



# The New Generation Movement A Threat to the KDP and the PUK, or Just Another Gorran?

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## The New Generation Movement: A Threat to the KDP and the PUK, or Just Another Gorran?

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## Abstract

The Kurdistan Region of Iraq has long witnessed a power struggle between two dominant parties and their leading families: the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by the Barzani family, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by the Talabani family. Alongside these two political giants, several relatively new and smaller opposition parties have emerged, such as the Change Movement (Gorran), the National Position Movement, the New Generation Movement (NGM), and the People's Front Party, led by Lahur Sheikh Jangi following his departure from the PUK. Despite their presence, most of these opposition movements have struggled to effectively challenge the KDP and PUK. The notable exception was the Change Movement (Gorran), which initially achieved significant success before experiencing a marked decline. In contrast, the New Generation Movement has recently emerged as a growing contender against both dominant parties.

This research paper explores whether the New Generation Movement constitutes a credible threat to the KDP and PUK. It seeks to answer a key question: Which of the two dominant parties is more affected by the rise of the New Generation Movement? To address this question, the study analyzes electoral results using quantitative data and evaluates the New Generation Movement's potential as a viable political alternative to the region's leading parties.

The paper delves into the primary challenges that the New Generation Movement may face, which could undermine its long-term sustainability, drawing parallels to the trajectory of the Change Movement (Gorran). Additionally, it examines the factors contributing to the New Generation Movement's rise and the Change Movement (Gorran)'s decline, with a comparative analysis of their strategies and objectives.



The researcher also presents a comparative analysis of previous election results for the Iraqi Parliament and the Kurdistan Parliament, focusing on the number of seats won and voter turnout figures. The paper assesses the implications of the New Generation Movement's participation on other Kurdish political entities. Finally, it reviews the experience of the Change Movement (Gorran) to determine the extent of its similarities and differences with the New Generation Movement.

## Introduction

The parliamentary elections in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq represent a pivotal political event, reflecting significant transformations in the local political landscape. These elections showcase intense competition among various parties seeking to shape governance and influence the Kurdistan region's policies. Despite the longstanding dominance of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), recent years have seen the rise of new political parties and movements. Among these, the New Generation Movement has achieved notable success in recent elections, signaling a potential shift in the Kurdistan region's power dynamics.

An important aspect of the 2024 parliamentary elections was the issue of minority representation. A key development occurred following the Federal Supreme Court's decision in February 2024 to reduce the number of seats in the Kurdistan Regional Parliament from 111 to 100. This decision initially led to the elimination of seats allocated to Turkmen, Christian, and Armenian minorities. However, the Iraqi judiciary later reinstated five minority seats under the revised allocation, highlighting a significant dimension of the political changes influencing these elections.<sup>1</sup>

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1- Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq. (2024). Seat Distribution and Member Replacement System for the Kurdistan Regional Parliament - Iraq No. (9) of 2024. Retrieved from <https://ihec.iq/32310/2024/09/>



The parliamentary elections, originally scheduled for 2022, were postponed multiple times due to ongoing disputes between the KDP and PUK. Eventually held on October 20, 2024, the elections saw 2,899,578 eligible voters participating, with 13 party alliances and 124 independent candidates contesting. In these elections, the New Generation Movement demonstrated remarkable progress, securing 15 seats—a substantial increase from its 8-seat victory in the 2018 elections. This success positions the New Generation Movement as a formidable competitor to the dominant Kurdish parties.<sup>2</sup>

Conversely, the Change Movement (Gorran) experienced a significant decline in these elections, primarily due to reputational damage following its prior participation in the Kurdish government, which undermined its credibility as an opposition force. Meanwhile, the National Position Current and the People's Party emerged as viable opposition alternatives, attracting voters disillusioned with the major parties, whom many hold accountable for the region's ongoing economic and political crises.

## **The First Axis: The Electoral Environment in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq**

### **First: The Political Environment**

The electoral environment in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is shaped by several key elements, most notably the political parties that play a significant role in influencing the course and integrity of elections. The political landscape is dominated by traditional parties such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), creating a constrained competitive environment.

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2- Kurdistan Parliament of Iraq. (n.d.). Parliamentary sessions overview. Retrieved from <https://www.parliament.krd/arabic/%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9/>

Alongside these, newer movements such as the Change Movement (Gorran) and the New Generation Movement have emerged, vying for voter support. This section provides an overview of four major political parties and movements—KDP, PUK, Change Movement (Gorran), and New Generation Movement—highlighting their political visions, electoral strategies, and media presence.

## 1. Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)

### Historical Background

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) is one of the oldest and most influential political organizations in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Founded on August 16, 1946, by Mustafa Barzani, the KDP has been a cornerstone of the Kurdish national movement. Currently led by Masoud Barzani, a prominent political figure in the region, the party has solidified its status as the dominant political force, maintaining control over key political and economic institutions.

### Political Vision

The KDP advocates for the Kurdish people's right to self-determination while supporting autonomy for the Kurdistan Region within a federal Iraq. Its vision underscores Kurdish national unity through efforts to strengthen internal cohesion and foster relations between Kurdistan and Baghdad. The party prioritizes democracy, transparency, and increased popular participation within the Kurdish political system. Additionally, it seeks to achieve security and sustainable economic development in the region. The KDP aspires to build a strong Kurdish state through international cooperation and political negotiations with the Iraqi government.



## Electoral Map

The KDP enjoys significant popular support, particularly in the northern and western parts of the Kurdistan Region, including cities like Erbil and Dohuk. Its influence is further reinforced by strong alliances with traditional Kurdish tribes, ensuring a stable and loyal voter base.

### Media Machine

The channels Rudaw, Kurdistan 24, Zagros, Kurdistan TV, and KDP TV are closely affiliated with or strongly connected to the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). These outlets are integral to the party's media apparatus, serving as tools to shape public opinion, disseminate its political messages, and solidify its media dominance in the Kurdistan Region.

## 2. Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK or Yeketi)

### Historical Background

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), also known as Yeketi, is a Kurdish political party established in 1975 under the leadership of Jalal Talabani in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. As a key player in the Kurdish national movement, the PUK has historically focused on advocating for the rights of the Kurdish people in Iraq. The party has been actively involved in the Kurdish liberation movement, including armed struggles against the Iraqi government, and has played a significant role in various conflicts and wars with Iraqi authorities.

### Political Vision

The PUK is committed to promoting democracy in the Kurdistan Region and Iraq, advocating for civil rights and transparency in governance, and safeguarding constitutional rights for Kurds within a federal Iraq.



The party emphasizes cooperation among Kurdish political entities, strengthening the political autonomy of the Kurdistan Region, and resolving disputes with the central government through peaceful dialogue and constitutional agreements.

## **Electoral Map**

The PUK enjoys strong support in Sulaymaniyah and its surrounding areas, which serve as its traditional strongholds. The party also maintains significant popularity in Halabja and Kirkuk, further solidifying its influence in these regions.

## **Media Machine**

Media outlets such as Speda TV, KurdSat TV, and PUK TV are closely affiliated with the PUK and form an essential part of its media apparatus. These channels are utilized to disseminate the party's political messages, bolster its presence in the Kurdish media landscape, shape public opinion, and build popular support for its policies and positions.

### **3. New Generation Movement (Cûlanewey Newey Nwê)**

#### **Historical Background**

The New Generation Movement is a Kurdish political party founded in 2018 by Shaswar Abdulwahid, a prominent Kurdish businessman and journalist. The movement emerged as a new political initiative aimed at offering an alternative to the traditional parties in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Its focus is on youth issues, fighting corruption, and implementing political and economic reforms in the Kurdistan region.





## Political Vision

The New Generation Movement advocates for social justice, democracy, and transparency in governance. It calls for reducing the influence of traditional parties, such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, in Kurdish politics. The movement aims to tackle widespread corruption in government institutions, improve the conditions of youth, and create more job opportunities. Additionally, it promotes a change in the current political system by supporting democracy and strengthening multi-partyism in the Kurdistan Region.

## Electoral Map

The New Generation Movement enjoys broad support, particularly among Kurdish women and youth, who make up a significant portion of voters in the Kurdistan Region. This support reflects a desire for real change in the region's political and administrative systems, as many young people are frustrated by the dominance of traditional parties, the lack of job opportunities, and the failure to achieve meaningful reforms.

## Media Machine

The New Generation Movement operates its own media platform, NRT, which plays a key role in conveying its political messages and engaging with the public.



## 4. Gorran Movement

### Historical Background

The Gorran Movement is a Kurdish political party founded in 2009 under the leadership of Nawshirwan Mustafa, a prominent figure who was previously a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) before defecting due to what he perceived as corruption and mismanagement within the ruling party. The movement emerged as a political alternative opposing the political and economic dominance of traditional parties such as the KDP and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). It advocates for political and economic reforms in the Kurdistan Region.

### Electoral Map

The Gorran Movement has strong support in Sulaymaniyah and several other areas previously controlled by the PUK. The movement's presence is mainly concentrated in regions that were once PUK strongholds. Sulaymaniyah, once a PUK-dominated area, saw many voters shift toward Gorran after its founding, driven by opposition to the prevailing political system and a demand for reform.

### Media Machine

The Gorran Movement operates its own media platform, KNN, which plays a central role in promoting its political message and engaging with the public.



## **Second: The Economic Environment**

### **1) The Economy as a Determinant of Public Confidence in Kurdistan**

The Kurdistan Region faces significant economic challenges, including declining oil revenues, rising unemployment, and the increasing cost of living. These issues impact people's satisfaction with the government. Deteriorating economic conditions may prompt voters, particularly those from economically disadvantaged groups, to seek alternative options and turn to parties that promise to improve the economic situation. The ruling parties may use oil resources to support their election campaigns by providing aid and making promises of economic improvements.

### **2) Development and Employment**

Unemployment, particularly among young people, is one of the most pressing issues in Kurdistan. The ruling parties highlight their achievements in development, while opposition parties criticize corruption and mismanagement. Opposition parties, which focus on creating job opportunities and improving economic conditions, tend to be more popular among voters who are suffering from unemployment.

### **3) Economic Propaganda in Election Campaigns**

Political parties such as the New Generation, the People's Party, and the Position Party use economic promises to attract voters, including pledges to provide jobs and improve services. These parties present themselves as an alternative to traditional parties, which are accused of being unable to manage economic crises. They focus on transparency and more efficient management of resources to gain public support.



## The Second Axis: The Impact of the Political and Economic Environment on the Elections

Political and economic factors in the Kurdistan Region are intricately intertwined, creating a dynamic electoral environment that significantly influences the results. Political parties attempt to leverage political and economic crises by sending targeted messages to attract voters, whether related to improving the economic situation or strengthening the region's political rights. Here, we will review a set of political and economic influences on voters:

1. **Impact on Voter Behavior:** The political and economic environment plays a major role in shaping voters' positions. In the face of economic crises and widespread corruption, voters may lean toward opposition parties that promise change and improvement. However, during periods of political stability or economic recovery, ruling parties may benefit from this by strengthening their electoral power.
2. **Strengthening Party Loyalties:** In Kurdistan, strong party loyalties based on tribal and political affiliations exist. These loyalties may become more pronounced during election periods due to the services provided by influential parties, such as improving infrastructure and distributing social benefits.
3. **Focus on Local and International Issues:** Parties often use economic issues as electoral tools, such as providing job opportunities and improving the standard of living. Political issues like regional rights and self-rule are also emphasized in election campaigns, with each party positioning itself as a defender of Kurdish rights against the Iraqi government or foreign powers.



4. **Influencing Voting in Disputed Areas:** The disputed areas between the Kurdistan Region and the central government in Baghdad play a crucial role in the elections. Parties compete for the support of residents in these areas, who often feel politically and economically marginalized.

In Conclusion, The Democratic Party and the Union rely on security and political stability in their election campaigns, presenting themselves as guarantors of regional stability. In contrast, the New Generation Movement, the People, and the Position focus on opposing the government through economic critiques, highlighting corruption and economic mismanagement.

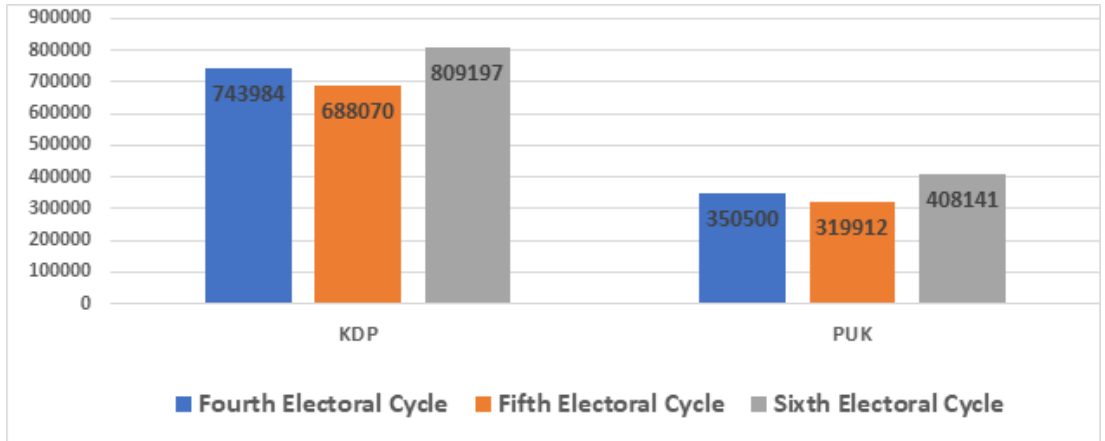
### **Third Axis: The Electoral Map in the Kurdistan Region**

#### **First: Comparison Between the KDP and PUK in Terms of Total Voters**

According to the chart below, we observe that the popularity of the two parties remains relatively constant in terms of the number of voters, fluctuating with increases and decreases. It is noteworthy that the two parties show identical trends of increase and decrease between the fourth and fifth electoral cycles, as both parties experienced an increase together, followed by a decrease together.



Table No. (1) Number of Voters for the Two Parties in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Electoral Cycles of the Kurdistan Regional Parliament



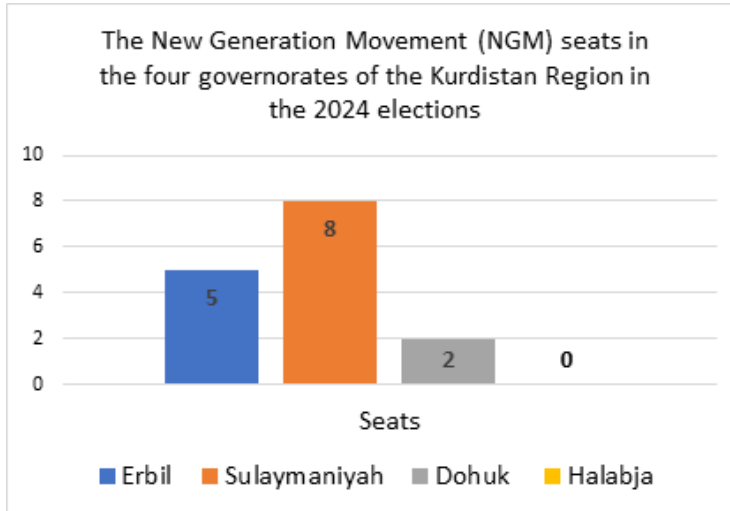
Prepared by the researcher based on the results of previous elections.

## Second: The Electoral Map of the New Generation Movement

The New Generation Movement participated in all four governorates of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, Dohuk, and Halabja). Sulaymaniyah holds the greatest support for the movement, with 23% of voter support, followed by Erbil at 17%, Halabja at 12%, and Dohuk at 9%. According to the voter percentages and the table below, it is evident that the movement's support is strongest in Sulaymaniyah, which is considered the headquarters of its leadership and establishment, as well as the movement's popular base.



Table No. (2) Number of Seats for the New Generation Movement in the Four Districts

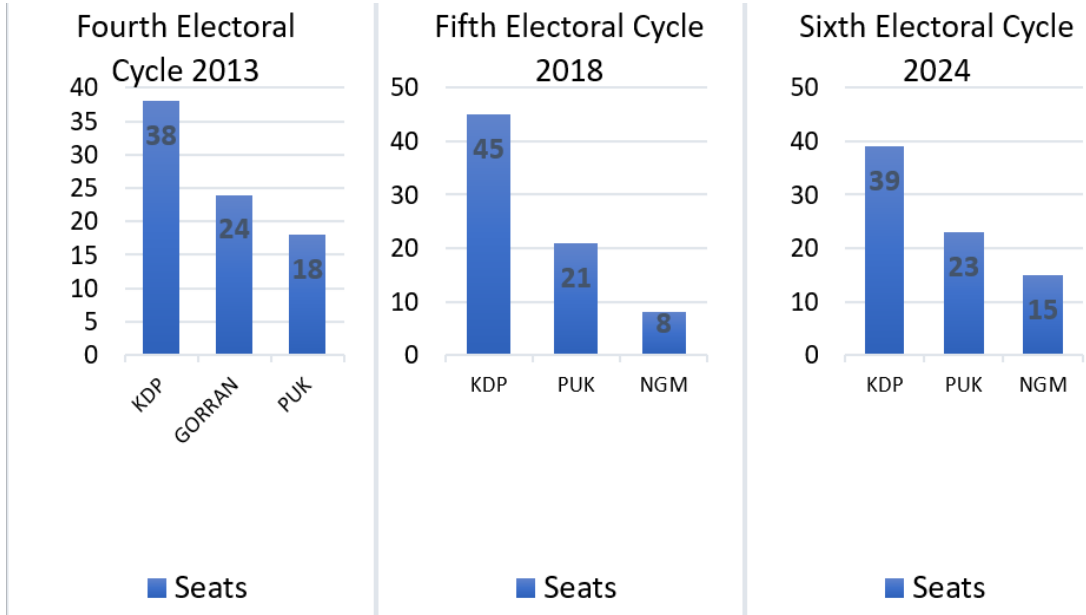


Prepared by the researcher based on the results of the 2024 Kurdistan Parliament elections.

### Is the New Generation Movement (NGM) a Threat to the KDP or PUK?

According to the results of previous elections, the rise of the New Generation Movement did not significantly affect the two main parties. The Democratic Party maintained a total of seats ranging from 38 to 45, while the Union Party's seats ranged from 18 to 23. This suggests that the New Generation Movement succeeded in attracting votes from citizens who do not have a strong allegiance to any particular party—voters seeking a new political movement. The New Generation Movement was also able to win the support of smaller political movements.

Table No. (3) Number of Party Seats in the Three Electoral Cycles



Prepared by the researcher based on the results of previous elections.

### Previous Seats of the New Generation Movement

Table No. (4) Number of Seats of the New Generation Movement in Previous Elections

Electoral Cycle	Number of Seats
Kurdistan Parliament Elections, Fifth Parliamentary Session 2018	8
Iraqi Parliamentary Elections 2018	4
Early Iraqi Parliamentary Elections 2021	9
Kurdistan Region Elections, Sixth Parliamentary Session 2024	15

Kurdistan Region Parliament Elections, Sixth Parliamentary Session 2024

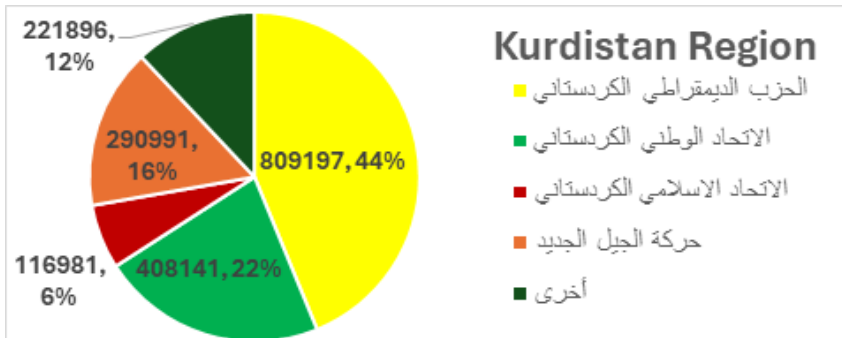


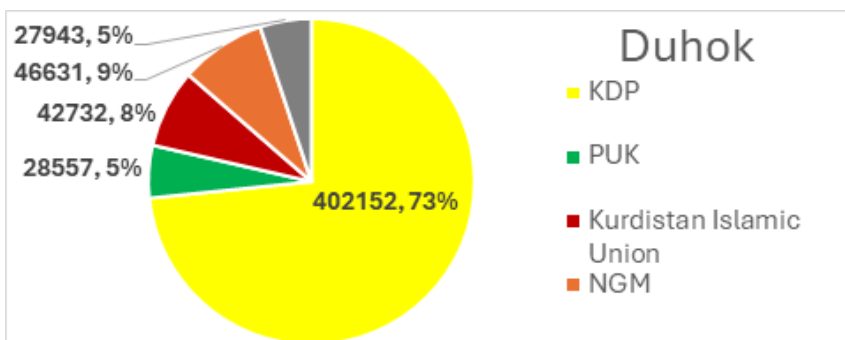
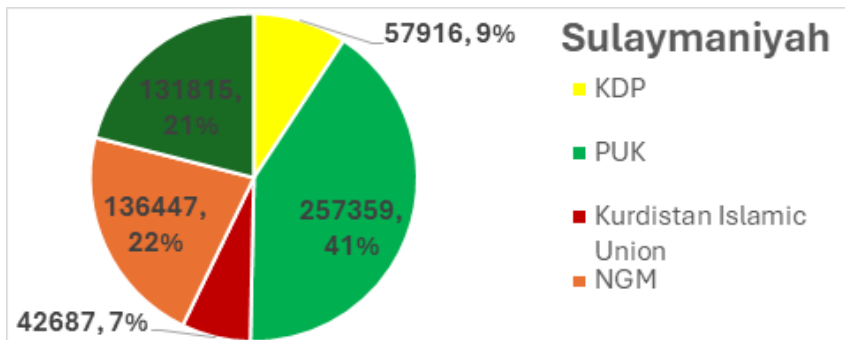
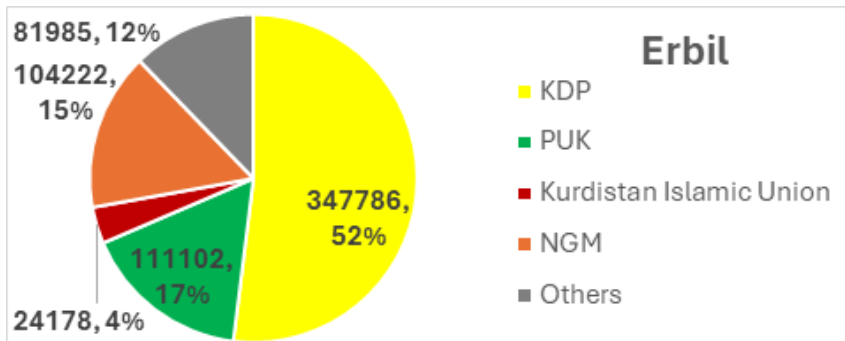


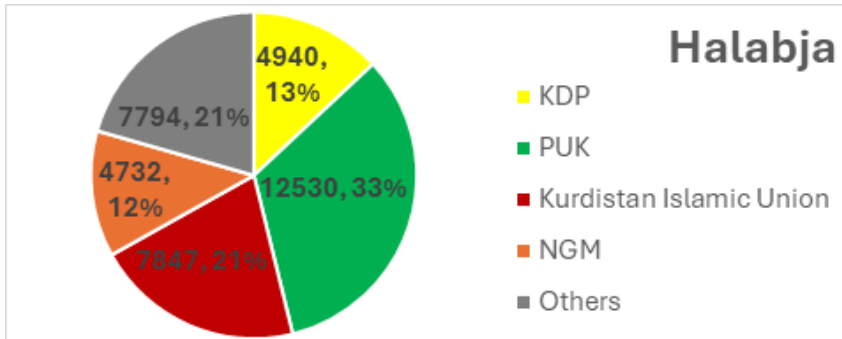
The voting was held to select 100 candidates, who would then elect the Speaker of Parliament, the President of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (which has enjoyed self-rule since 1991), and the Prime Minister.

It can be said that the results of the 2024 Kurdistan Region Parliament elections produced three main parties that won 82% of the total seats (KDP, PUK, NGM). The elections saw the rise of the New Generation Movement, while the seats of the two main Kurdish parties remained unchanged. Therefore, the New Generation Movement can be considered the real winner of these elections, as it successfully convinced 16% of voters in the region—a significant achievement for a party less than seven years old. If the party continues to attract more voters, it could have a bright political future.

Tables (5, 6, 7, 8, 9) Distribution of the Number of Voters for Each Party in the Kurdistan Region and Its Governorates







Prepared by the researcher based on the results of the 2024 Kurdistan Parliament elections.

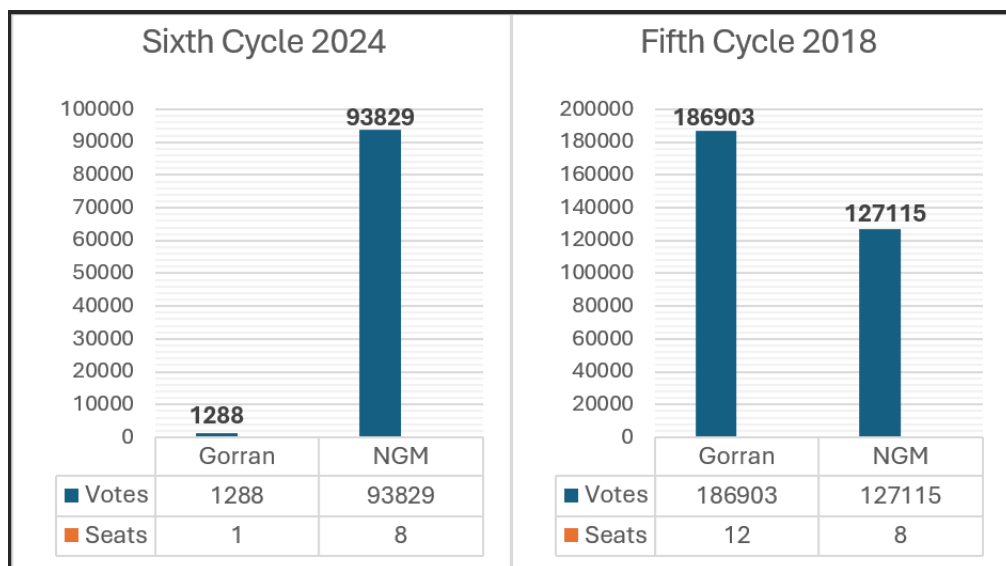
### The New Generation Movement as a Threat to the Change Movement (Gorran)

Starting with the third cycle in 2009, the first participation of the Change Movement (Gorran) in the region's parliamentary elections, it obtained 445,024 votes (23.72% of the total voters) and secured 25 seats. In the fifth electoral cycle in 2018, the Change Movement (Gorran) received 186,903 votes and 24 seats. In the same round, the New Generation Movement, participating for the first time, obtained 127,115 votes and 8 seats, while "Gorran" secured 186,903 votes and 12 seats. This round marked the rise of the New Generation Movement and the decline of the Change Movement (Gorran).

What is striking is that the total number of seats for the two movements in the fifth round was 20, which is fewer than the 25 seats Gorran won in the previous elections (the third and fourth cycles). This indicates that the decline of the Change Movement (Gorran) benefited the New Generation Movement, which was able to win over a significant portion of Gorran's electorate. This trend continued in the fifth cycle, where the New Generation Movement secured 290,991 votes and 15 seats, while the Change Movement (Gorran) suffered a major setback, winning only one seat.

Thus, the rise of the New Generation Movement led to the decline of the Change Movement (Gorran).

**Table No. (10, 11) Number of Voters for the Change Movement (Gorran) and the New Generation Movement in the Fifth and Sixth Cycles**



Prepared by the researcher based on the election results.

### The Third Axis: The New Generation Movement and Gorran: An Approach to Understanding

#### First: The Difference Between Gorran and the New Generation Movement

The Change Movement (Gorran) and the New Generation Movement are two political entities in the Kurdistan Region, but they differ in several key aspects. The most important of these differences are:



**Table No. (12) Comparison Between the New Generation Movement and Gorran**

Aspect of Comparison	New Generation Movement	Gorran
Political Programs	Seeks to provide innovative solutions related to social and economic affairs, with a focus on the rights of youth and .women	Focuses on political and economic reforms, with criticism of major parties such .as KDP
Work Strategy	Aims to build a broad popular base among young people, relying on mass activities and .direct communication	Relies on alliances with other political forces in parliament .to strengthen its role
Political Orientations	Presents new visions that go beyond traditional frameworks, focusing on radical .change	Tends to be more traditional in some aspects, despite .pursuing reform

Table prepared by the researcher

## **Second: The Failure of the Gorran Movement's Experience in the Elections**

Several reasons explain the failure of the Gorran Movement in the elections, and these can be summarized as follows:

### **1. Damage to Reputation Due to Joining the Government**

Although the Gorran Movement, led by Nawshirwan Mustafa, was a vocal critic of the Kurdistan Regional Government and its corruption, its decision to join the government negatively impacted its reputation. This move raised doubts about the party's credibility and efficiency as an opposition group.



The 2016 attempt to sign the “Dabashan Agreement” with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), aimed at merging the two parties, further deepened these doubts. Voters perceived this as the movement condoning corruption within the PUK.

## **2. Lack of Leadership After the Death of Nawshirwan Mustafa**

The death of Nawshirwan Mustafa in 2017, the movement’s spiritual leader, significantly impacted the Gorran Movement. The new leadership failed to fill the leadership vacuum, resulting in poor coordination and diminished leadership within the movement.

## **3. Electoral Nature of the Movement**

The Gorran Movement, founded in 2009 by leaders who had broken away from the two dominant Kurdish parties—the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)—functioned more like an electoral movement than a sustainable political party. This hindered its long-term political viability.

## **4. Internal Turmoil**

Gorran suffered from internal divisions, which significantly affected its cohesion and strength. Disagreements over leadership and strategic decisions were common, particularly between former PUK members and those from the Kurdistan Islamic Union. These internal conflicts weakened the movement’s unity and its decision-making process.



## 5. Competition with Traditional Parties

Gorran faced significant challenges in breaking the political monopoly of established parties such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The dominance of these parties in the regional political scene made it difficult for Gorran to make substantial electoral gains.

## 6. Weak Election Campaigns

Gorran's election campaigns were not as effective as those of its competitors. Its campaign strategies failed to resonate with voters to the same extent as those of the major parties, leading to weaker electoral results.

In Conclusion, several factors contributed to the Gorran Movement's failure in the elections, including weak leadership, internal fragmentation, and challenges in competing with traditional parties. Despite its efforts to present itself as a political alternative, these obstacles played a significant role in the decline of its political influence in the region.

### **Third: Will the Decline of Gorran Be Repeated in the New Generation Movement in Kurdistan?**

Predicting the future of the New Generation Movement in Kurdistan is challenging, but several factors could influence its success or failure. The most important of these factors are:

- **Societal Support:** If the New Generation Movement can secure broader support from various segments of society, it may achieve greater success.
- **Ability to Fulfill Promises:** The movement's success will depend on its ability to deliver on its promises and implement the reforms it advocates.



- **Political Competition:** The movement faces strong competition from established political parties, which could hinder its ability to secure parliamentary seats.
- **Economic Challenges:** The economic situation in the Kurdistan Region has a significant impact on the movement's popular support.
- **Internal Challenges:** Maintaining unity within the movement and avoiding internal divisions will be crucial to its success. If the New Generation Movement can navigate these challenges, it may have a promising future. However, failure could occur if the movement is unable to meet the needs and expectations of voters.

The New Generation Movement also has several strengths that distinguish it in the political landscape of the Kurdistan Region, including:

- **Focus on Youth:** By targeting young people and addressing their needs and aspirations, the movement can gain broad support from this demographic.
- **New and Innovative Ideas:** The movement presents fresh policies and visions that challenge traditional political norms, attracting voters seeking genuine change.
- **Anti-Corruption Stance:** Focusing on combating corruption and promoting transparency resonates with citizens disillusioned by the traditional parties.
- **Effective Communication:** The movement effectively uses modern communication tools, including social media, to reach a wider audience.





- **Diverse Political Programs:** The movement’s programs address both social and economic issues, making them more relatable to people’s everyday concerns.
- **Electoral Success:** The New Generation Movement has already secured a notable number of seats in parliament, indicating strong support.

If the New Generation Movement (NGM) can sustain its momentum and effectively address emerging challenges, it holds the potential to make a substantial impact in the political landscape moving forward.

## **Fourth Axis: The New Generation Movement as a Political Alternative in the Kurdistan Region**

### **First: The Vision of the New Generation Movement as an Alternative**

The “New Generation Movement” party positions itself as a political alternative in the Kurdistan Region through a set of key principles that distinguish its vision and goals from those of traditional parties. The most notable of these are:

1. **Innovative vision:** The party aims to introduce fresh ideas and policies that transcend the conventional approaches of major regional parties, seeking to create meaningful and positive changes in the political landscape.
2. **Combating corruption:** A central focus of the movement is fighting corruption and promoting transparency in state institutions—issues that resonate deeply with citizens and significantly influence their trust in the government.



3. Youth empowerment: The party places a strong emphasis on engaging with the youth, reflecting their aspirations for a better future, and championing their fundamental rights. This focus underscores the youth's desire for change.
4. Political diversity: The “New Generation Movement” advocates for expanding political choices in the region, thereby strengthening democracy and fostering healthy competition among political parties.
5. Social focus: The movement prioritizes addressing pressing social and economic issues, such as education and healthcare, directly impacting citizens' lives and helping the party build a broad popular base.

## **Second: Evaluating the Movement**

An assessment of the New Generation Movement, based on the outcomes of recent elections, highlights several critical aspects of its growing influence in the Kurdistan Region's political sphere:

1. Voter turnout and popular support: Recent election results indicate significant voter turnout for the New Generation Movement, especially among young voters. In certain districts, the support rate exceeded 50%, demonstrating the movement's ability to attract a substantial segment of youth eager for change. This momentum underscores the movement's strength and the willingness of these voters to endorse new policies aimed at improving the region's social and political landscape.



2. Impact on traditional parties: The movement's rise has reportedly diminished the popular bases of traditional parties, such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). This shift highlights a change in voter preferences, particularly among young people seeking new political alternatives.

3. Shifting political priorities: Election results suggest that voters increasingly prioritize the issues championed by the New Generation Movement—social justice, human rights, and transparency—over the traditional agendas of the region's dominant parties. This shift marks a transformation in Kurdish society's political focus.

4. Traditional parties' response: The growing momentum of the New Generation Movement has prompted traditional parties to adopt new strategies to regain youth support. For instance, these parties have revised their platforms to better align with the aspirations of younger voters, indicating the movement's significant influence on the broader political landscape.

In conclusion, The New Generation Movement represents a pivotal political shift in the Kurdistan Region, embodying the youth's desire for change and a break from traditional politics. If the movement continues to attract widespread support and develops programs aligned with the aspirations of New Generation Movements, it may establish itself as a formidable force capable of challenging the status quo.



## Conclusion

A comparison between the “New Generation Movement” and the “Change Movement (Gorran)” reveals significant differences in their foundations, political programs, and general orientations. These distinctions suggest that the decline of the Change Movement (Gorran) does not necessarily forecast a similar fate for the New Generation Movement. The latter relies heavily on young people as a robust popular base and considers political opposition one of its primary strengths. In contrast, Gorran’s alliances with ruling parties diluted its clarity and reduced its political effectiveness. By focusing on issues that resonate with young people, such as climate change and political and economic reform, the New Generation Movement has managed to carve a distinct identity.

However, despite its successes, NGM faces several challenges that may influence its future trajectory:

1. **Sustaining popular support:** Strengthening its presence among citizens, particularly the youth, remains a significant challenge. The movement must ensure consistent engagement to maintain and expand its base.
2. **Competing with traditional parties:** Confronting the dominance of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) requires well-crafted strategies to counterbalance their entrenched influence.
3. **Transparency and credibility:** Demonstrating tangible progress in combating corruption and maintaining transparency—cornerstones of its political platform—is crucial to building trust with voters.



4. Economic and social reforms: Delivering on promises of reform necessitates navigating internal and external pressures, particularly given the current economic and political environment.
5. Regional dynamics: The volatile security and political situation in the Kurdistan Region and beyond require the movement to adapt swiftly to changing circumstances.
6. International engagement: Building strong ties with the international community is essential to bolster the movement's political standing at both regional and global levels.
7. Internal unity: Managing internal differences among members is vital to harnessing the movement's diversity and ensuring cohesion and strength.

Through analysis of recent data and electoral outcomes, it is evident that the New Generation Movement (NGM) has become a significant challenge to Gorran, contributing to the latter's decline in recent elections. Despite this, when comparing the electoral performance of the two dominant traditional parties—the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)—across the fourth, fifth, and sixth parliamentary sessions, there is notable stability in their voter base and seat allocations. This suggests that, thus far, the rise of NGM has not posed a direct threat to their established popularity.



However, the rapid growth of the New Generation Movement signals potential for future competition. Within just seven years of its establishment, the NGM has achieved remarkable milestones. It has become the third-largest political force in the Kurdistan Parliament, increasing its seat count in the Kurdistan Parliament from 8 in the fifth session to 15 in the sixth session. Similarly, in the Iraqi Parliament, its representation grew from 4 seats in its first participation to 9 seats in its second.

This upward trajectory indicates that the NGM is steadily gaining influence. If this trend continues, it has the potential to surpass the PUK in future elections, positioning itself as a dominant force in the Kurdistan Region's political landscape. To solidify its position and ensure long-term success, the movement must develop innovative strategies, address evolving challenges, and maintain its appeal to an increasingly diverse electorate.





**For an Active state  
and a participating society**

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