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Realizing Equality for Youth and Women in the Parliament

AUTHOR:

ARYA FERNANDES
Head of Department of Politics and Social Change, CSIS

Contents

Main Findings 3
Introduction 4
Definition and Methodology 5
Overview of the 2024 Legislative Election 6
Party Vote Acquisition Across Different Elections 9
Political Party Seat Acquisition in the 2019 and 2024 Elections 15
Map of Young People in Parliament 18
Map of Women in Parliament 23
Map of Political Dynasties 25
Incumbency Status of Parliament Members 27
Closing 28

List of Tables

1. Electoral System Trajectories from 1999 to 2024 7
2. Number of Voters in the 2024 Election by Domestic and Overseas Citizen Voters 7
3. Trends of Political Party Votes Across Different Elections (%) 10
4. Ten Electoral Districts with the Highest Party Voter Percentage 13
5. Electability of Legislative Candidates Based on Candidate Number Across Different Elections 14
6. Acquisition and Percentage of Each Political Party's Seats in the 2019 and 2024 Elections 16
7. Political Party Seat Acquisition by Province in the 2024 Election 17
8. Comparison of the Ages of Parliament Members at the Global and National Levels 19
9. List of Young Parliament Members in the 2009 Election with Incumbent Status 20
10. Examples of Young Parliament Members Who Built Political Career Paths Leading Up to the 2024 Election 21
11. Average Age of Elected Parliament Members from Each Party That Passed the Parliamentary Threshold in the 2024 Election 22
12. Total Female Candidates and Their Affiliation to Political Dynasties 24
13. The Composition of Elected Parliament Members Based on Their Association with Political Dynasties 25
14. Political Dynasties' Background Per Political Party 26

List of Figures

1. Distributions of Voters in the 2024 Election by Island (%) 8
2. Change in Party Votes from the 2019 Election to the 2024 Election (%) 11
3. Distribution of the Number of Voters Choosing a Party and Choosing a Candidate on the Ballot in the 2024 Election (%) 13
4. Total Percentage of Elected Parliament Members Based on Age Across Different Elections (%) 19
5. Percentage of Parliament Members Under 40 Years Old Categorized by Political Parties Across Different Elections 22
6. Percentage of Parliament Members Across Different Elections Based on Gender (%) 23
7. Percentage of Parliament Members by Gender Per Political Party in the 2024 Election (%) 23
8. Number of Elected Parliament Members Based on Incumbent and Non-Incumbent Status Across Different Elections 27
9. Percentage of Elected Parliament Members Based on Incumbent and Non-Incumbent Status in Each Political Party in the 2024 Election (%) 27

Fernandes, A. (2024). *Membangun Parlemen yang Setara untuk Anak Muda dan Perempuan.* Jakarta: Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Main Findings

- This report indicates the continued low representation of parliament members aged under 40 compared to the data on the population of voters under 40.
- Young politicians still struggle to penetrate the House of Representatives due to the persistently high prevalence of political dynasties; more than half of the young members of the House of Representatives elected (50 out of 87 people) have connections to political dynasties, accounting for 57.5 percent.
- Incumbent status still provides an advantage for former parliament members, especially as trend data shows an increasing incumbent re-election rate from one election to another.
- Female candidates show a rising trend from one election to another. However, in the 2024 General Election, there is a tendency for a significant portion of elected female candidates to have connections to political dynasties.
- Party votes change, with some parties rising and falling; however, overall party vote volatility is low, below 15 percent.
- The trajectory of elections in Indonesia shows several changes, including an increase in electoral districts due to the territorial expansion in Papua and an increase in the number of members of the House of Representatives from 575 to 580.
- The number of parliament members with connections to political dynasties is relatively high. Out of 580 parliament members, 128 have such connections (or 23.8 percent of the total parliament members).

Introduction

This report analyzes the representation map of politically under-represented groups yearly, especially female parliament members and young legislators under 40. In this report, we observe the significant political competition faced by challengers or legislative candidates who are young in their fight for seats in the open proportional system, especially with the increasing trend of the number of parliament members from incumbents and parliament members who have family connections or kinship with political dynasties. This report is divided into seven main sections: Overview of the 2024 Legislative Election; Party Vote Acquisition Across Different Elections; Political Party Seat Acquisition in the 2019 and 2024 Elections; Map of Young People in Parliament; Map of Women in Parliament; Map of Political Dynasties; and Incumbency Status of Parliament Members.

This report is an initiative to develop parliamentary studies in Indonesia, which scholars and political researchers have yet to explore extensively. We see the parliament playing a crucial role in fostering public policy discourse and offering relevant policy alternatives to meet the needs of citizens. This report is a process of analysis and data collection conducted from January to April 2024. Several individuals played roles in the research and data collection, especially Research Assistant of the Department of Politics and Social Change Florentina Dwiastuti and Research Interns of the Department of Politics and Social Change, such as Winda Safitri from UPN Veteran Jakarta, Syifa Nabila Syaharani Jauhari from Universitas Indonesia, Reyhan Ghafrullah Fachsapoetra from Waseda University, and Rizvi Nahar Ilhammullah from Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Definition and Methodology

This report summarizes and analyzes parliamentary datasets from the 1999 to 2024 elections, covering six legislative general elections. The data of parliament members were categorized based on party, age, gender, incumbent status, and others. This report combines desk research, observational data analysis, election data trends analysis, and qualitative studies. The report utilizes available and publicly accessible data, especially from the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU), the BPS-Statistics Indonesia (Central Bureau of Statistics), and other open data sources. This report examines trends in the six elections held in Indonesia since 1999, 2004, 2009, 2014, 2019, and 2024 elections. In this report, the analysis of the 2024 election results is only conducted for parties that pass the 4 percent parliamentary threshold (PT).

This study defines young parliament members as those under 40 years old when sworn in as members of the House of Representatives. In this report, we also observe the variation in the age of young parliament members in three categories: those under 30, those under 40, and those under 45. The aim is to facilitate comparison with previously available data, especially those collected by the Inter-Parliamentary Union at the global level. Additionally, for the 2024 election, we estimate the seats per party based on the General Election Commission Decree by calculating the seat acquisition using the Sainte-Lague formula/method when converting votes into seats in each electoral district.

This report also has several definitions:

1. **Young parliament members** are elected legislators under 40 when inaugurated on 1 October 2024. We calculate their age based on their date of birth and inauguration as parliament members.
2. **Incumbents** are parliament members currently serving or have served as parliament members in the previous term and are running for re-election in the next election.
3. **Political dynasties** are composed of elected parliament members with blood relations or kinship with public officials who have served or are currently serving.

Overview of the 2024 Legislative Election

Indonesia has conducted six democratic elections since the 1998 reform era. In the 2024 election, several changes occurred, such as the increase in the number of electoral districts and parliament members due to the establishment of New Autonomous Regions (Daerah Otonomi Baru/DOB) in Papua. The 2024 election refers to Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections. This law regulates several aspects of elections' procedures, stages, and implementation.

In the 1999 election, the first election held after the reform, 48 political parties participated. Out of the 48 participating parties, only 21 parties obtained seats in the parliament, plus the TNI/Polri (The Indonesian National Armed Forces/The State Police of the Republic of Indonesia) faction. In the 2024 election, out of 18 participating parties, only eight parties received votes above 4 percent and qualified for the parliament. In addition to being joined by 18 national parties, the 2024 election was also participated in by six local parties from Aceh. Meanwhile, with the increase in population, the number of parliament members increased from one election to another. In the 1999 election, there were 500 parliament members, which increased to 580 in the 2024 election.

In six elections, the voting system changed from a closed proportional system in the 1999 election to an open proportional system with the most votes in the 2009 election, and it was used until the 2024 election. Changes also occurred in applying the parliamentary threshold for participation in seat allocation, often known as the parliamentary threshold (PT).

In the 1999 and 2004 elections, no parliamentary threshold was used. The parliamentary threshold was first implemented in the 2009 election with a threshold of 2.5 percent. This means that only political parties receiving votes above 2.5 percent could be included in converting votes into seats. In the 2014 election, the threshold increased to 3.5 percent. That number further increases to 4 percent in the 2019 and 2024 elections.

Table 1

Electoral System Trajectory from 1999 to 2024

Election	Electoral System	Parliamentary Threshold (%)	Number of participating parties	Number of parties qualifying for parliament	Number of parliament members	Number of Electoral Districts	Voter Turnout (%)
1999	Closed Proportional	0	48	21	500	307*	92.7
2004	Semi-open Proportional	0	24	16	550	70	84.1
2009	Open Proportional	2.5	38	9	560	77	71.0
2014	Open Proportional	3.5	12	10	560	77	75.11
2019	Open Proportional	4	16	9	575	80	81.97
2024	Open Proportional	4	18	8	580	84	81.78

**In the 1999 election, the electoral districts were still based on districts, except for DKI Jakarta and East Timor, which were based on provinces.*

The 2024 general election was held on 14 February 2024, with the participation of 204,807,222 voters from within and outside the country, comprising 49.91 percent male voters and 50.09 percent female voters. Breaking it down, the number of domestic voters was 203,056,748, distributed across 820,161 polling stations (Tempat Pemungutan Suara/TPS), 83,731 villages, and 7,277 districts. In terms of candidates, there were 9,917 registered candidates established by the General Election Commission, consisting of 6,241 male candidates (62.93 percent) and 3,676 female candidates (37.07 percent).

Table 2

Number of Voters in the 2024 Election Based on Domestic and Overseas Voters

	Domestic	Overseas	Total Voters
Male	101,467,243	751,260	102,218,503
Female	101,589,505	999,214	102,588,719
Total	**203,056,748**	**1,750,474**	**204,807,222**

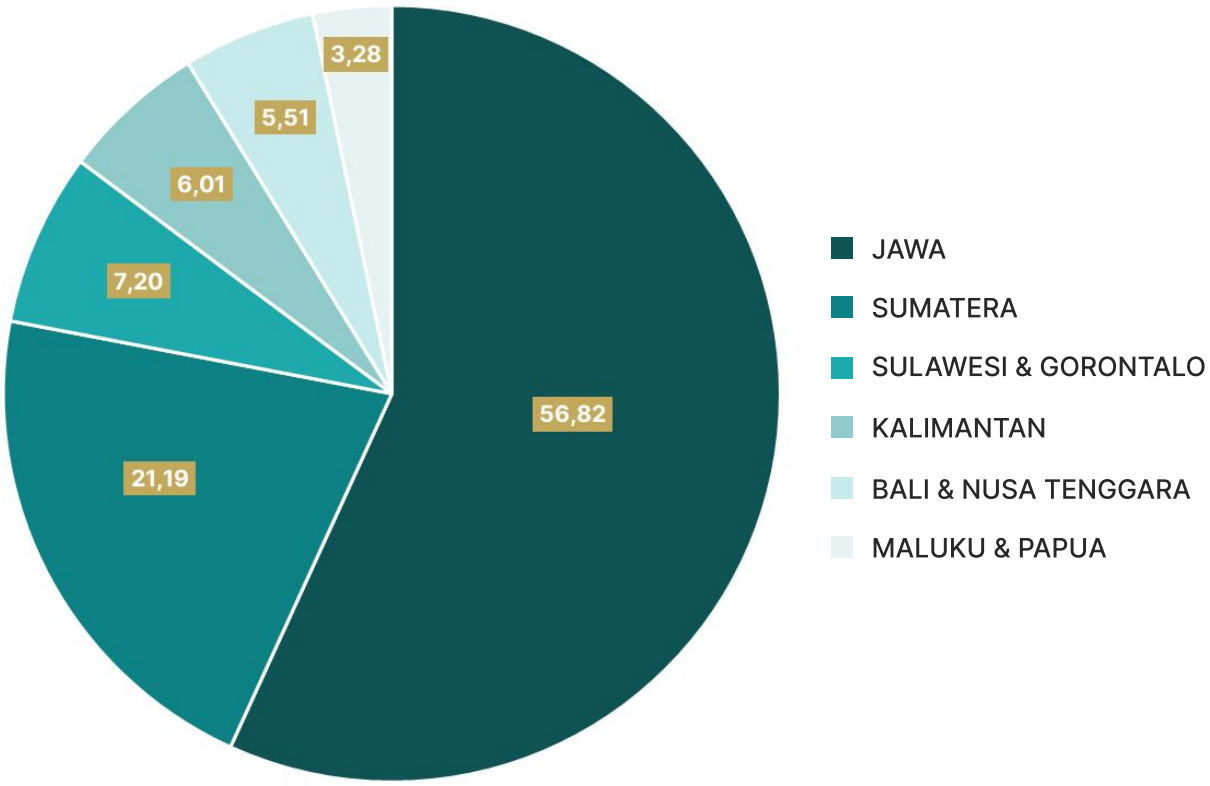
Source: KPU (opendata.kpu.go.id)

Meanwhile, based on the distribution of voters by region, 56.82 percent of voters are located on the island of Java, and 43.18 percent are outside Java. When sorted by the distribution of voters by island from the largest, voters on the island of Java (Jawa) amount to 56.82 percent; Sumatera 21.19 percent; Sulawesi and Gorontalo 7.20 percent; Kalimantan 6.01 percent; Bali and Nusa Tenggara 5.51 percent, and Maluku and Papua 3.28 percent.

Meanwhile, looking at the 38 provinces across Indonesia, the three largest groups of voters are in West Java (17.59 percent), East Java (15.47 percent), and Central Java (13.93 percent).

Figure 1

Distribution of Voters in the 2024 Election by Island (%)



Party Vote Acquisition Across Different Elections

The election results over time show the formation of stability in voter support for political parties. Over the span of six elections in Indonesia, drastic changes in party votes have not occurred significantly. For example, the vote changes (increase/decrease) from the eight political parties that qualified for the parliament in the 2024 election did not exceed 3 percent. This situation makes it quite challenging for new and non-parliamentary parties to be eligible for the parliament.

In the last two elections (2019 and 2024), no new or non-parliamentary parties managed to garner votes above 4 percent. When using the vote volatility index, the highest average volatility occurs in the Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P).

In the 1999 election, after the reform, the PDI-P gained 33.75 percent of the vote, the highest since the reform era, and decreased to 16.72 percent in the 2024 election. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party, which first participated in the elections in 2004, received 7.46 percent of the vote, then significantly increased to 20.81 percent in the 2019 election, followed by a downward trend from one election to another, reaching 7.43 percent in the 2024 election.

Several patterns and trends can explain the fluctuations in party vote acquisition during elections. Internally, a decrease in votes occurs due to the party's lack of unity in facing elections caused by internal political conflicts or pressure from corruption cases involving core party officials.

Externally, a decrease can occur due to high political competition among parties and the emergence of competitors with similar voter bases. For example, party vote decreases are influenced by internal party conflicts and are evident in three political parties: National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/PKB), Democratic Party, and Hanura Party.

Table 3

Trends in Political Party Vote Acquisition Across Different Elections (%)

Party Name	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019	2024
PDIP	33.75	18.31	14.01	18.95	19.33	16.72
GOLKAR	22.45	21.62	14.45	14.75	12.31	15.29
PKB	12.61	10.61	4.95	9.04	9.69	10.62
PPP	10.72	8.16	5.33	6.53	4.52	3.87
PAN	7.12	6.41	6.03	7.59	6.84	7.24
PBB	1.94	2.62	1.79	1.46	0.79	0.32
PKS	1.36	7.2	7.89	6.79	8.21	8.42
PKPI	1.01	1.26	0.9	0.91	0.22	
GERINDRA			4.46	11.81	12.57	13.22
NASDEM				6.72	9.05	9.66
BURUH						0.64
GELORA						0.84
PKN						0.22
HANURA			3.77	5.26	1.54	0.72
GARUDA					0.50	0.27
DEMOKRAT		7.46	20.81	10.19	7.77	7.43
PSI					1.89	2.81
PERINDRO					2.67	1.29
UMMAT						0.42
BERKARYA					2.09	
LAINNYA*	9.04	16.35	15.61			
TOTAL	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

**Combination of votes from participating parties that did not qualify for the parliament and the parliamentary threshold.*

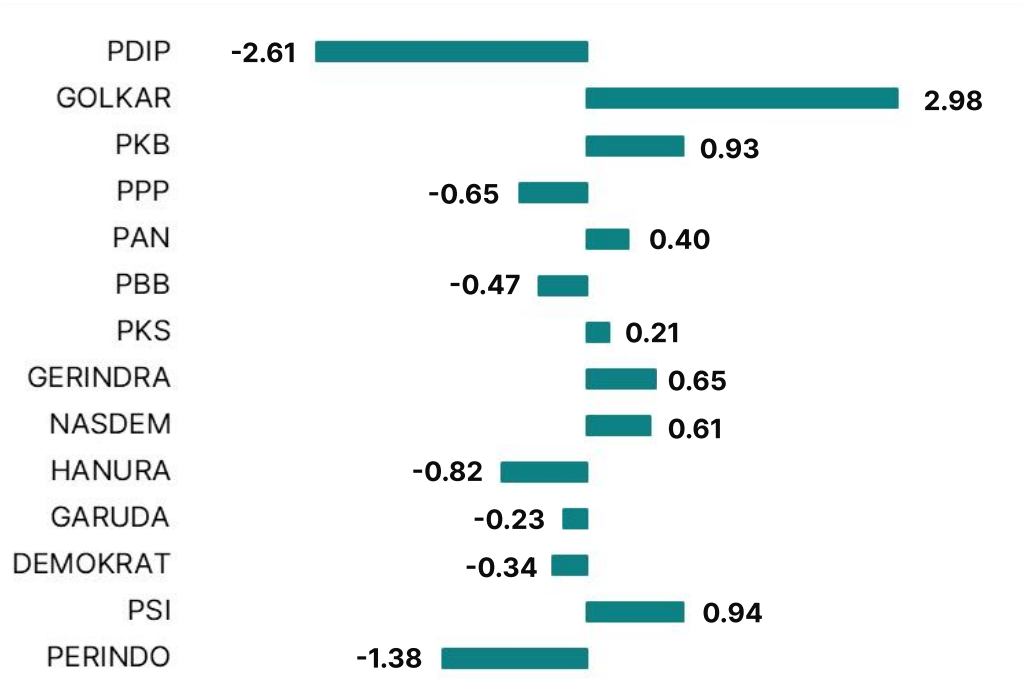
1. PKB's vote decreased by 5.66 percent from 10.61 percent (2004 election) to 4.95 percent (2009 election) due to internal conflict and dual leadership between PKB versions led by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and PKB versions led by Muhaimin Iskandar.
2. The Democratic Party's vote decreased by 10.62 percent from 20.81 percent (2009 election) to 10.19 percent (2014 election) due to internal conflicts among Democratic Party elites, especially between the Anas Urbaningrum faction and the faction led by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. These conflicts were triggered by corruption cases related to the Hambalang project.
3. Hanura Party's vote decreased by 3.72 percent from 5.26 percent (2014 election) to 1.54 (2019 election) due to conflicts between Wiranto and Oesman Sapta Odang. Hanura's vote remained at 0.72 percent and did not pass the parliamentary threshold.

The decrease in votes resulting from external conditions such as the consolidation of party strength, the emergence of new parties, and changes in voter behavior is evident from the decline in the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle's vote by 15.44 percent from 33.75 percent (1999 election) to 18.31 percent (2004 election).

Focusing on the 2024 election and referring to the General Election Commission decision, there were changes in votes in several parties. PDI-P lost 2.61 percent of the vote compared to the previous 2019 election, while the Golkar Party experienced an increase of 2.98 percent compared to the previous election.

Figure 2

Change in Party Votes From the 2019 Election to the 2024 Election (%)



Meanwhile, for parties that did not pass the 4 percent vote threshold, Perindo lost 1.38 percent of the vote compared to before, while PSI experienced an increase of 0.92 percent.

- The highest decrease in votes occurred in PDI-P, amounting to 2.61 percent from 19.33 percent in the 2019 election to 16.72 percent in the 2024 election. Despite the 2.61 percent decrease, PDI-P remains the winning party of the election.
- The highest increase occurred in the Golkar Party, namely by 2.98 percent, from 12.31 percent to 15.29 percent in the 2024 election.

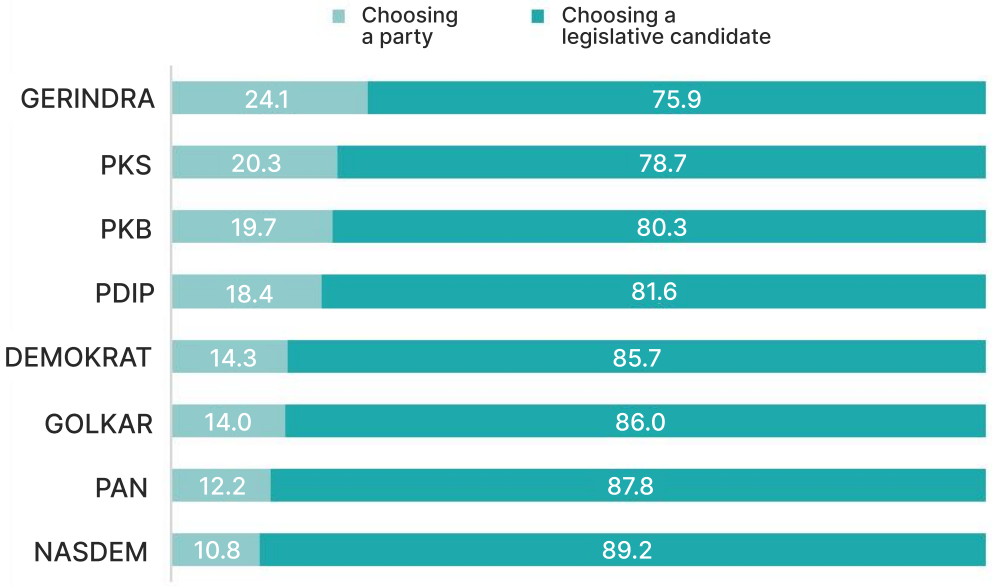
In general, the open proportional system adopted since 2004 in Indonesia's electoral system, combined with using the most votes, has changed the behavior of both voters and parties. The open proportional system makes the personal factor of candidates (legislative candidates) more crucial to voters' consideration during elections than party factors. Additionally, the open proportional system has intensified competition within parties as candidates vie for seats in a constituency.

In this system, mobilization, financing, and campaign management are independently carried out by candidates, with less reliance on political parties. The open proportional system has also compelled parties to adapt and change their candidate nomination and selection strategies. During candidate selection and nomination, factors such as popularity, political financing, and connections with political dynasties can increase someone's chances of being nominated as a party candidate.

The significant influence of party candidates in elections can be observed, for example, from the results of the 2024 election. Based on the data of vote acquisition per electoral district processed from the General Election Commission Decree, when considering the total vote acquisition of the eight political parties that passed the 4 percent threshold, **17.1 percent** of the population voted for political parties at the national level. In contrast, **82.9 percent** voted for candidates when casting their ballots in the 14 February 2024 election. However, when the data is broken down based on the choices of each political party, differences emerge among the parties. Out of the eight parties that passed the parliamentary threshold, there are four parties, where the number of voters who chose the party, exceed the national average for eight parties: Gerindra (24.1 percent), PKS (20.3 percent), PKB (19.7 percent), and PDI-P (18.4 percent).

Figure 3

Distribution of Voters Who Voted for Parties and Voted for Candidates on the Ballot in the 2024 Election (%)



The data below shows ten electoral districts with percentages of choices above 35 percent. The electoral district with the highest rate of votes for a party is DKI Jakarta III for the PKB party. Of the total of 92,868 party and candidate votes for PKB, 42.46 percent chose the party symbol/image, while the remaining 57.54 percent chose the name/picture of the candidate.

Table 4

Ten Electoral Districts with the Highest Party Voter Percentage

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	PARTY	TOTAL PARTY + CANDIDATE VOTES	PARTY VOTES (%)	CANDIDATE VOTES (%)
BANTEN II	PKB	86,766	37.88%	62.12%
BANTEN III	GERINDRA	364,440	37.42%	62.58%
DKI JAKARTA II	GERINDRA	329,827	42.38%	57.62%
DKI JAKARTA III	PKB	92,868	42.46%	57.54%
GORONTALO	PKB	14,897	39.32%	60.68%
WEST JAVA VI	GERINDRA	268,517	37.76%	62.24%
WEST JAVA VII	PKB	230,565	37.18%	62.82%
CENTRAL JAVA I	GERINDRA	201,312	38.45%	61.55%
EAST JAVA X	PKS	25,024	38.92%	61.08%
SOUTH KALIMANTAN I	PKB	78,687	38.88%	61.12%

From the perspective of candidate numbers, from the 2009 election to the 2024 election, there has been a trend where candidates who receive the number "1" tend to be elected more than other candidates. For example, in the 2009 election, out of 550 elected candidates, 353 (64.2 percent) were candidates with number "1". Calculated since the 2009 election, out of the total elected members of the parliament, the number of elected candidates who were numbered "1" has consistently been above 60 percent, namely, 64.2 percent in the 2009 election; 62.1 percent (2014 election); 63.7 percent (2019 election); and 64.5 percent (2024 election).

Table 5

Electability of Legislative Candidates Based on Candidate Number Across Different Elections

Election Year	Candidate Number												Total Parliament Seats
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	No Info	
1999-2004*													500
2004-2009**													550
2009-2014	353	105	37	25	8	3	8	3	2		1	5	550
2014-2019	348	95	25	27	20	15	12	7	5	6			560
2019-2024	366	106	30	27	21	8	9	3	3	2			575
2019-2024	374	110	33	27	17	7	2	6	1	3			580

**In the 1999 election, a closed proportional system was implemented, where voters selected the symbol of a political party.*
***In the 2004 election, a semi-open proportional system was implemented.*

Political Party Seat Acquisition in the 2019 and 2024 Elections

The result of the 2024 election illustrates the increase and change in seat acquisition in Parliament. In this report, we estimate the total parliamentary seats on the national level based on the General Election Commission (KPU) Decree No. 360/2024 on the Determination of the Results of the Presidential/Vice Presidential Election, House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), Provincial Legislative Council (DPRD), and District/City Legislative Council in the 2024 General Election. Estimating the seat division undergoes 4 phases:

1. In the first phase, we referred to the General Elections Commission (KPU) Decree regarding the House of Representatives Election results, specifically the parties that passed the 4 percent parliamentary threshold.

2. In the second phase, we counted the seats obtained by each political party in every electoral district based on the seat allocation available using the Sainte Lague method regulated in Law No. 7/2017 on Elections.

3. In the third phase, after determining which parties obtained seats in each electoral district, we viewed the candidates who received the most votes in each party that won seats in that district.

4. In the final phase, we calculated the total national seat acquisition obtained by the political parties.

Based on our estimations, the PDI-P party still obtained the largest number of seats, with 110 seats. However, PDI-P lost 18 seats; from the 128 seats they obtained in 2019, it decreased to 110 during the 2024 elections. This decrease occurred for the political party, Demokrat, which lost ten seats, from 54 to 44, and PPP, which lost 19 seats since the party's vote share did not reach 4 percent.

In the General Elections Commission's decision, PPP only obtained 3.87 percent of the national vote. Apart from the three parties that experienced a decline, the number of seats increased in the other political parties. The most significant increase was seen in the Golkar Party, which gained 17 seats, going from 85 seats in the 2019 elections to 102 in the 2024 elections.

When the data is broken down by seat acquisition per province, PDI-P obtained seats in 35 provinces. The party's failure to receive any seats was restricted only to Gorontalo, South Kalimantan, and West Papua provinces. Compared to the 2019 elections, PDI Perjuangan lost 18 seats. The distribution of lost seats includes Central Java (lost three seats), Jakarta (lost three seats), South Kalimantan (lost three seats), West Java (lost two seats), Lampung (lost two seats), South Sulawesi (lost two seats), among others. Looking at the major provinces on the island of Java, Golkar secured 17 out of 91 seats in West Java, PDI Perjuangan got 23 out of 77 seats in Central Java, and 19 out of 87 seats in East Java.

Table 6

Acquisition and Percentage of Each Political Party's Seats in the 2019 and 2024 Elections

Political Party	2019		2024*		Changes in No. of Seats
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	
PDIP	128	22.26	110	18.97	-18
GOLKAR	85	14.78	102	17.59	17
GERINDRA	78	13.57	86	14.83	8
PKB	58	10.09	68	11.72	10
NASDEM	59	10.26	69	11.90	10
PKS	50	8.70	53	9.14	3
DEMOKRAT	54	9.39	44	7.59	-10
PAN	44	7.65	48	8.28	4
PPP	19	3.30		0.00	-19
TOTAL	**575**		**580**	**100**	

**The seats of the Political Parties during the elections are estimated using The Sainte Lague method based on the General Elections Commission (KPU) Decree.*

Table 7

Political Party Seat Acquisition by Provinces in the 2024 Election

Description	DEMOKRAT	GERINDRA	GOLKAR	NASDEM	PAN	PDIP	PKB	PKS	TOTAL
ACEH	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	2	13
BALI	1	1	1	1		5			9
BANTEN	2	3	4	3	2	4	2	2	22
BENGKULU			1	1	1	1			4
DIY		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	8
DKI JAKARTA	1	3	2	1	3	4	2	5	21
GORONTALO		1	1	1					3
JAMBI	1	1	2	1	1	1	1		8
WEST JAVA	6	16	17	8	8	11	13	12	91
CENTRAL JAVA	5	10	12	7	3	23	10	7	77
EAST JAVA	6	14	13	7	5	19	18	5	87
WEST KALIMANTAN		1	2	2	1	4	1	1	12
SOUTH KALIMANTAN		2	3	2	3			1	11
CENTRAL KALIMANTAN	1	1	1	1	1	1			6
EAST KALIMANTAN		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	8
NORTH KALIMANTAN	1	1				1			3
KEP. BANGKA BELITUNG		1	1			1			3
KEPULAUAN RIAU		1	1	1		1			4
LAMPUNG	2	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	20
MALUKU		1			1	1		1	4
NORTH MALUKU			1			1		1	3
WEST NUSA TENGGARA	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	11
EAST NUSA TENGGARA	2	1	3	2	1	2	2		13
PAPUA		1		1		1			3
WEST PAPUA			1	1		1			3
SOUTH WEST PAPUA	1		1	1					3
PAPUA PEGUNUNGAN				1	1	1			3
SOUTH PAPUA				1		1	1		3
CENTRAL PAPUA			1	1		1			3
RIAU	1	2	3		1	2	2	2	13
WEST SULAWESI	1			1	1	1			4
SOUTH SULAWESI	2	5	4	5	3	1	2	2	24
CENTRAL SULAWES	1	1	2	1	1	1			7
SOUTH EAST SULAWESI	1	1	1	1		1	1		6
NORTH SULAWESI	1	1	1	1		2			6
WEST SUMATERA	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	2	14
SOUTH SUMATERA	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	17
NORTH SUMATERA	3	4	8	3	2	6	2	2	30
TOTAL	**44**	**86**	**102**	**69**	**48**	**110**	**68**	**53**	**580**

Map of Young People in Parliament

This section presents data on the composition of young parliamentarians from 1999 to 2024. The report also compares the average age of the parliament at the national level and trends within each political party. Compared with global data, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) data from 2023 shows that the number of parliament members under 40 and 45 is below the global average. Globally, 18.8 percent of legislators are under 40 years old, while this figure is 15 percent in Indonesia.

However, the percentage of legislators under 30 in Indonesia is higher than the global average. Globally, 2.8 percent of legislators are under 30 years old, whereas in Indonesia, 2024, this figure is 3.6 percent. Taking an average of over six elections, 17.53 percent of elected parliament members are under 40. Breaking down the data, about 50 of the 87 parliament members under 40 are connected to political dynasties.

Tabel 8

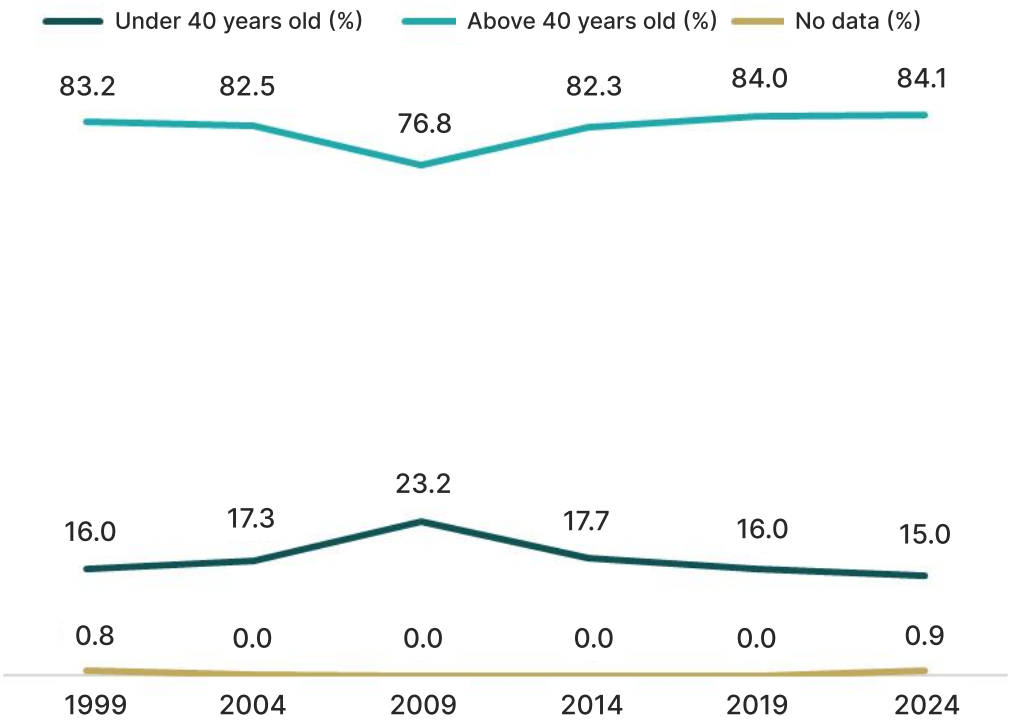
Comparison of the Ages of Parliament Members at the Global Level and in Indonesia

Criteria	Global-IPU (2023) – (%)	Indonesia (2024) – (%)	Average of 6 Elections – (%)
Under 30	2.8	3.6	2.66
Under 40	18.8	15.0	17.53
Under 45	32.1	27.8	34.33

In this report, we define young parliamentarians as members of parliament under 40 years old when they are inaugurated as parliament members. The 2024 election shows that the composition of elected parliament members who are young (under 40 years old) does not represent the actual percentage of the young population, which, according to BPS-Statistics Indonesia (Central Bureau of Statistics) data in 2022, reaches about 40 percent of the total population. In the 2024 election, only 15 percent of elected parliament members were under 40. This figure decreased compared to the previous election, which was 16 percent. Meanwhile, looking at the range of six elections since 1999, the highest number of parliament members under 40 occurred in the 2009 election, reaching 23.2 percent.

Figure 4

Total Percentage of Elected Parliament Members Based on Age Across Different Elections



Compared to other election periods, the high number of parliament members under 40 years old in the 2009 election can be attributed to the large number of members with a background as activists from 1998 who ran in the 2009 election more than in other periods. In the 2009 election, 130 out of 560 parliament members were under 40.

2009 also saw the rise of young parliament members who later became leaders of political parties and national leaders. Some of them include Ganjar Pranowo (PDI-P), Nusron Wahid (Golkar Party), Ida Fauziah (PKB), Teuku Riefky Harsya (Democrat Party), Maruarar Sirait (PDI-P), and Anies Matta (PKS, now Partai Gelora). Of these 130 young parliament members,16 were incumbents, generally from the same generation of political activists.

Table 9

List of Young Parliament Members During the 2009 Election with Incumbent Status

Party Affiliation	Electoral District	Name	Gender	Age* in 2009
DEMOKRAT	CENTRAL JAVA VI	ANGELINA SONDAKH	Female	31
GOLKAR	CENTRAL JAVA II	NUSRON WAHID	Male	35
PKS	WEST NUSA TENGGARA	FAHRI HAMZAH	Male	37
DEMOKRAT	ACEH I	TEUKU RIEFKY HARSYA	Male	37
PKS	BANTEN II	ZULKIEFLIMANSYAH	Male	37
PKB	CENTRAL JAVA III	MARWAN JAFAR	Male	38
DEMOKRAT	DKI JAKARTA III	VERA FEBYANTHY	Female	38
GOLKAR	LAMPUNG II	AZIS SYAMSUDDIN	Male	39
PDI PERJUANGAN	CENTRAL JAVA IV	BAMBANG WURYANTO	Male	39
PDI PERJUANGAN	WEST JAVA IX	MARUARAR SIRAIT	Male	39
PKS	ACEH I	MUHAMMAD NASIR DJA	Male	39
PKS	SOUTH SUMATRA I	MUSTAFA KAMAL	Male	39
PAN	CENTRAL JAVA VI	TJATUR SAPTO EDY	Male	39
PKS	SOUTH SULAWESI I	ANIS MATTA	Male	40
PDI PERJUANGAN	CENTRAL JAVA VII	GANJAR PRANOWO	Male	40
PKB	EAST JAVA VIII	IDA FAUZIYAH	Female	40

**Age when inaugurated as a parliament member on 1 October 2009.*

This report shows that many party leaders and national leaders in Indonesia have built long careers as political activists. They started their political activities at a relatively young age, being elected as parliament members multiple times.

Below are examples of parliament members who built careers as political activists at a relatively young age, such as Muhaimin Iskandar, who was 33 years old when first inaugurated as a parliament member in 1999. Ferdiansyah, a veteran parliament member elected six times consecutively, was 34 years old when he first became a parliament member in 1999. Nusron Wahid was 30 years old when he was first inaugurated in 2004, and Puan Maharani was 36 at her first inauguration in 2009.

Table 10

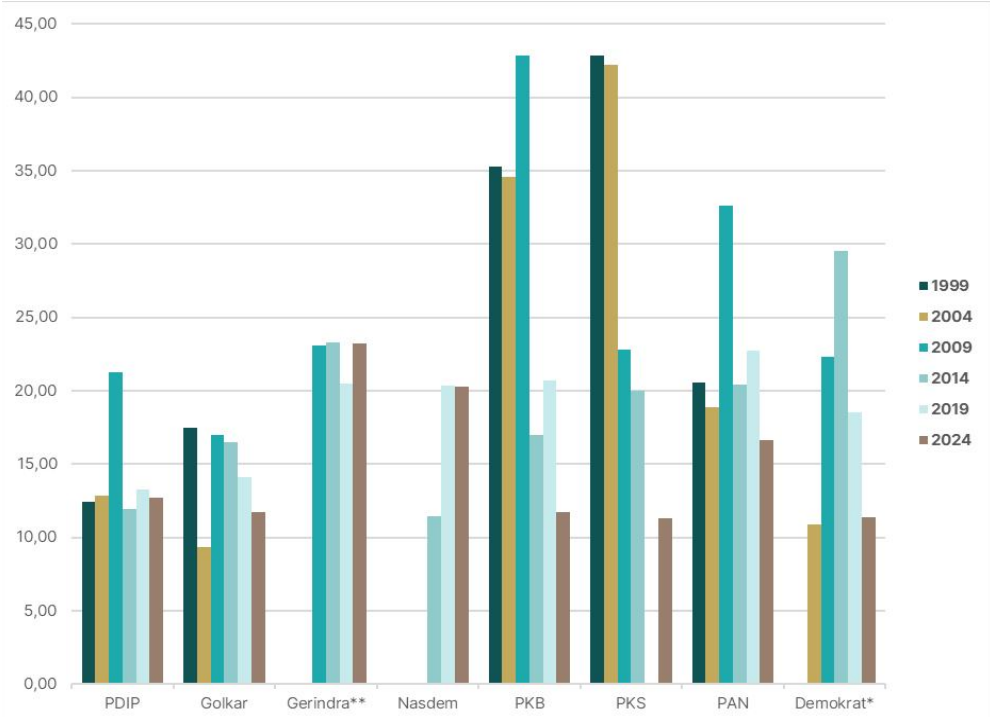
Examples of Young Parliament Members Who Built Political Career Paths Leading Up to the 2024 Election

Party	Periods in Parliament (1 period = 5 years)	Name	Date of Birth	Age When Elected for the First Time	Status
GOLKAR	6	FERDIANSYAH	24-Aug-1965	34	ELECTED
PKB	5	MUHAIMIN ISKANDAR	24-Sep-1966	33	DID NOT RUN
PKB	5	MARWAN JAFAR	12-Mar-1971	33	ELECTED
PKS	5	M. NASIR DJAMIL	22-Jan-1970	34	ELECTED
GOLKAR	5	NUSRON WAHID	12-Oct-1973	30	ELECTED
DEMOKRAT	5	TEUKU RIEFKY HARSYA	28-Jun-1972	32	ELECTED
GOLKAR	4	AZIS SYAMSUDDIN	31-Jul-1970	34	DID NOT RUN
PKS	4	MUSTAFA KAMAL	14-Dec-1969	34	NOT ELECTED
PDI PERJUANGAN	4	AHMAD BASARAH	16-Jun-1968	31	ELECTED
PAN	4	AHMAD RIZKI SADIG	10-Mar-1973	36	ELECTED
PKS	4	LEDIA HANIFA AMALIAH	30-Apr-1969	40	ELECTED
GOLKAR	4	MUKHAMAD MISBAKHUN	29-Jul-1970	39	ELECTED
PDI PERJUANGAN	4	PUAN MAHARANI	6-Sep-1973	36	ELECTED
PDI PERJUANGAN	4	SUKUR H. NABABAN	14-Oct-1968	40	ELECTED
PKB	3	HELMY FAISHAL ZAINI	1-Aug-1972	32	NOT ELECTED

From the perspective of political parties, if the data is broken down by age and political party, there is a variation in the number of parliament members by age across different elections. In the early elections, PKS and PKB were parties with a higher percentage of young parliament members but have shown a declining trend over the past elections. Meanwhile, the number of parliament members under 40 from Gerindra has been relatively stable across different elections, consistently above 20 percent of total parliament members from Gerindra.

Figure 5

Percentage of Parliament Members Under 40 Years Old Categorized by Political Parties Across Different Elections



**Demokrat participated in elections for the first time in 2004. **Gerindra participated in elections for the first time in 2009. ***Nasdem participated in elections for the first time in 2014.*

While the average age of all parliament members is 52 years old when broken down per political party, the youngest average age of parliament members is from Gerindra and Nasdem, each with an average age of 49 years, while the oldest average age of parliament members is from PKS, with an average of 54 years old.

Table 11

The Average Age of Elected Parliament Members From Each Party that Passed the Parliamentary Threshold in the 2024 Election

Party	Number of Seats	Average Age of Parliament Members in 2024 (in years)
GERINDRA	86	49
NASDEM	69	49
PAN	48	50
PKB	68	50
GOLKAR	102	53
PDIP	110	53
DEMOKRAT	44	53
PKS	53	54
TOTAL SEATS	**580**	**AVERAGE AGE: 52**

Map of Women in Parliament

This section shows that the number of female parliament members has increased across different elections. This increase is contributed by implementing the female candidacy quota system mandated by Law No. 7/ 2017, which requires including at least 30 percent of women in party candidacies and management. In the 2024 election, out of the 580 elected parliament members, 21.9 percent are women. However, when viewed in terms of association with political dynasties, out of the 127 elected women, 58 are associated with political dynasties.

Figure 6

Percentage of Parliament Members Across Different Elections Based on Gender (%)

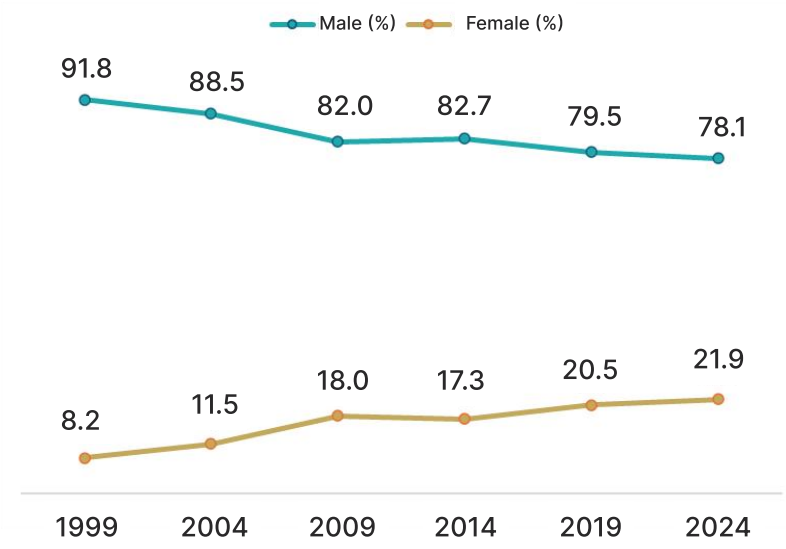
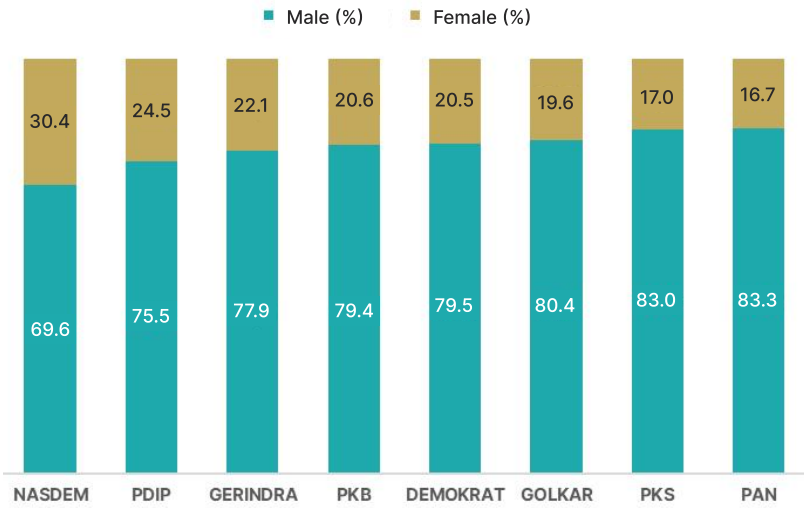


Figure 7

Percentage of Parliament Members by Gender per Political Party in the 2024 Election



Meanwhile, if the number of female parliament members breaks down the data based on their party origin, the highest percentage comes from Nasdem, at 30.4 percent of Nasdem's total 69 seats. Meanwhile, the lowest percentage is from PAN, at 16.7 percent of PAN's total 48 seats.

Although the representation of elected female candidates has increased compared to the previous election, there is an indication that 45.67 percent of the 127 elected female candidates are associated with political dynasties. Of these 127 elected female candidates, 58 have ties to political dynasties, and 69 are not associated with political dynasties. When broken down by party, the largest percentage associated with political dynasties comes from PDI Perjuangan, with 16 out of 27 elected female candidates.

Tabel 12

Total Female Candidates and Their Affiliation to Political Dynasties

Party	Total Female Candidates	Total		Percentage	
		Associated	Not Associated	Associated	Not Associated
DEMOKRAT	9	2	7	22.2	77.8
GERINDRA	19	11	8	57.9	42.1
GOLKAR	20	10	10	50.0	50.0
NASDEM	21	12	9	57.1	42.9
PAN	8	4	4	50.0	50.0
PDIP	27	16	11	59.3	40.7
PKB	14	1	13	7.1	92.9
PKS	9	2	7	22.2	77.8
Total	**127**	**58**	**69**	**45.7**	**54.3**

Map of Political Dynasties

This section highlights the significant number of elected parliament members associated with political dynasties. Of the 580 parliament members in the 2024 election, 138 individuals, or 23.8 percent, have blood or kinship relations with political dynasties. When the data is broken down by political party origin, it shows that several parties, such as Nasdem, PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, and Gerindra, have a notably high number of political dynasties, above the national average.

Table 13

The Composition of Elected Parliament Members Based on Their Association with Political Dynasties

Political Party	Total Seats	Associated (%)	Not Associated (%)
NASDEM	69	33.3	66.7
PDIP	110	27.3	72.7
GOLKAR	102	26.5	73.5
GERINDRA	86	25.6	74.4
DEMOKRAT	44	20.5	79.5
PAN	48	18.8	81.3
PKB	68	17.6	82.4
PKS	53	11.3	88.7

When the data on political dynasties is broken down based on blood or kinship relations with political dynasties, the majority of the 138 elected parliament members are children of political dynasties, accounting for 38.4 percent, followed by spouses at 21.7 percent, siblings at 14.5 percent, and other categories each below 10 percent.

Table 14

Political Dynasties' Background Per Political Party

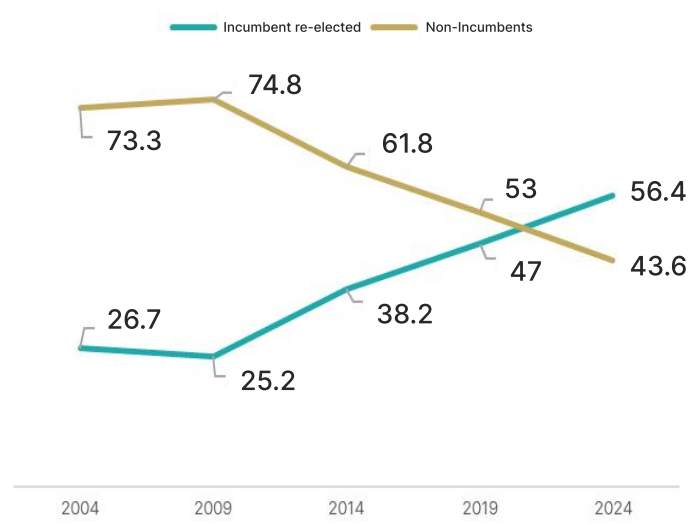
Party	Total Seats	Total Dynasties	% Per Party	Children	Wife	Younger Sibling	Husband	Older Sibling	Nephew / Niece	Others	Total
NASDEM	69	23	33.3	8	8	2	3		2		**23**
PDIP	110	30	27.3	13	8	3		2	1	3	**30**
GOLKAR	102	27	26.5	13	4	4	2	1	1	2	**27**
GERINDRA	86	22	25.6	7	5	3	2		2	3	**22**
DEMOKRA	44	9	20.5	5	1				1	2	**9**
PAN	48	9	18.8	3	1	4				1	**9**
PKB	68	12	17.6	2	1	3	2	4			**12**
PKS	53	6	11.3	2	2	1	1				**6**
Total	**580**	**138**		**53**	**30**	**20**	**10**	**7**	**7**	**11**	**138**
Percentage (%)				**38.4**	**21.7**	**14.5**	**7.2**	**5.1**	**5.1**	**8.0**	**100.0**

Incumbency Status of Parliament Members

This section highlights a trend of increasing numbers of incumbents becoming parliament members across different elections, especially since the 2014 election. In the 2024 election, 56.4 percent of the 580 elected parliament members were incumbents previously serving as parliament members for the 2019-2024 period when they ran for office. This situation illustrates the difficulty for newcomers in competing in the elections, especially when competing against political dynasty candidates and facing high political costs.

Figure 8

Number of Elected Parliament Members Based on Incumbent and Non-incumbent Status Across Different Elections

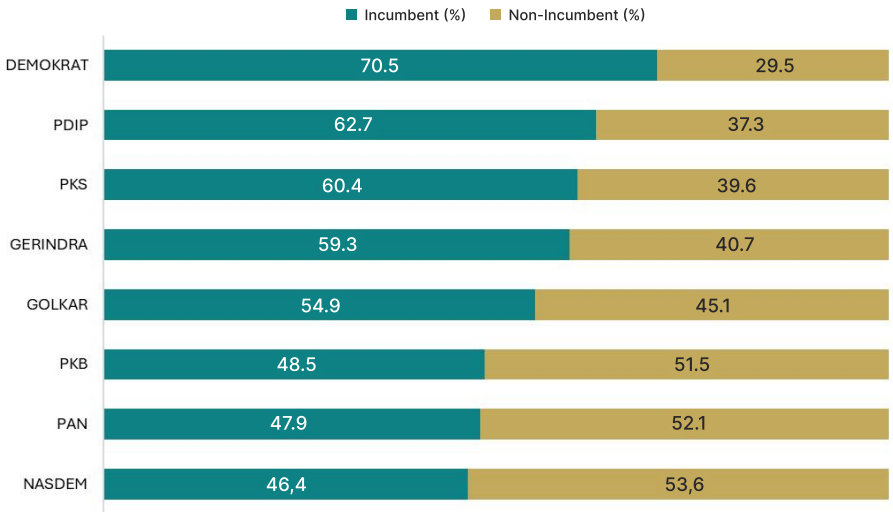


When viewed from the perspective of each political party, the Democratic Party has a high percentage of incumbent parliament members. In the 2024 election, 70.5 percent of the Democratic Party's 44 parliament seats were filled by incumbents.

Meanwhile, when considering the total of 580 parliament members, the largest number of incumbents comes from PDI-P, with 69 out of 110 parliament seats held by incumbents.

Figure 9

Percentage of Elected Parliament Members Based on Incumbent and Non-incumbent Status for Each Political Party in the 2024 Election (%)



Closing

This report encourages the need for the political elite's will to promote increased representation of young politicians, women, and politicians from ordinary backgrounds to run and be elected in general elections. The electoral system needs to ensure a balance and political equality among groups in society so that the elected parliament members, at the least, approximate the characteristics of the population. One effort that could be promoted is the implementation of quotas for candidacy and management of party candidates under 40.

Additionally, after nearly 25 years of implementing an open proportional system, a thorough evaluation is necessary, particularly of its effectiveness in enhancing the political representation of young people and women and improving the political representation between representatives and their constituents.

Parlemen Kita

is an initiative of the Department of Politics and Social Change, CSIS in April 2024 to develop studies and research about the parliament in Indonesia; to encourage the strengthening of the parliament's role as a check on the executive; to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to become a member of parliament; to enhance the representation of political groups that have been underrepresented in Indonesian politics, such as women, young people, and minority groups.

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Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Pakarti Centre Building
Jl. Tanah Abang III No. 23-27
Central Jakarta, DKI Jakarta 10160

csis.or.id
csis@csis.co.id
@csisindonesia
CSIS Indonesia