

## **Hijab Is Our Right**

*An Analysis of Muslim Girls' Veil Ban Protests in India*

Aleena Anand, Stanford University '25

**Abstract:** This paper explores how the intersectional identity of Indian Muslim girls informs their protests against a 2022 ban on Islamic veils in schools in Karnataka, India. An analysis of their protest signs and speeches reveals that their activism boldly challenges reductive Hindu-nationalist representations of Muslim women dominant in India that contribute to the group's marginalization. Protesters achieve this by redefining their identity on their own terms and strategically centralizing their nationality and gender while defending their religious rights. This takes shape in four main strategies: (1) employing assertive slogans and chants to counter stereotypes of Muslim women as passive and assert their right to exist in public spaces; (2) referencing India's Constitution to claim their national belonging and legal rights as minorities; (3) characterizing the veil as a cultural, not religious, marker to appeal to the history of multiculturalism in India; and (4) framing the veil ban as a violation of women's bodily autonomy to defend women's right to wear what they choose. For and beyond the case of the Karnataka veil ban protests, this analysis illuminates how intersectionality can inform effective modes of social and political mobilization by marginalized groups.

## **Introduction**

“We are feeling like we have been betrayed by our own country,” said Almas, a Muslim student in Karnataka, India, in reaction to a 2022 statewide ban on Islamic veils in public schools (Al Jazeera English, 2022a, 0:22). The teenager, who wears the hijab in accordance with her religious beliefs, was kept from school exams when she would not remove it (“Karnataka College,” 2022, paras. 1-4).

In response to Karnataka’s veil ban, Almas and other impacted students began to protest against this incursion into their religious freedoms and access to education. Despite the marginalization of Muslim women in India, their voices reached across the country, sparking nationwide protests. Almas’ story and Karnataka’s veil ban are indicative of a larger issue of rising discrimination against the Muslim minority in India since the coming to power of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 2014. The BJP’s right-wing ideology, Hindutva, and the Islamophobic policies, hate speech, and violence it is responsible for uniquely impact girls, who are marginalized on multiple fronts. As Muslim girls are leading the fight against Islamophobia in India through their protests, how do Indian Muslim girls’ intersectional identities inform their protest strategies against the Karnataka veil ban? My research focuses on how these girls’ multidimensional identities shape the ways in which they exercise their voices in protest of religious discrimination, ultimately aiming to understand how intersectionality impacts the way marginalized communities choose to defend their rights.

## **Contextualizing Karnataka’s Public-School Veil Ban**

In February 2022, Karnataka’s government issued an executive order banning religious headscarves in schools after several teachers in Udupi, Karnataka began barring veiled girls from entering their classrooms (Yasir, 2022, para. 4). This is often referred to as a hijab ban but is designed to target Islamic veils of all kinds—including the burka, niqab, and chador—so will here be referred to as a veil ban. A group of high school girls petitioned the Karnataka High Court to strike down the ban and publicly protested the attack on their rights, inspiring larger protests by Muslim girls and allies across India and the globe, which were reported on in popular Indian and international news sources (Yasir, 2022, paras. 5-7). Protests continued after the Karnataka High Court decided to uphold the veil ban in March 2022 (Yasir, 2022, para. 1). Amidst intense pressure and attention, the girls’ case eventually reached the Supreme Court. However, in October 2022, the court announced a split verdict, keeping the ban in place and leaving the educational and religious rights of Muslim girls in Karnataka in peril (Rajagopal, 2022, para. 1).

Still, Muslim girls continue their resistance against Karnataka’s Islamophobic and misogynistic policy, defending their rights as Indians, as women, and as Muslims. Through protest signs and speeches, they sought support for their cause among national and international audiences in order to create pressure on the Indian government to secure their rights. I analyze the rhetoric of their protest signs and speeches against the Karnataka veil ban, specifically engaging with slogans, visuals, and lines that reference the protestor’s national, gender, or

religious identity. Examining, for one, the most recurring protest sign slogans captured in reporters' photographs and, for another, speeches delivered to the press by prominent student protesters from Karnataka, such as Muskan Khan, Aliya Assadi, and Almas A.H., reveals Indian Muslim girls' major strategies for defending their religious freedoms. I argue that the protesters' signs and speeches work by challenging and reconstructing dominant conceptualizations of the Muslim woman shaped by Hindu nationalists. They do so by countering stereotypes of oppression and reframing the veil controversy to emphasize their national and gender identity rather than religion. In analyzing the girls' rhetorical strategies, four major themes emerge to form the basis for this argument: expressions of Muslim girls' agency that challenge stereotypes of oppression; references to rights enshrined in India's Constitution that emphasize the protesters' national identity and belonging; calls for cultural tolerance that frame the veil as a cultural, rather than religious, practice; and connections to the global struggle for women's bodily autonomy that emphasize the protesters' gender identity and defend women's right to make choices about their own bodies and dress.

In this paper, I begin by providing an overview of relevant scholarship on the marginalization of Muslim women in India today—delving into legal discrimination, hate speech, violence, and media representation—and their efforts to counter Islamophobia through protests. Next, I return to the case of the Karnataka veil ban protests, analyzing the way the protesters frame their arguments in the context of their different identities through their protest signs and speeches. First, I identify rhetorical appeals in protest sign slogans and speeches that demonstrate the agency of Muslim girls. Second, I discuss indirect and direct references to India's Constitution in slogans and speeches. Third, I show how speeches frame the veil ban as an issue of cultural tolerance. Fourth, I highlight the similarities between slogans from these protests and slogans from global protests for women's rights over their bodies and dress. Ultimately, my findings suggest that the protesters' strategies challenge typical Hindu nationalist representations of Muslim women and Islamic veils, reconstructing their identity on their own terms and emphasizing their nationality and gender to mobilize for their religious rights.

### **Scholarly Perspectives on Muslim Women's Experiences in Contemporary India**

The Karnataka veil ban is part of a broader trend of growing Hindu nationalism and Islamophobia in India. A portion of the extensive scholarly literature on this trend explores its consequences on the lives of Indian Muslim women. Nehaluddin Ahmad and Norulaziemah binti Haji Zulkiffle (2022) study the growth of discrimination against the Muslim minority in India, arguing that legal and political agencies incite and allow hate speech and violence against Muslims (p. 1). As a result, Muslim women, who are doubly marginalized, are increasingly subject to rape threats and sexual slurs online. For instance, in 2022, Hindu nationalists created an app claiming to auction Muslim women in order to “demean, intimidate and eventually silence” them (Ahmad & binti Haji Zulkiffle, 2022, p. 3). Ratna Kapur (2022) concurs that Hindu nationalism in India's politics and judiciary marginalizes Muslim women, but focuses on the way it infantilizes, rather than sexualizes, them (p. 354). Referencing the Indian Supreme

Court's ultimately hollow decision to outlaw the Islamic triple *talaq* practice opposed by many Muslim women in 2017, Kapur (2022) posits that Hindu nationalists claim to promote legal equality for Muslim women, but in reality, advance the idea that they need to be saved from oppressive, dangerous Muslim men, reducing them to "a suffering victim, mute and/or without agency" (p. 359).

Supplementing Kapur's argument with the addition of how Islamic veils figure into this discussion, Wolfgang Wagner and colleagues (2012) claim that Indian Muslim women are stereotyped as backward, illiterate, and victims of Muslim men, particularly when wearing the hijab, which is seen as a symbol of oppression (p. 536). The consequences of such stereotypes are detailed by Andrea Malji (2021), who adds that because the hijab makes visible a woman's religion, veiled women are frequent targets of harassment and violence in India (p. 185).

Indian Muslim women are further marginalized by the public and media attention, or lack thereof, given to their struggles. Adrija Dey (2019) finds that gender-based violence against Hindu women receives more public and media outrage than that against Muslim women (p. 357). According to her, Hindu nationalist ideologies center Hindu women as the "ideal Indian woman," erasing Muslim women "from the larger public discourse" and ignoring their struggles (Dey, 2019, p. 368). Complementing Dey's findings, Deepa Fadnis explores this issue through an intersectional lens. She claims that facing oppression due to both their gender and religion, Indian Muslim women who suffer sexual assault are more likely to be ignored or invalidated in media, due to the common stereotype that Muslim women are "accustomed to domestic violence and subordination" (Fadnis, 2022, p. 18). Meanwhile, Flavia Agnes (2019) argues that Muslim women's oppression is not simply ignored, but rather selectively represented in media, in order to further Hindu nationalists' agenda (p. 350). Agnes (2019) refers to the triple *talaq* case studied by Kapur, explaining that extensive media coverage of the issue was framed to demonize Islam and perpetuate the stereotype of Muslim women as lacking rights and agency (p. 350).

Adding their own voices to the narrative, Indian Muslim women have contributed to Muslim rights protests, including the multigenerational Shaheen Bagh protest in New Delhi opposing India's 2019 Citizenship Amendment Act, which discriminates against Muslim migrants. Kiran Vinod Bhatia and Radhika Gajjala (2020) find that Muslim women's physical presence at this protest challenged stereotypes of oppression, asserting their right to exist in political spaces (p. 6300). Further, their nonviolent protest strategies demonstrated resilience in the face of violent backlash against Muslim protesters (Bhatia & Gajjala 2020, p. 6300). Laila Kadiwal (2021) adds that protesters from different generations and backgrounds learned from each other, thereby developing "political consciousness, solidarity against injustice, and anti-oppressive practices" (p. 19). Deepta Chopra (2021) specifically highlights the role of mother and grandmother protestors, who he argues inspired younger generations, including students, to understand and claim their constitutional rights (p. 482).

These studies illuminate that Muslim women have an intersectional identity that is highly marginalized in India today, and yet, they have been able to effectively mobilize to protest Islamophobia. However, scholars do not address how the intersectional, marginalized identity of

young Indian Muslim girls informs how they protest a direct attack on their identity, personal freedoms, and daily cultural practices. This presents a gap in the scholarly literature which can be addressed by researching how Muslim girls are using their voices to resist Karnataka's veil ban. In particular, my analysis of how their identities as Indians, as Muslims, and as women impact their protests sheds light on how these girls are not just responding to, but rather actively shaping the modern-day Muslim experience in India through resistance.

### **An Analysis of Karnataka Veil Ban Protest Signs and Speeches**

The following analysis is based on protest signs and speeches against the Karnataka veil ban that are recorded in reporters' footage and photographs of protests included in online articles and YouTube videos. I focus on slogans that are commonly repeated and speeches with large public and online audiences, in order to center those with the widest reach and impact. From these, we can learn from the voices of a range of Muslim girls in Karnataka and across India and, from there, deduce their main strategies for defending their religious freedoms.

#### *Expressions of Agency*

Firstly, protesters counter the silencing and misrepresentation of Muslim women in India through their signs and speeches. Bhatia and Gajjala (2020) argued that Muslim women's physical presence at the Shaheen Bagh protests subverted stereotypes of oppression (p. 6292). In the case of the Karnataka veil ban protests, Muslim girls demonstrate their agency through, in addition to their physical presence, slogans highlighting their visibility and worth. For instance, the slogan "We cover our heads, not our brains" stands out as a direct reference and challenge to stereotypes of Muslim women as mute victims, unable to think for themselves and forced to wear veils by Muslim men (Kataria, 2022). Protesters rewrite this narrative to convey that they are intelligent, free-thinking women choosing to wear the veil of their own accord. Further, the repetition of personal and possessive pronouns like "we" and "our" demonstrates an active voice, challenging perceptions of victimhood and asserting Muslim girls' right to lead social mobilization.

Moreover, in February 2022, burka-clad student protester Muskan Khan was harassed by anti-veil protesters outside her school in Karnataka, chanting the Hindu expression "Jai Shri Ram," meaning "hail Lord Ram," and demanding she remove her veil (Al Jazeera English, 2022b, 0:00). Not only did she stand her ground against their intimidation by continuing her path to her school, but she also countered their chanting, yelling back "Allahu Akbar," a Muslim expression meaning "God is great" (Al Jazeera, 2022b, 0:00). By inserting her voice in the narrative, she countered the dominant Hindu nationalist representation of the Muslim woman unable to speak for herself and demonstrated her strength and right to exist in public spaces dominated by Hindu men. A video of this encounter went viral on social media and since then, protesters have turned Khan into a symbol of their movement, recreating her image and words on protest signs (Mateen, 2022). Centering Khan's voice pushes Muslim girls out of the fringes of society and into the spotlight, where they can mobilize to demand their rights from their government.

### *References to Rights Enshrined in India's Constitution*

Arguably, the protesters' main tool for mobilization is India's Constitution, which is continuously referenced in protest signs and speeches. India is a secular country with constitutional protections for religious freedoms. Signs often directly quote Article 25 of India's Constitution, which notes the right to freely "profess, practice, and propagate religion" (Frayner, 2022). Through this reference, Muslim girls center their national identity, appealing to their country's secular values and their rights as Indians. By characterizing the veil ban as a secular, constitutional issue, protesters decentralize Islam in the debate over veils. Rather than focusing on the way this ban attacks Islamic practices and, in turn, defending their religion, the girls reframe the issue as an attack on Indian values and rights.

On the other hand, there are examples of religious rhetoric in these protests, such as Muskan Khan chanting "Allahu Akbar" in the viral video mentioned earlier. However, while explaining the incident in an interview with BBC, Khan asks viewers not to label the veil ban as a religious issue, saying, "I have stood, not only for the Muslim girls, [but] for all the non-Muslims and Muslim girls" and "everyone should stand for their right" (BBC News, 2022, 2:54). As such, she distances herself from polarizing religious tensions and appeals to a sense of national unity and the importance of defending constitutional rights for all Indians.

Moreover, protesters often make indirect references to the Indian Constitution. Common slogans like "Hijab is our right" and "My hijab does not make me any less Indian than you," while not explicitly mentioning the Constitution, allude to the fact that the protesters are Indian citizens and deserve to have their constitutional rights protected (Mateen, 2022; "Hijab Ban," 2022). On a similar note, in a press conference following the Karnataka High Court's decision to uphold the veil ban in March 2022, student protester Almas A.H., as referenced earlier, claimed that Muslim girls were "betrayed by [their] own country" (Al Jazeera English, 2022a, 0:22). Her argument calls out the Indian government for turning its back on its constitutional values and its own citizens. These appeals to a common national identity are especially relevant given Hindu nationalists' accusations that Indian Muslims are allied with Pakistan or Islamic terrorists, attempting to ostracize them from Indian society. For instance, BJP leaders have accused student protesters in Karnataka of being "anti-national" and "members of a terrorist organization" ("Hijab Petitioners," 2022, para. 2). In opposition to this narrative, Muslim girls protesting the Karnataka veil ban emphasize their belonging in India.

### *Calls for Cultural Tolerance*

In another appeal to their national identity, protesters defend wearing the veil as a part of India's cultural diversity, promoting cultural tolerance. In multiple press conferences and interviews, Muskan Khan stated that "[non-Muslims] are following their culture and we are following our culture," framing the veil as a cultural, rather than religious practice (Al Jazeera English, 2022b, 0:16; The Print, 2022, 2:07). Other protesters, like Aliya Assadi, have echoed Khan's sentiments. Assadi added, in a March 2022 interview, that wearing veils is a long-standing tradition in India, thereby demonstrating that cultural plurality has existed in the region for centuries (The News Minute, 2022, 5:27). She goes on to say that equality is not uniformity,

but rather there is “unity in diversity,” and all cultures’ forms of dress should be accepted (The News Minute, 2022, 5:57). By focusing on tolerance for all cultural traditions across India, protesters again make the veil ban an Indian issue, as opposed to just a Muslim or religious issue, seeking to create solidarity between Indians across religious divides. Further, by defending multiculturalism, Muslim girls challenge the logic of Hindu superiority and defend their belonging in their country.

### *Connections to the Global Struggle for Women’s Bodily Autonomy*

Muslim girls also defend the veil as a part of their rights as women, calling out the Karnataka veil ban as an instance of restricting women’s control over their own bodies and dress. As such, they connect their resistance to the global struggle for women’s bodily integrity. For instance, many signs include slogans such as “My right, my choice, my life,” emulating the feminist slogan “My body, my choice,” which has been used for decades in reproductive rights protests around the world, including in the United States (Mateen, 2022). Focusing on the idea of choice characterizes the Karnataka veil ban as an attack on women’s rights, decentralizing the attack on religious rights at the heart of this issue. Reframing the issue in terms of gender demonstrates an effort to create solidarity between Muslim girls and supporters of women’s rights across religions in India. Moreover, by placing themselves in conversation with other long-standing women’s rights movements worldwide and contextualizing freedom of dress as a part of bodily autonomy, the protesters also demonstrate the significance of the veil ban as a major violation of their freedoms.

Indian Muslim girls further centralize women’s rights through the slogan “Hands off my hijab” (Mateen, 2022). Through the phrase “hands off,” this slogan evokes a sense of violent oppression of women’s bodies, denouncing veil bans as an attack on women’s autonomy. Also written as “Pas touche à mon hijab” in French, this slogan was first popularized in France, where its own bans on Islamic veils since 2004 have sparked widespread protests by Muslim women (Lough, 2021, paras. 2-5). As such, its use helps Indian Muslim girls connect their struggle to that of French Muslim women, demonstrating the relevance of the Karnataka veil ban beyond the one state and, rather, in terms of women’s rights and control of their bodies globally.

### **Conclusion**

From this analysis, we see that Indian Muslim girls protesting the Karnataka veil ban challenge the Hindutva ideology and mobilize for their religious rights by reconstructing dominant narratives of Muslim women in India. Specifically, they do so by demonstrating their agency and centralizing their nationality and gender, rather than their religion, in their protest signs and speeches. Firstly, protesters challenge stereotypes of victimhood and defend their right to exist in public spaces through assertive slogans and chants. Secondly, they defend their belonging in India and their right to the country’s constitutional freedoms through references to India’s Constitution. Thirdly, Muslim girls frame the veil as a cultural practice, rather than a religious obligation, calling for tolerance of all cultures and forms of dress in India. Fourthly,

protesters characterize the Karnataka veil ban as an incursion into women's bodily autonomy, defending their rights as women to wear what they choose.

Marginalized on multiple fronts, Indian Muslim girls strategically emphasize different aspects of their intersectional identities to reconstruct their representation in Indian society and defend their rights. Analyzing their voices, through their protest signs and speeches, helps us understand how Muslim girls are influencing and resisting the Muslim experience in contemporary India that has been shaped by the dominance of Hindutva. While discrimination and stereotyping by India's government and media impact Muslim women's position in society, as evidenced by the existing literature, so too do Muslim girls' rhetorical strategies for social mobilization challenging their marginalization. Further, this project builds upon scholars' understanding of Muslim women's roles in Indian protests by revealing how they choose to construct a social movement to secure their personal freedoms when directly attacked.

However, this project does have limitations; while a range of languages are spoken in India, English is the primary language analyzed in this paper. Still, I believe this analysis can provide a valuable contribution, as the majority of Karnataka veil ban protest signs found online are in English, and those in languages like Kannada, Hindi, and Urdu are mostly direct translations of the common English slogans. Similarly, there is considerable overlap between the content of student protesters' speeches in English and those in other languages like Urdu; often, they repeat similar phrases in different languages depending on the news agency they are speaking to. So, despite its limitations, this project illuminates the prevalent protest strategies of Indian Muslim girls.

Further research in this area might include other languages or expand the scope of the identities explored in this paper to include, for instance, social class and sexuality, exploring how these factors may influence Muslim women's resistance. Additionally, scholars might consider the role of social media in the Karnataka veil ban protests.

As Muslim girls in Karnataka and across India are creating global attention for their struggles and fighting for legal change, their often-overlooked voices shine a light on how marginalized groups with intersectional identities can mobilize to demand their rights from their governments. This is particularly relevant at this moment, given the rise of Islamophobia and continued efforts to control women's bodies and dress across the globe. As such, the scope of this issue is not limited to just Muslim girls in Karnataka or even in India. Rather, this analysis carries important lessons on the role of protesters' identities in their protests that can help marginalized communities globally challenge oppression and claim their rights. Specifically, as Muslim girls defend their freedoms by challenging the Karnataka veil ban as not only anti-Muslim, but also anti-Indian and anti-women, they provide a useful roadmap for political mobilization informed by intersectionality.



## References

- Agnes, F. (2019). Aggressive Hindu nationalism: Contextualizing the triple talaq controversy. In A. P. Chatterji, T. B. Hansen, & C. Jaffrelot. (Eds.), *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India* (pp. 335–352). Oxford University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190078171.001.0001>.
- Ahmad, N., & binti Haji Zulkiffle, N. (2022). Discriminatory policies and laws target Indian Muslim minorities in the recent time: A socio-legal study. *The Asian Institute of Research Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews*, 1(2), 1-17.  
<https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1996.01.02.5>
- Al Jazeera English. (2022a, March 15). *Protests over Indian court's verdict on hijab ban* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LvqccmBeFFg>
- Al Jazeera English. (2022b, February 9). *'Targeted harassment': Muslim girls in India denounce hijab ban* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2Mm6V4nZHc>
- BBC News. (2022, February 16). *Protests continue against hijab bans in India* [Video]. YouTube. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_IXFmje8sms](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_IXFmje8sms)
- Bhatia, K. V., and Gajjala, R. (2020). Examining anti-CAA protests at Shaheen Bagh: Muslim women and politics of the Hindu India. *International Journal of Communication* 14, no. 18: 6286-6303. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/16015/3300>
- Chopra, D. (2021). The resistance strikes back: Women's protest strategies against backlash in India. *Gender & Development* 29(2-3), 467-491.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2021.1981698>
- Dey, A. (2019). 'Others' within the 'others': An intersectional analysis of gender violence in India. *Gender Issues* 36, no. 4: 357-373. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-019-09232-4>
- Fadnis, D. (2022). Understanding multidimensionality of Muslim women's experiences of sexual violence through the news coverage of the Bilkis Banu gang rape case in India. *Journalism Practice* 16, no. 8: 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2032284>
- Frayner, L. (2022, August 24). *As India turns 75, Muslim girls are suing to wear the hijab—and protect secularism*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2022/08/24/1117415037/india-muslim-hijab-ban-schools>
- Hijab ban violates religious freedom: U.S. on Karnataka hijab issue*. (2022, February 12). The Hindu. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/hijab-ban-violates-religious-freedom-us-on-karnataka-hijab-issue/article38416850.ece?homepage=true>
- Hijab petitioners are terrorists, trained by a terror outfit: BJP leader*. (2022, March 17). Hindustan Times. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/bengaluru-news/hijab-petitioners-are-terrorists-trained-by-a-terror-outfit-bjp-leader-101647501104498.html>

- Kadiwal, L. (2021). Feminists against fascism: The Indian female Muslim protest in India. *Education Sciences* 11(12) 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci11120793>
- Kapur, Ratna. (2019). 'Belief' in the rule of law and the Hindu nation and the rule of law. In A. P. Chatterji, T. B. Hansen, & C. Jaffrelot. (Eds.), *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India* (pp. 353–372). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190078171.001.0001>
- Karnataka college refuses to let Muslim students in hijab to answer tests.* (2022, February 28). Indian American Muslim Council. <https://iamc.com/karnataka-college-refuses-to-let-muslim-students-in-hijab-to-answer-tests/>
- Kataria, S. (2022, February 13). *Indian Muslim students say hijab ban forces choice of religion or education.* Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/india/indian-muslim-students-say-hijab-ban-forces-choice-religion-or-education-2022-02-12>
- Lough, R. (2021, May 4). *Hands off my hijab! Young Muslim women protest proposed French ban.* Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/hands-off-my-hijab-young-muslim-women-protest-proposed-french-ban-2021-05-04>
- Malji, A. (2021). Gendered Islamophobia: The nature of Hindu and Buddhist nationalism in India and Sri Lanka. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 21(2), 172-193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12350>
- Mateen, Z. (2022, March 16). *Karnataka bandh: Should courts decide if hijab is essential in Islam?* BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-60748012>
- Muslim women's protest against Karnataka government over hijab ban.* (2022, February 13). Getty Images. <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/muslim-womens-from-thane-mumbra-on-sunday-staged-an-news-photo/1238450046>
- The News Minute. (2022, March 17). *Is our education not bigger than a uniform? Student petitioners react to hijab ban* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LveVb8N642M>
- The Print. (2022, February 10). *No need to fear, fighting for right to education', says Muslim student who was heckled over hijab* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3TsS0dpouw>
- Rajagopal, K. (2022, October 13). *Supreme court delivers split verdict on Karnataka hijab ban.* The Hindu. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/sc-delivers-split-verdict-on-hijab-row-case-likely-to-go-to-a-larger-bench/article66004319.ece>
- Wagner, W., Sen, R., Permanadeli, R., & Howarth, C. S. (2012). The veil and Muslim women's identity: Cultural practices and resistance to stereotyping. *Culture & Psychology* 18(4), 521-541. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X12456713>

Yasir, S. (2022, March 15). Indian court upholds ban on hijabs in schools. New York Times.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/world/asia/india-hijab-ban-schools.html>