to thank warmly for its assistance and which made it possible for the IPU, among others, to establish a programme on youth participation in parliament.

The first IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, on the theme *Taking Democracy to Task*, allowed us to focus on young people's expectations of democracy. Our discussions were enriched by the many pro-democracy youth movements in numerous countries. Not only are young people challenging totalitarian regimes that they would like to see replaced by more democratic ones, as seen from the Arab Spring, but they are also challenging, in a broader sense, the way that politics is done. While careful to avoid generalizing, we agreed to say that young people are taking a stand against corruption, malfunctions in the economic and financial systems, political ossification and the inequalities of which they are the victims.

Young people use various forums to express their views on political issues, including the existing systems and the current social, economic and financial policies. These platforms include the social media, youth organizations, youth councils and, in some cases, even the streets. Young people also express themselves by becoming involved in politics and working to change the status quo from within. Many of them also show their discontent by losing interest in politics and proclaiming that they no longer believe in it.

The fact is that democracy is in need of renewal. There is a genuine imbalance between the way that politics is being done today and the way that young people are living. The connectivity, immediacy and globalization that make up their ordinary lives seem far removed from national political processes. The way that we vote, the long debates and the length of time needed for policies, once implemented, to bear fruit must all be reconsidered in order to bring more young people on board. It is absolutely essential to modernize politics, including through the use of information and communication technologies.

After making these points, we wondered whether the existing political systems, for their part, took youth into account and sought to meet its expectations. We believed that this was a legitimate question since, while young people are not a homogeneous group, they are bearing the brunt of the economic crisis, unemployment, poor education, migration and global warming. They also account for a large proportion of the population in many countries.

We summed up young people's expectations of politics and political leaders in three words: openness, transparency and effectiveness. It is time for politics to become genuinely open to youth, to become clean and above moral reproach and to deliver at last on its promise of development, equity and equality. We noted that young people's expectations were fully consistent with the guidelines advocated by the IPU in its publication *Parliament and democracy in the twenty-first century: A guide to good practice*.

We considered it important to stress that young people are not merely expressing their dissatisfaction with politics; they also want to be able to take part in it, make their own contribution and offer their own solutions. At present, however, apart from a few specific cases, the percentage of young parliamentarians worldwide is very low: less than 2 per cent for parliamentarians under the age of 30 and 10 to 20 per cent for those between the ages of 30 and 40. While this percentage is higher in some countries, particularly in Africa, because they have young populations, the overall proportion of young people in parliament in no way reflects their share of the population that they represent.

We wish to state loudly and clearly that while it is crucial for young people to be included in politics, their involvement must never be viewed as a gift to youth. Youth participation is beneficial to democracy and to the proper functioning of politics, the economy and society. Young people's talents, ideals, energy and skills, as well as their capacity to question, are essential if society is to run smoothly.

However, there are many challenges for young people in politics. While they do not all face the same problems, we found certain patterns:

- Young people are not taken seriously and are considered immature and inexperienced;
- Young people in politics face major financial challenges, even more so than their elders, who have been in politics for several years;
- Young people face legal obstacles to their involvement in politics since the minimum voting age and/or the minimum age of eligibility to run for office is high in some countries (in practice, young people aged 16 to 21 and even, in some cases, as old as 25, who account for a significant proportion of youth, cannot really take part in politics);
- Young men and women politicians do not always have access their elders' networks, in which it is difficult for newcomers to find a place;
- Young people's image of politics (as divisive, corrupt and so on) and the image that it is sometimes presented by political leaders are not always appealing to youth.

We noted, moreover, that some of these challenges were also faced by women of all ages. However, we consider that young women face specific challenges associated with the direct and indirect discrimination that they experience, the various forms of harassment and their responsibilities within the family unit.

We agreed on ways to include young people in politics:

- Young people must be introduced to politics at a very early age and civics must be incorporated into school curricula with a primary focus on democratic principles, political mechanisms, the functioning of governance institutions and citizenship. This goal should be pursued not only through youth parliaments or role-playing, but through education itself, in which it has a legitimate place. This would ensure that young first-time voters are prepared.
- It is essential to change attitudes so that young people feel appreciated. This can be achieved through awareness-raising campaigns led by young people themselves so that they can demonstrate their worth and their ideas, or by ensuring that they are invited to political meetings. These measures must be taken at the local, national and international levels.

- The media must be called upon to give young people visibility by providing them with an opportunity to express their views on current affairs.
- We young politicians must serve as role models for other young people by encouraging them and including them in our political actions and activities.
- As young politicians, we must ensure that reforms are introduced within our parties, including with regard to the selection of candidates. In particular, we could ensure that our parties' primary elections are open to young people without a prior membership requirement or find a place for them in our parties' candidate selection committees.
- It is important for politicians to consult young people, listen to them and speak with them in order interest them in politics and ensure that they contribute to it. Awareness-raising activities targeting young people should be carried out in order to encourage them to vote and make them realize, on the one hand, that the right to vote is not always a given and, on the other that abstaining from voting promotes extremism.
- It is important to encourage networking among young men and women politicians.
- Lastly, young political leaders, like their older colleagues and political hopefuls, must be protected from all forms of violence and discrimination, which should be strongly condemned wherever they occur.

We also drew up a list of robust measures to be taken immediately in order to strengthen young people's involvement in politics:

- Set quotas for young people in parliament and in political parties;
- Set quotas at the local level so that a new political class can emerge and establish itself at the national level;
- Reduce the minimum voting age and the minimum age of eligibility to run for office;
- Bring the minimum age of eligibility to run for office into line with the minimum voting age;
- Form youth political parties, if feasible under the country's constitution and legislation;
- Because we often elect candidates who are like us and because the more young people there are in parliament, the more young people will vote, include more young people in political parties' lists of candidates and executive bodies;
- Establish youth committees in parliaments and empower them to consider every piece of draft legislation and every policy, whether or not it has a direct bearing on youth;
- Monitor the implementation of youth policies; allocate funds to youth, education and training policies; and take young people into account in preparing national budgets;
- Protect the specific characteristics of young politicians, who should be able to continue to act like young men and women of their age and should not be required to lose themselves in the larger group of parliamentarians;
- Include young people in international debates, and not only in forums that focus on youth;
- In order to address young people's overall lack of political experience, training programmes for young politicians must be provided;
- Establish degree programmes for young political hopefuls in order to compensate for their lack of experience;
- Include youth involvement in political decision-making, governance and peace among the sustainable development goals, as requested by the Youth Forum of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Specifically, we requested the IPU to:

- Organize annual conferences for young parliamentarians, such as this one, since they provide both a training opportunity for young parliamentarians and a global forum for taking positions on youth issues;
- Organize regional or international thematic workshops to ensure the continuity of discussion between young parliamentarians;
- Function as a youth observatory in parliaments and, to that end, continue to gather information on youth participation in parliament;

- Conduct in-depth studies of youth involvement in various regions;
- Continue to encourage young people's involvement in its bodies and, by so doing, continue to set an example of political integration;
- Establish a support programme for young parliamentarians.

Through the IPU, we request the WSD to continue to support young people's involvement in politics and platforms that allow them to meet.

At the end of our deliberations, we expressed heartfelt thanks to the IPU for having offered us this unique platform. The Japanese delegation was pleased to announce that the 2015 Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians will be held in Tokyo and organized jointly by the IPU and the Japanese Parliament.

APPENDIX II

Inter-Parliamentary Union
For democracy. For everyone.

IPU Report on

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS

EXECUTIVSUMMARY

The topic of youth participation in politics has found its place on the global agenda, with new attention directed to the question of how to elect more young people to national parliaments and other political positions.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) adopted the resolution *Youth participation in the democratic process* at its 122nd Assembly (Bangkok, March-April 2010) and established the Forum of Young Parliamentarians in 2013. It subsequently designed and distributed a questionnaire on youth participation in national parliaments to all its Member Parliaments. This report analyses the nearly 100 responses received by early October 2014, focusing on patterns of youth representation in national parliaments, statutory regulations regarding rights to vote and to run for political office, and the presence of measures to promote youth participation.

In line with the Rules and Working Modalities of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians, parliamentarians in this report are considered "young" if they are under 45 years old. Recognizing variations in definitions, however, the report presents the first-ever world ranking of young parliamentarians according to three cut-off ages: 30, 40 and 45. These data and rankings reveal the trends below.

- When "young" is defined as under 30, only one country, Norway, breaks the 10% barrier. Two thirds of single and lower houses of parliament have 2% or fewer young parliamentarians. All upper houses have less than 6%, with three quarters electing no young parliamentarians at all.

- When "young" is defined as under 40, the proportion of young parliamentarians increases slightly. Leading countries are San Marino and Denmark for single and lower chambers, and Kenya and Belgium for upper houses. About half of all single and lower chambers have between 10 and 20% young legislators. Upper houses fare less well, with the vast majority scoring below 10%.

- When "young" is defined as under 45, some States show substantial progress, most notably the Netherlands with over 60% young parliamentarians in the lower house. Indeed, more than one third of the single and lower chambers examined in the report had more than 30% young people in parliament. Upper houses perform less well, however, with the top countries, like Belgium and Kenya, electing only half as many young representatives.

When youth participation is compared with that of other age cohorts and disaggregated by sex, several notable trends come to light.

- The largest number of parliamentarians, both men and women, falls in the 51-60 age range. Men parliamentarians outnumber women parliamentarians in every single age group.

prevent the ills affecting them in particular", and for "enhancing democracy and placing new issues on the political agenda" (IPU, 2010).

Third, the inclusion of young people in parliaments and other elected assemblies may play an important symbolic role in motivating younger citizens to become more politically involved, by demonstrating that politics is open to their participation and by providing potential role models (Bouza, 2014). At a time when many young people are expressing a "dwindling interest in formal political activity", youth participation can promote "active citizenship" and offer new "opportunities for civic engagement, education, and learning about government", thereby "strengthening young people's social responsibility" (IPU, 2010; see also: Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995).

Despite the importance of youth participation, very little is known about the age profiles of parliamentarians, apart from a handful of individual country studies (Burness, 2000; Kissau, Lutz and Rosset, 2012) and single-region comparisons (Joshi, 2013; Joshi and Och, 2014). There is also little systematic information on mechanisms to enhance youth participation in electoral politics, beyond brief mentions in assorted case studies that often address other topics, like internal party democracy (Scarrow, 1999), candidate selection procedures (Reiser, 2014), or women's representation (Darhour and Dahlerup, 2013).

The paucity of information on youth representation in national parliaments prompted the IPU, in the light of its position as a source of reference information on parliaments globally, to design a questionnaire on youth participation in national parliaments that was distributed to all IPU Member. This report analyses the nearly 100 responses that had been received by the beginning of October. It focuses on patterns in youth representation in national parliaments, statutory regulations regarding the rights to vote and run for political office, and the presence of measures to promote youth participation.

The initial findings point to substantial progress in some countries in electing parliamentarians from younger age cohorts, while other countries continue to lag behind. Gender differences are also evident, with the women who are elected often being from younger age groups. Trends in eligibility ages have been relatively stable, although a handful of countries have lowered their minimum ages to vote or to run for office in recent years. Strategies to promote youth representation encompass measures to elect more young parliamentarians, like youth quotas, and structures to devise and inform public policies that will be responsive to the needs and priorities of young people, including various types of parliamentary bodies. A number of countries have also established youth parliaments, a longer-term measure that can help promote youth participation into the future.

YOUTH AND REPRESENTATION

One of the challenges in a study of young parliamentarians relates to ambiguities surrounding the definitions of "youth" and "political participation". As UNDP (2013, p. 13) notes, many UN entities define "youth" as the population segment between 15 and 24 years of age. However, age-related exclusion in the political sphere often extends beyond the age of 24, so much so that individuals under the age of 35 are rarely found in political office. "Youth" is similarly defined in a broad manner across the survey responses analysed in this report, from 25 to 30, 35, and even 40 years of age. To be consistent with the Rules and Working Modalities of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians, parliamentarians in this report are considered "young" if they are under 45.[6] The concept of "political participation" is similarly broad, being used to describe many different parts of the political process, before, during and after elections. While voting is often viewed as the key political right, discussion at the national and international levels has increasingly moved towards understanding political participation in terms of equal access to decision-making positions as well (Krook and True, 2012). In line with this usage, the term "participation" is used here to refer to numerical presence in parliament and other elective institutions.

[6] *Ibid.*

Debates over participation in this sense have accelerated globally over the last two decades, with women being the main focus of attention. As a result, the percentage of women in national parliaments has nearly doubled in the last 20 years, from 11.7% in 1997 to 21.8% in 2014, according to the IPU's online database on Women in National Parliaments.[7] A key factor driving this change has been the adoption of various types of electoral gender quotas by national parliaments and political parties in more than 100 countries (Krook, 2009). Activism and research have also focused on the political inclusion of ethnic minorities, with seats being reserved for these groups in almost 40 countries (Hughes, 2011; Krook and O'Brien, 2010). Over the last several years, two other groups – sexual minorities and people with disabilities – have come into greater focus as groups that deserve to be included in the political process (Reynolds, 2013). In contrast, only a few countries have discussed or approved age-based quotas – despite the fact that "age" and "gender", according to one survey (Lisi and Freire, 2012), are viewed as the two most widely accepted categories in need of enhanced political representation.

Age, or "youth", may be considered by some to be qualitatively different from these other types of identities simply because it is seen as a temporary phase that people "grow out of" over time – in contrast to features like sex and race, which tend to be seen as less mutable. Nonetheless, as research on socialization suggests, being part of an age cohort can also define a social perspective or reflect a shared experience of certain historical events – all of which can be carried forward in time, with longer-term political implications (Inglehart, 1997; Ingelhart and Norris, 2003). In addition, some policy issues may be of particular concern to young people owing to their position in the life cycle: examples are education, university tuition, employment and military service, and issues like climate change and technology, which will likely have a greater impact on future generations.

There are several reasons why young people may be underrepresented in terms of their numbers in the population. First, the minimum age required to run for office is, in many countries, somewhat higher than the minimum voting age. Young voters must therefore sometimes wait until age 25, 35, or even 45 before they are permitted to present themselves as candidates. This is especially true for the upper house of parliament, which tend to require a higher minimum age.

Second, international studies – and political debates – show that young people are much less likely than older citizens to vote and join political parties (Goerres, 2009). Whether this is due to a general decline in civic engagement (Putnam, 2000) or a tendency among younger cohorts to be less interested in formal political activities (Miller and shanks, 1996) is not clear. However, some observers have suggested that young people remain interested in politics more broadly but are simply more active in alternative forms of political participation (Briggs, 2008; Sloam, 2007). This is because they are turned off, at least in part, by existing political discourses and practices that overlook or exclude their needs and interests (Cammaerts et al.; 2014). These patterns indicate a degree of alienation from formal politics, and pose practical problems when recruiting young candidates, since party membership is typically required by many parties before a person can be selected.

Third, in many political parties, a key informal requirement to be nominated as a parliamentary candidate is prior political experience, often at the local or regional level. Young prospective candidates must thus contend with a double challenge: being viewed as "too young" or "immature" because of their age, and having a short or non-existent political career. Both these factors may render them "less qualified" in the eyes of party elites, regardless of the many resources and new perspectives that young representatives could bring to the political sphere.

[7] See www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010197.htm and www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.

SURVEY FINDINGS

The IPU sent the youth participation survey to all Member Parliaments. By the time of this report, 98 responses had been received from 76 countries: 72 from single or lower houses and 26 from upper houses. In some cases, information was received from only one chamber of a bicameral parliament. A list of respondents is available in Annex 1. Nearly half of the questionnaires returned were from Europe and North America (44 chambers in 35 countries), followed by Africa (18 chambers in 16 countries), Asia (17 chambers in 11 countries), Latin America and the Caribbean (13 chambers in 9 countries), the Pacific (5 chambers in 4 countries), and the Arab States (1 chamber in 1 country). The preliminary results are presented and analysed below, to be updated as new data become available.

The text of the questionnaire is presented in Annex 2. The demographic information requested from each parliament/parliamentary chamber included a breakdown of its members by age cohort and sex, the name, age and sex of the youngest member of parliament, and the political party affiliation of parliamentarians by age and sex.[6] The survey inquired about statutory regulations, namely the minimum age for voting and running for parliament, and whether either of these limits had recently been changed. The final part contained a series of questions about measures to promote youth representation, including the presence of quota policies, caucuses or networks of young parliamentarians or dealing with youth issues, parliamentary committees addressing youth questions, youth parliaments to engage young citizens, and other measures to recruit and support youth participation.

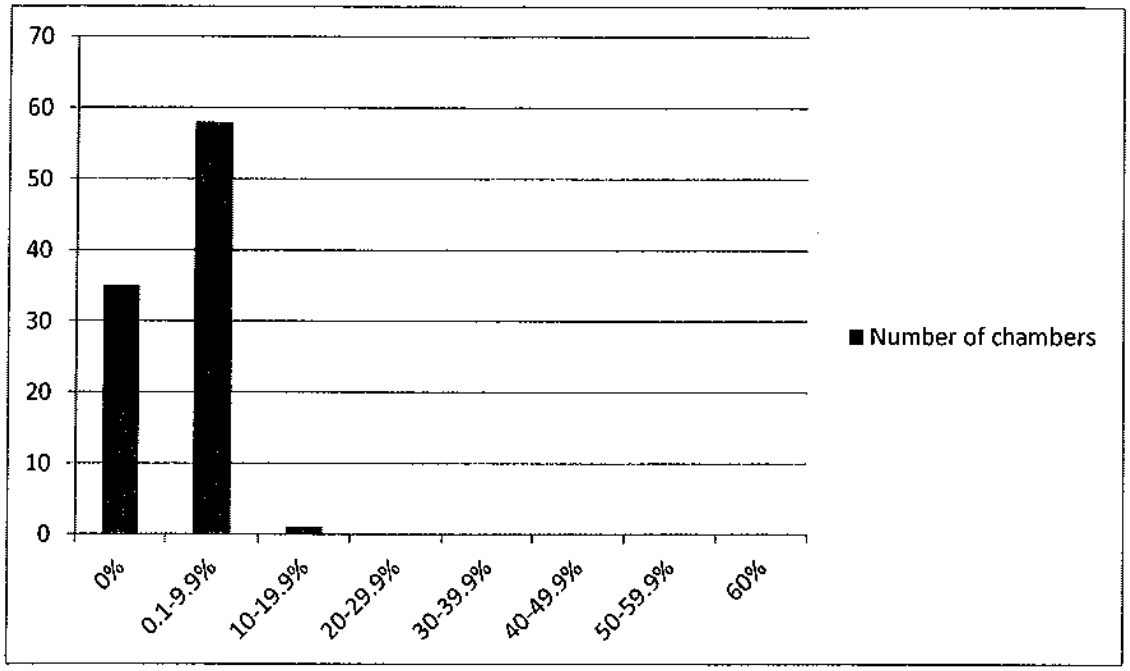
Age cohorts and young parliamentarians

Data were collected on the number of parliamentarians per age cohort disaggregated by sex. Given the debate on the definition of "young" parliamentarians, the responses were analysed using three cut-off ages: 30, 40 and 45. The percentage of parliamentarians in each of these groups was calculated for each parliamentary chamber. Country rankings for single and lowers houses and for upper houses of parliament, respectively, are presented in Annex 3 (percentage of parliamentarians under 30), Annex 4 (percentage under 40) and Annex 5 (percentage under 45).

When "'young" is defined in terms of parliamentarians under 30, the data reveal that the election of very young parliamentarians is extremely rare (see Figure 1). Only one country, Norway, breaks the 10% barrier. Among single and lower chambers of parliament, two thirds have 2% or fewer young legislators – and among these, 20 have no young parliamentarians at all. Upper houses perform even less impressively. Every single chamber has less than 6% young parliamentarians, with Kenya taking the top spot at 5.9%. Three quarters of upper houses have no young parliamentarians.

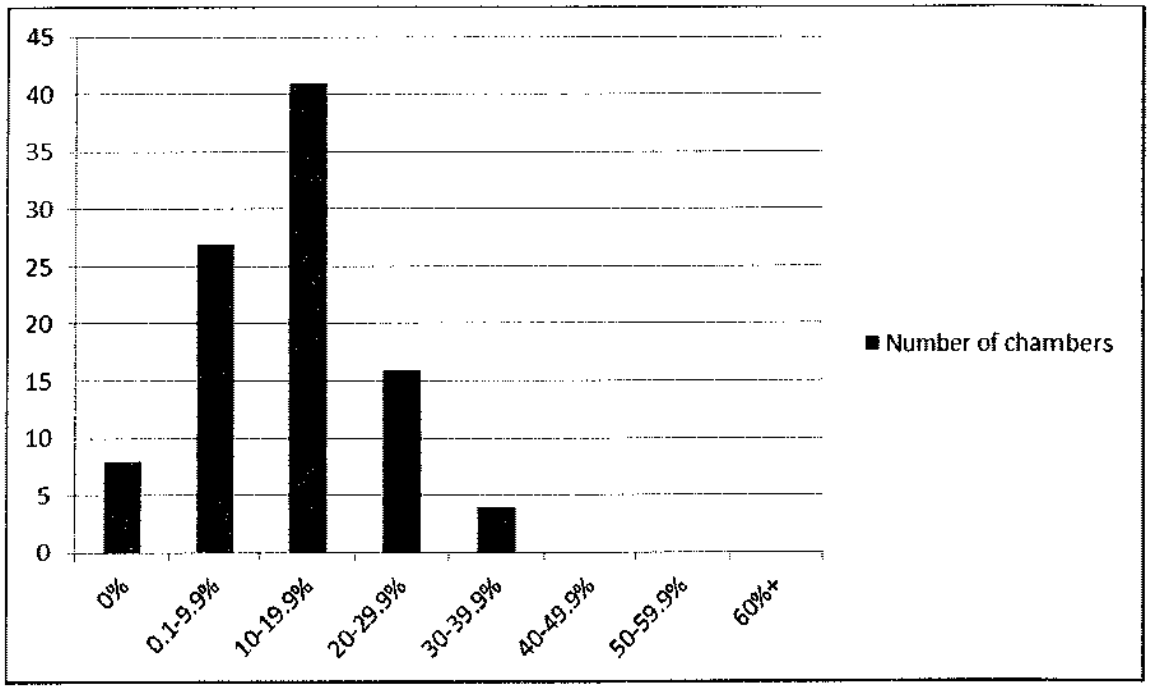
[6] The data on political party affiliations have not yet been analysed.

Figure 1: Percentage of parliamentarians under 30 (all chambers)



When the cut-off is changed to age 40, the proportion of young parliamentarians increases slightly (see Figure 2). Among single and lower houses of parliament, four countries – San Marino, Denmark, Serbia and the Netherlands – break the 30% mark. Just under half of the chambers have between 10 and 20% young parliamentarians. Nearly one quarter have less than 10%, including four with no young lawmakers. Among upper houses, only Kenya and Belgium exceed 20% parliamentarians under the age of 40. The majority, 18 of the 25 chambers with data, fall below 10%. These patterns suggest that, while youth participation remains impressive in a handful of countries, the trend towards inclusion remains weak when "young" is defined as being under 40 years old. Upper houses continue to perform less well than single and lower houses of parliament overall.

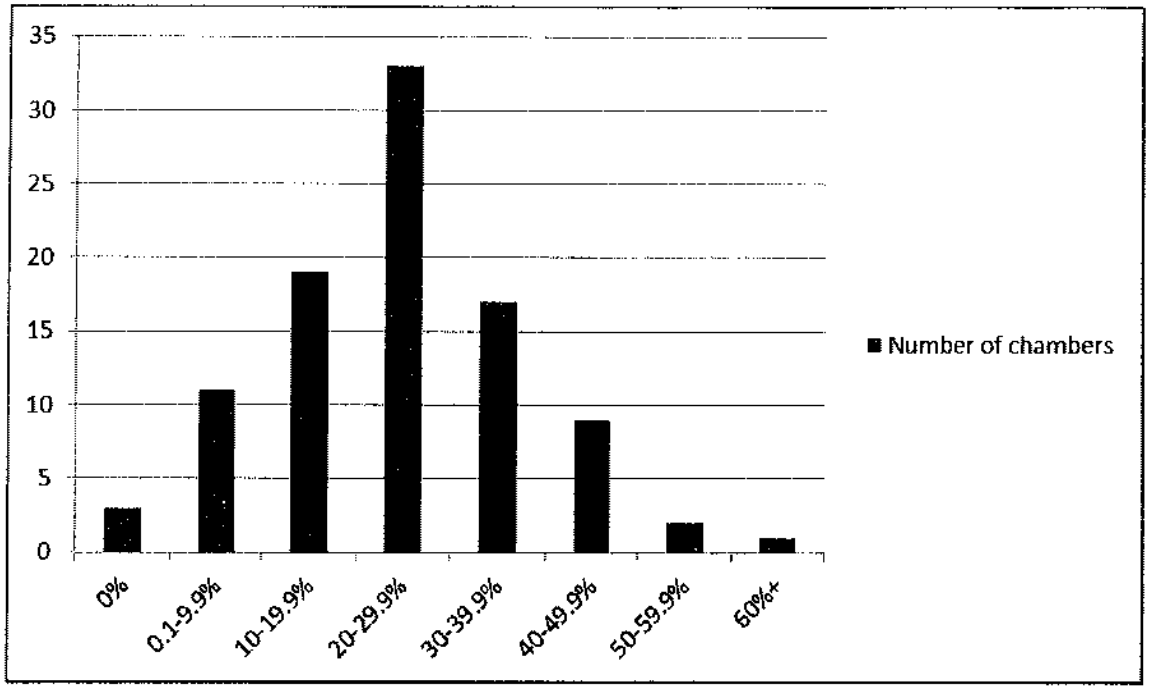
Figure 2: Percentage of parliamentarians under 40 (all chambers)



When the definition of "young" is expanded to include parliamentarians aged under 45, the picture changes quite dramatically (see Figure 3), with some States making substantial progress. Among single and lower houses of parliament, the Netherlands tops the rankings with more than 60% young parliamentarians. It is followed by San Marino and Andorra with 50% or more. In all, more than one third of the chambers in the study surpassed 30% young people in parliament. In contrast, only two countries, the Pacific Island nations of the Federated States of Micronesia and Tuvalu, had no young parliamentarians. Only five had fewer than 10%.

Developments are less positive when upper houses are examined. The overall share of youth in parliament decreases substantially in comparison, with the top countries, Belgium and Kenya, electing more than 30% young parliamentarians – only half the share in the highest-ranking countries among single or lower houses of parliament. Over one third of upper chambers have less than 10% young parliamentarians, although only one country – Uruguay – has none at all.

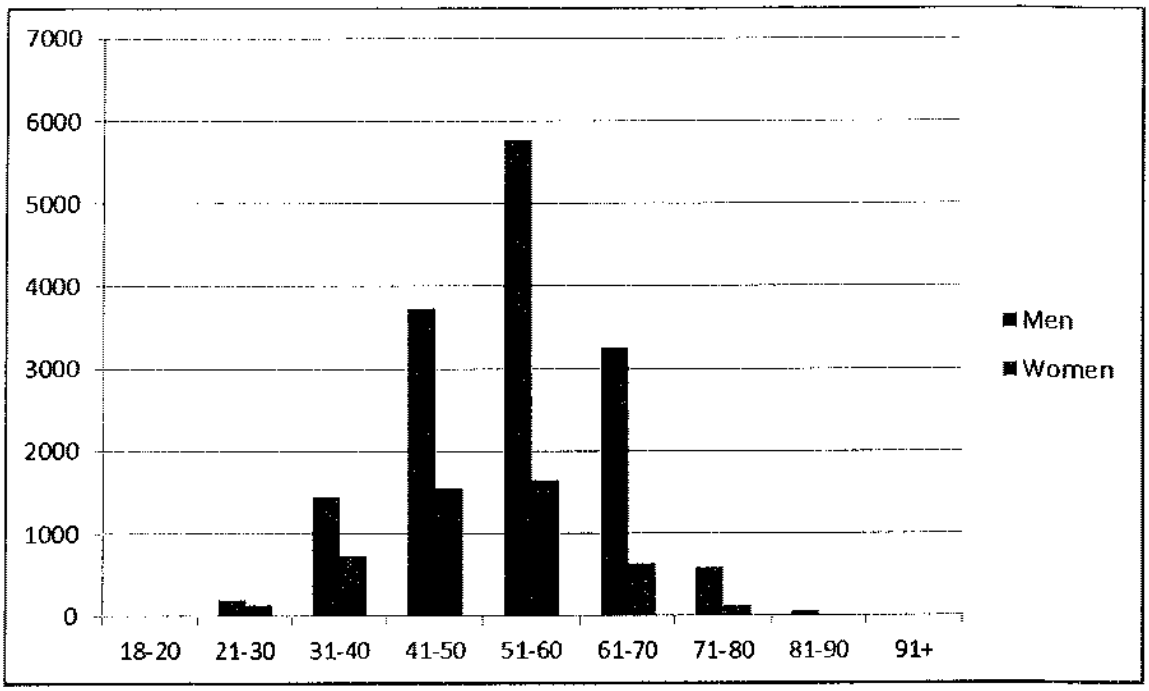
Figure 3: Percentage of parliamentarians under 45 (all chambers)



To contextualize youth representation in relation to that of other age groups, the analysis next examined patterns across age cohorts, divided by sex. Figure 4 maps the number of parliamentarians in each age cohort across all of the 98 parliamentary chambers responding to the questionnaire. Several trends are apparent from the data. First, when all parliamentarians are considered, the largest number by far – both men and women – fall in the 51-60 age range. The next largest group is the 41-50 age cohort. Most parliamentarians are therefore middle-aged, with younger – as well as older – groups far less well represented.

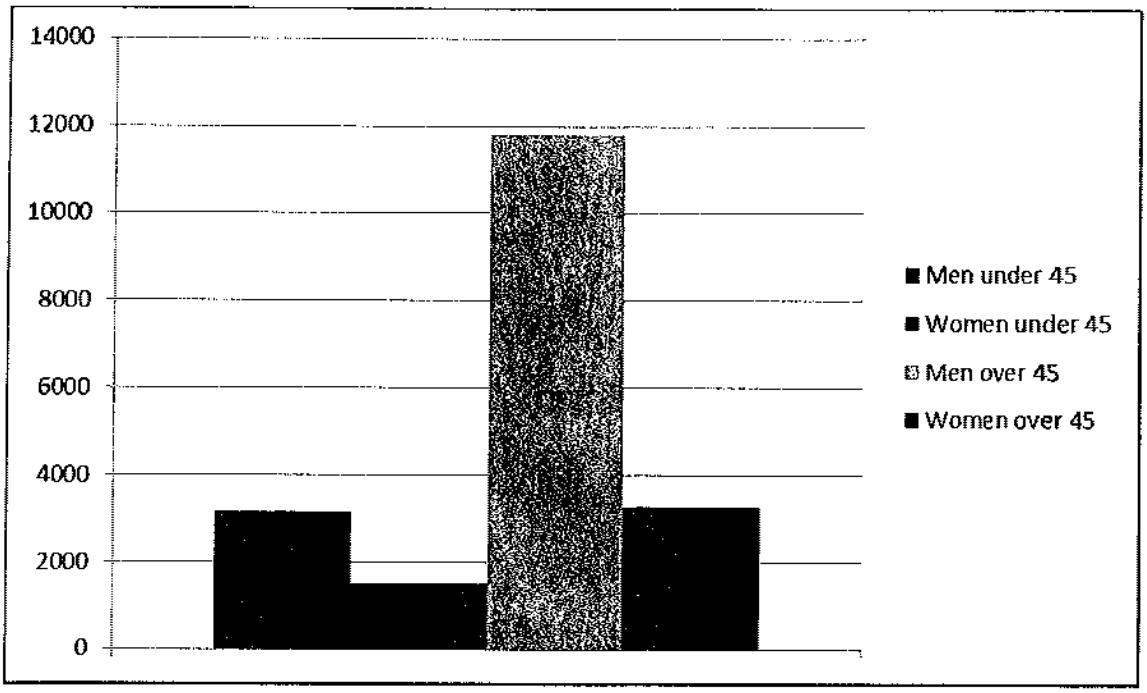
Second, within each age cohort, men parliamentarians outnumber women parliamentarians, in most cases by significant margins. A closer look at these disparities yields an interesting observation. The three largest groups of men, in absolute numbers, are those in the 41-50, 51-60 and 61-70 age groups. The three most dominant groups of women, however, are collectively younger, falling in the 31-40, 41-50 and 51-60 age cohorts. Women legislators on balance, therefore, are more likely to be younger than their male counterparts.

Figure 4: Number of men versus women parliamentarians by age cohort (all chambers)



Third, there are important interaction effects between age and sex. Figure 5 divides men and women parliamentarians according to the IPU-defined threshold of age 45. Viewed in absolute numbers, the graph is striking: there are more men than women in both age groups, but men over the age of 45 far outnumber members of the three other groups. Another unexpected finding is the comparable numbers of younger men and older women elected. The biggest gap, in contrast, is between younger women and older men, suggesting that younger women are doubly disadvantaged compared to parliamentarians with other demographic profiles.

Figure 5: Number of men and women parliamentarians under and over age 45 (all chambers)



The final analysis concerns the youngest parliamentarians in each chamber and the age at which they were first elected. In two thirds of the chambers responding to the survey, the youngest lawmakers were first elected when they were between the ages of 21 and 30. One fifth arrived in parliament between the ages of 31 and 40. The youngest representatives in six houses of parliament were first elected between the ages of 18 and 20, while five were first elected between 41 and 50.[9] About two thirds are men, while less than one third are women. The youngest lawmakers, therefore, are more often young men than young women, although women command a respectable share, confirming the general trends illustrated above.

Statutory regulations

One possible explanation for the relative absence of young people in parliament, especially among the youngest age groups, may be the laws regulating political rights. The survey therefore requested information on eligibility ages for voting and running for parliamentary office. The responses reveal that the voting age of 18 is more or less universal (85%, or 83 of the 98 responses received), with virtually no differences across parliamentary chambers. Citizens have the right to vote at earlier ages – 16 and 17 – in Austria, Cuba, Nicaragua and Indonesia. They must wait to vote later – at ages 19, 20 and 21 – in the Republic of Korea, Cameroon, Japan and Malaysia.[10]

In contrast, the age at which a citizen can stand as a candidate varies more widely. The largest share of chambers in the survey stipulates a minimum age of 18 (43%, or 42 chambers). More commonly, however, citizens must wait several years after gaining the right to vote before they are eligible to run for parliamentary office – usually until age 21 (18%, or 18 chambers) or 25 (19%, or 19 chambers). The longest wait is generally required to run for election to the upper house of parliament, where the minimum age for candidates can be as high as 35, as for the upper houses in Brazil, Burundi, Paraguay and the Philippines, or even 40, which is the case for the upper houses in Cameroon, Rwanda and Zimbabwe.

[9] Several chambers had to be excluded for lack of data.
[10] The upper houses in India, Ireland and Switzerland are indirectly elected by members of other bodies in which age ranges vary.

Putting these two pieces of information together, there is no gap in age required to vote and to run for election in 35 chambers (36%) in the survey. The gap in the other 56 chambers (57%), however, is not the same in all cases. It ranges from two years in Austria and Cuba to as many as 22 years for the upper houses in Rwanda and Zimbabwe. The most common eligibility gaps are three years (15 chambers) and seven years (17 chambers), reflecting common candidate eligibility ages of 21 and 25.

Very few countries have recently changed their statutory regulations. Those countries that have, however, have moved uniformly to reduce their age requirements. Austria, for example, lowered the voting age from 18 to 16, and the age to run for office from 19 to 18, in 2007. In four other cases – Belgium, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, France and Kenya – the age for candidates was lowered as a result of reform. The most dramatic change was in France, where the age required to run for the upper house was reduced from 35 to 24 in 2008.

Measures to promote youth participation

In addition to collecting information on the age and sex of parliamentarians, the survey inquired about the presence of measures to promote the participation and representation of young people in the work of national parliaments.

Youth quotas

Youth quotas could, it would seem, directly contribute to the election of more young parliamentarians. According to survey responses, however, they are only rarely used to bolster youth participation. Kenya's 2010 Constitution reserves two seats for people aged 18 to 35 in the upper house, one man and one woman, allocated by political parties based on the number of seats won in the election. Along similar lines, the 2003 Constitution in Rwanda reserves two seats in the lower house for citizens under 35, to be chosen by an electoral college including members of the National Youth Council. The data returned by Rwanda (lower house) indicate that these two seats are held by one woman, aged 21-30, and one man, aged 31-40. Interestingly, of the 24 seats reserved for women, 11 are held by women under 40 (45.8%) and 16 by women aged between 41 and 45 (66.7%).

Other quota policies used by the chambers responding to the questionnaire include quotas adopted by political parties, like Democratic Rally (20% quota for those under 45, adopted in 2010) and Movement for Social Democracy (20% quota for those under 35, adopted in 2008) in Cyprus, the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (15% quota for youth in party leadership and electoral lists, adopted in 2002) in Nicaragua, and the Social Democratic Party (25% quota for those under 25) in Sweden. The response from Mozambique indicated that a party quota was used, but no further details were provided. In Cuba, there is a "general policy" to incentivize the promotion of young candidates, while the constitution of the Labour Party in New Zealand states that electoral lists should "fairly" represent youth and other groups.

In terms of other legal measures, the response from Viet Nam indicated that reserved seats and statutory candidate quotas were used, but no further details were provided. In the Philippines (lower house), the proportional representation list portion of the electoral system (20% of the total number of seats) must include 50% candidates from a variety of sectors – "labor, peasant, urban poor, indigenous cultural communities, women" – as well as young people.

Quotas for young people exist in other countries but were not indicated in the responses. Seats are reserved to young people in Morocco (30 seats for young men), Kenya (12 seats in the lower house for youth, persons with disabilities and workers), and Uganda (5 seats for people under 30, one of whom must be a woman). Statutory candidate quotas are imposed on all political parties in Peru (20% legislative quota for those under 30 in local and regional elections), Sri Lanka (the 40% legislative quota for those under 35 was converted into a 25% quota for women and youth in 2012), Tunisia (at least one candidate under 35 among the top four candidates on party lists) and Egypt (a minimum of 16 candidates on party lists across the four electoral districts). Quotas for young people have also been

established by political parties in Croatia (Social Democratic Party since 2004), Germany ("newcomer quota" in various political parties), Nicaragua (40% combined quota for women and youth in the Liberal Constitutionalist Party), and Senegal (20% in the Senegal Socialist Party).

An open-ended question about other initiatives taken to promote youth representation in parliament yielded several further related responses. Kenya's Constitution, for example, obliges parliament to enact legislation to promote the representation in parliament of several marginalized groups, including young people. In Burundi (lower house), a legislative act permits parties to place young party members in national positions. In a parallel manner, the parliament in San Marino appoints a Standing Committee on Youth Policies that is not composed of legislators, presumably to bring young people into the political decision-making process. Finally, party youth wings were mentioned in several surveys as a more indirect mechanism for identifying and grooming future party candidates.

Parliamentary networks

The survey next asked two questions regarding the presence of youth caucuses or networks, either bringing together young parliamentarians or dealing with youth issues within parliament. While not very common, networks exist in several chambers and appear in most cases to have been created fairly recently. In total, 17 networks were mentioned in the responses (17%). Some networks among young elected parliamentarians are more formal in nature, like the Network of Young Parliamentarians in Cameroon, established in 2010, the Young Parliamentarians Association in Kenya, created in 2004, and the Youth Parliamentarian Cabinet in Mozambique, set up in 2010. Others are more informal groupings, as in Chile, Finland and the Philippines.

Other networks are not exclusively composed of young parliamentarians, but rather serve to coordinate the work of parliamentarians concerned with promoting youth issues in public policy. These types of groups include the bicameral Parliamentary Forum on Youth in India, the Parliamentary Network for Youth Perspectives in Politics in Sweden, and the bicameral Parliamentary Group on Childhood and Youth in Switzerland. Other networks serve as a link to youth parliaments, like the Parliamentary Network in Niger and the Chamber of Young Legislators in the Russian Federation. A more specialized group, finally, is the Youth Group of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union in Germany, which brings together CDU/CSU parliamentarians under 25 to deal with questions of sustainability and intergenerational fairness.

Parliamentary committees

The survey asked whether there were "any parliamentary bodies dealing with youth issues". Forty responses (41%) were "yes", but proceeded to name committees and commissions that did not include words like "youth" or "children" in their titles. These answers provide insight into the types of issues that are associated with young people in countries around the world. Education was perhaps the topic most often mentioned, but other issues that appeared frequently include community, culture, employment, public health, housing, human rights, science, social affairs, social welfare, sports, and technology and social media. One response explained, however, that "youth is a cross-sectional matter" and thus is taken up by all committees (Austria, lower house).

Responses from 31 chambers (32%) listed a parliamentary committee or commission that explicitly includes language about "youth" in its name. As can be seen in Figure 6, many of the same subject areas appear again, particularly education, family and sports. Few of these bodies focus solely on young people or children as part of their remit, exceptions being Ireland (lower house), Japan (lower house), and the Philippines (upper house). While sometimes the focus is "youth" plus one other subject – for example, in the cases of Austria (upper house) and Bangladesh – the more general trend seems to be to place youth and children together within a long series of other issues (Bosnia and Herzegovina, both houses, and Burundi), or together with a host of other marginalized groups (Germany and Myanmar, lower house).

Figure 6: Parliamentary bodies on youth and children

Committee on Family and Youth (Austria, UH)
Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Youth and Sports (Bangladesh)
Joint Committee on Human Rights, Rights of Children, Youth, Immigration, Refugees, Asylum and Ethics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, both houses)
Commission on Education, Youth, Sports and Leisure, Culture and Communication (Burundi, LH)
Commission on Education, Professional Formation, and Youth (Cameroon, LH)
Committee on the Family, Youth and Sports (Croatia)
Commission on Youth, Childhood and Women's Equal Rights (Cuba)
Committee on Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (Germany)
Special Permanent Committee on Equality, Youth and Human Rights (Greece)
Committee on Education, Youth, Sports and Culture (Indonesia)
Joint Committee on Health and Children (Ireland, both houses)
Select Committee on Children and Youth Affairs (Ireland, LH)
Special Committee on Children and Youth Affairs (Japan, LH)
Standing Commission for Youth and Sport Affairs (Luxembourg)
Commission on National Education, Childhood and Youth (Luxembourg)
Special Commission on Education and Youth (Monaco)
Peasants, Workers and Youth Affairs Committee (Myanmar, LH)
Education, Health, Women and Children's Affairs Committee (Myanmar, UH)
Standing Committee on Gender, Youth and ICT (Namibia, UH)
Commission of Women, Youth Children, and Family (Nicaragua)
Committee on Youth, Sports and Culture (Paraguay, UH)
Commission on Education, Youth and Sports (Peru)
Senate Committee on Youth (Philippines, UH)
Committee on Youth and Sports Development (Philippines, LH)
Education, Science and Youth Committee (Poland, LH)
Commission on Education, Technology, Culture and Youth (Rwanda, LH)
Committee on Education, Science, Sport and Youth (Slovenia)
Committee on Culture, Education, Youth, Teenagers and Children (Viet Nam)
Committee on Youth and Sport (Zambia)
Committee on Youth Development, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment (Zimbabwe, LH)

UH = upper house of parliament
LH = lower house of parliament

Data on the chairs and members of these committees and commissions reveal great variation, even if in some cases they are not complete. Eighteen chairpersons were men (62%) and eleven were women (38%). They ranged across almost all age cohorts, from 21-30 through 71-80, with the greatest number of chairpersons aged between 51 and 60 (four men and four women). Seven committees (23%) were roughly gender-balanced in terms of their composition, ranging between 40 and 60% members of each sex. Five of these committees (16%) had more than 60% women, while 19 (61%) comprised more than 60% men. Nine committees (36%) had more than 50% members under the age of 45, while 16 (64%) had below 50% and were dominated by older age cohorts.

Youth parliaments

The final question in the survey concerned youth parliaments, a measure that can help promote youth participation into the future. Youth parliaments exist in 35 countries responding to the questionnaire (36%). The idea has also been discussed but not yet adopted in Bosnia and Herzegovina (upper house). According to the responses, youth parliaments in 14 countries (40%) enjoy a formal affiliation with the national parliament. However, the rest are informal and not affiliated formally to national parliaments – even though parliamentarians and parliamentary staff are involved in some of the organizing and the

parliament building itself is used for meetings. Rather, primary organizing responsibility lies with non-governmental organizations, government ministries, and schools and other local authorities.

The age groups targeted vary enormously. Some youth parliaments direct their efforts at children between the ages of 8 and 13 or 14 (5 countries, or 14%). Another set is primarily focused on engaging teenagers (10 countries, or 29%). The largest group, according to the survey responses, focuses on young people from around the voting ages of 16 or 18 through to ages 30 or 35 (18 countries, or 51%). Thirteen reported data on the gender of participants, with most available information suggesting a rough gender balance of 40 to 60% members of each sex. Participants are selected via a variety of methods, most often through an application process that goes to a central committee or school-based election procedures (9 countries each), but also occasionally through open and public elections (4 countries). In several cases, local youth councils play a role in the process. The frequency of activities is similarly varied. Most youth parliaments meet once a year, typically in the parliament building, after weeks or months of preparation (16 countries, or 46%). Others are conceived as an annual programme (3 countries, or 9%) or as a cycle of activities leading to a formal meeting every other year (5 countries, or 14%).

The objectives of youth parliaments fall into three broad categories. The first is a *deliberative function.* The aim is to listen to young people and give them a chance to express their points of view (Andorra), improving their opportunities to be heard (Finland) and articulate their concerns (Malta). This will give them a voice to define the "youth agenda" for public policy (Belarus; Kenya, upper house; Portugal; Suriname; Zimbabwe, lower house), to be transmitted – in some cases – directly to policymakers (Latvia; Luxembourg; Philippines, upper house) and even on live television (Montenegro). Another purpose is to create ongoing connections among young people and between them and parliamentary and government officials (Estonia; Ireland, lower house; Russian Federation, both houses; South Africa, lower house; Sweden).

A second objective is *awareness-raising*. Youth parliaments seek to confer knowledge about parliamentary decision-making procedures (Austria, upper house; Greece; Peru; Portugal; Sweden), providing insight into the duties of lawmakers through simulations of parliamentary work, including preparing bills, participating in debates, and voting on laws (Andorra; Democratic Republic of the Congo, lower house; France, lower house; Latvia; Slovenia). Some responses characterize this process as an "apprenticeship" (Niger) or "education on democracy" (Slovenia). In New Zealand, the experience is "as close as possible to the real thing", including constituency work and interacting with a youth press gallery. Even if the participants do not go on to be elected, the experience can help them learn how to influence government decision-making as citizens (Trinidad and Tobago, lower house).

A third purpose of youth parliaments is *political empowerment*. The hope is that providing young people with the experience of participatory democracy will increase active citizenship and arouse interest in public affairs (Estonia; Finland), by encouraging the development of debating and other leadership skills (Portugal; Zimbabwe, lower house). While one aim is to strengthen youth leadership in parliament (Peru), a broader goal is to promote youth-led advocacy in civil society (Australia; Belarus; Poland, lower house), thereby contributing to further democratization (Mozambique) and fostering a more positive image of youth and politics (Luxembourg).

CONCLUSIONS

The recent wave of interest in youth political participation, especially at the international level, signals a crucial new opening for debates and proposals to enhance the inclusion of young people and their perspectives in the political process. This report offers a preliminary mapping of young people in national parliaments around the world, providing the first global ranking of countries in relation to the percentage of young people in parliament under the ages of 30, 40 and 45. Based on the available data, the analysis reveals that most legislators fall in the 51-60 age range, albeit with some variations among men and women, with women being more likely to come from younger cohorts.

In terms of statutory regulations, trends in eligibility ages have been relatively stable, although a handful of countries has lowered the minimum ages to vote or to run for office in recent years. More strikingly, a variety of strategies have been developed in different countries to elect more young people to parliament, like youth quotas, to connect and support the work of young parliamentarians, especially as it concerns issues important to youth, and to build up the next generation of leaders through youth parliaments and other initiatives to engage younger cohorts of citizens, raising their interest in politics and enhancing their political efficacy. This mapping exercise thus reveals some encouraging patterns and some emerging "best practices" that support the task of engaging more young people in the work of national parliaments.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Collect systematic data: With the help of national parliaments, the IPU should collect and report data on the age of parliamentarians, disaggregated by sex. This information can then be used to assess progress – and the need for action – to ensure that young men and women are included in greater numbers in national parliaments.

Publish global rankings: The IPU should create a dedicated webpage for displaying and comparing data on youth representation among its Member Parliaments, along the lines of its well-established rankings for Women in National Parliaments, reporting national data[11] and world and regional averages[12]. The data should be periodically updated online and accompanied by an annual report, similar to the annual review published for women parliamentarians.[13]

Recognize diversity among youth: All data and reports on this topic should avoid treating "youth" as a homogeneous group. The data in this study indicate important differences between age ranges and between young men and women in terms of their opportunities to enter parliament, which should be taken into account when designing policies for political inclusion. Depending on the country context, other identities may also be relevant dividing lines.

Align the eligibility ages to vote and run for political office: Most countries stipulate a minimum age of 18 to vote. In most cases, however, citizens must wait a period of years before they are eligible to stand as candidates, particularly in elections to the upper house of parliament. Data in this report suggest a clear relationship between higher eligibility ages and the lower representation of young lawmakers. Opening up spaces in parliament to young people thus requires that these ages be aligned.

Adopt youth quotas: Youth quotas are used only rarely as a mechanism to promote the inclusion of young people in politics. Yet the evidence from the widespread use of quotas for women reveals that, if well designed, such measures can be very effective in increasing the representation of marginalized groups. Depending on opportunities within the national context, quotas for young people could be pursued as part of constitutional or electoral reforms, or, alternatively, as voluntary policies inside

[11] See www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm.
[12] See www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm.
[13] See for example www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf.

individual political parties. To aid the search for options, the IPU might consider commissioning a more systematic study of the use and design of youth quotas around the world.

Explore synergies with policies of inclusion for other groups: Some youth quotas explicitly specify that they be allocated to both men and women. Conversely, the data provided by Rwanda in response to the questionnaire show that the fact of reserving seats in the lower house for women was very effective in electing a large proportion of young women parliamentarians. To avoid electing only members of dominant groups, new and existing group-based policies should be designed or reformed to ensure that a diverse group of parliamentarians with that group background is elected.

Promote information sharing on youth-oriented parliamentary bodies: The IPU has supported the collection of data on parliamentary caucuses[14] and committees[15] focused on women and the promotion of women's issues in public policy. A similar initiative should be undertaken to support the development of networks among young parliamentarians and of a more systematic focus on youth issues in the work of parliaments.

Raise awareness of the need for more young people in politics: A great deal of global attention has been paid to the twin developments of youth apathy and youth engagement in less traditional political venues. Promoting the election of more young parliamentarians can serve as one strategy to respond to both of these developments, by signaling to young people that politics is open to them and rethinking conventional ways of "doing politics" within formal institutions. These efforts can be bolstered by further investment in structures like youth parliaments and youth councils, which can give young people an opportunity to voice their opinions, learn how to participate in and influence the policy process, and develop the skills needed to be politically effective.

[14] See http://w3.ipu.org/en.
[15] See www.ipu.org/parline-e/Instanceadvanced.asp.

REFERENCES

Bouza, Luis. 2014. *Addressing Youth Absenteeism in European Elections*. Stockholm: International IDEA and European Youth Forum.

Briggs, Jacqueline Ellen. 2008. "Young Women and Politics: An Oxymoron?" *Journal of Youth Studies* 11 (6): 579-592.

Burness, Catriona. 2000. "Young Swedish Members of Parliament: Changing the World?" *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 8 (2): 93-106.

Cammaerts, Bart, Michael Bruter, Shakuntala Banaji, Sarah Harrison, and Nick Anstead. 2014. "The Myth of Youth Apathy: Young Europeans' Critical Attitudes Toward Democratic Life." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58 (5): 645-664.

Carroll, Katherine Blue. 2011. "Not Your Parents' Political Party: Young Sunnis and the New Iraqi Democracy." *Middle East Policy* 18 (3): 101-121.

Dahlerup, Drude, Zeina Hilal, Nana Kalandadze, and Rumbidzai Kandawasvika-Nhundu. 2013. *Atlas of Gender Quotas.* Stockholm: International IDEA, Inter-Parliamentary Union, and Stockholm University.

Darhour, Hanane and Drude Dahlerup. 2013. "Sustainable Representation of Women through Gender Quotas: A Decade's Experience in Morocco." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (2): 132-142.

Desrues, Thierry. 2012. "Moroccan Youth and the Forming of a New Generation: Social Change, Collective Action, and Political Activism." *Mediterranean Politics* 17 (1): 23-40.

Diuk, Nadia. 2013. "Youth as an Agent for Change: The Next Generation in Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 21 (2): 179-196.

Farthing, Rys. 2010. "The Politics of Youthful Antipolitics: Representing the 'Issue' of Youth Participation in Politics." *Journal of Youth Studies* 13 (2): 181-195.

Goerres, Achim. 2009. *The Political Participation of Older People in Europe.* New York: Palgrave.

Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 10 (3): 604-620.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

IPU. 2010. *Youth Participation in the Democratic Process*. Resolution adopted by the 122nd IPU Assembly, Bangkok, Thailand.

IPU. 2013. *Rules and Working Modalities of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians of the IPU*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Joshi, Devin K. 2013. "The Representation of Younger Age Cohorts in Asian Parliaments: Do Electoral Systems Make a Difference?" *Representation* 49 (1): 1-16.

Joshi, Devin K. 2014. "The Inclusion of Excluded Majorities in South Asian Parliaments: Women, Youth, and the Working Class." *Journal of Asian and African Studies.*

Joshi, Devin and Malliga Och. 2014. "Talking About My Generation and Class? Unpacking the Descriptive Representation of Women in Asian Parliaments." *Women's Studies International Forum*.

Kissau, Kathrin, Georg Lutz, and Jan Rosset. 2012. "Unequal Representation of Age Groups in Switzerland." *Representation* 48 (1): 63-81.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True. 2012. "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality." *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 103-127.

Lisi, Marco and André Freire. 2012. "Political Equality and the Process of Candidate Selection: MPs' Views in Comparative Perspective." *Representation* 48 (4): 373-386.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.

Matthews, Hugh. 2001. "Citizenship, Youth Councils, and Young People's Participation." *Journal of Youth Studies* 4 (3): 299-318.

Miller, Warren E. and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Patrikios, Stratos and Mark Shephard. 2014. "Representative and Useful? An Empirical Assessment of the Representative Nature and Impact of the Scottish Youth Parliament." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 20 (2): 236-254.

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Reiser, Marion. 2014. "The Universe of Group Representation in Germany: Analysing Formal and Informal Party Rules and Quotas in the Process of Candidate Selection." *International Political Science Review* 25 (1): 55-66.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107 (2): 259-274.

Scarrow, Susan E. 1999. "Parties and the Expansion of Democracy." *Party Politics* 5 (3): 341-362.

Shephard, Mark and Stratos Patrikios. 2013. "Making Democracy Work by Early Formal Engagement? A Comparative Exploration of Youth Parliaments in the EU." *Parliamentary Affairs* 66 (4): 752-771.

Sloam, James. 2007. "Rebooting Democracy: Youth Participation in Politics in the UK." *Parliamentary Affairs* 60 (4): 548-567.

UNDESA. 2013. *World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision*. New York: United Nations Office of Development and Social Affairs.

UNDP. 2013. *Enhancing Youth Political Participation throughout the Electoral Process*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

UNDP. 2014. *UNDP Youth Strategy 2014-2017: Empowered Youth, Sustainable Future*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

Annex 1: List of respondents

Andorra
Australia (lower and upper houses)
Austria (lower and upper houses)
Bangladesh
Belarus (upper house)
Belgium (lower and upper houses)
Bosnia and Herzegovina (lower and upper houses)
Brazil (lower and upper houses)
Burundi (lower house)
Cameroon (lower house)
Canada (lower and upper houses)
Cabo Verde
Chad
Chile (lower house)
China
Croatia
Cuba
Cyprus
Democratic Republic of the Congo (lower house)
Denmark
Equatorial Guinea (lower house)
Estonia
Finland
France (lower and upper houses)
Germany (lower house)
Greece
Hungary
Iceland
India (lower and upper houses)
Indonesia
Ireland (lower and upper houses)
Japan (lower and upper houses)
Kenya (upper house)
Latvia
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Malaysia (lower and upper houses)
Malta
Mauritius
Micronesia (Federated States of)
Monaco
Mongolia
Montenegro
Mozambique
Myanmar (lower and upper houses)
Namibia (upper house)
Netherlands (lower and upper houses)
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Norway
Paraguay (lower and upper houses)
Peru
Philippines (lower and upper houses)
Poland (lower and upper houses)
Portugal
Qatar
Republic of Korea
Russian Federation (upper house)
Rwanda (lower and upper houses)
San Marino
Sao Tomé and Principe
Serbia
Slovenia
South Africa (lower house)
Spain (lower and upper houses)
Sri Lanka
Suriname
Sweden
Switzerland (lower and upper houses)
Trinidad and Tobago
Tuvalu
Uruguay (lower and upper houses)
Viet Nam
Zambia
Zimbabwe (lower and upper houses)

Annex 2: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS

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

The survey is on young members of national parliaments, as opposed to members of youth parliaments[16]. Please note that only question 10 deals with youth parliaments.

The survey findings will be presented at the IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, which will be held on 10 and 11 October 2014 in Geneva.

Country

Parliament/Chamber
[For bicameral systems, please complete a separate questionnaire for each chamber]

Completed by [name/title]

Contact e-mail

Date

*Please complete and return this form by **1 September 2014** to IPU Secretariat by e-mail to nr@ipu.org or by fax to +41 22 919 41 60. Questions can be directed to Ms. Zeina Hilal via e-mail zh@ipu.org.*

[16] A youth parliament is a platform – outside and beyond young parliamentarians themselves – to engage young people and expose them to democratic process and practices.

1. **Please indicate the number of parliamentarians per age group:**

Age Group *(Year Born)*	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
18-20 *(1996-1994)*			
21-30 *(1993-1984)*			
31-40 *(1983-1974)*			
41-45 *(1973-1969)*			
46-50 *(1968-1964)*			
51-60 *(1963-1954)*			
61-70 *(1953-1944)*			
71-80 *(1943-1934)*			
81-90 *(1933-1924)*			
91 and over *(1923 and before)*			

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

Name	
M ☐ ☐ F	
Year of birth/ age	
Year of election/appointment/nomination	
Phone number	
E-mail	

1. **Please confirm, correct or complete the following data:**

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

Supplementary: Has either age requirement been changed recently?

Yes ☐ ☐ No

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

2. **Do any measures exist to ensure or facilitate the election/appointment/nomination of young parliamentarians?**

Yes ☐ ☐ No

If yes, please answer the following questions:

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

Age or age-group:

Which of the following special measures are in use?

Measure	**Yes**	**No**	**Do Not Know**
Reserved seats[17]			
Legal candidate quotas[18]			
Political party quotas[19]			
Other measures			
If other, please specify:			

If yes: Please provide details on the measure(s) in place.

Number of seats and/or percentage of candidates (if multiple measures are in place, please describe them separately):
Year adopted (if known):
Year modified (if applicable):
Mechanism for selection (separate election, similar to other candidates, chosen by youth organization;

[17] Policies/legislation that guarantee young people a minimum number of seats in parliament
[18] Policies/legislation that require all political parties to nominate a minimum percentage of young candidates
[19] Policies adopted by individual political parties to ensure a certain proportion of young candidates

please provide full details, if possible):
Source (constitutional provision, electoral law, party constitution; please provide full details, if possible):
Any additional information:

3. **Are there any other initiatives taken in the country to promote youth representation in parliament?**

   Yes ☐ ☐ No
   If yes: Please provide details.

4. **Is there a caucus or network of young parliamentarians within parliament?**

Yes ☐ ☐ No

If yes: Please provide details on the caucus or network of young parliamentarians.

Name of group:
Formal[20] **or informal**[21]**:**
Year established (if known):

5. **Is there a caucus or network dealing with youth issues within parliament?**

Yes ☐ ☐ No

If yes: Please provide details:

Name of group:
Formal[22] **or informal**[23]**:**
Year established (if known):

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

Yes ☐ ☐ No

If yes, please answer the following questions:

[20] Formal being affiliated to parliament
[21] Informal being not affiliated to parliament
[22] Formal being affiliated to parliament
[23] Informal being not affiliated to parliament

What is the nature of the parliamentary body or bodies?

Type	Yes	No
Standing committee[24]		
Ad hoc committee		
Other body		
If other, please specify:		

Please provide details on the parliamentary body or bodies.

Name of body:
Chairperson (name, sex, age):
Size (number of members):
Number of men members:
Number of women members:
Number of members below the age of 45:

[24] Parliamentary commission/committee or sub-commission/sub-committee, etc.

7. **Please provide data on political party affiliation of parliamentarians per age-group and sex:**

Party Name	Sex	18-20	21-30	31-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91 and over
1.	Male										
	Female										
2.	Male										
	Female										
3.	Male										
	Female										
4.	Male										
	Female										
5.	Male										
	Female										
6.	Male										
	Female										
7.	Male										
	Female										
8.	Male										
	Female										

If necessary, please insert additional rows (or add additional pages).

8. **Is there a youth parliament in your country?**

Yes ☐ ☐ No

If yes: Please provide details.

Name:
Formal[25] **or informal**[26] (please explain)**:**
Targeted age group (for example, "under 25" or "ages 18-30"):
Size (number of members):
Number of boys/young men members:
Number of girls/young women members:
Process for selecting members (open vote, nomination, etc.):
Purpose (stated goals):
Activities and frequency:
Website (if one exists):
Other information:

[25] Formal being affiliated to parliament
[26] Informal being not affiliated to parliament

Annex 3: Members of parliament under 30, in per cent

Single and lower houses of parliament*		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	10.1	Norway
2	9.0	Denmark
3	6.0	Cuba
"	"	Latvia
4	5.8	Chile
5	5.6	Slovenia
6	4.8	Serbia
7	4.7	Canada
8	4.4	Austria
9	3.7	Sweden
10	3.6	Andorra
11	3.3	Luxembourg
"	"	San Marino
12	3.2	Iceland
13	3.0	Zimbabwe
14	2.9	Indonesia
"	"	Malta
15	2.8	South Africa
16	2.6	Germany
"	"	Netherlands
17	2.5	Paraguay
18	2.4	Bosnia and Herzegovina
"	"	Trinidad and Tobago
19	2.2	India
"	"	Portugal
20	2.0	Belgium
"	"	Estonia
"	"	Hungary
"	"	Poland
21	1.8	Niger
22	1.7	Greece
"	"	Philippines
23	1.6	Brazil
24	1.5	Switzerland
25	1.4	Sri Lanka
26	1.3	Montenegro
"	"	Rwanda
27	1.2	China
"	"	Ireland
"	"	Viet Nam
28	1.1	Nicaragua
29	1.0	Finland
30	0.9	Burundi
"	"	Equatorial Guinea
"	"	Spain
31	0.8	Japan
"	"	New Zealand
32	0.7	Australia

"	"	Croatia
"	"	Lithuania
33	0.6	Zambia
34	0.5	Myanmar
35	0.3	Bangladesh
36	0.2	France
37	0.0	Austria
"	"	Cameroon
"	"	Cabo Verde
"	"	Chad
"	"	Cyprus
"	"	Democratic Republic of the Congo
"	"	Malaysia
"	"	Micronesia (Federated States of)
"	"	Monaco
"	"	Mongolia
"	"	Mozambique
"	"	Peru
"	"	Qatar
"	"	Republic of Korea
"	"	Sao Tomé and Principe
"	"	Suriname
"	"	Tuvalu
"	"	Uruguay

*Data on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Mauritius were not provided.

Upper houses of parliament**		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	5.9	Kenya
2	3.2	Trinidad and Tobago
3	1.7	Belgium
"	"	Ireland
4	1.1	Spain
5	0.5	Myanmar
6	0.0	Australia
"	"	Austria
"	"	Belarus
"	"	Bosnia and Herzegovina
"	"	Brazil
"	"	France
"	"	India
"	"	Japan
"	"	Malaysia
"	"	Namibia
"	"	Netherlands
"	"	Paraguay
"	"	Philippines
"	"	Poland
"	"	Russian Federation
"	"	Rwanda
"	"	Switzerland
"	"	Uruguay

"	"	Zimbabwe***

**Data were not provided on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Canada.
***Calculations for Zimbabwe are based on responses from 38 of 80 legislators.

Annex 4: Members of parliament under 40, in per cent

Single and lower houses of parliament*		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	36.7	San Marino
2	34.1	Denmark
3	31.2	Serbia
4	31.1	Netherlands
5	29.4	Hungary
6	28.7	Belgium
7	27.2	Norway
8	26.7	Chile
9	26.0	Latvia
10	25.6	Slovenia
11	25.5	Burundi
12	25.0	Andorra
13	23.8	Estonia
14	23.0	Portugal
15	22.5	Rwanda
16	21.3	Paraguay
17	20.6	Iceland
18	20.0	Malta
19	19.8	Sweden
20	19.4	Cabo Verde
21	19.0	Bosnia and Herzegovina
"	"	Finland
22	18.3	Ireland
23	18.0	Austria
24	17.9	Indonesia
25	17.6	Germany
26	17.2	Mozambique
27	16.7	Cuba
28	16.4	Sao Tomé and Principe
29	16.1	Poland
30	16.0	Suriname
31	15.8	Philippines
"	"	Zimbabwe
32	15.5	South Africa
33	15.2	Croatia
34	15.0	Greece
"	"	Montenegro
"	"	Switzerland
35	14.5	Mongolia
36	14.1	Canada
"	"	Nicaragua
37	14.0	Spain
38	13.4	Australia
39	12.7	Japan
40	12.6	India
41	12.3	Peru
42	12.1	Lithuania
43	12.0	Chad
44	11.7	Luxembourg

45	10.9	Brazil
46	10.8	Malaysia
47	10.4	Zambia
48	10.2	Myanmar
49	10.0	New Zealand
50	9.8	Democratic Republic of the Congo
51	8.8	Niger
52	7.9	Equatorial Guinea
53	7.6	France
54	7.4	Sri Lanka
55	7.3	Trinidad and Tobago
56	7.1	Uruguay
57	6.7	Viet Nam
58	5.7	Bangladesh
"	"	Qatar
59	5.6	China
60	2.3	Republic of Korea
61	1.8	Cyprus
62	0.0	Cameroon
"	"	Micronesia (Federated States of)
"	"	Monaco
"	"	Tuvalu

*Data were not provided on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Mauritius.

Upper houses of parliament**		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	20.6	Kenya
2	20.0	Belgium
3	18.6	Ireland
4	13.3	Bosnia and Herzegovina
5	11.5	Myanmar
6	10.3	Australia
7	10.2	Spain
8	9.5	Japan
9	8.6	Russian Federation
10	8.2	Austria
11	6.5	Trinidad and Tobago
12	5.4	Belarus
13	5.3	Netherlands
14	4.8	Malaysia
15	4.3	Switzerland
16	4.2	Philippines
17	3.8	Namibia
18	3.1	Poland
19	3.0	India
20	2.2	Paraguay
21	0.9	France
22	0.0	Brazil
"	"	Rwanda
"	"	Uruguay
"	"	Zimbabwe***

**Data were not provided on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Canada.
***Calculations for Zimbabwe are based on responses from 38 of 80 legislators.

Annex 5: Members of parliament under 45, in per cent

Single and lower houses of parliament*		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	60.3	Netherlands
2	53.3	San Marino
3	50.0	Andorra
4	49.3	Belgium
5	48.6	Denmark
6	46.5	Equatorial Guinea
7	46.3	Paraguay
8	44.8	Serbia
9	44.4	Slovenia
10	44.0	Latvia
11	41.7	Portugal
12	40.6	Hungary
13	39.6	Burundi
14	39.2	Cuba
15	38.8	Rwanda
16	38.5	Norway
17	38.3	Chile
18	37.7	Indonesia
19	37.1	Malta
20	35.6	Estonia
21	34.7	Cabo Verde
22	32.7	Sao Tomé and Principe
"	"	Sweden
23	32.3	Ireland
24	31.7	Austria
"	"	Iceland
25	31.5	Australia
26	29.2	Germany
27	29.1	Zimbabwe
28	28.9	Mongolia
29	28.0	Poland
30	27.3	Zambia
31	27.0	Finland
32	26.6	Democratic Republic of the Congo
33	26.3	Greece
"	"	Montenegro
"	"	South Africa
34	26.2	Peru
35	26.1	Spain
36	26.0	Philippines
"	"	Suriname
37	25.0	Japan
"	"	New Zealand
38	24.4	Mozambique
39	24.2	Canada
40	24.0	Switzerland
41	23.0	Chad
42	22.9	India

43	22.7	Sri Lanka
44	22.0	Trinidad and Tobago
45	21.7	Luxembourg
46	21.2	Brazil
"	"	Uruguay
47	20.3	Niger
48	19.8	Malaysia
49	19.7	Myanmar
50	19.1	Lithuania
51	19.0	Bosnia and Herzegovina
52	18.5	Nicaragua
53	15.5	France
54	15.1	Bangladesh
55	13.5	Viet Nam
56	13.4	Cameroon
57	12.5	Monaco
58	11.6	China
59	8.9	Cyprus
60	6.3	Republic of Korea
61	5.7	Qatar
62	0.0	Micronesia (Federated States of)
		Tuvalu

*Data were not provided on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Mauritius.

Upper houses of parliament**		
Rank	**%**	**Country**
1	36.7	Belgium
2	30.9	Kenya
3	29.2	Philippines
4	27.1	Ireland
5	25.0	Australia
6	23.1	Namibia
7	22.6	Trinidad and Tobago
8	22.1	Myanmar
9	19.3	Spain
10	18.0	Austria
11	16.9	Japan
12	15.2	Paraguay
13	13.3	Bosnia and Herzegovina
14	12.5	Belarus
15	12.3	Russian Federation
16	11.5	Rwanda
17	9.7	Malaysia
18	9.4	India
19	9.3	Netherlands
20	8.7	Switzerland
21	8.2	Poland
22	5.3	Zimbabwe***
23	3.2	France
24	2.5	Brazil
25	0.0	Uruguay

**Data were not provided on the age distribution of parliamentarians in Canada.
***Calculations for Zimbabwe are based on responses from 38 of 80 legislators.