

**Behind the Muslim Veil:
a Qualitative Analysis of Pakistani Female Students' Views
towards Veiling**

DERRIERE LE VOILE ISLAMIQUE:

**UNE ANALYSE QUALITATIVE DES CONSTATATIONS DES ETUDIANTES
PAKISTANAISES SUR LE VOILE**

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Abstract: The research is conducted after a ten-month stay in Islamabad, Pakistan. It intends to qualitatively demonstrate the veiled women's own opinions towards issues regarding veiling and women's rights in Islamic society. It also presents the functions of veils from a point of view of multiculturalism.

Key words: Veil; Islam Feminism; Women's Rights; Multiculturalism

Résumé: Cette recherche est menée après un séjour de dix mois à Islamabad, au Pakistan. Il tente de démontrer qualitativement les propres opinions des femmes voilées à l'égard de questions liées au voile et aux droits de femmes dans la société islamique. Il présente également les fonctions de voile d'un point de vue du multiculturalisme.

Mots-Clés: voile islamique; féminisme; droits de femme; multiculturalisme

1. INTRODUCTION

After the attacks of 9/11, Islam phobia, a term coined to reflect "the general hatred and fear towards Muslim" becomes much apparent among (western) public. Islam is portrayed and scrutinized as the "other" culture by the media and is sometimes subjected to vicious criticism. In the realm of academia, Islam is often referred to as a gender-biased religion that does not treat women equally. One of the many supporting evidences for such claim is the (mandatory) veiling of Muslim women. This research is conducted after a ten-month stay in Islamabad, capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. In this paper I intend to look behind the veils and demonstrate the veiled women's own opinions towards issues

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regarding veiling and women's right since their voices as insiders are equally, or even more important than the tirade of outsiders. After qualitatively analyzing their responses, I intend to present the functions of veiling from the point of view of multiculturalism.

Literature Review

It is rather difficult to define the term *feminism*, or for that matter, *gender equality* in a culturally un-biased manner. Some Muslim feminist thinkers argue that today "Muslim women do not favor the Western Concept of equality." (Madani, 2005). At the same time, the practice of veiling by Muslim women is viewed as "the most visible marker of the differences and inferiority of Islamic societies" (Leila Ahmed, 1992: 152 quoted from Grace 2004:2) and "the symbol [in colonial discourse] of both the oppression of women (or, in the language of the day, Islam's degradation of women) and the backwardness of Islam" (Leila Ahmed, 1992: 152 quoted from Grace 2004:2) It is generally believed that "most Euro-American feminists and Asian feminists agree that the veiling of women is a result of oppression and domination of women by patriarchy *in the name of religion*" (Grace 2004:18) though these feminist thinkers are constantly challenged by their Muslim counterparts. To some extent, the review of literatures on veiling and women's rights seems to be leading us stumbling into a battlefield. Moreover, as Schumann noted:

"Especially since the attacks of 9-11, but also before, media coverage on Muslims in the West has been dominated by issues like security, terrorism and the question of Western identity versus Islamic identity. As a result, the complexity of Muslim life in the West has been reduced merely to its problematic aspects" (Schumann, 2007)

Hence it is rather problematic, or even dilemmatic to determine whether it is true that "veiled women were necessarily more oppressed, more passive, more ignorant than unveiled women" (Mabro, 1991:3 quoted from Grace 2004:1). Is the equation that tries to equalize "veiling" to "gender oppression and backwardness" a mere construct that in fact depicts a biased attitude toward Islamic culture? When the past seemingly contradicting theories fail to provide any answer, it is only nature and logic to look behind the veils for the insiders' opinions towards such matter.

2. METHODOLOGY

The data in this paper are collected through a ten-month stay in National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan. They include the field notes of my daily observation and interaction with Muslim university students as well as accounts of my own living experience as a young foreign and non-Muslim woman in Islamabad. Several in-depth interviews were carried out. The participants were students from National University of Modern Languages. Besides English, Urdu and Arabic, This university offers courses in several western languages such as German, French and Spanish, as well as post-graduate programs in International Relationship, Engineering, Business and Islamic Study. This university, which locates in the capital, is acknowledged to be secular and culturally open. However, the participants were all specially picked out so they all wear Burqa, the traditional loose-fitting Islamic dress as their daily apparel. The names and some personal characteristics of the interviewees were changed and altered for the sake of protecting their privacy. The interview data are then subjected to discourse and content analysis. The data are qualitative as my intention is to present the voice and opinions from behind the veil. However, it must be noted that even within the Islamic world; the individual situation of each country is different. Instead of a single and unanimous culture, Islamic culture is rather the collective term for several cultures that each has its own unique characteristics. While the fundamentalism and extremism movements in Iran and Afghanistan seemed to be inscrutable to the western mind and are therefore used to represent the whole Islamic world, Pakistan is a less extreme Islamic country and its capital Islamabad, is even more secular and culturally diverse. Thus, the opinions towards veiling that I present in this paper may or may not be true in other "Islamic" circumstances (e.g. in other social setting/ age group / class in Pakistan or in other Islamic countries)

Rather than risking the danger of hasty over-generalization, I simply wish to present the opinions from behind the veil as they are and paint a larger picture while trying to understand Islamic cultures.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 Safety, Respect and Male Gaze

Walking on campus feels like being on a constant display. I have avoided any clothes that could reveal my body: No skirts or pants above the ankles. No tightly fitting blouse, etc. However, my hair, face, neck and lower arms are still exposed. There are always some men who turn around, gaze at and make comments on me among themselves. The bold ones greet me in a subtly flirty tone. Sometimes one will come up and ask me for the phone number or whether “we could get together and study”, at which time, his peer are standing at some distance, watching and laughing. I arrived on August 6th. When I was waiting for the university’s bus to pick me up from the crowded international airport, two men standing to my right were constantly pointing at me, talking and laughing between them. After a while they walked to the door and I could feel that their arms seemingly accidentally brushed against my back. This kind of attention and behavior upsets me. Yet ever since my first day here, it is something that seems unavoidable. At the beginning I felt angry yet powerless, since when I tried to gaze coldly and angrily back, my gaze in fact encouraged them to talk or even flirt directly with me. Gradually I started to walk with my neck slightly bent and eyes casting down. I no longer wear make-up, jewelry or perfume. I try to make myself look small, plain and unnoticeable. Sometimes I let my mind drift and pretend to be at some other places. It suddenly dawns on me that I WANT to be invisible.(excerpt of the field notes of the author)

According to Objectification Theory, the apparent and hidden (sexual) objectification often inflicts great damage on women. One of the many consequences is “self-objectification”, (Fredrickson and Roberts, 1997), which can be caused by the “internalization of male gaze” (Calogero, 2004). In the process of gazing, woman becomes the aesthetic as well as sexual object of the male gazers, who then obtain the upper-hand in the power dynamic. Hence, objectification and male gaze are often referred to as the institutions that display gender-inequality.

As Qu’ran required, a virtuous woman shall not be seen by men other than her father, brothers, uncles and husband Though it is debated among Islamic scholars and feminists that whether this requirement for women necessarily entails mandatory veiling, it is common for Muslim women to practice this instruction in daily life by wearing Burqa, Dupatta or other veil/scarf like garments.

According to my observations and interactions with young Pakistani Muslim women who choose to veil, most of them believe that the requirement of veiling, serves more than an instruction on how to be a virtuous woman, it is also a means of protection. It is mentioned in all interviewees’ answers that one function of Burqa is to prevent the women who wear them from the male gaze. When asked about their experience in Burqa, the women unanimously stated that they feel safer and more comfortable. The Burqa enables them to be left alone, to be free from all the comments, teasing and/or unwanted attention. Burqa hides them and protects them from being the center of all eyes (the male gaze). The invisibility provided by Burqa, while sometimes constructed by outsiders as confinement, violation and concealment of female beauty and humanity, is much needed and appreciated by the women in Burqa.

R: Wearing Burqa, is there any inconvenience?

N: No.

R: Not at all?

N: No. In our culture if you wear short shirts and boys look at you, tease you.

R: So you feel safe (in Burqa)?

N: Yes.

R: Because boys cannot look at you...

N: In the wrong way, yeah. There are illiterate boys. They don’t respect other. On the outside [sic] they tease at girls. But if someone passes comments about their sisters they become anger [sic].They

fight with them. But on the outside, they also do this.

R: So wearing Burqa protects you from this?

N: Yeah. They don't examine your clothes. When they see you they think, oh, that girl is wearing Burqa, I will leave her alone.

R: In your opinion, what are some special benefits and advantages of veiling?

F: It covers you properly as a candy without cover will be attack [sic] by bees, accordingly without veil you'll become the center of all the eyes.

R: When did you start to wear Burqa?

S: One year ago.

R: Why?

S: Because when I came to NUML for the first time, there were a lot of problems. Like boys. So I want to cover myself.

S: Because of Burqa, the boys think she is respectable. She doesn't want to [pause], you know?

R: Okay, okay. Is there any difficulties?

S: In the beginning, I feel it is difficult. But now I am used to, I feel comfortable. You know, now I went [sic] outside without Burqa, I don't feel comfortable.

R: Before you wear Burqa you just wore Shalwar-Chemise?

S: Yes.

R: Do you also wear skirts and jeans?

S: Yes, I do. I also wore dresses before.

R: But there were a lot of problems?

S: Yes, you know in Pakistan, because of my height and that, the boys come to me. That's why my friends give me advice that you must wear a baya². In the baya, you know, some respect.

(Excerpt of three interviews. R=Researcher, N, F and S are the initials for the pseudonyms of the interviewees)

There is the same presupposition in all interviewee' answers that in a society, there always are malicious people with unsavory intentions thus the owner have to hide her femininity and beauty in order to be safe. This presupposition is crucial for their line of reasoning while explaining the protective function of Burqa. The function can be best illustrated by the "candy and bee" analogy proposed by one interviewee herself. Furthermore, the interviewees used "boys" as a generalized term and asserted behavior such as teasing the girls, passing disrespectful comments etc. on them. The generalization and assertion can very well be seen as part of the derivations of the first and foremost presupposition. According to the girls, those kinds of behavior, as well as attention, are all signs of disrespect. Thus, through their reasoning it is only fair to say that the invisibility provided by Burqa is not only needed and appreciated; but also it provides the women in Burqa with a sense of respect and dignity, thus, becomes a total opposite of dehumanization and confinement.

It is especially worth noticing that the concept of respect is different through cultures. This point has been illustrated by past scholars and their works, e.g. Bailey (2000) has done research focusing on different interpretations of greetings, eye contact and respect of Korean shop owner versus African American customers. The culturally different interpretations of respect are again brought up by this research: It is fair to say that in some cultures; respect is obtained when attention is given to somebody via eye contact, smiling etc. while in other cases, namely for certain Muslim women, respect means NOT paying attention to or noticing them. The desire to be invisible may seem bizarre at first glance for some

² Sitara uses the term Baya and Burqa interchangeably. Both terms refer to the same Islamic loose fitting gown.-Author's Note

outsiders from different cultural background, however, this desire do exist and even forms some people's identity and core values.

It can be concluded from this part of analysis that rather than being a restriction and confinement, veiling serves for the function of protection for some women, since it can keep them from the male gaze. It gives the women a greater sense of safety and allows them more access into the public. In this sense veiling can be seen as means of empowerment. The greater sense of safety is derived from the invisibility provided by veiling. The veiled women feel left alone and thus respected. It is especially worth noticing that the understandings and interpretations of respect are cultural-, or even individual-specific, which all calls for a more well-rounded point of view of multiculturalism.

3.2 Veils as Religion and Identity Marker

R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?

M: I will continue to cover my head with Dupatta because I think it is a part of my personality and identification[sic] and I won't like to lose it.

R: In your opinion, what are some special benefits and advantages of veiling?

M: In my opinion veiling is one of the principles of Islam and Islam is a religion for the betterment of whole mankind. So if we are asked to do so there are a number of advantages for us including protection from bad intentions, looking more respectful and many more.

R: Are there any limitations or disadvantages of veiling?

M: In the modern age, even in the Islamic countries people have rejected the importance of veiling. As a result they treat the people with dupatta/veil in a negative way and criticize their style. That is why sometimes in public gatherings etc it creates many problems. [sic]

R: Does starting to veil have any special significance?

F: Because of our religion, the time when I started knowing Islam I started this. [sic]

R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?

F: Yes, because if Britains or Chinese can wear jeans so why not we can present our culture. [sic]

S: Here, boys, I mean Muslim boys, they respect girls in Burqa most. Because they think that they are religious. They know Islam.

R: So wearing Burqa is a sign of religious belief?

S: That's right.

(Excerpt of three interviews. R=Researcher, M, F and S are the initials for the pseudonyms of the interviewees)

The second function of veiling can be seen as the marker for one's religion and personal identity. In the written interview with Fatima, she stated that veiling is a sign of her starting to understand Islam-the rite of passage. Sitara also mentioned that the reason why boys and men leave women in Burqa alone is that "they (men) think they (the veiling women) are religious. They know Islam". In the written interview with Mariam, she stated that she veils herself out of the obligation of Islam. She also blamed the people who refuse to or criticize veiling for the growing problems in public gatherings. It is clear that for the women in veils, veiling has great religious value besides its practical functions. It symbolizes their religious identity.

Furthermore, Mariam and Fatima both stated that even when they were to move to a non-Islamic country, they would still continue to veil.

R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?

M: I will continue to cover my head with Dupatta because I think it is a part of my personality and identification[sic] and I won't like to lose it.

R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?

F: Yes, because if Britains or Chinese can wear jeans so why not we can present our culture. [sic]

They regard veiling as "part of personality and identification" and a way to present her culture. It can be concluded that for some women in veils, their culture, religion and personal identity are interwoven.

Islam and Islamic culture have defined who these women are. In other words, the women in veils regard veiling as one of the crucial parts that have formed their images of “self”: the image is veiled, knows and practices Islam and is religious.

In conclusion, the second function of veiling can be seen as a marker for religious and self identity. For some Muslim women who veil, their religion is interwoven with the images of “self”. Thus veiling becomes a (unconsciously political) statement of the belief and value system. Those women regard such demonstration as a right that has been granted to other nations and ethnical groups, and therefore should also be possessed rightfully by Muslim women. Hence the second function-the marker and statement of one’s religious and self-identity, can also lead to self-empowerment and thus becomes the absolute opposite of dehumanization.

3.3 The Freedom of Choice, Clothes as Symbols and Female Body as Battlefield

S: ...Actually you know, my family don’t like Burqa. [sic]

R: Why don’t they like it?

S: My cousins they don’t wear Burqa. It’s up to me. My father doesn’t like me to cover my face. But I cover my face because I want to feel comfortable.

R: In some Muslim countries there were movements of unveiling for women. If there is a similar movement in Pakistan, how will you feel about it?

M: I will reject the movement, keep veiling and participate in public protest, etc.[sic]

R: In some Muslim countries there were movements of unveiling for women. If there is a similar movement in Pakistan, how will you feel about it?

F: I will reject the movement and keep veiling.

R: So because your fiancé loves you so much that he told you wear a Burqa

N: (overlapping) Yes (laughing)

R: Are you happy?

N: Very much.

R: So when your fiancé told you that he loved you so much and thus you should wear Burqa and no one could see you, hearing this you are happy?

N: Em. (Smiling)

R: Very happy?

N: Em. (Smiling) In this way he shows his love. He feels very good about me.

Contrary to some common beliefs, Burqa is announced to be freely chosen by the veiling individuals. Sitara chose to wear Burqa to enjoy the safety and comfort of the invisibility even her family did not like, let alone encourage, this choice of hers. Fatima and Mariam stated that even unveiling movements were to start; they would still keep on veiling and participate in public protests. In Nagma’s case, however, one may argue that her fiancé played a major and influential role in her choice of Burqa. One may even argue that since her fiancé clearly stated that he did not want his fiancée to be seen, it demonstrates a gesture of possession and male dominance and control. However, speaking from my own experience as someone who lives in non-Islamic society for most of her life and has access to a somewhat global culture, it is not uncommon to discover that males from all types of societies and cultures demonstrate the will to protect his own partner from the (malicious) gaze or intentions of other males to varying degrees. That is to say, even male control do plays a part in women’s choice of Burqa, or any other attire, this is neither the singular phenomena in Islamic culture, nor the fault of veiling per se. What is more, one should take Nagma’s own reaction into account-she interpreted her fiancé’s will as a gesture of love and hence became very happy.

Some may argue that even the veil is announced to be “freely chosen”; it is in fact the unconscious coercion brought by the culture, society and religion because the veil is constructing the female body according to the social norms. However, this type of construction-fitting the female body into appropriate social molds is by no means limited to Islam. When many women from western society prefer mini-skirts and stiletto heels, their bodies are constructed by those attires to fit into the image of a culture where femininity and female sexuality is agreeable, encouraged and even celebrated. As Azizah al-Hibri once questioned, “Why is it oppressive to wear a head scarf but liberating to wear a mini-skirt?”

(in Grace, 2004:11) Why a culture where female sexuality is displayed is necessarily better than the one in which the female sexuality is hidden? The third function of veil (actually of all clothes) can be seen as to present the female in a socially acceptable way.

It is also worth noticing that Burqa actually has different styles and can be “fashionable”. Some women wear Burqa with silver linings, embroidery etc. on the sleeves or laps. Sometimes, they choose headscarf that is not entirely black. Thus to suggest Burqa is a total violation of female beauty seems to be rather absurd.

4. CONCLUSION

After the attacks of 911, Islamphobia seems to become more apparent among the (western) public and the stereotypes that link Muslim to terrorists become more pronounced. In the sphere of academia, Islam is sometimes criticized to be a gender-biased religion and one of the many supporting evidences is the (mandatory) veiling for Muslim women. This research is conducted after a ten-month stay in Islamabad, Pakistan in which I intend to demonstrate the veiling women’s own opinions towards such issues from behind the veils.

After analyzing their responses, I concluded the three functions of veiling: (1) Veiling serves as a means of protection that separate the women from the unwanted and unsavory attention of the outside world (the male gaze), which hence allows them larger access into public places and a greater sense of safety. (2) Veiling acts as marker of religious and self-identity. It can be seen as a (unconsciously political) statement of one’s value and belief system. (3) Like all clothes, veil also constructs female body according to appropriate social terms. All three functions are neutral-that is to say, we cannot characterize them in terms of “progressive” or “oppressive”, but rather, those functions serve adequately in their respective social contexts.

Female body has long been a battlefield. Western feminists argue that self-autonomy and female sexual freedom is an evitable step towards gender equality. Thus Burqa or veils are often criticized for being a disempowerment that demeans women’s sexuality and beauty. However, one should ask that whether the concept of gender-equality, like the concept of respect, can too be cultural-, or even individual-specific. Why women who enjoy and promote sexual freedom are necessarily better or more progressive than the ones who remain pure and want to be invisible according to their belief and ideology? It is true that clothes serve for culture functions as well as natural ones; however, penalizing one piece of garment for being culturally different, this idea itself is ethnocentric and prejudicial. One of my many reasons to conduct this research is that, it is time that we hear voices from inside, rather than simply making assumption, analysis or even criticism as an outsider. The voices of the Muslim women who choose to walk behind Burqa deserve to be heard and respected as much as the opinions and tirade of the outside thinkers.

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APPENDIX

Transcript of the Interviews

Interview with Naghma (pseudonym)

(Translated from Urdu)

- R: So if a girl wears short shirts and pants that other boys can see her and that is not a good thing?
N: It is wrong.
R: So because your fiancé loves you so much that he told you wear a Burqa
N: (overlapping) Yes (laughing)
R: Are you happy?
N: Very much.
R: So when your fiancé told you that he loved you so much and thus you should wear Burqa and no one could see you, hearing this you are happy?
N: Em. (Smiling)
R: Very happy?
N: Em. (Smiling) In this way he shows his love. He feels very good about me.
R: Wearing Burqa, is there any inconvenience?
N: No.
R: Not at all?
N: No. In our culture if you wear short shirts and boys look at you, tease you.
R: So you feel safe (in Burqa)?
N: Yes.
R: Because boys cannot look at you...
N: In the wrong way, yeah. There are illiterate boys. They don't respect other. On the outside [sic] they tease at girls. But if someone passes comments about their sisters they become anger [sic]. They fight with them. But on the outside, they also do this.
R: So wearing Burqa protects you from this?
N: Yeah. They don't examine your clothes. When they see you they think, oh, that girl is wearing Burqa, I will leave her alone.

Interview with Mariam (pseudonym)

- R: Does starting to veil have any special significance?
M: I started feeling more comfortable and easy to go in [sic] the public places.
R: In some Muslim countries there were movements of unveiling for women. If there is a similar movement in Pakistan, how will you feel about it?
M I will reject the movement, keep veiling and participate in public protest, etc.

- R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?
M: I will continue to cover my head with Dupatta because I think it is a part of my personality and identification and I won't like to lose it.
M: In your opinion, what are some special benefits and advantages of veiling?
S: In my opinion veiling is one of the principles of Islam and Islam is a religion for the betterment of whole mankind. So If we are asked to do so there are a number of advantages for us including protection from bad intentions, looking more respectful and many more.
R: Are there any limitations or disadvantages of veiling?
M: In the modern age, even in the Islamic countries people have rejected the importance of veiling. As a result they treat the people with dupatta/veil in a negative way and criticize their style. That is why sometimes in public gatherings etc it creates many problems. [sic]
R: In general do you consider yourself more conservative or liberal?
M: Neither.
R: In general do you consider your family more conservative or liberal?
M: Neither.
R: In general do you consider your hometown more conservative or liberal?
M: Somewhat conservative.

Interview with Fatima (pseudonym)

- R: Does starting to veil have any special significance?
F: Because of our religion, the time when I started knowing Islam I started this. [sic]
R: In some Muslim countries there were movements of unveiling for women. If there is a similar movement in Pakistan, how will you feel about it?
F: I will reject the movement and keep veiling.
R: If you move to a non-Islamic country will you continue to veil? Why or why not?
F: Yes, because if Britains or Chinese can wear jeans so why not we can present our culture. [sic]
R: In your opinion, what are some special benefits and advantages of veiling?
F: It covers you properly as a candy without cover will be attack [sic] by bees, accordingly without veil you'll become the center of all the eyes.
R: Are there any limitations or disadvantages of veiling?
S: There isn't any special limitation & disadvantages of veiling.
R: In general do you consider yourself more conservative or liberal?
S: Somewhat conservative.
R: In general do you consider your family more conservative or liberal?
S: Somewhat liberal.
R: In general do you consider your hometown more conservative or liberal?
S: Neither.

Interview with Sitara (pseudonym)

- R: When did you start to wear Burqa?
S: One year ago.
R: Why?
S: Because when I came to NUML for the first time, there were a lot of problems. Like boys. So I want to cover myself.
R: So the boys cannot see you?
S: Because of Burqa, the boys think she is respectable. She doesn't want to [pause], you know?
R: Yes, right.
S: And also, for the fashion, the style.
R: Burqa for fashion?
S: I, because, you know, now the Burqa is coming in for fashion. Mostly the girls wear it for fashion. [sic]
R: Okay, okay. Is there any difficulties?
S: In the beginning, I feel it is difficult. But now I am used to, I feel comfortable. You know, now I went [sic] outside without Burqa, I don't feel comfortable.
R: Before you wear Burqa you just wore Shalwar-Chemise?
S: Yes.
R: Do you also wear skirts and jeans?
S: Yes, I do. I also wore dresses before.
R: But there were a lot of problems?
S: Yes, you know in Pakistan, because of my height and that, the boys come to me. That's why my friends give me advice that you must wear a baya. In the baya, you know, some respect.
R: What is a baya?

- S: Gown.
R: What's the difference between baya and Burqa?
S: Same thing. In Urdu, Burqa, but in Arabic it's Baya.
R: So if you wear Burqa, the boys respect you?
S: Yes. Because Burqa is Islamic dress, so you know, some respect. In Burqa, people respect you.
Actually you know, my family don't like Burqa. [sic]
R: Why they don't like it?
S: My cousins they don't wear Burqa. It's up to me. My father doesn't like me to cover my face. But I cover my face because I want to feel comfortable.
R: Okay.
S: When I went to Dubai, there were a lot of Baya there. They are fashionable, so I bought some there. My Burqas are different from other girls'. They have layers and that.
R: Okay.
S: Here, boys, I mean Muslim boys, they respect girls in Burqa most. Because they think that they are religious. They know Islam.
R: So wearing Burqa is a sign of religious belief?
S: That's right.
R: Why did you choose Islamia as your major?
S: Because it's my religion. I want to know it better. It's interesting.