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**ISLAMIC EXAMINATION OF AMINA WADUD'S WORKS ON GENDER DISCRIMINATION: A
FOCUS ON THE HIJAB**

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Abstract

Hijab is regarded as the symbol of a Muslim woman in modern time. The wearing of the hijab, Niqab and other forms of Islamic dress has been in the news for quite some time. Some events in the world, such as the destruction of the World Trade Centre on the 11th September 2001, the Iraq conflict in 2003, the London bombings on the 7th July 2005 and the French legislation banning the wearing of the hijab in 2004 have not only questioned the place of Hijab in the Muslim world but turned it into a controversial issue and debate in the society at large. The study examined the meaning of Hijab. It traced the historical usage of Hijab as a veil for Muslim Women. It explained the thought of Amina Wadud on Hijab. It analysed Wadud's view from an Islamic perspective. The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary source comprised oral interviews, YouTube, audio and video recording lectures and intellectual discussions which were transcribed and analysed. The secondary source included books, journal articles, theses, dissertations and the Internet. The results showed that the word "Hijab" historically first appeared five times in the Qur'an in five different places but was never used for women's dress (Q7:46, Q19:16-17, Q33:53, Q41:5; Q42:51). The results also found out that Wadud's position is very clear that the Qur'an's primary concern is modesty, not the specific style of dress (Hijab) which forms the basis for the dressing style in the Islamic world today; for Wadud, the hijab is a choice and not obligatory. The result showed that all the scholars agreed that Hijab was never used for clothing in the Qur'an. The findings also confirmed that Hijab is the way of dressing in Islam, the significance of which can vary depending on cultural and social contexts. The study concluded that the issue of Hijab has generated so much controversy in the world among the Muslims and non-Muslims. However, Hijab is unanimously agreed by the scholars as a mode of dressing for Muslim females in Islam.

Keywords: *Islamic Examination, Amina Wadud's Works, Gender Discrimination.*

INTRODUCTION

The discourse on the hijab in Islam has remained one of the most contested issues within Muslim societies and global debates about gender, religion, and identity. Traditionally, the hijab has been perceived as a religious obligation, a marker of modesty, and a symbol of Muslim women's piety. However, modern Islamic feminist scholars have re-examined its meanings, challenging the ways patriarchal interpretations have shaped its practice. Among the leading voices in this discourse is Amina Wadud, a prominent Muslim feminist scholar and Qur'anic exegete, who has offered an alternative hermeneutical approach that situates the hijab within a framework of spiritual consciousness, personal choice, and gender justice.

Wadud's perspective is grounded in a Qur'an-centered methodology that prioritizes the ethical principles of justice (adl) and God-consciousness (taqwa) over rigid cultural practices. She critiques the tendency of Muslim societies to reduce women's religiosity to their appearance, particularly the wearing of the

hijab, while neglecting the Qur'an's broader message of equality and moral accountability (Wadud 76). For Wadud, the hijab is not an absolute universal requirement but rather one possible expression of modesty, which should not be imposed but chosen freely. This interpretation resonates with Asma Barlas, who argues that the Qur'an does not prescribe a singular dress code but emphasizes modest conduct for both men and women (Barlas 65).

Feminism: The Western Connection

It is important to emphasize that modern Islamic feminism, including the work of Amina Wadud, is frequently criticized by traditionalists as being a product of Western intellectual paradigms. The argument follows that the focus on individual "choice" and "autonomy" over "submission" to divine law is a hallmark of Western liberal individualism (Bello 54). Historically, feminist discourse regarding the "liberation" of Muslim women has been championed by Western observers who often view the veil as an instrument of oppression, a view famously critiqued by Leila Ahmed. Ahmed argues that Western colonial powers used the "unveiling" of Muslim women as a tool to justify the "civilizing mission," thereby forcing Muslim women to navigate between patriarchal cultural norms and the gaze of Western imperialism (Ahmed 145). Scholars like Ziba Mir-Hosseini argue that while Islamic feminists utilize modern methodologies, often refined in Western academic settings, they ground their authority in the Qur'an to reclaim an authentic voice that was historically sidelined by male-dominated readings of the faith (Mir-Hosseini 144).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ibrahim in his work, 'Hijab in Islam', outlines the multiple interpretations of hijab across Islamic history, noting that while classical jurists emphasized veiling as a legal obligation, contemporary scholars like Amina Wadud advocate a more nuanced approach that foregrounds personal choice and spiritual consciousness over compulsion (Ibrahim 34-40).

Khan in his study, 'Gender and Islam: Beyond the Veil' explores how patriarchal cultures have often politicized the hijab. He argues that Wadud's hermeneutical approach resists such essentialism by re-centering the Qur'an's ethical principles of justice and equality (Khan 112). Similarly, Barlas in 'Believing Women in Islam' critiques traditional exegesis, emphasizing that the Qur'an does not prescribe a uniform dress code but stresses modesty for both men and women (Barlas 65).

Kamal-Deen & Fatai maintain that the hijab is not a symbol of gender-based repression but a tool that frees women from being objectified for their looks (10). Sayyid, in his book, 'Hijab, The Muslim Women's Dress, Islamic or Cultural?', argues against the notion that the hijab is a mere cultural transplant, asserting that it has a religious basis in the Qur'an and Sunnah (3).

Concept of Hijab, Khimar, and Niqab in Islam

The concept of hijab in Islam is rooted in the broader principles of modesty, dignity, and God-consciousness. The term hijab in Arabic literally means "cover," "partition," or "barrier." (Milton 156). In the Qur'an, the word appears in various contexts, not always referring to women's dress. For instance, it is used to describe a curtain or veil separating people from divine presence. However, over time, the term came to be specifically associated with women's dress and modesty in Muslim societies.

The primary Qur'anic verses that inform discussions on hijab are found in Surah al-Nur (24:30–31) and Surah al-Ahzab (33:59). In Surah al-Nur, believing men and women are instructed to lower their gaze and guard their modesty, with women specifically told to "draw their veils over their bosoms" and not display their adornment except to close relatives.

قُلْ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يَغُضُّوا مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِمْ وَيَحْفَظُوا فُرُوجَهُمْ ذَلِكَ أَزْكَى لَهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ

Say to the believing men that: they should cast down their glances and guard their private parts (by being chaste). This is better for them. (Q. 24:30).

In regards to Hijab of women, Allah says:

وَقُلْ لِلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَى جُيُوبِهِنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَاءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَاءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ بَنِي إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ أَخَوَاتِهِنَّ أَوْ نِسَائِهِنَّ أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُهُنَّ أَوِ التَّابِعِينَ غَيْرِ أُولِي الْإِرْبَةِ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ أَوِ الطِّفْلَ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَظْهَرُوا عَلَى عَوْرَتِ النِّسَاءِ وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِأَرْجُلِهِنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ مَا يُخْفِينَ مِنْ زِينَتِهِنَّ وَتَوْبُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ جَمِيعاً أَيُّهَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

And tell the believing women to restrain their looks, and to guard their privates, and not display their beauty except what is apparent thereof, and to draw their coverings over their breasts, and not expose their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, what their right hands possess, their male attendants who have no sexual desires, or children who are not yet aware of the nakedness of women. And they

should not strike their feet to draw attention to their hidden beauty. And repent to Allah, all of you believers, so that you may succeed. (Q.24:31).

Surah al-Ahzab further instructs the Prophet's wives and believing women to draw their outer garments around them as a means of protection and recognition.

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكَ وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ ۚ ذَلِكَ أَذْنَىٰ أَنْ يُعْرِضْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذِينَ اللَّهَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا

- Prophet! Say to your wives, your daughters, and the women of the believers that: they should let down upon themselves their jalabib. (Q.33:59).

These verses emphasize modesty for both genders, situating hijab as part of a broader ethical framework rather than merely a legalistic dress code.

Classical scholars such as Al-Tabari and Ibn Kathir interpreted hijab as a religious obligation, focusing on women's physical covering as a marker of chastity and social order (Al-Tabari 142; Ibn Kathir 211) argued that veiling served both spiritual and social functions, including safeguarding women's honor and preventing moral corruption. In contrast, modern scholars such as Asma Barlas and Amina Wadud argue that these interpretations often emerged from patriarchal socio-cultural contexts rather than strictly Qur'anic imperatives. Barlas, for example, asserts that the Qur'an never mandates a universal dress code but stresses modesty and equality for both men and women (Barlas 67). Similarly, Wadud emphasizes that hijab must be understood as a matter of personal choice and moral agency, grounded in taqwa (God-consciousness), rather than as a rigid symbol of piety (Wadud 80).

Moreso, contemporary debates reveal that hijab is not merely a religious prescription but also a sociopolitical symbol. In some contexts, it represents resistance to Western cultural hegemony, while in others; it has been used as a political tool of control over women. Miriam Cooke highlights how Muslim women strategically use hijab as both a symbol of devotion and identity, creating diverse meanings beyond traditional interpretations (Cooke 93). Thus, the hijab cannot be reduced to a singular concept; it is a dynamic practice shaped by historical, cultural, and personal factors.

Jurisprudential Issues and Terminological Distinctions

The debate surrounding the hijab within Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) hinges on the interpretation of legal texts (nass). Classical jurists, across the four major Sunni schools of thought: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali, generally classify the covering of the body as a religious obligation (wajib or fard).

To understand the scope, one must distinguish between the related terms:

- Khimar: Explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an (24:31), linguistically referring to a head covering that extends to cover the bosom. Scholars generally agree this refers to the covering of hair and neck.
- Jilbab: Mentioned in Q. 33:59, historically understood as a loose outer garment that covers the body.
- Hijab: In contemporary usage, it has become an umbrella term for the Islamic headscarf. However, as noted in this research, the term hijab in the Qur'an traditionally denotes a "partition" or "curtain" (e.g., Q. 33:53).
- Niqab: A face veil. Unlike the khimar and jilbab, the niqab does not have a direct, explicit command in the Qur'an. Its practice is largely driven by tradition, ijtiḥad (independent legal reasoning), and regional customs, leading to deep divides in scholarly opinions regarding whether it is recommended (mustahabb) or merely a cultural add-on.

The jurisprudential consensus centers on the concept of awrah (intimate parts). While there is an ijma (consensus) that covering the awrah is mandatory, the divergence lies in the scope:

- Majority View: Most schools conclude that the entire body, excluding the face and hands, constitutes the awrah for women in public.
- Minority/Strict View: Some interpretations, particularly within the Hanbali tradition, suggest the inclusion of the face and hands, often citing the need to prevent fitnah (temptation).

Conversely, modernists like Wadud argue that these jurisprudential rulings are "contextual legal constructions" rather than eternal, literal mandates, suggesting that the primary legal objective (Maqasid al-Shari'ah) is the promotion of modesty, which can be achieved through various cultural expressions (Wadud, Inside the Gender Jihad 219).

Contemporary Issues: The Case of Firdaws

The case of Firdaws Amasa at the University of Ilorin (and similar debates at the University of Ibadan) serves as a focal point for the struggle between secular institutional policy and individual religious expression. In these instances, female students have challenged prohibitions against wearing the hijab during academic ceremonies or specific practical examinations, arguing that the denial of the hijab is a violation of their constitutional right to freedom of religion. Critics of such bans argue that institutional dress codes often reflect a colonial legacy that views the hijab as an impediment to professional decorum. Conversely, institutions often

cite the need for uniform identity and security. These conflicts illustrate that the "hijab debate" is no longer confined to theology; it has become a central feature of the discourse on human rights, identity politics, and the secular-religious divide in Nigeria (Sulaiman & Raifu 10).

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

History of Hijab in Islam

The word "Hijab" was never used for Muslim women veiling during the life time of Prophet Muhammad. However, Hijab as a social practice which started after the Prophet's (S.A.W) time, with many cultural influences outside Islam due to the expansion of Muslims' community. Though, Muslim women dressed modestly during the early stage of Islam but the word Hijab was never used for veiling (Maryam Abubakar). More so, supporting this above submission with the fact that the resurgence of using the word Hijab for veil began in 8th–12th century, during the Classical Fiqh Formation, legal rulings on Hijab were codified in the major Madhahib (Schools of Thought). General consensus formed around the requirement to cover body (excluding face and hands). One can also trace it to Egypt in the late-twentieth century as a means to reunite and rededicate to the Islamic faith. The movement was known as Sahwah and the female pioneers of the movement adopted the Islamic dress which was made up of an unfitted, full-sleeved, ankle length gown with a head cover that covers the chest and back (AbdulGani Qasim Olohunoyin).

Head and hair coverings for religious reasons in the Middle East and Mediterranean predate Islam by at least several centuries. Roman women wore them both before and after Christianity. Between 13th–18th centuries, Hijab became cultural as well as religious; practices varied from region to region. Veiling norms influenced by Persian, Byzantine, and local traditions. However, Hijab is originated from the Qur'an which forms the basis of Islamic mode of dressing. Though, the word "Hijab" historically first appeared five times in the Qur'an in five different places but was never used for cloth (Q7:46, Q19:16-17, Q 33:53, Q41:5; Q42:51). (Ahmad Sherif).

The history of Hijab can be traced to the Qur'an; the word was first used in Suratul Ahazab because before the revelation of the verse of Hijab, the companions used to enter the house of Prophet Muhammad without his permission. After the verse was revealed, the companions restrict them from entering the house by asking their questions through the curtain. Based on this verse, the scholars say that a woman should wear a cloth that will cover her whole body. More so, Hijab was never used for dressing or Islamic dressing in five places that it appeared (Ibrahim Sanusi Dabo).

Since there's no direct injunction in the Qur'an in regards to Hijab as Muslim's dress code, the commentators tried to give a literary explanation to Qur'an 24:31, and traced the history of Hijab to the part

- ... and not display their beauty except what is apparent... (Qur'an 24:31)

The implication which is a veil that covers the whole body and that is Hijab. More so, the "Khimar" as used in the verse also signifies that Muslim women mode of dressing during the life time of the Prophet (S.A.W) was Hijab (Abdul Kabir Abdul Qadr)

Though the Hijab has basis in the Qur'an but was never used for cloths. The present mode of dressing (Hijab) was due to the Ijma' of scholars on the verses of the Qur'an on Islamic dress code which can be traced to the end of eleventh century when four schools of Islamic jurisprudence emerged, and each of the school struggled to interpret the few Qur'anic verses on women's dress code in Islam. For example, Maliki and Hannafi schools of thoughts submit that a woman must wear a big cloth that will cover her whole body except her face and hand. While for Shafi' and Hanbali schools of thought, a woman must cover her whole-body including hands and face based on Qur'an 33:59 (Siraj Ishaq).

The idea of veiling parts of the body can be traced to early civilizations before Islam. The Egyptians wore scarves as a symbol of belonging to a higher social class and there are many pre-Islamic Arabian women paintings wearing similar head coverings. However, Islamic Hijab can be traced to Prophet Muhammad's wives based on the instruction of Allah. In 7th century, women in Medina began covering with jilbab and khimar after Qur'anic revelations. Hijab was introduced gradually and often began with the Prophet's wives. It is as a result of this that in modern day society, many female Muslims vary from different cultural background design different veiling cloths as Hijab with the hope to have deep, spiritual connection, showing devotion to their faith (Abdulfattah AbdulMajeed 76).

The Thought of Amina Wadud

Amina Wadud (born Mary Teasley, September 25, 1952) is an American Muslim theologian, scholar of Islam, and activist known for her progressive interpretations of the Quran and advocating for women's rights within Islam. She converted to Islam in 1972 while studying at the University of Pennsylvania and officially changed her name to Amina Wadud. (Ali, Hammer & Laure 17).

Amina Wadud views the hijab primarily as a social and cultural practice, not a strict religious obligation or pillar of Islam, and she believes its meaning and significance have been overemphasized and

distorted by patriarchal interpretations. While she acknowledges the veil's symbolic power and a woman's agency in choosing it as an act of identity, she advocates for a more nuanced understanding of modesty that extends beyond head covering and emphasizes spiritual consciousness over ritualistic practice (Wadud: 219).

Hijab is not essential aspect of Islamic religion. The male dominated interpreters of the Qur'an changed the narrative of Hijab and make it to be obligatory on women. Qur'an 24:31 and 33:59, critically underscores that Allah is intentionally silent on women's dress. However, the early Qur'anic interpreters brought in men patriarchal nature into the interpretation of the Qur'an to segregate women from Islamic political and social sphere, as a result of this, Hijab was used as a tool of oppression to Muslim women (Ganiyat Yusuf).

It is absolutely wrong to for a conscious Muslim to agree with the submission of Amina Wadud on Hijab. As foundation for Islamic dress code has been laid in Qur'an 24:31 and 33:59 which the description is technically Hijab, meanwhile, one can understand Wadud's submission that Hijab is choice because the western worldview Hijab as a form of oppression for women. This may be the reason she chose to uphold hijab as a personal choice (Fatima Gwandu).

The opinion of Wadud on Hijab is not new as this has been the view of the orientalist. This was deliberate attempt by the western world to infiltrate Islam through some selected women calling themselves Muslim feminist scholars, these women are nobody but Western sponsored unbelievers pretending to be Muslims whose interest is to destroy Islamic cultural values. Hijab is essential part of Islam and every conscious Muslim believe in modest dressing (Habeb Akintunde Bello).

Analysis of Amina Wadud's Perspective on the Hijab from an Islamic Viewpoint

The discourse surrounding the hijab is primarily rooted in the Qur'an and Sunnah, both of which emphasize modesty (ḥayā') and dignity as foundational principles for both genders. Qur'an 24:31 and 33:59 explicitly enjoin women to draw their veils over their chests and adopt attire that mitigates unwanted attention, maintaining social modesty. While the majority of Islamic scholarship categorizes the hijab as an obligatory (wajib) practice for Muslim women based on these textual injunctions, interpretations remain nuanced; some scholars contend that the core requirement is modest behavior, with the physical manifestation of covering subject to contextual and cultural interpretation (Bello).

Islamic jurisprudence, through the four major madhahib (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali), maintains that the hijab, defined as the covering of the hair and body, excluding the face and hands, constitutes an act of 'ibadah (worship) for adult Muslim women in public spaces. This requirement is framed as a legislative mandate from Allah designed to uphold modesty, mitigate sexual harassment, and foster respectful interpersonal dynamics (Abdulsalam).

Although the Qur'an and Sunnah provide broad principles rather than exhaustive sartorial prescriptions, a robust body of jurisprudential discourse exists. Scholars have historically reached a consensus on the necessity of modesty; however, the precise modalities of dress and the degree of compulsion remain subjects of ongoing debate. The term hijab, as currently understood, represents a synthesis of the khimar (head covering reaching the chest) and the jilbab (a loose outer garment). Together, these garments fulfill the Qur'anic instruction to establish a comprehensive veil of modesty (Esin).

Exegetical analyses of Qur'an 24:31 are extensive. Imam Ibn Kathir posits that the verse prohibits the display of beauty to non-mahram (unrelated) individuals, with the exception of outer garments and areas necessitated by practical exposure, specifically the face and hands, as supported by the hadith of Asma' bint Abi Bakr. Furthermore, Ibn Kathir clarifies that the term khumurihinna mandates drawing the head covering across the chest, correcting the pre-Islamic practice of tying the khimar behind the head, which left the neck and chest exposed. This reinforces the view that the hijab serves as a specific embodiment of the modesty commanded in the text (Ibrahim).

While the term "hijab" appears five times in the Qur'an, it is traditionally not used in a sartorial sense in those specific instances; rather, the mandate for an Islamic dress code is derived from the contextual application of Qur'an 24:31 and 33:59. Regarding the phrase *illa ma zaharamin* (except what appears), scholars such as Ibn 'Abbas, followed by Imam al-Tabari, have interpreted this as the face and hands; elements that do not necessarily fall under the rubric of the mandatory hijab itself (Ishaq).

Beyond its physical properties, the hijab acts as a moral safeguard: a "veil" intended to shield the heart from desire and preserve society from moral decay. Because the command in Qur'an 33:59 is addressed to believing women, modesty is inherently linked to social purpose rather than mere formality. Scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah emphasized that covering is a divinely ordained obligation (Sharī'ah) essential for maintaining public morality and protecting the community from fitnah (temptation) (Jamiu). Consistent with this, major institutions such as the Al-Azhar Fatwa Committee have affirmed that wearing the hijab is a divine obligation (fard), characterizing the denial of this duty as a rejection of established religious doctrine (AbdulRazak).

In summary, while the linguistic usage of the word "hijab" in the Qur'an does not denote clothing per se, the Islamic dress code is firmly grounded in the prescriptive directives found within verses 24:31 and 33:59.

CONCLUSION

Amina Wadud's thoughts on Hijab have sparked significant debate and discussion among Islamic scholars. While some scholars appreciate her efforts to reinterpret traditional understanding of Hijab, majority criticized her views as diverging from established Islamic principles. The Islamic examination highlights the complexity and diversity of Islamic perspective on Hijab, underscoring the need for ongoing scholarly inquiry and nuanced discussion. Wadud's thought opened for scholarly research in understanding of Hijab's role in Muslim women's lives, encouraging further exploration of the differences between faith, identity and culture. Hijab is predominant part of Islamic culture and tenets.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Promotion of Qur'an-centered education: Muslim communities should encourage interpretations of modesty that prioritize justice, equality, and spiritual consciousness over rigid external appearances.

Encouragement of women to always wear Hijab in order to reduce immoral dressing in the society.

Muslim communities should ensure that Hijab is compulsory on all Muslim females in order to curb immoral dressing in the society.

Awareness programs: Educational and community initiatives should promote awareness about the Qur'an's holistic view of modesty to prevent the hijab from being politicized or misused as a tool of control or oppression.

Further research: Scholars should continue exploring the intersection of faith, gender, and culture to expand understanding of how Muslim women interpret and practice hijab in varying contexts.

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Table of Interviewees

S/N	Names	Age	Address	Occupation	Date	Place of interview
1.	Abdulfattah AbdulMajeed	32	Dakwa, Abuja	Teacher	02/07/25	Office
2.	AbdulGani Qasim	55	Surulere, Lagos	Imam	04/08/25	Mosque
3.	AbdulKabir AbdulQadr	61	Ikorodu, Lagos	Imam	05/08/25	Mosque
4.	AbdulQadr Busayr	52	Apapa, Lagos	Imam	08/08/25	Mosque
5.	Ahmad Sherif	51	Surulere, Lagos	Imam	04/08/25	House
6.	Ali Esin	42	Agege, Lagos	Imam	10/08/25	House
7.	Dhikrullah Ibrahim	57	Kuje, Abuja	Teacher	09/07/25	Office
8.	Fatima Gwandu	28	CBD, Abuja	Civil Servant	14/07/25	Office
9.	Ganiyat Yusuf	42	Berger, Lagos	Teacher	10/08/25	House
10.	HabeebAkintunde Bello	50	Ibadan, Oyo	Imam	01/08/25	Office
11.	Ibrahim SanusiDabo	35	AMAC, Abuja	Teacher	14/07/25	Office
12.	Kamil Jamiu	43	CBD, Abuja	Teacher	15/07/25	Office
13.	Luqman AbdulRazak	41	AMAC, Abuja	Teacher	15/07/25	Office
14.	Maryam Abubakar	51	Suleja, Niger	Teacher	20/07/25	House

15.	Murtada Bello	35	Kuje, Abuja	Teacher	09/07/25	Office
16.	NazeemdeenAdeyemi	45	Bwari, Abuja	Teacher	06/07/25	House
17.	Nurudeen Ibrahim	39	Agege, Lagos	Teacher	10/08/25	Office
18.	Siraj Ishaq	45	AMAC/ Abuja	Teacher	18/07/25	Office
19.	Sulaiman N. Abdulsalam	53	AMAC/Abuja	Imam	18/07/25	House
20.	Tawakalt Abdulfattah	56	AMAC/ Abuja	Teacher	10/04/25	Office