A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN MAHABAD AND SULEYMANIAH

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates social inequality in Mahabad and Suleymaniyah. The most important variables affecting social inequality considered are gender, education, language (dialect), parties and employment. In exploring conceptual space, in order to avoid overlapping among variables, they are divided into other different dimensions i.e. inequality in social and political status and finally inequality in economic conditions. A combination of Park, Weber and Bourdieu’s ideas was regarded appropriate for above-mentioned conceptual framework. Given social inequality this question arises that what factors lead to social inequality in these societies. The method in this study was comparative and instrument for data collection were observation, documentary research, intensive interviews, and interview questionnaire. The main factors leading to social inequality in Sulaymaniye are political distinctions and education, while in Mahabad, these factors include economic capital, education and employment.

Keywords: Social Inequality(SI), Power, Class, Cultural Capital(CC).

1. Statement Of The Problem

Inequality is a historical phenomenon that has been addressed more or less by founders of sociology. Inequality in the history of sociology has taken several names: "What was called as the origin of inequality in the eighteenth century and as the emergence of classes in nineteenth century is described toady by the theory of social stratification, without making any change in the nature of the main problem or finding a satisfactory solution to it" (Dahrendorf, 1959: 39). Accordingly, the present study aims to explore and explore not a modern phenomenon but a historical phenomenon namely social inequality which has given less consideration based on a sociological perspective in Kurdistan.

Basically, there are two different approaches to political and social issues of Kurdistan: Some have pointed to foreign interference in the sense that problems related to Kurdish people in Iran and other neighboring countries are two different problems. They believed that although some problems have been arisen in Iran as a result of interferences made by foreign agents, there is no Kurd specific issue in Iran (Van Bruinessen, 1983: 51-9; Rashidyasemi, 1984: 250; Jalaeepour, 1991: 141-2). Therefore, they argue that the solution to problems in Kurdish areas are dependent on factors such as the expansion of communication networks, delegating decision-making positions in the Kurdish regions to the Kurds, and deployment of more military and police forces in the Kurdish regions (Jalaeepour 1991: 141-2).

On the other hand, the people in central regions of Iran are ignoring domestic, social, and political aspects of the problem, while the Kurdish people have made many efforts in the form of political parties since the 1940s to strengthen democracy in Iran, establish a federal or self-governed system in Kurdistan, form a local Kurdish Parliament, and teach the Kurdish language in schools and educational centers. This group is calling for the modification of inequalities created by the former regime that are still persistent.¹ The first perspective

¹ Most of development indices before the Islamic Revolution in Iran (McDowell, 2001: 439-440) indicated that Kurdistan lags much behind in all indices than the rest of regions in Iran. "In 1972, the ratio of industrial workers to the
was mainly theorized by the people in central parts of Iran while the second perspective is supported mostly by the Kurdish people. Accordingly, the aim of the present study is to explore social inequality, its causes, and its persistence in the two Kurdish and non-Kurdish communities in Iran.

2. Historical Analysis of Social Classes and Strata
How was the hierarchy of the traditional Kurdish community? Was it different from the present time? To answer these questions it is necessary to look at the social classes and strata in the traditional social organization of the Kurdish community, and compare it with the present time. This section answers the first question and shed light on its dimensions. The second question will be answered in the discussion of the occupational position. However, it should be mentioned that these two issues are closely related.

In many old texts on the realm of the states governing Iran, there is no exact information about the social situations in different periods. However, a rough classification of social groups in the Median Era included fighters, farmers, shepherds, craftsmen, and clerics. Magi were a class of influential clerics that maintained their influence in the Persian Era as well. Among the texts of the Avesta, the Gathas is one of the oldest texts of the Avesta but it does not provide a clear indication of social divisions at that time.

Mary Boyce has recently proposed a dual classification of the Gthic community with Warriors-shepherds and the clergymen. TansorNameh classified the Iranian community in the Sassanid Era into four separate categories: clergymen, military people, craftsmen, and others. With the advent of Islam, egalitarian and meritocratic views created an open stratification system in the sense that every member of the community has the potential of reaching the highest social position concerning piety, wisdom, knowledge, wealth, and politics regardless of their attributed positions at birth such as race, ethnicity, or patrimony. Because the Islamic call was in essence a mission to institutionalize wisdom in the realm of thought and the establishment of justice in social relationships. According to SayyidQub, Islam is not compatible with the exploiting classes. However, inequality between different groups of the society increased in later periods when Islam was used as an ideological force.

In the Qajar javan period, people were classified into high social classes including courtiers, administrators, chiefs, religious figures, masters, and wholesalers and the public including peasants, tribesmen, farm workers, traditional industries, and services in the lower social classes.

The social classes in Iran in the Pahlavi period just before the Islamic Revolution were as follows:
1. The dominant class (the king and courtiers, bureaucrats, professionals, and modern bourgeois with western orientations)
2. The urban middle and upper middle classes
3. The middle class and lower middle classes including the majority of scholars, business people, shop owners, artists, and their apprentices
4. Skilled, semi-skilled, and seasonal workers
5. Farmers

Now the question is how the Kurdish community has been classified in the past few centuries? According to Keenan, the traditional social organization of the Kurdish community was based on religious and secular leaders and their families i.e. the sheikhs and their disciples, ordinary villagers, farmers, and ranchers. Aside from Lords, sheikhs were one of the most influential groups who were more powerful that Lords whose power was transient. After the 1964 War with Iraq, the power was transited from feudal layers and tribe chiefs to urban educated people.

Kamran Ahamedi’s book reflects a history of social and political developments in a part of Kurdistan in the Pahlavi period including a classification of different social classes and groups governing Kurdistan. The situation can be roughly generalized to the all over Iran. According to Ahmadi, in the last two decades of the Sassanid era and during the whole Pahlavi period, sheikhs, gendarmes, and Khans (masters) had complete

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2 For example Hojarat Surah, Verse 13; An-Nisa Surah, Verse 95; Az-Zumar Surah, Verse 9
domination over all parts of Iran. In all narratives of the events of that time, the sheikhs had a direct link with the former National Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK) and they used to exploit the people’s economic surplus and to oppress people. This was also the case the government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. These issues led to inequalities between these groups and the public masses.

If we compare the Kurdistan community with ancient societies, it becomes clear that the main upper classes are largely characterized in this way and the Kurdish community is still a traditional community. Different classes within this community include large landowners, chief military forces, the highest classes of the court scholars, and masters of mythic religions.

3. **Reasons Behind The Selection And Comparison Of Mahabad And Suleymaniyah**

The four main reasons behind the selection and comparison of Mahabad Suleymaniyah in this comparative study are discussed here. The first reason is that the people of these two cities used to speak two Kurdish dialects that were closely linked to each other. A Kurdish poet, Mamousta Himen, writes: “I made much contemplation on why the poets of the 19th century in Suleymaniyah composed their poems in Mukriani dialect. I thought that they particularly "Nali" were concerned with founding a single literary language so they chose this dialect. Even I wrote an article to support this argument. But when I read Ali Bardeshani’s poems I became aware of my mistake. The language of the Abdurrahman Pasha’s court was the same language used by the 19th century poets to write their poems. This means that Mahabad and Suleymaniyah were two major centers of the Kurdistan region at that time and they had a single style of speech, but they have now been taken apart”. The dialects used in these two cities at present are seen as the dominant dialects in the standard language of the southern Kermanji.

The second reason is that these two cities were main centers of culture, literature, politics, and the Kurdish intellectual movement. The third reason that is related to two previous reasons is the advent of modern movements and transitions of power from traditional strata to modern strata in these cities.

4. **Significance Of The Comparative Study Of Inequality**

According to Durkheim, comparative sociology is sociology itself. Comparative studies were also important in the works of Marx and Weber. Jean ciuTroppo, Bourdieu, and Lipset also admitted it. Given the importance of comparative sociology; social inequality and its causes were investigated in this study and dominant and subordinate groups were determined accordingly.

The findings of the study can be useful in gaining some insights about the state of inequality in two Kurdish societies that are dominated by two Persian and Arabic cultures. Iranian Kurdistan and Iraqi Kurdistan are ranked last in terms of the development indicators. Besides, Iraqi Kurdistan is more underdeveloped than Iranian Kurdistan in pre-modern societies (Qaredaghi, 2004: 3). The study of the conditions and factors affecting inequality and its consequences can help us in coming up with a proper view on how to modify it.

In addition, the exploration of many indicators can be demonstrated that the Iraqi Kurds are in better position than the Kurds living in Iran. Therefore, the conventional view among Iranian people based on which “Iran is the Kurdish paradise” or “Kurds in Iran are the owner of a single province” is challenged.

5. **Theoretical Framework Of The Study**

Our goal in this study is to integrate objective and subjective viewpoints and here we are not dealing with the accepted principles of radicals and conservatives. Accordingly, a summary of Lamprecht and Stamm’s (1998) opinions about the necessity of integrating structural and cultural views (objective and subjective aspects) are present as a framework for the present study.

At first glance it seems that the study of contemporary inequality has entered a number of contrasting perspectives into the analysis. The first perspective refers to a known distinction at the macro and micro levels. Over the past few decades, views on class and stratification in the macro

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3. Mukriani is a region located at the southern part of the West Azerbaijan Province centered by Mahabad
4. Ali Bardeshani and Jamshid and Mohammad Asmani were poets in Abdurrahman Pasha’s court. They wrote the epic poems and sometimes were consulted by the king (Rasul, 2004: 10).
5. It is also called Surani. According to Tavana, it is better to call it the southern Kermanji (Tavana, 2000:7).
sociology have been influenced by the academic proponents’ analyses that pay attention to meaning at the micro level and have managed to account for the growing complexity of social structures. Even still, the micro-analyses of living conditions and the lifestyle of elite groups can reflect the effect of inequality on contents actions and perceptions. The second level includes a conflict between the main structural (objective) and cultural (subjective) perspectives. Concepts such as “environment” and “lifestyle” have inspired the research in recent years. Structural approaches have also been criticized by cultural approaches (Bourdieu influenced by Sartre’s existentialism have provided a critique of Althusser and Strauss’s structuralism). There is a clear distinction between the origins of structural inequalities, on the one hand, and the emergence of cultural studies, on the other hand. As such, closest analytic framework to address the problem under study is a combination of Weber, Parkin, and Bourdieu’s views (in terms of the integrated structural and cultural or subjective and objective perspectives proposed by Lamprech and Stamm). In this study, Bourdieu’s perspective (1996: 43-75) was used to address inequality in economic conditions, Parkin’s perspective (1972: 19-13) was employed to analyze inequality in the social situations, and Weber’s perspective was used to examine inequality in the political situations. This integrative approach was taken the empirical level as did by Coser in exploring the historical phenomena (Zeitlin et. Al. 2000).

6. Methodology

The population under study regarding the importance and structure of interview questions included all Kurdish-speaking students studying at Mahabad and Sulaymaniyyah universities in 2005. The research sample consisted of 120 students based on the number of interviewers, the time needed to conduct the study, the participants’ gender, their fields of study, and the logic of qualitative method (theoretical sampling). The members of the sample were students of Computer and Law at Islamic Azad University of Mahabad and students of Computer and English Language and Literature at University of Sulaymaniyyah. The majors at University of Mahabad were selected using probability sampling and the participants were selected randomly. Before conducting the main study, 8 economic elites and 12 students were taken in-depth interviews at University of Mahabad. Besides, 8 politics elites and 8 students were taken in-depth interviews at University of Sulaymaniyyah (However, it should be mentioned questionnaires are not commonly used in Sulaymaniyyah and interviews are used more frequently).

The results of the factor analysis show the validity of the instrument is high and there is an acceptable correlation between factors. The values of alpha (which is 0.763 for Mahabad and 0.776 for Sulaimaniyyah) also suggest that factors under analysis have an appropriate reliability coefficient. In addition, the value of KMO statistics is 0.644 and the significance level is 99% that are indicative of a very high correlation among items.

7. Research Findings

7.1 Job As A Historical Cause Of Inequality

Given the importance of job in the hierarchy of social stratification and its position in the theories of Bourdieu, Lenski, and Parkin, the Kurdish people’s position in the occupational hierarchy was determined in Mahabad and Sulaymaniyyah. The emphasis on job as an important factor is due to the strong dependence of revenues on job: “As in any country, developed, developing, socialist, or with a market economy, everyone's income depends on his/her job, the job construct to some extent shows the income distribution index”. Besides, the role played by each person in society will always be regarded as an essential element of class distinction.

The findings of the study suggested that there were no significant differences in students’ jobs between the two cities. Nevertheless, there were some differences concerning the occupational position of students’ fathers. For example, 23.3% of fathers were retired in Mahabad, while none of the respondents’ fathers were retired in Sulaymaniyyah. A possible explanation for this finding is that there is no applicable and codified retirement law in Sulaymaniyyah. In Iraq, 30 percent of respondents’ father died while the same percentage was 6.7% in Mahabad. One of the reasons for this high percentage in Sulaimaniyyah is the occurrence of long wars in this city during recent years. Accordingly, 18.3% of respondents’ fathers had a military position in Sulaymaniyyah.

The value of the Spearman correlation coefficients indicated there was a strong relationship between occupational position and inequalities in Mahabad at 99% significance level. However, there was a weak relationship between the two variables in Sulaymaniyyah at 95% significance level.
As mentioned in the first part of this paper, the economic and political elites in the history of Kurdistan were lords, military men, sheikhs, and their disciples. However, in the modern Kurdistan community, big urban landowners, clerics, the military forces, public bureaucrats, businessmen, marketers, and educated people in cities are in power. A majority of the Kurdish people are engaged in agriculture or very low-paid jobs in the service sector. To make the matter worse, the dominance of a military-security view on Kurdistan and the lack of investment have led to widespread precarious smuggling jobs. It is particularly noteworthy in Mahabad as a significant percentage of people in Mahabad make their living through smuggling.

7.2 Cultural Capital

Music in Bourdieu's theory is seen as an indicator of cultural capital. Sports and familiarity with the native language and other languages are also considered as other indicator of cultural capital. In general, the results of the study indicated that students in Mahabad have more familiarity with the musical instruments than their counterparts Sulaimaniyah as 31.7% of respondents in Mahabad knew how to play musical instruments while the only 8.3% of the students in Sulaymaniyah were familiar with playing musical instruments. Most of the respondents in both cities could not work with musical instruments. For some time, people particularly in rural areas of Kurdistan avoided playing musical instruments because of the fear of being stigmatized as Louti. The findings indicated that 73.3% of the male respondents in Mahabad and 90% of the female respondents in Sulaymaniyah did not how to play musical instruments. The same percentages for female participants were 36.7% and 16.7% in Mahabad and Sulaymaniyah, respectively. Besides, it was noted that of 8.3% participants in Sulaymaniyah, 5% knew how to play the organ and 3.3% played the violin. In contrast, 6.7%, 20%, 5%, and 3.3% of the participants in Mahabad were playing the organ, violin, sitar, and guitar. Despite the strong interest of the Kurdish people in music, many people are willing to introduce themselves as musicians or singers. However, there was generally no significant relationship between inequality and cultural capital in both cities. The value of the Spearman correlation coefficient between the two variables in Sulaimaniyah and Mahabad was 0.81 but the error rate in both cases was higher than 0.05.

Most students in Mahabad were athletes. Besides, 52.70% of the male respondents in Mahabad and 11% of the male respondents in Sulaymaniyah were playing non-combat sports. In contrast, 26.7% and 30% of the females in Sulaymaniyah and Mahabad used to play combat sports. Further, 28.3% and 31.6% of respondents in Sulaymaniyah and Mahabad exercised 1-3 hours, 3.3% and 23.3% of respondents in Sulaymaniyah in Mahabad exercised 4-6 hours, and 20% and 13.3% of the participants in Sulaymaniyah and Mahabad played sports over 6 hours per week. The sports fields were taekwondo, gymnastics, Kong Fu, wushu, swimming, skating, tennis, hiking, soccer, and volleyball, respectively. Skating and tennis were observed only among students at the University of Sulaymaniyah.

7.3 Language As The Facilitator Of Inequality

The reason behind the emphasis on language is that some non-specialist individuals (such as Yasami and JalaeePour). In addition, in multi-ethnic societies, the language of the dominant ethnic group is the reason for the creation and consistency of the inequality. Accordingly, the status of the Kurdish language in its hometown, Iran, and Iraq was determined in this study. Mastery over several languages throughout history has resulted in the creation of thinking and familiarity with the knowledge hidden the language. Nevertheless, with the emergence of modern communications and the increased political importance of language and the imperialism role in the elimination of the indigenous languages, inequalities have been aggravated and language has become the cause of inequality.

The respondents’ familiarity with the language of the dominant ethnic groups in Mahabad was higher than their familiarity with the language of the dominant ethnic groups in Sulaymaniyah.

As mentioned earlier, one of the policies proposed for improving national unity in Iran was the promotion of Persian language in the Kurdish areas. While the majority of respondents in Mahabad could read, write, and speak in Persian, about 30% of them were not able in their own native language. This can harm their Iranian identity and its live languages in the long-term. In contrast, the majority of the respondents in Sulaymaniyah were familiar with the Kurdish

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6 Loutis were Kurdish local singers that used to sing in wedding ceremonies. The word “Louti” has negative connotations as Loutis were paid to praise the participants in the ceremony.

7 Iranian ethnic groups include Kurds, Persians, Baloch, Tajiks, and Afghans.
language with a little knowledge of Arabic. Less than 50% of the Kurdish people in Suleymaniyah were familiar with Persian while a higher percentage of Kurds in Mahabad were familiar with the Arabic language. In addition, 63.3% of the female participants in Mahabad and 100% of them in Suleymaniyah were able to write in Kurdish. It was also noted that 100% of the male and female participants in Mahabad were able to read and write in Persian. The familiarity of the students in Suleymaniyah with Arabic was lower than the familiarity of their peers in Mahabad with Persian. However, the students’ familiarity with Kurdish in both cities was low and even lesser in Mahabad than in Suleymaniyah. Given the popularity of Persian culture and language among people of Suleymaniyah, they show a great interest in Persian music and language. The drivers in Suleymaniyah listen widely to Persian singers’ CDs and albums and the consumption of Persian cultural products is very high in this city.

Accordingly, unlike Suleymaniyah, Kurdish is not considered as the language of wealth and power. Kurdish language is acquired naturally in Mahabad but it is taught in schools in Suleymaniyah. Kurdish is instructed at the highest level in (NGO) Soma Cultural Institute. Kurdish is used in Suleymaniyah as the official language in organizations, lectures, and universities while Kurdish used in Mahabad for casual conversations in the public literature. Accordingly, linguistic inequality in Mahabad is more severe than that in Suleymaniyah. But as was mentioned, there were not significant differences between the two variables of social inequality and cultural capital.

### 7.4 Economic Capital

Economic capital is also another variable that has been emphasized in theories of Marxists, Weber, Lenski, Parkin, and Bourdieu. Economic capital was measured in this study based on indicators such as income level, area of house, personal cars, computers, imaging camera, camcorder, cell phone, and Walkman.

The students possessed more the personal comforts in Suleymaniyah than students in Mahabad. All students in Suleymaniyah have a cellphone while only 20% of the students in Mahabad possessed a cell phone. Besides, 41.7% of the respondents in Suleymaniyah and 13.3% in Mahabad had personal cars. In addition, 26.7% of respondents in Mahabad and 61.7% of them in Suleymaniyah had computers or notebooks. Finally, 38.3% of the respondents in Mahabad and 16.7% of them in Suleymaniyah had Walkman. The prices of such equipment were lower in Iraq than in Iran.

The average household income of the respondents in Suleymaniyah and in Mahabad was 3145000 and 2989160 Rials per month. Half of the respondents’ families in Suleymaniyah had an income level of 3000000 Rials per months and the second half had a lower income. In addition, half of the respondents’ families in Mahabad had an income level of 2500000 Rials per months and the other half had an income lower than 2500000 Rials. The families of the most respondents in both cities had an income level of 2000000 Rials per month. The distribution of the respondents’ family income in Suleymaniyah was less than that in Mahabad.

The economic capital of the Kurdish people in Suleymaniyah was higher than the economic capital of those living in Mahabad. Besides, economic inequality in Mahabad was higher than in Suleymaniyah. The height of the yard walls of houses in Suleymaniyah was much shorter than in Mahabad. This suggests that income inequality and the height cravings in Suleymaniyah is less than in Mahabad. On the other hand, the shops were left without a guardian and with open doors, showing that theft and shoplifting was not a problem in Suleymaniyah. In general, people of Suleymaniyah had a higher income than people in Mahabad.

The value of the Spearman correlation coefficient of two variables of social inequality and economic capital in Mahabad was 0.485 at 99% significance level and 0.289 at 99% significance level in Suleymaniyah.

### 7.5 Education As the Second Key Of Deprivation

Weber, Lenski, and Parkin focused on the role of education in inequality. According to Parkin, education especially in modern societies is regarded as the second key deprivation after properties. The fathers of 26.7% of the respondents in Suleymaniyah and the fathers of 25% of the respondents in Mahabad were illiterate. The fathers of none of the respondents had a bachelor's degree or higher in Mahabad, while 11.6% of the respondents in Suleymaniyah had a father with a bachelor's degree or higher. In addition, the respondents’ mothers in both cities were less educated than their fathers. The domination of Lords, Khans, and tribal chiefs in villages, patriarchy and willingness to preserve the dignity of the family and women in the traditional society of Kurdistan were some obstacles to the education of girls, especially in the villages. The mothers of 40%
of the respondents in Mahabad and 38.3% in Sulaymaniyah were illiterate. Mothers of none of the respondents in Mahabad had higher education. Mother of 5% of the respondents had university education in Sulaymaniyah. However, 10% of respondents mentioned nothing about their mothers’ education level.

In general, social organization of the traditional society in Kurdistan has not fostered many educated people. Despite much emphasis in the Kurdish literature on the importance of education, Kurds have less educated people than their neighboring ethnic groups. One of the historical reasons is the opposition of the Khans to the acquisition of knowledge and literacy of their subjects so that they could continue their dominance over them. Therefore, the parents of the respondents (previous generations) had little opportunity for schooling. However, the respondents’ fathers in Sulaymaniyah had higher levels of education than the respondents’ fathers in Mahabad.

Nevertheless, in the contemporary period coinciding with the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the literacy rate has grown in Mahabad and the level of higher education has risen dramatically over the education level in Sulaymaniyah. In contrast, the level of education especially higher education has been low because of the discrimination and the resistance against oppression in Iraq.

The correlation coefficients between two variables of education and inequality in Sulaymaniyah and Mahabad are 0.315 and 0.271 with an error rate of less than 0.05.

7.6 Political Distinction

Political and partisan distinction is another cause of social inequality. “Different groups and parties have always played the main role in the development and spread of Kurdish national feelings”. The emphasis on political distinction in this article is due to the fact that the parties develop only in a society that has a rational organization. In addition, parties play a vital role in promoting democratic mechanisms so they must be taken into account. Parties have a focal significance concerning the political dimension of social inequality in Weber’s theory. According to Tedgar, the access to national and regional positions of political power and the access to political careers are indicators of political partisan distinction. In addition, the value of Spearman correlation coefficient indicated a strong relationship between the two variables of social inequality and political distinction in Mahabad (0.663) and Sulaymaniyah (0.681) at the significance level of less than 99%.

Conclusion

The stratification of the society is always accompanied by the growth of intra-group and inter-group social conflicts. To the same extent that order and cooperation are effective in the formation of social life, the conflict between the people of each type has been a permanent incentive for the regulation of human activities. This is so because people should skip some part of their power. In fact, by accepting the diversity of power sources, the society will move towards the political development. In addition, “the access to equality and democracy is, in part, dependent on the appropriate distribution of political resources and the willingness to use them for special purposes”. Historically, the foundation of the political unity in Iran is based on diversity; whenever the foundation of the political diversity has been based on the diversity, Iran has been able to maintain its political unity. On the other hand, each time the unity and diversity are not understood appropriately and more especially whenever the unity dominates diversity, both are equally exposed to risks.

Our findings indicate that inequality was a historical phenomenon; however, the origins of inequality are different in terms of time and place. Economic capital and political distinctions in Mahabad and education, cultural capital, and colonial conditions in Sulaymaniyah were the main causes of inequality. Although based on the most of the indicators under study it seems that inequality in Sulaymaniyah is less severe than in Mahabad, water, electricity, gas, telephone, and road construction projects have made a remarkable progress in Mahabad and most of the Kurdish cities in Iran compared to cities in Iraq. Most of Iraqi Kurds criticize the ruling parties in Kurdistan for their negligence of road construction and water supply projects. Unlike in Iranian Kurdistan, Iraqi Kurdistan, the people’s liquidity is high but public facilities are not in good conditions (in addition, the general view of Mahabad and the conditions of terminals and the public health is much better than in Sulaymaniyah). As a result, the ruling parties in Iraqi Kurdistan will need to consider these issues and not limit themselves solely to the partisan issues. These differences become more noticeable when people living in Sulaymaniyah visit Iran and compare Iranian cities to Iraqi cities (which is related to the subjective aspect of the issue addressed in this study).
References

Tables

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<tr>
<th>Table 1: Results Of Bartlett test KMO tests</th>
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<td>K-M-O Bartlett's Test of Sphericity</td>
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### Table 2: Sports

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<th>City</th>
<th>Mahabad</th>
<th>Soleymaniyyah</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>sport</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>non-martial art</td>
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<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MISSING</strong></td>
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### Table 3: Language Skills

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<th>City</th>
<th>Mahabad</th>
<th>Suleymaniyyah</th>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Languages</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>96.7</td>
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<td>City</td>
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<td>Soleymaniyah</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>Male s</td>
<td>Females</td>
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<td>Walkman</td>
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<td>36.7</td>
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