

# Afghanistan: Country Focus



# **Afghanistan: Country Focus**

## **Country of Origin Information Report**

**January 2026**



Manuscript completed in January 2026

Neither the European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA) nor any person acting on behalf of the EUAA is responsible for the use that might be made of the information contained within this publication.

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2026

PDF ISBN 978-92-9418-371-2 doi: 10.2847/5630916 BZ-01-26-001-EN-N

© European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA), 2026

Cover photo: Afghan refugees surge at Torkham border after deportations from Pakistan, Shafiullah Kakar, © Getty Images, 2025, [url](#)

Please cite as: EUAA, COI Report: Afghanistan: Country Focus, January 2026, [url](#)

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged. For any use or reproduction of photos or other material that is not under the EUAA copyright, permission must be sought directly from the copyright holders.

# Acknowledgements

This report was written by the Country of Origin Information (COI) sector of the EUAA in collaboration with the following national COI departments:

- Belgium, Centre for Documentation and Research (Cedoca), Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons
- Romania, Romanian General Inspectorate for Immigration

The following national COI departments reviewed the report:

- Austria, Staatendokumentation, Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum
- Finland, Information Services Unit, Finnish Immigration Service
- France, Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA), Information, Documentation and Research Division (DIDR)
- Germany, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF)
- The Netherlands, Country of Origin Information (COI) Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Unit for Migration Analysis

The review carried out by the mentioned departments contributes to the overall quality of the report, but does not necessarily imply their formal endorsement of the final report, which is the full responsibility of the EUAA.

# Contents

<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Contents .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Disclaimer.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Glossary and abbreviations .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>10</b>
Methodology .....	10
Defining the terms of reference .....	10
Collecting information.....	10
Research challenges .....	10
Quality control.....	11
Sources.....	11
Sources on security incidents.....	12
Structure and use of the report.....	14
Terminology.....	14
<b>Map .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1. Situation of the general population .....</b>	<b>16</b>
1.1. Political context and international relations .....	16
1.1.1. Political opposition and civic space .....	18
1.1.2. Criticism on social media, and online surveillance .....	21
1.2. Implementation of <i>sharia</i> .....	23
1.2.1. Religious freedom.....	23
1.2.2. Nature of issued instructions.....	26
1.2.3. Issued instructions.....	28
1.2.4. Policy implementation .....	29
1.2.5. Actors of enforcement.....	30
1.2.6. Impact on the education sector .....	32
1.2.7. Enforcement of selected restrictions on personal freedoms.....	34
1.2.8. Capital and corporal punishments .....	42
1.3. Prison conditions .....	44
1.4. Treatment of persons returning from abroad .....	45



1.4.1. General conditions .....	45
1.4.2. Returns from Europe .....	49
1.4.3. Stigma and shame .....	51
<b>2. Security situation .....</b>	<b>52</b>
2.1. Recent security trends .....	52
2.2. Armed groups, and armed confrontations .....	56
2.2.1. Activities of resistance groups .....	56
2.2.2. Activities of the ISKP .....	58
2.2.3. Clashes and airstrikes involving Pakistan .....	60
2.3. Conflict trends by province .....	63
2.3.1. Displacement and return .....	71
2.4. Child recruitment .....	72
2.5. Recent crime trends .....	74
<b>3. Humanitarian situation .....</b>	<b>76</b>
3.1. Economic and humanitarian crisis .....	76
3.2. Poverty, basic subsistence and employment .....	78
3.3. Food security .....	81
3.4. Housing .....	84
3.5. Healthcare .....	86
3.6. Focus on Kabul City .....	91
<b>4. Treatment of certain profiles and groups of the population .....</b>	<b>95</b>
4.1. Officials of the former government .....	95
4.1.1. General amnesty and its implementation .....	95
4.1.2. Records of extrajudicial killings and other abuse .....	98
4.1.3. Motives and victim profiles .....	99
4.1.4. Targeting of family members .....	102
4.1.5. Former judges and prosecutors .....	103
4.2. Persons formerly affiliated with foreign forces .....	104
4.3. Persons with perceived affiliation to anti-Taliban groups .....	106
4.3.1. Suspected affiliates of resistance groups .....	106
4.3.2. Suspected ISKP affiliates .....	107
4.4. Women and girls .....	109
4.4.1. General situation under Taliban rule .....	109

4.4.2. Freedom of expression and assembly.....	110
4.4.3. Freedom of movement.....	112
4.4.4. Access to education.....	115
4.4.5. Access to employment.....	118
4.4.6. Access to healthcare and basic services .....	121
4.4.7. Violence against women .....	123
4.4.8. Access to justice .....	125
4.5. LGBTIQ+ persons .....	128
4.6. Journalists and media workers.....	131
4.7. Human rights defenders and activists .....	135
4.8. Ethnic and religious groups .....	137
4.8.1. General situation under Taliban rule .....	137
4.8.2. Land disputes.....	140
4.8.3. Blood feuds .....	145
4.8.4. Hazaras and other Shia groups .....	147
4.8.5. Tajiks .....	153
4.8.6. Uzbeks .....	155
4.8.7. Turkmen .....	156
4.8.8. Hindus and Sikhs .....	157
4.8.9. Salafists.....	159
<b>Annex 1: Bibliography .....</b>	<b>160</b>
Oral sources, including anonymous sources .....	160
Public sources.....	162
<b>Annex 2: Terms of Reference.....</b>	<b>251</b>
Situation of the general population under Taliban rule .....	251
Security situation.....	251
Humanitarian situation.....	252
<b>Annex 3: Lists of decrees and instructions.....</b>	<b>253</b>



# Disclaimer

This report was written according to the [EUAA COI Report Methodology \(2023\)](#). It is based on carefully selected sources of information. All sources used are referenced.

The information contained in this report has been researched, evaluated and analysed with utmost care within a limited timeframe. However, this document does not claim to be exhaustive. If a particular event, person or organisation is not mentioned in the report, this does not mean that the event has not taken place or that the person or organisation does not exist.

Furthermore, this report is not conclusive as to the determination or merit of any particular application for international protection. Terminology used should not be regarded as indicative of a particular legal position.

‘Refugee’, ‘risk’ and similar terminology are used as generic terminology and not in the legal sense as applied in the EU Asylum Acquis, the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.

Neither EUAA nor any person acting on its behalf may be held responsible for the use which may be made of the information contained in this report.

On 19 January 2022, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) became the European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA). All references to EASO, EASO products and bodies should be understood as references to the EUAA.

The reference period of this report ends on 30 November 2025. Events taking place after this date are not included. For more information on the reference period, see the [Introduction](#).

# Glossary and abbreviations

Term	Definition
<b>AFF</b>	Afghanistan Freedom Front
<b>ANDSF</b>	Afghan National Defense and Security Forces
<b><i>Baad</i></b>	exchange of daughters between families or clans to end feuds or disputes
<b><i>Burqa</i></b>	a long loose-fitting garment worn by women, which covers their entire body and face, and sometimes has a mesh panel covering the eyes
<b><i>Fitnah</i></b>	social disorder or chaos, which can itself facilitate sin
<b>GDI</b>	General Directorate of Intelligence
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced Person
<b>IED</b>	Improvised Explosive Device
<b>ISKP</b>	Islamic State Khorasan Province
<b><i>Madrassa</i></b>	Islamic religious school
<b><i>Mahram</i></b>	a family member who one may not marry, in this report used as a reference to a male relative serving as a chaperone
<b>MPVPV</b>	Ministry for the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice
<b><i>Mullah</i></b>	Islamic religious cleric
<b><i>Muhtasib/muhtasibin</i></b>	Official enforcer/enforcers of <i>sharia</i>



Term	Definition
<b><i>Niqab</i></b>	a long garment worn by women, which covers their entire body and face, except for the eyes
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>NRF</b>	National Resistance Front
<b><i>Pashtunwali</i></b>	Traditional social, cultural, and quasi-legal code regulating the Pashtun way of life
<b><i>Shalwar kameez</i></b>	a loose-fitting knee-length tunic over baggy pants worn by men
<b><i>Sharia</i></b>	the religious law of Islam; Islamic canonical law
<b><i>Shura</i></b>	a decision-making community council, often formed for non-State dispute settlement, made up of a group of people with community authority (elders) to discuss and find solutions to a problem
<b>TTP</b>	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
<b>UNAMA</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan



# Introduction

The purpose of this report is to provide information relevant for the assessment of applications for international protection from Afghan nationals, and in particular for use in updating EUAA's Country Guidance on Afghanistan.

The report covers the period of 1 October 2024–30 November 2025. The report is an update of the [EUAA COI Report: Country Focus – Afghanistan](#) published in November 2024. Events taking place after the end of the reference period have not been included.

## Methodology

This report was drafted and reviewed by the EUAA and national COI departments in EU+ countries, as mentioned in the Acknowledgements section.

This report is produced in line with the EUAA COI Report Methodology (2023)<sup>1</sup> and the EUAA COI Writing and Referencing Style Guide (2023).<sup>2</sup>

## Defining the terms of reference

The terms of reference (ToR) of this report were defined by the EUAA based on input received from COI experts in the EUAA COI Specialist Network on Afghanistan, and from policy experts in EU+ countries within the framework of a Country Guidance development on Afghanistan. The ToR for this report can be found in [Annex 2: Terms of Reference](#).

## Collecting information

The information gathered is a result of research using public, specialised paper-based and electronic sources, as well as interviews with expert oral sources, until 11 December 2025. Some limited additional information was added during the finalisation of this report in response to feedback received during the quality control process, until 6 January 2026.

## Research challenges

Chapter 4. Treatment of certain profiles and groups of the population mainly focuses on targeting acts by the *de facto* authorities and other armed groups towards certain profiles. In some cases, the perpetrator is difficult to identify, and the motives may be unclear. For these reasons, establishing a connection between an act and a certain group or profile is often challenging. Furthermore, some individuals may be targeted for a range of reasons and by

---

<sup>1</sup> EUAA, EUAA Country of Origin Information (COI) Report Methodology, February 2023, [url](#)

<sup>2</sup> EUAA, EUAA Writing and Referencing Guide for EUAA Country of Origin Information (COI) Reports, February 2023, [url](#)



multiple actors. This is particularly challenging in the Afghan context, where diverse and overlapping identities permeate society along religious, ethnic, tribal and/or linguistic lines.

Since the Taliban takeover, Afghan local media and civil society have faced numerous restrictions, and it has become increasingly difficult to retrieve reliable and up-to-date information from the country. Especially media coverage on the situation in remote rural areas is difficult to obtain as the remaining media offices have been concentrated in Kabul City. Afghan media in exile, such as Hasht-e Subh, Afghanistan International, Amu TV and Kabul Now, have been used restrictively due to difficulties assessing their reliability and due to objectivity concerns. Reports have been included based on a case-by-case assessment taking into account the value of the information provided and the availability of contrasting information from other sources.

## Quality control

To ensure that the authors respected the EUAA COI Report Methodology and that the ToR were comprehensively addressed, a review was carried out by COI specialists from the countries listed as reviewers in the Acknowledgements section. All comments made by the reviewers were taken into consideration and most of them were implemented in the final draft of this report, which was finalised on 20 January 2026. EUAA also performed the final quality review and editing of the text.

## Sources

In accordance with the EUAA COI Report Methodology, various published documentary sources have been consulted on relevant topics for this report. These include: COI reports by governments; information from civil society, advocacy groups, humanitarian organisations, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs); international and NGO human rights reports; reports produced by various bodies of the United Nations; Afghan and regionally-based media and social media; academic publications and think tank reports and specialised sources covering Afghanistan. All information from these sources was consulted within time constraints and within the research constraints posed by Afghanistan's challenging information environment.

In order to address research gaps in publicly available sources, oral sources have been interviewed to obtain first-hand information on the situation on the ground. These sources were assessed for their background, publication history, reputability and current ground-level knowledge. Many of these sources have, however, requested to remain anonymous for their own safety or their families' safety, or due to operational reasons to be able to continue to travel to Afghanistan and report from the country. For example, some sources did not want to risk getting future visas rejected by the Afghan de facto authorities for being cited by name and title in this report. All oral sources are described in the Annex 1: Bibliography.

## Sources on security incidents

Data of the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED)<sup>3</sup> and the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)<sup>4</sup> have been used for information on security events and fatalities. Data provided by UN reports have also been used in some sections.

ACLED is a project that collects, analyses and maps information on ‘dates, actors, locations, fatalities, and types of all reported political violence and protest events around the world’.<sup>5</sup> ACLED has been covering political violence and protests in Afghanistan since January 2017. Each week, around 110 sources are reviewed in English, Dari/Farsi, Pashto, and Arabic and the information is compiled in a database.<sup>6</sup> The main sources used in the database for the reference period of this report was Afghan exile media, and the ACLED curated data files for Afghanistan used for this report were downloaded on 10 December 2025.

ACLED explains the methodology applied for coding and monitoring the data in a codebook and in a specific methodology document for Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> As ACLED points out, the reader should be aware of some limitations, including the fact that ‘most of the data is gathered based on publicly available, secondary reports’. Thus, the data are in part a reflection of the coverage and reporting priorities of media and international organisations. One effect of this is that it may under-estimate the volume of events of non-strategic importance (for example, low-level communal conflict, or events in very isolated areas). ACLED addresses this possibility by ‘triangulating data sources to include humanitarian and international organisation reports, rather than media alone; and by conducting ground-truthing exercises’ in which they ‘present data to local organisations and partners to assess its validity among people working directly in conflict-affected contexts’.<sup>8</sup> Based on the above, ACLED’s figures in this report are to be considered as an estimate and illustration of violence trends over a given time period.<sup>9</sup>

ACLED also provides an estimated number of fatalities for each security event, but notes that ‘[f]atality data are typically the most biased, and least accurate, component of any conflict data’ and ‘should be treated as “reported fatalities”’.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, ACLED’s fatality figures include the reported deaths in totality per event, and do not distinguish civilian deaths.<sup>11</sup>

ACLED records six event types: battles, explosions/remote violence, violence against civilians, protests, riots and strategic developments.<sup>12</sup> For the analysis of the security situation in

---

<sup>3</sup> ACLED, The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project - Bringing clarity to crisis, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>4</sup> UCDP, Department of Peace and Conflict Research – Uppsala University, Sweden, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>5</sup> ACLED, About ACLED, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>6</sup> ACLED, ACLED Methodology and Coding Decisions around Political Violence and Demonstrations in Afghanistan (Version 5), February 2022, [url](#), pp. 3, 10

<sup>7</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#); ACLED, ACLED Methodology and Coding Decisions around Political Violence and Demonstrations in Afghanistan (Version 5), February 2022, [url](#), pp. 3, 8; ACLED, ACLED’s Afghanistan Coverage: Adapting Sourcing Strategy in an Evolving Context, 16 March 2022, [url](#)

<sup>8</sup> ACLED, Guide for Media Users, January 2015, [url](#), pp. 9–10

<sup>9</sup> ACLED, ACLED Methodology and Coding Decisions around Political Violence and Demonstrations in Afghanistan (Version 5), February 2022, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>10</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), p. 38

<sup>11</sup> ACLED, ACLED Methodology and Coding Decisions around Political Violence and Demonstrations in Afghanistan (Version 5), February 2022, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>12</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), p. 11



Afghanistan in this report, only battles, explosions/remote violence and violence against civilians were included as incidents. ACLED uses the following definitions of these event types:

- **Battle:** ‘a violent interaction between two politically organized armed groups’ which occurs ‘at a particular time and location’, ‘between armed and organised state, non-state, and external groups, and in any combination therein’. There is no fatality threshold for an incident to be included. Sub-events associated with ‘battles’ are designated according to the events outcome and consist of ‘armed clash’, ‘government regains territory’, and ‘non-state actor overtakes territory’.<sup>13</sup>
- **Violence against civilians:** ‘violent events where an organized armed group deliberately inflicts violence upon unarmed non-combatants’ and includes attempts at inflicting harm (e.g. beating, shooting, torture, rape, mutilation) or forcibly disappearing civilian actors. Sub-events associated with ‘violence against civilians’ are: ‘sexual violence’, ‘attack’, and ‘abduction/forced disappearance’. It should be noted that all violence against civilians do not fall under this category, as civilians can also be harmed as ‘collateral damage’ in ‘explosions’ and ‘battles’ – in such cases a separate civilian-specific event is not recorded, although the number of fatalities is aggravated.<sup>14</sup>
- **Explosions/remote violence:** ‘incidents in which one side uses weapon types that, by their nature, are at range and widely destructive’. The sub-event types associated with ‘explosions/remote violence’ are ‘chemical weapon’, ‘air/drone strike’, ‘suicide bomb’, ‘shelling/artillery/missile attack’, ‘remote explosive/landmine/IED’, and ‘grenade’.<sup>15</sup>

ACLED identifies three codes for the geo-precision of events taking place in a particular town with available coordinates (geo-precision 1), ‘a small part of a region’ or ‘a general area’ (geo-precision 2) and a larger region (geo-precision 3).<sup>16</sup> This report provides information about the security situation at provincial level and therefore makes use of all geo-precision levels.

UCDP is a ‘data collection project for civil war’.<sup>17</sup> UCDP provided EUAA with a Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED) covering the reference period of the report. UCDP’s methodology is explained on its website as well as its GED Codebook.<sup>18</sup> The unit of analysis of UCDP is the ‘event’<sup>19</sup> which is defined as ‘[a]n incident where armed force was used by an organised actor against another organized actor, or against civilians, resulting in at least 1 direct death at a specific location and a specific date’.<sup>20</sup> This leads, among other things, to ‘seemingly low estimates’ because ‘a number of factors can preclude a potential conflict event from inclusion in the UCDP GED’, for example, unclear actors or uncertainty about whether fatalities occurred.<sup>21</sup> UCDP provides three estimates for fatalities for each event – a low estimate, a best estimate, and a high estimate. In addition, UCDP provides an estimate of the number of civilian

<sup>13</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>14</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), pp. 18–19

<sup>15</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), pp. 16–18

<sup>16</sup> ACLED, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [url](#), pp. 36–37

<sup>17</sup> UCDP, About UCDP, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>18</sup> UCDP, UCDP Methodology, n.d., [url](#); UCDP, UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook (Version 21.1), 2021, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>19</sup> UCDP, UCDP Methodology, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>20</sup> UCDP, UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook (Version 21.1), 2021, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>21</sup> UCDP, UCDP Methodology, n.d., [url](#)

deaths.<sup>22</sup> According to UCDP, ‘it is quite likely that there are more fatalities than given in the best estimate, but it is very unlikely that there are fewer’.<sup>23</sup>

The stricter definition of an event of UCDP excludes some violent events recorded by ACLED, such as events attributed to ‘unidentified armed groups’. The difference in definitions is one explanatory factor to why the number of events recorded by ACLED can be significantly higher than events recorded by UCDP.<sup>24</sup> In this report, UCDP data have been used to contrast ACLED data and to provide figures on civilian deaths. To reflect the security dynamic in Afghanistan, where the actor behind many security incidents is unknown, EUAA not only includes events that meet all UCDP’s set criteria (codified as ‘clear’ events in the UCDP dataset), but also include events codified as ‘unclear’ and ‘not applicable’.

## Structure and use of the report

The report’s first chapter provides information on the general population’s situation under Taliban rule. It contains information on the political context, the functioning of the de facto state administration, and the implementation of *sharia*. This is followed by a chapter outlining the general conflict-related security situation, and a chapter on the humanitarian situation. Thereafter, chapter 4 outlines the situation of eight selected groups and profiles.

## Terminology

In this report, Afghan authorities operating under the Taliban (since August 2021) are referred to as the ‘de facto’ authorities, as the Taliban-led government has not been internationally recognised. Footnoted citations for documents published by de facto authorities are aligned with this terminology.

Persons working within lower-level authorities, who have been appointed by the Taliban or have returned to work since the takeover, are not routinely referred to as de facto state employees, but efforts had been made to give clear context in which capacity these persons are working. As the Taliban is both a movement and a de facto government, sources sometimes refer to the ‘Taliban’ and the ‘de facto authorities’ interchangeably. This report refers to de facto authorities/de facto officials, when it is evident that the source refers to a person or a body operating under the de facto government. In other situations, where a source refers to the movement or where the status of the ‘Taliban’ referred to is unclear, the term ‘Taliban’ is used instead. Hibatullah Akhundzada, who is head of both the Taliban movement and the de facto state, is referred to as the ‘Taliban Supreme Leader’.

The former administration of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is referred to by its official name and as ‘the former government’. In cases where the report refers to the previous government of the Taliban of the 1990’s, this is indicated in the text.

---

<sup>22</sup> UCDP, UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook (Version 21.1), 2021, [url](#), pp. 5, 11, 24

<sup>23</sup> UCDP, UCDP Methodology, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>24</sup> ACLED, Comparing Conflict Data, Similarities and Differences Across Conflict Datasets, August 2019, [url](#), pp. 5–7



## Map



### Map 1. Afghanistan's provinces<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> UN, Afghanistan, Map No. 3958 Rev. 7, June 2011, [url](#)

# 1. Situation of the general population

## 1.1. Political context and international relations

The Taliban came to power on 15 August 2021 after ousting the previous US-backed government after 20 years of war.<sup>26</sup> They declared the reestablishment of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (IEA),<sup>27</sup> previously in power in 1996–2001,<sup>28</sup> and soon claimed to control the entire Afghan territory.<sup>29</sup> Although they have met armed opposition by resistance groups and the Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISKP),<sup>30</sup> the Taliban maintain territorial<sup>31</sup> and effective control over Afghanistan<sup>32</sup> – which brings responsibilities under international law.<sup>33</sup>

Soon after the takeover, the Taliban announced an all-male<sup>34</sup> interim government<sup>35</sup> which predominantly consisted of Pashtun Taliban members.<sup>36</sup> The de facto government has largely remained in place,<sup>37</sup> although there have been some reshuffles of de facto ministers.<sup>38</sup> As the de facto head of state,<sup>39</sup> the Taliban Supreme Leader Hibatullah Akhundzada enjoys absolute power and controls Afghanistan's political, administrative and religious structures,<sup>40</sup> although this has been disputed by multiple de facto cabinet members.<sup>41</sup> During a speech at the fourth anniversary of the Taliban takeover, on 15 August 2025, Akhundzada indicated that the de facto government had become permanent.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Kluijver, R., Is it time to recognise the Taliban government in Afghanistan?, The Conversation, 29 December 2024, [url](#); CFR, The Taliban in Afghanistan, 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>27</sup> WSJ, Taliban unveil new Afghan government, 7 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>28</sup> BBC News, Hardliners get key posts in new Taliban government, 7 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>29</sup> VOA, Taliban order Afghan media to use group's official name, 1 October 2021, [url](#)

<sup>30</sup> Rubin, B. R., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, 20 October 2022, Stimson Center, [url](#); International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), pp. I, 11;

<sup>31</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 3; Clark, K., Co-director and Senior Analyst at the AAN, in USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 1:06:14–1:06:16; Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>32</sup> HRW, An Avenue to Justice for Afghan Women, 13 May 2024, [url](#); ICRC, The legal protection of persons living under the control of non-State armed groups, January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>33</sup> HRW, An Avenue to Justice for Afghan Women, 13 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>34</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report – Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>35</sup> BBC News, Hardliners get key posts in new Taliban government, 7 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>36</sup> International Crisis Group, The Taliban's Neighbourhood: Regional Diplomacy with Afghanistan, 30 January 2024, [url](#); Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report – Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), pp. 10, 13; Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 46–47

<sup>37</sup> UK, House of Commons Library, Recent developments in Afghanistan, 18 March 2025, [url](#), pp. 4, 7

<sup>38</sup> Amu TV, Taliban reassign six officials in latest reshuffle, 12 February 2025, [url](#); MEI, Taliban Leadership Tracker, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>39</sup> BBC News, Afghanistan country profile, 10 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>40</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for afganske menn, 20 January 2025, [url](#), p. 6; Clark, K., Co-director and Senior Analyst at the AAN, in USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 1:06:40–1:07:01; Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021–2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>41</sup> Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021–2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>42</sup> Bakhtar News Agency [X], posted on: 15 August 2025, [url](#); Diplomat (The), Taliban Officials Are No Longer 'Acting', 19 August 2025, [url](#)



In July 2025, Russia became the first and only country to recognise the Taliban's de facto government.<sup>43</sup> Other countries have indicated that recognition is conditional,<sup>44</sup> calling on the de facto government to be more 'inclusive' and respect women's and girls' rights.<sup>45</sup> Over 100 persons within the de facto administration are under UN sanctions,<sup>46</sup> and some are part of the Haqqani network<sup>47</sup> (designated as a terrorist organisation by the UK,<sup>48</sup> the US<sup>49</sup> and the UN<sup>50</sup>). This complicates Afghanistan's international relations,<sup>51</sup> and protracts its isolation.<sup>52</sup> On 8 July 2025, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued arrest warrants for the Taliban Supreme Leader and the de facto Chief Justice, Abdul Hakim Haqqani, on charges of 'gender persecution'.<sup>53</sup>

Several states and international organisations have engaged with the de facto government, despite not recognising it,<sup>54</sup> and diplomatic engagement has been increasing over the years.<sup>55</sup> Some countries have been reopening their embassies in Kabul City,<sup>56</sup> and many countries in the region have accepted Taliban-appointed attachés at Afghan embassies<sup>57</sup> and have been conducting formal visits to Afghanistan.<sup>58</sup> The UN<sup>59</sup> and the EU have physical presence in the country, mainly to provide humanitarian aid.<sup>60</sup> The US do not have diplomatic presence, but its interests in Afghanistan are formally represented by Qatar.<sup>61</sup> In March 2025, Switzerland reopened an office in Kabul City for humanitarian aid<sup>62</sup> and thus became the 'first Western country to re-establish on-the-ground presence' since the Taliban takeover.<sup>63</sup> Some European

<sup>43</sup> BBC News, Russia becomes first state to recognise Afghanistan's Taliban government, 4 July 2025, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Russia recognises the Taliban: Which other countries may follow?, 4 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>44</sup> Brookings, Recognition and the Taliban, 30 September 2022, [url](#); Weiss, S., One year into the Taliban's second rule, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 18 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>45</sup> VOA, UN talks in Doha end; recognition remains distant dream for Taliban, 1 July 2024, [url](#); RFE/RL, Which Countries Have Relations With The Taliban's Unrecognized Government?, 30 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>46</sup> VOA, UN talks in Doha end; recognition remains distant dream for Taliban, 1 July 2024, [url](#)

<sup>47</sup> UK, House of Commons Library, Afghanistan: One year under a Taliban government, 10 October 2022, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>48</sup> UK, Home Office, Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations, 11 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>49</sup> USDOS, Foreign Terrorist Organizations, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>50</sup> UN, United Nations Security Council Consolidated List, [url](#), section TAe.012

<sup>51</sup> UK, House of Commons Library, Afghanistan: One year under a Taliban government, 10 October 2022, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>52</sup> Diplomat (The), Are Taliban-Iran Relations Moving on a Positive Trajectory?, 22 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>53</sup> ICC, Situation in Afghanistan: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II issues arrest warrants for Haibatullah Akhundzada and Abdul Hakim Haqqani, 8 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>54</sup> UN, Afghanistan's Future Depends on Taliban's Engagement with World, But Restrictions on Women Signal Lack of International Commitments, Briefer Warns Security Council, 27 September 2022, [url](#); Washington Institute (The), Turkey Calls for Recognition of the Taliban's Islamic Emirate, 17 March 2022, [url](#)

<sup>55</sup> IISS, Towards the Reintegration of Afghanistan into the International Community, 12 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>56</sup> TOLONews, Muttaqi Says More Embassies Will Reopen in Kabul, 30 March 2023, [url](#); RFE/RL, Which Countries Have Relations With The Taliban's Unrecognized Government?, 30 May 2024, [url](#); Al Jazeera, India to reopen embassy in Kabul after 4-year hiatus amid new Taliban ties, 10 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>57</sup> RFE/RL, Which Countries Have Relations With The Taliban's Unrecognized Government?, 30 May 2024, [url](#); ORF, Taliban's diplomatic advances in Central Asia, 12 August 2024, [url](#); TOLONews, Spokesman: Islamic Emirate Attachés Active in 16 Countries, 23 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>58</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), paras. 20–22

<sup>59</sup> Kluijver, R., Is it time to recognise the Taliban government in Afghanistan?, The Conversation, 29 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>60</sup> Reuters, European Union re-establishes physical presence in Afghanistan -spokesman, 21 January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>61</sup> USDOS, U.S. Relations With Afghanistan, 15 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>62</sup> Switzerland, Swiss Federal Authorities, Switzerland re-establishes presence in Kabul with humanitarian office, 31 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>63</sup> Afghanistan International, Swiss Development Agency Resumes Operations In Kabul After Four-Year Absence, 27 August 2025, [url](#)

countries, including Norway and Germany, allow envoys of the de facto government to work at Afghan embassies and consulates.<sup>64</sup> Germany has also been communicating with the de facto authorities 'on a technical level' to facilitate deportations of rejected asylum seekers.<sup>65</sup>

De facto officials have moreover been travelling to attend regional<sup>66</sup> and international meetings.<sup>67</sup> Despite being under sanctions, some individuals have been granted exceptions to travel for personal and official reasons, in more than 'five dozen' instances since August 2022, according to the American policy organisation George W. Bush Institute.<sup>68</sup> The de facto authorities have also been invited to UN meetings on Afghanistan ('Doha 3' in 2024<sup>69</sup> and 'Doha 4' in 2025<sup>70</sup>) and the UN climate meeting COP29 (with observer status).<sup>71</sup> The former government has however continued to represent Afghanistan at the UN,<sup>72</sup> although the seat might be handed over to the de facto authorities under the UN 'Mosaic plan' for engagement with Afghanistan.<sup>73</sup>

### 1.1.1. Political opposition and civic space

The Taliban have established a de facto government with political monopoly similar to a one-party state.<sup>74</sup> Political parties are outlawed<sup>75</sup> and civic space has been severely limited by restrictions on international and local media,<sup>76</sup> as well as by arrests of critics.<sup>77</sup> Many individuals opposing the Taliban have left the country,<sup>78</sup> gone into hiding or resorted to self-censorship.<sup>79</sup> The general human rights situation has gradually deteriorated,<sup>80</sup> and sources

---

<sup>64</sup> DW, Germany allows Taliban envoys to facilitate deportations, 21 July 2025, [url](#); Roy-Chaudhury, R., Will Russia's diplomatic recognition of the Afghan Taliban government have a domino effect?, IISS, 8 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>65</sup> DW, Afghanistan: Are the Taliban still isolated after 4 years?, 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>66</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), paras. 20–22; Russia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press release on the meeting of the Moscow Format of Consultations on Afghanistan, 4 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>67</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Delegation Attends 15th Session Of OIC In Gambia, 5 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>68</sup> George W. Busch Institute, Taliban Travel Tracker, 15 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>69</sup> Watkins, A., What's Next for the U.N.'s Doha Process on Afghanistan?, USIP, 16 July 2024, [url](#)

<sup>70</sup> UNAMA, UN convenes working group meetings on counter-narcotics, private sector, 1 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>71</sup> Ruttig, T., No Climate Change Deniers: The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan goes to COP29, as an observer, AAN, 24 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>72</sup> Kluijver, R., Is it time to recognise the Taliban government in Afghanistan?, The Conversation, 29 December 2024, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Taliban Accuses UN Of Bias, Says Group Deserves Afghanistan's UN Representation, 30 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>73</sup> Khaama Press, Rights Activists slam UN's 'Mosaic' Plan for undermining Legal and Moral Legitimacy in Afghanistan, 14 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>74</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>75</sup> VOA, Taliban Ban Afghan Political Parties, Citing Sharia Violations, 16 August 2023, [url](#); RFE/RL, Taliban Bans Political Parties In Afghanistan After Declaring Them Un-Islamic, 17 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>76</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>77</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24; RFE/RL, Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, [url](#); AI, The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>78</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2023, March 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>79</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24

<sup>80</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan, Styre och rättskipning [Andrew Watkins, senior expert on Afghanistan], 6 July 2023, [url](#), p. 13; UNAMA, Dignity, freedom and justice must be upheld in Afghanistan, 10 December 2022, [url](#)



described the de facto administration as moving towards becoming a theocratic police state,<sup>81</sup> ruling through a climate of fear<sup>82</sup> and suppressing dissent.<sup>83</sup> In this context, there is no space for political opposition,<sup>84</sup> and Human Rights Watch reported on 'deepened' repression in 2025.<sup>85</sup>

There were protests against the de facto government's policies right after the Taliban takeover,<sup>86</sup> and women's rights activists stood at the forefront of this movement.<sup>87</sup> General opposition, however, largely dissipated during the Taliban's second year of rule.<sup>88</sup> As women protesters faced violent reprisals,<sup>89</sup> including detentions and torture,<sup>90</sup> protests dwindled.<sup>91</sup> More information is available in section [4.4.2 Freedom of expression and assembly](#).

The de facto government has continued to violently suppress protests, including by arrests and shooting directly at protesters.<sup>92</sup> Amid protests against the opium poppy eradication campaign in Badakhshan Province in 2025,<sup>93</sup> de facto security forces shot into protesting crowds which caused deaths and injuries.<sup>94</sup> This included the death of eight persons in Khash District over the course of two days in June 2025, as well as instances of arrests and ill-treatment, as noted by the UN Secretary-General.<sup>95</sup> Protests have also been staged without reported violence from the de facto authorities, including by retirees previously working for the former government that regularly stage street protests to demand their pensions to be paid.<sup>96</sup> The UN Secretary-General also noted that the population staged protests against, *inter*

<sup>81</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan, Styre och rättskipning, 6 July 2023, [url](#), p. 13; Economist (The), Afghans are suffering. Don't expect any tears from the Taliban, 14 August 2024, [url](#); PRIO et al., Pathways towards Strengthening Girl's Education in Afghanistan, December 2023, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>82</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan, Styre och rättskipning, 6 July 2023, [url](#), p. 13; RFE/RL, The Azadi Briefing: Thousands Of Afghans Detained By Taliban's Morality Police, 23 August 2024, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24

<sup>83</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>84</sup> Nishat, Z. et al., Why Do People in Afghanistan Object to Taliban Rule?, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, 22 September 2022, [url](#); Ahmad, J. and London, D., America Should Recognize Afghanistan's Taliban Government, FP, 23 May 2023, [url](#); Amu TV, Afghanistan ranked world's most authoritarian country in 2024 Democracy Index, 28 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>85</sup> HRW, Afghanistan Relentless Repression 4 Years into Taliban Rule, 5 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>86</sup> HRW in: France 24 English [YouTube], 'Afghan women are leading the resistance against the Taliban,' researcher says, 25 August 2025, [url](#), 2:37–2:50

<sup>87</sup> CIVICUS, Protests Escalate in Afghanistan as Frustration with Taliban Rule and Abuses Grow, 28 November 2022, [url](#)

<sup>88</sup> AW, Two years of Taliban rule: documenting human rights abuses using open source, 15 August 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>89</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghan women stage rare protests, braving Taliban reprisals, 8 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>90</sup> BBC News, What happened to the women who took on the Taliban?, 14 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>91</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2023, March 2024, [url](#), p. 21; AW, Two years of Taliban rule: documenting human rights abuses using open source, 15 August 2023, [url](#), p. 4; AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), pp. 13–14

<sup>92</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 37

<sup>93</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 9; Bjelica, J. and Foschini F., Opium Cultivation in Badakhshan: The new national leader, according to UNDOC, AAN, 13 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>94</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 31

<sup>95</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 31

<sup>96</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Where Are My Rights? Afghan retirees appeal for their pensions, AAN, 22 May 2024, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 10; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 10

*alia*, poppy eradication, taxation of agricultural products, and the destruction of Shia symbols during the holy day of Ashura in Herat City.<sup>97</sup>

As mentioned, several restrictions have been introduced on local media and on content criticising the de facto government.<sup>98</sup> Media outlets accused of violating these restrictions have been suspended or shut down,<sup>99</sup> including for content perceived as contrary to ‘national and Islamic values’<sup>100</sup> and for having collaborated with exile media.<sup>101</sup> Some media offices stated that their closure was politically motivated.<sup>102</sup> Journalists and media workers have also been facing arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture and ill-treatment, and threats and intimidation by the de facto authorities.<sup>103</sup> Further restrictions have been implemented within the reference period of this report, including the ban against showcasing images of living beings<sup>104</sup> which has forced television stations in some provinces to close or only air audio content.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, since September 2024, live political debates are not allowed, and media are required to seek prior approval before airing political talk shows and may only invite experts as per a pre-approved list of experts – or seek prior permission.<sup>106</sup>

The de facto authorities have become increasingly intolerant to criticism,<sup>107</sup> and the space for voicing concern has decreased further within the reference period of this report.<sup>108</sup> Sources have reported on even moderate differences of opinion not being tolerated,<sup>109</sup> and individuals considered as loyalists and aligned with the Taliban movement being discouraged from speaking in public on ‘controversial issues’.<sup>110</sup>

According to Haroun Rahimi, Associate Professor and Chair of Law Department at the American University of Afghanistan, the de facto authorities have been clamping down on

---

<sup>97</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 9

<sup>98</sup> RSF, Afghanistan : the disturbing, escalating censorship suffocating the free press, 27 February 2025, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Trample Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>99</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 15, AFJC, 2024 Annual Report on Media Freedom in Afghanistan, 26 December 2024, [url](#), pp. 25–26

<sup>100</sup> RSF, Afghanistan: press freedom at its lowest point as Taliban closed 12 media outlets in less than a year, 20 December 2024, [url](#); IFJ, Afghanistan: Media continues to erode under three years of Taliban rule, 15 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>101</sup> AFJC, 2024 Annual Report on Media Freedom in Afghanistan, 26 December 2024, [url](#), pp. 21, 26; RSF, Afghanistan: Taliban prohibit journalists from collaborating with Afghanistan International news channel, 14 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>102</sup> AFJC, 2024 Annual Report on Media Freedom in Afghanistan, 26 December 2024, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>103</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>104</sup> Afghanistan, De facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 17

<sup>105</sup> Just Security, The Taliban’s Slow Dismantling of Afghan media, 10 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>106</sup> AFJC, Taliban Imposes Stricter Regulations on Afghan Media, Raising Concerns Over Press Freedom, 23 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>107</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24; RFE/RL, Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, [url](#); Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>108</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>109</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24; RFE/RL, Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>110</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.



dissent and have been trying to limit public discourse around governance issues.<sup>111</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan reported on the suppression of dissent as taking place in all areas of public discourse, affecting ‘journalists and media workers, human rights defenders, members of civil society and protesters, academics, writers, artists, booksellers and educators, as well as their family members.’<sup>112</sup> Islamic scholars and clerics have also reportedly been arrested after publicly criticising the Taliban or ‘merely supporting more moderate policies’, according to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL).<sup>113</sup>

Nevertheless, some individuals have continued to voice critical concerns, including on girls’ access to higher education and governance issues.<sup>114</sup> Such criticism has however become much less frequent, and as explained by Rahimi ‘people on the margin’ – not considered anti-Taliban but still raising concerns – have become much less visible. According to him, the new rule of conduct is to not criticise the de facto government publicly, although there have been moments of public conversation involving both senior de facto government officials and the general public voicing concerns amid major events, such as the internet shutdown and Pakistani airstrikes against Kabul City in the second half of 2025.<sup>115</sup> In early 2025, Mohammad Abbas Stanikzai, the de facto deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, fled Afghanistan soon after having delivered a public speech in which he criticised the ban on higher education for girls. In response, the Taliban Supreme Leader reportedly ordered his arrest and issued a travel ban.<sup>116</sup> Meanwhile, on the other hand, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the political party Hezb-e Islami, has been publicly questioning the de facto government’s legitimacy and its capability to ensure security in Afghanistan.<sup>117</sup>

### 1.1.2. Criticism on social media, and online surveillance

The de facto authorities’ stance on social media has been growing stricter,<sup>118</sup> with increasing restrictions.<sup>119</sup> The de facto Ministry for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice (MPVPV) publicly warned of ‘improper’ social media usage and communicated that legal action will be taken ‘against pages, accounts, and networks [...] undermining religious beliefs, public morality, and societal values.’<sup>120</sup> Starting in mid-September 2025, the de facto

<sup>111</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>112</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 24

<sup>113</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>114</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units; SAK, Emiren stärker kontrollen över hela landet, 17 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>115</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>116</sup> Guardian (The), Taliban minister ‘forced to flee Afghanistan’ after speech in support of girls’ education, 3 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>117</sup> Afghanistan International, Hekmatyar Warns Of Rising Instability, Calls For Legitimate Government In Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, [url](#); Ariana News, Hekmatyar: We need a legitimate government in Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>118</sup> Khaama Press, Crackdown on TikTok users and influencers in Afghanistan intensified, arrested for activities deemed “Unlawful”, 15 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>119</sup> BBC News, Social media content restricted in Afghanistan, Taliban sources confirm, 8 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>120</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Monitoring Social Media, Warns Of Legal Action For ‘Improper’ Use, 12 May 2025, [url](#)

authorities gradually closed down internet services in some provinces,<sup>121</sup> and eventually, on 29 September 2025, switched off internet in the entire country for 48 hours.<sup>122</sup> The shutdown of the state-controlled fibre-optic network, on which also private providers highly rely on, virtually left all Afghans without internet connectivity.<sup>123</sup> Telecommunications were also disrupted, and people could not make mobile phone calls or send SMS.<sup>124</sup> No official reason has been announced for the shutdown,<sup>125</sup> although some sources suggest that it was an attempt to crack down on ‘immoral activities’.<sup>126</sup>

The de facto authorities monitor social media<sup>127</sup> and target individuals who criticise them online.<sup>128</sup> The de facto MPVPV claim to monitor online content,<sup>129</sup> and the de facto General Directorate of Intelligence (GDI) has reportedly been monitoring journalists, activists and social media users,<sup>130</sup> and has a dedicated digital surveillance unit that monitors online activities, according to Amu TV.<sup>131</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan reported on local sources warning of the ‘extensive use’ of digital and in-person surveillance, including surveillance of social media, mobile-phone searches at checkpoints, and the use of informants. Media and civil society actors further told the UN Special Rapporteur that critical posts on social media might trigger ‘house searches, arbitrary arrests and detention’, including of family members. These measures reportedly contributed to ‘a climate of fear’ and self-censorship, including among Afghans abroad fearing for the safety of remaining family members.<sup>132</sup> The Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation (ACCORD) carried out interviews with several sources operating on the ground, that told them that ‘the situation in Afghanistan is becoming increasingly restrictive’ making it ‘difficult to report on the few freedoms or niches that still exist’, and that the facto authorities monitor ‘all information and reporting’ on Afghanistan closely. One interviewee told ACCORD that Afghans are afraid of expressing anything openly on social media due to the surveillance.<sup>133</sup> Rahimi explained that the de facto authorities do not have the sophisticated

---

<sup>121</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghanistan imposes internet blackout: What has the effect been so far?, 30 September 2025, [url](#); Reuters, Internet and cell phone services resume in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>122</sup> UNAMA, Out of reach: The impact of telecommunications shutdowns on the Afghan people, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2; TOLOnews, Internet, Telecom Services Restored in Afghanistan After 48-Hour Outage, 1 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>123</sup> Shabir Kabiri in: The Afghanistan Project Podcast [YouTube], Afghanistan's internet outage with Shabir Kabiri - The Afghanistan Project Podcast Ep 113, 6 October 2025, [url](#) 5:45–8:30

<sup>124</sup> UNAMA, Out of reach: The impact of telecommunications shutdowns on the Afghan people, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>125</sup> UNAMA, Out of reach: The impact of telecommunications shutdowns on the Afghan people, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>126</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghanistan imposes internet blackout: What has the effect been so far?, 30 September 2025, [url](#); Telegraph (The), Afghanistan's internet blackout is a glimpse of a dark future, 6 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>127</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#); Zan Times, Journalism in the Taliban's surveillance state, 13 June 2023, [url](#); Rahimi, H., online interview, 11 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI unit of the Swedish Migration Agency and Landinfo – the Norwegian COI Centre; Azizi, H., PhD Candidate, Flinders University, online interview, 9 September 2024

<sup>128</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>129</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Monitoring Social Media, Warns Of Legal Action For ‘Improper’ Use, 12 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>130</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 8; Amu TV, Taliban detain dozens, including journalists, over social media posts: Sources, 27 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>131</sup> Amu TV, Taliban detain dozens, including journalists, over social media posts: Sources, 27 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>132</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 26

<sup>133</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 8, 10



bureaucracy and surveillance system as, for example, China and Iran, which makes it difficult for them to trace information from anonymous accounts. Individuals who are identified as being critics may however face serious consequences.<sup>134</sup> Timor Sharan, Director of Afghanistan Policy Lab, noted that not only have the Taliban engaged in online surveillance, but have also been extremely effective in penetrating society through human assets, including with informants in mosques, among neighbours and the general population. This gives the Taliban great reach and scale in terms of surveillance.<sup>135</sup>

In May 2025, Afghanistan International reported on the de facto MPVPV arresting 'several social media users' for 'illegitimate' activities online, and outlined two cases in which TikTok content creators were arrested.<sup>136</sup> TikTok is prohibited in Afghanistan, but remains a popular platform among the younger generation.<sup>137</sup> One of the men appeared in a video published by a de facto MPVPV spokesperson 'confessing' that he had been detained for speaking with women during livestreams on TikTok.<sup>138</sup> On 27 July 2025, Amu TV reported on dozens of individuals being arrested across Afghanistan over the past month, including seven journalists, for posting 'un-Islamic' content on social media.<sup>139</sup> Afghan human rights organisation Rawadari also documented 'numerous' arrests in the first half of 2025 of individuals posting critical content on social media. The four examples outlined by Rawadari included local journalists and civil activists that were imprisoned for three days or longer. One individual was sentenced to six months in prison.<sup>140</sup> There were moreover reports of women working for the de facto authorities to monitor Instagram accounts and report cases of women posting photos with their face uncovered.<sup>141</sup> The de facto authorities have also been reacting to critical publications of exile media by investigating journalists in Afghanistan, and targeting individuals suspected of collaborating with Afghan exile media.<sup>142</sup>

## 1.2. Implementation of *sharia*

### 1.2.1. Religious freedom

The Taliban is a Sunni Islamic movement that adheres to the Hanafi School of Jurisprudence<sup>143</sup> and the Deobandi school of thought.<sup>144</sup> They follow an 'ultra-conservative' interpretation of

<sup>134</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>135</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>136</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests TikTok Users, Forces Public Apologies Over Online Content, 16 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>137</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests TikTok Users, Forces Public Apologies Over Online Content, 16 May 2025, [url](#); Khaama Press, Crackdown on TikTok users and influencers in Afghanistan intensified, arrested for activities deemed "Unlawful", 15 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>138</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests TikTok Users, Forces Public Apologies Over Online Content, 16 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>139</sup> Amu TV, Taliban detain dozens, including journalists, over social media posts: Sources, 27 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>140</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 26–27

<sup>141</sup> AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 32

<sup>142</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>143</sup> Lombardi, C. and March, A., Afghan Taliban Views on Legitimate Islamic Governance, USIP, February 2022, [url](#)

<sup>144</sup> Rana, S. and Ganguly, S., Taliban's religious ideology – Deobandi Islam – has roots in colonial India, The Conversation, 25 August 2021, [url](#)

Sunni Islam.<sup>145</sup> During the insurgency after 2001, a main aim of the Taliban's armed struggle was to establish 'a true Islamic system' in Afghanistan,<sup>146</sup> and amid their takeover in August 2021, they declared that *sharia* would serve as the legal system in the country.<sup>147</sup> In this context, the Taliban, as the de facto state, do not see their main function as guarding individual civil rights, but rather as a guiding body<sup>148</sup> existing to ensure that the people follow *sharia*.<sup>149</sup> Only a limited number of edicts and decrees issued by the de facto authorities have 'ostensibly' aimed at protecting personal rights.<sup>150</sup>

The de facto authorities impose their religious ideology on the general population through numerous restrictions.<sup>151</sup> Although Shia or Sufi practices have not been explicitly prohibited,<sup>152</sup> celebrations of some holy days of the Shia community have been restricted.<sup>153</sup> Some religious and cultural practices have moreover been restricted,<sup>154</sup> including non-Islamic celebrations such as the Persian new year (*Nowruz*).<sup>155</sup> Restrictions also regulate the behaviour and appearance of the population,<sup>156</sup> including a prohibition of wearing non-Islamic symbols such as crucifixes,<sup>157</sup> and obligations to pray and follow Islamic dress codes.<sup>158</sup> The most comprehensive set of restrictions are included in the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law (colloquially referred to as the 'Morality law'<sup>159</sup>) published on 31 July 2024.<sup>160</sup> The

---

<sup>145</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#); Britannica, Taliban, Definition, History & Facts, 25 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>146</sup> Lombardi, C. and March, A., Afghan Taliban Views on Legitimate Islamic Governance, USIP, February 2022, [url](#)

<sup>147</sup> Rahimi, H., What the Taliban may be getting wrong about Islamic governance, Al Jazeera, 24 August 2021, [url](#); WSJ, Taliban Commander Who Launched Bombings in Kabul Is Now a Police Chief in Charge of Security, 20 October 2021, [url](#); CNN, Taliban's religious police instructed to be more moderate, 12 October 2021, [url](#)

<sup>148</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 4 October 2023

<sup>149</sup> Rahimi, H., Remaking of Afghanistan: How the Taliban are Changing Afghanistan's Laws and Legal Institutions, ISAS, 26 July 2022, [url](#); Rahimi, H., online interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 4 October 2023; Ahmad, J., The Taliban's religious roadmap for Afghanistan, MEI, 26 January 2022, [url](#); Butt, J., A Taliban Theory of State: A review of the Chief Justice's book of jurisprudence, AAN, 3 September 2023, [url](#)

<sup>150</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 10

<sup>151</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#); Savi, M. et al., Changing social norms around age of marriage in Afghanistan, Data on repression and resistance under the Taliban, ODI, February 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>152</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>153</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Impose Restrictions as Shias Begin to Observe Muharram, 7 July 2024, [url](#); Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>154</sup> Bennet, R., UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan, in: USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 11:08–11:15

<sup>155</sup> Shirzay, M., Standing in Solidarity: Addressing Challenges Facing Female Education in Afghanistan at the Start of the New Academic Year, RWI, 2 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>156</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 21 April 2023, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>157</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22; UN Human Rights Council, Study of the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 64

<sup>158</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), arts. 13, 14, 22

<sup>159</sup> USCIRF, Four Years after the Taliban's Takeover, "Morality Law" Imposes Harsh Religious Freedom Restrictions, 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>160</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#)



MPVPV is the main body policing people's private lives and compliance.<sup>161</sup> More information is available in section [1.2.7.](#) Enforcement of selected restrictions on personal freedoms.

The 'Morality law' is based on the Hanafi school of thought, which effectively excludes other schools of Islam and disregards 'beliefs and practices of other Muslim groups, including Shias, Ismailis, Salafis and Sufis', as noted by the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan.<sup>162</sup> More information is available in section [4.8. Ethnic and religious groups.](#)

According to Human Rights Watch, the de facto authorities 'view anyone who has left Islam as having committed apostasy',<sup>163</sup> which is punishable by death.<sup>164</sup> Human Rights Watch further reported on individuals suspected of converting from Islam facing 'threats of violence, forced conversion, and imprisonment'. Such religious minorities, including Christians, live 'in constant fear of being disclosed' and operate in secret, without possibilities to gather, worship or openly express their beliefs.<sup>165</sup> Most Afghan Christians are reportedly converts from Islam, which makes it impossible for them to openly practice their faith, as turning away from Islam is punishable by death.<sup>166</sup> According to the human rights campaign organisation Humanists International, 'very few incidents are recorded' in relation to non-believers and apostates in Afghanistan, which the organisation believes is because converts and dissenters from Islam do not speak out. Criticising, abandoning or denouncing Islam is a 'taboo', even among many 'who adhere to broadly democratic values'.<sup>167</sup> The UN Secretary-General reported on arbitrary arrests of individuals being accused of promoting atheism or other religions than Islam.<sup>168</sup>

Blasphemy is punishable by death according to Hanafi jurisprudence, and 'may include anti-Islamic writings or speech' as reported by the United States Department of State (USDOS).<sup>169</sup> There have been reported cases of individuals being arrested on accusations of blasphemy.<sup>170</sup> In 2023, Islamic scholar and activist Rasool Parsi was sentenced to 16-month imprisonment for 'blasphemy'<sup>171</sup> and propagandising against the government, after having criticised the Taliban on social media.<sup>172</sup> Although Parsi has served his sentence no updates have indicated his release.<sup>173</sup> In June 2025, an individual was sentenced to death in eastern Paktika Province for

<sup>161</sup> Clark, K., Co-director and Senior Analyst at the AAN, USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 1:09:00–1:09:36

<sup>162</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study of the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 31

<sup>163</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>164</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#); Open Doors, Afghanistan, 2025, [url](#); Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>165</sup> HRW, Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>166</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Open Doors, Afghanistan, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>167</sup> Humanists International, The Freedom of Thought Report, Afghanistan, 31 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>168</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 36

<sup>169</sup> USDOS, 2022 Report on International Religious Freedom: Afghanistan, 15 May 2023, [url](#)

<sup>170</sup> HRW, Taliban Expand Civil Society Crackdown, 29 March 2023, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Arrest Man in Balkh Over Blasphemy as Morality Crackdown Grows, 11 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>171</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Sentences Afghan University Professor To 16 Months In Prison In Kabul, 30 October 2023, [url](#); Shafaqna, Taliban court sentenced a university professor to 16 months in prison, 2 November 2023, [url](#)

<sup>172</sup> HRW, Taliban Expand Civil Society Crackdown, 29 March 2023, [url](#)

<sup>173</sup> Pen America, Rasul Abdi Parsi, 2025, [url](#)

alleged blasphemy, reportedly after making comments on the value of modern education.<sup>174</sup> According to Amu TV, the man was a high school teacher, and was accused of having insulted the Prophet Muhammad, while colleagues and acquaintances claimed that personal enmities were behind the accusations.<sup>175</sup> United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) reported that the man's death sentence had been reduced to a two-year imprisonment but pended a de facto Supreme Court hearing.<sup>176</sup> Kabul Now reported on an individual being flogged with 39 lashes and sentenced to imprisonment in Paktika Province in January 2025 for 'insulting religious rituals and Islamic values'.<sup>177</sup>

## 1.2.2. Nature of issued instructions

The de facto government has not enacted a formal legal framework.<sup>178</sup> Since their takeover in 2021, they have been ruling without a constitution,<sup>179</sup> having immediately abolished the 2004 Constitution of the former government<sup>180</sup> and not yet announced any replacement.<sup>181</sup> Instead, they have indicated that a constitution is unnecessary asserting that *sharia* provides 'a comprehensive legal framework',<sup>182</sup> although there is not one uncontested universal interpretation of *sharia*.<sup>183</sup> The book 'The Islamic Emirate and Its System', authored by the de facto Chief Justice and endorsed by the Taliban Supreme Leader,<sup>184</sup> 'appears to be the blueprint' of the de facto government and its intellectual foundations.<sup>185</sup>

All laws in effect under the previous government have been undergoing a review to assess their compliance with *sharia*, but no announcement has been made on the final outcome of this review or which laws remain in effect.<sup>186</sup> Rather, the de facto authorities have continued to broadly refer to *sharia* as the governing framework,<sup>187</sup> and have issued verbal and written instructions based on their own interpretations.<sup>188</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights

<sup>174</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6; Amu TV, Afghanistan: Paktika teacher sentenced to death over alleged blasphemy, sources say, 17 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>175</sup> Amu TV, Afghanistan: Paktika teacher sentenced to death over alleged blasphemy, sources say, 17 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>176</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>177</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flog Four Individuals on Charges of Sodomy and Blasphemy, 22 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>178</sup> Al, Friday 15th of August marks four years since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan., 15 August 2025, [url](#); Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Afghan legal system under the Taliban, 9 April 2024, [url](#), pp. 4–5, 7; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 13 June 2024, [url](#), para. 12

<sup>179</sup> Butt, J., A Taliban Theory of State: A review of the Chief Justice's book of jurisprudence, AAN, 3 September 2023, [url](#)

<sup>180</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 24

<sup>181</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 15; Al, Friday 15th of August marks four years since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan., 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>182</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 11

<sup>183</sup> UN OHCHR, Any party in Afghanistan declaring it follows Islamic Sharia must uphold and protect the rights of women and girls, 24 August 2021, [url](#)

<sup>184</sup> Butt, J., A Taliban Theory of State: A review of the Chief Justice's book of jurisprudence, AAN, 3 September 2023, [url](#)

<sup>185</sup> Zaland, F. M., The Conflicting Synthesis of the Taliban's Religious and Cultural Identity, Taylor & Francis Journals, July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>186</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 24

<sup>187</sup> Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan: Ruling by Decree, April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>188</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 25



in Afghanistan referred to the legal framework as a ‘patchwork of so-called laws, decrees and edicts’<sup>189</sup> highlighting the lack of legal certainty and consistency due to the unclear status of earlier legislation.<sup>190</sup> Other sources similarly noted significant ambiguity regarding which laws have become redundant, as the de facto authorities have selectively applied laws of the previous government.<sup>191</sup>

The de facto authorities have, however, been formalising the issuance and communication of laws and other instructions,<sup>192</sup> *inter alia* by compiling official gazettes.<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, the Taliban Supreme Leader has continued to mainly rule by decree issued from his base in Kandahar,<sup>194</sup> and verbal communication of restrictions has also continued<sup>195</sup> – with unclear legal status.<sup>196</sup>

Many instructions have moreover been vaguely formulated,<sup>197</sup> and leave space for different interpretations.<sup>198</sup> Some sources have indicated that instructions may be purposefully vague in order to, *inter alia*, increase policy ambiguity and leave space for adjustments.<sup>199</sup> Some sources also stressed that some decrees are largely symbolic rather than enforceable laws.<sup>200</sup> In this system, much is left to the interpretation of the individual enforcer of laws and instructions.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>189</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 25

<sup>190</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 32

<sup>191</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 15; See also: ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>192</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 8; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan: Ruling by Decree, April 2024, [url](#), pp. 3, 5

<sup>193</sup> Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan: Ruling by Decree, April 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>194</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 12, 15; Ibrahim, N. et al., After 4 years of repressive Taliban rule, Afghans are suffering in silence. Is the world still watching?, Conversation (The), 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>195</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination (Advance unedited version), 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 23

<sup>196</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 7; UNAMA, De Facto Authorities’ Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>197</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), paras. 33, 68, 72; Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 7; ACAPS, Afghanistan: Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 25 April 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>198</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan: Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 25 April 2023, [url](#), p. 3; Obaidullah Baheer in: New Humanitarian (The), How the Taliban’s vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, 22 October 2024, [url](#); Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026

<sup>199</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 4 October 2023; ACAPS, Afghanistan: Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 25 April 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>200</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 16; Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>201</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), paras. 33, 68, 72; Obaidullah Baheer in: New Humanitarian (The), How the Taliban’s vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, 22 October 2024, [url](#); Afghan analyst, email 5 January 2026

### 1.2.3. Issued instructions

A compilation of national decrees and instructions issued by the de facto authorities is available in Annex 3: Lists of decrees and instructions. Restrictions issued during the reference period of this report include:

- universities were instructed to remove 680 books ‘conflicting with *sharia*’ from the curriculum (September 2025). These included many books authored by women.<sup>202</sup> A Taliban spokesperson confirmed to BBC News that no books authored by women were allowed to be taught;<sup>203</sup>
- universities were instructed to stop teaching 18 subjects ‘conflicting with *sharia*’ (September 2025), including gender, women,<sup>204</sup> democracy and human rights;<sup>205</sup>
- a ban on playing chess (11 May 2025);<sup>206</sup>
- a law on ‘Poetry Regulation’ (30 August 2025),<sup>207</sup> reportedly restricting poetry gatherings,<sup>208</sup> romantic poetry addressing relationships between men and women, and poetry criticising the Taliban Supreme Leader. Poets were urged to avoid references to feminism, democracy, communism, and nationalism;<sup>209</sup>
- new guidelines for political analysts participating in political debates (July 2025).<sup>210</sup> They were urged to speak ‘in accordance with *sharia*’<sup>211</sup> and obtain an identity card from the de facto Ministry of Information and Culture before appearing in media;<sup>212</sup>
- a ban on new constructions with windows overlooking neighbours’ private areas where women are often visible, such as courtyards and kitchens (December 2024);<sup>213</sup>
- a prohibition of medical education for women (2 December 2024).<sup>214</sup>

The UN Secretary-General reported on restrictions on religious preaching, smartphone use, and funeral prayers for suicide victims.<sup>215</sup> This information has however not been possible to corroborate with other sources within the time constraints of drafting this report.

<sup>202</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#); New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan’s Universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>203</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>204</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>205</sup> New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan’s Universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>206</sup> France 24, Taliban suspends chess in Afghanistan, cites religious concerns over gambling, 11 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>207</sup> Amu TV, Taliban leader bans romantic poetry and his criticism under new law, 31 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>208</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 5

<sup>209</sup> Amu TV, Taliban leader bans romantic poetry and his criticism under new law, 31 August 2025, [url](#); Print (The), As Taliban declares war on verse, Afghan women lose their only weapon, but say silence won’t last, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>210</sup> Telegraph (The), Taliban bans political debate in free speech crackdown, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>211</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35; Telegraph (The), Taliban bans political debate in free speech crackdown, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>212</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35

<sup>213</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 21; AFP, Taliban leader bans windows overlooking places ‘usually used by women’, 29 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>214</sup> HRW, Afghanistan’s Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>215</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 5



## 1.2.4. Policy implementation

In April 2024, Obaidullah Baheer, adjunct lecturer with the American University of Afghanistan, described 'a constant tug of war' between what is being decreed and what is actually being enforced in Afghanistan.<sup>216</sup> Not all issued instructions been actively enforced,<sup>217</sup> and regional variances have been noted.<sup>218</sup> This discrepancy stems from the fact that some decisions have not been embraced throughout the Taliban movement,<sup>219</sup> and also from influence of local contexts and stakeholders.<sup>220</sup> However, several sources noted a general trend of more uniform enforcement across the country, with local variations decreasing.<sup>221</sup> The de facto authorities have also created provincial enforcement committees to support the 'Morality law's' implementation in the provinces.<sup>222</sup>

Despite more systematic and consistent enforcement efforts, some regional variations continued to be reported in 2025.<sup>223</sup> These inconsistencies were attributed, in part, to varying norms of local de facto officials<sup>224</sup> and the ambiguous wording of some articles in the 'Morality law', leaving room for diverse interpretations.<sup>225</sup>

The vague formulations of issued instructions also create leeway for individual enforcers to be lenient or strict.<sup>226</sup> The Afghanistan Analysts Network (AAN) noted that some de facto officials may go beyond issued restrictions, and for example tell women to wear *burqa* combined with gloves and to always be accompanied outdoors – which is stricter than issued instructions.<sup>227</sup>

<sup>216</sup> Baheer, O., interview, 25 April 2024

<sup>217</sup> Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan: Ruling by Decree, April 2024, [url](#), pp. 3–4; Afghan analyst, online interview, 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>218</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 3; UNAMA, De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 6; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 78

<sup>219</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan: Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 25 April 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>220</sup> International Crisis Group, Afghanistan Three Years after the Taliban Takeover, 14 August 2024, [url](#); ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>221</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 12; Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 3; UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>222</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 7

<sup>223</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 7; AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>224</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 25; AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>225</sup> Obaidullah Baheer in: New Humanitarian (The), How the Taliban's vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, 22 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>226</sup> Obaidullah Baheer in: New Humanitarian (The), How the Taliban's vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, 22 October 2024, [url](#); Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026

<sup>227</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

The intensity of the enforcement has moreover varied over time,<sup>228</sup> like a ‘wavelike movement’ as described by Afghanistan expert Thomas Ruttig in an interview with ACCORD in October 2024.<sup>229</sup> For instance, after the announcement of the ‘Morality law’ in 2024, sources noted an increased presence of enforcers in Kabul City<sup>230</sup> and various provinces.<sup>231</sup> International Crisis Group similarly noted how the de facto MPVPV come out ‘in full force’ after the announcement of new restrictions, while they at other times ‘are far from omnipresent’<sup>232</sup>

### 1.2.5. Actors of enforcement

The de facto MPVPV is responsible for propagating virtue and preventing vice based on the de facto authorities’ interpretation of *sharia*,<sup>233</sup> and has been enforcing instructions that regulate the private lives of Afghans.<sup>234</sup> It is an influential institution that reports directly to the Taliban Supreme Leader on important issues.<sup>235</sup> Although the de facto MPVPV in principle has more of a guiding role,<sup>236</sup> its enforcers (*muhtasibin*) enjoy extensive powers, allowing them to move beyond advising the population<sup>237</sup> and detain individuals failing to comply<sup>238</sup> or issue extra-judicial punishment.<sup>239</sup> Enforcers may issue any punishment they consider appropriate as long as it is not ‘the exclusive prerogative of a court of law’.<sup>240</sup> Enforcement is to follow a ‘sliding scale’,<sup>241</sup> where ‘advise’ should be the first response to a ‘wrongful act’. Only if the act continues, enforcers may resort to more forceful means (e.g. threats, fines and detentions).<sup>242</sup> However, this has not always been followed in practice, with for example women failing to

---

<sup>228</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 26; International Crisis Group, A Precarious Lifeline? Women-led Business in Afghanistan, 17 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>229</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>230</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>231</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 15

<sup>232</sup> International Crisis Group, A Precarious Lifeline? Women-led Business in Afghanistan, 17 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>233</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities’ Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>234</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 11; Clark, K., Co-director and Senior Analyst at the AAN, USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 1:09:00–1:09:36

<sup>235</sup> Samim, S., Policing Public Morality, AAN, 15 June 2022, [url](#); UNAMA, Human rights situation in Afghanistan, October-December 2023 Update, 22 January 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>236</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>237</sup> Rahimi, H., How the Taliban are Institutionalizing the Propagation of Virtue and Enjoinment of Vice in Afghanistan, Edinburgh University Press, 9 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>238</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities’ Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 16; Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 24

<sup>239</sup> Butt, J., A Force for Good, or Source of Coercion? An Islamic scholar reflect on the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>240</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 24

<sup>241</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>242</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 24



comply with the *hijab* decree being arrested as a first response. The de facto MPVPV also cooperates with the de facto GDI, whose mandate allows for further coercive measures.<sup>243</sup>

Following the launch of the 'Morality law', the de facto MPVPV deployed additional enforcers across Afghanistan,<sup>244</sup> claiming that they had deployed 4 500 enforcers by October 2024.<sup>245</sup> Meanwhile, UNAMA reported that 3 300 enforcers operated across 28 provinces as of January 2025, with an average of 118 inspectors per province. Numbers varied depending on the size of the province and its population. For example, Paktya and Paktika had 14 enforcers each, while approximately 540 enforcers were operating in Kabul Province.<sup>246</sup> Almost all enforcers are male,<sup>247</sup> and they commonly wear white long coats (*perahan tunban*).<sup>248</sup>

There have been continuous reports on de facto MPVPV enforcers using force, including verbal intimidation, arrests, harassment, and physical violence.<sup>249</sup> An Afghan analyst who regularly conducts field-based research in Afghanistan told the EUAA that enforcers at times also resort to 'financial damage', such as destroying mobile phones.<sup>250</sup> UNAMA reported on an 'apparent lack of accountability' of de facto MPVPV staff, despite a complaint's mechanism being in place.<sup>251</sup> In an article, Rahimi argued that the de facto government's 'desire to turn the MPVPV into a police force that ensures compliance with a strict code of conduct' had diluted several legal safeguards to 'keep the ministry consistent with other canonical rules on Islamic governance in protecting privacy, due process, jurisprudential plurality, and equal application of sharia for the ruler and the ruled'.<sup>252</sup>

Despite the relatively small number of de facto MPVPV enforcers,<sup>253</sup> many Afghans have adapted to restrictions<sup>254</sup> through self-regulation,<sup>255</sup> social pressure, and reportedly also community surveillance by family members, religious leaders and neighbours.<sup>256</sup> Such measures are reportedly taken to avoid confrontations with enforcers.<sup>257</sup> Some women avoid

<sup>243</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), pp. 9, 17

<sup>244</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 3; AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>245</sup> AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>246</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 8

<sup>247</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>248</sup> AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 6; BBC News, Afghanistan: Policing faces, bodies and beards on Kabul streets, 22 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>249</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), pp. 3, 16; AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>250</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>251</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>252</sup> Rahimi, H., How the Taliban are Institutionalizing the Propagation of Virtue and Enjoinment of Vice in Afghanistan, Edinburgh University Press, 9 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>253</sup> Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>254</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>255</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 15

<sup>256</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 17

<sup>257</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 15; Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

going outside their home,<sup>258</sup> due to the risk of being spoken to, insulted, or arrested by an unknown man in the capacity of a de facto MPVPV official, which has a strong deterrent effect, as it would be considered a grave dishonour,<sup>259</sup> bringing shame on the woman's family and community<sup>260</sup> and triggering rumours.<sup>261</sup> Families also resorted to 'self-policing' their female family members,<sup>262</sup> and some families as well as NGOs and businesses 'pre-emptively' placed restrictions on women, according to UN Women, 'even in the absence of formal decrees'.<sup>263</sup>

Men also restrict women relatives as they may be held accountable<sup>264</sup> and face reprisals for the behaviour of female family members.<sup>265</sup> As per a 2022 decree mandating women to cover their faces, failure to comply may lead to the closest male relative facing reprimands, imprisonment or job dismissal.<sup>266</sup> As noted by an anonymous source interviewed by ACCORD, the de facto MPVPV usually 'advises' close male relatives, such as a husband, father or brother, but may also turn to cousins or brothers-in-law.<sup>267</sup> Some men have also become more conservative,<sup>268</sup> as restrictions have been 'embedding norms into everyday behaviour'.<sup>269</sup>

## 1.2.6. Impact on the education sector

A main aim of the Taliban Supreme Leader is reportedly to implement *sharia* in order to 'purify' Afghan society.<sup>270</sup> The education sector has been impacted by efforts to eradicate some secular subjects,<sup>271</sup> while religious topics have been expanded<sup>272</sup> and promoted.<sup>273</sup> Women and girls have gradually been restricted from accessing education, starting with

---

<sup>258</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>259</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>260</sup> UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>261</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>262</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>263</sup> UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>264</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 78–79; UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4; Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>265</sup> UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>266</sup> RFE/RL, Afghan Taliban Orders Women To Wear Burqa Coverings In Public, 7 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>267</sup> This anonymous source has nearly two decades of working experience in Afghanistan, focusing on the health sector, service development, training, and capacity building. ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 78–79

<sup>268</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>269</sup> UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>270</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; Washington Post (The), Taliban forging religious emirate in Afghanistan with draconian Islamic law, 18 February 2023, [url](#)

<sup>271</sup> RFE/RL, The Azadi Briefing: Taliban Intensifies Efforts To Eradicate Secular Education In Afghanistan, 14 July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>272</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 18 September 2023, [url](#), para. 3; Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025

<sup>273</sup> AW, Afghanistan's madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#)



secondary education in 2022,<sup>274</sup> followed by university education later that year,<sup>275</sup> and most recently, from attending medical education in December 2024.<sup>276</sup> The de facto authorities have been working to revise the school curriculum for private and public schools,<sup>277</sup> removing topics deemed ‘against’ Islamic rites and Afghan culture.<sup>278</sup> According to Rahimi, the curriculum has not been completely overhauled, but rather, more recent additions have been removed, such as social subject or civic education related to democracy themes.<sup>279</sup> Nevertheless, universities have been instructed to stop teaching 18 subjects considered to be in conflict with *sharia*, including topics on gender, women,<sup>280</sup> democracy and human rights.<sup>281</sup> Human Rights Watch reported that the absence of female teachers had led to a reduced range of subjects being taught to boys, and that subjects such as sports, art, civics and culture had been replaced with religious studies.<sup>282</sup>

In Afghanistan, *madrassas* are religious institutions that have historically played an important role in educating children.<sup>283</sup> At the time of writing, *madrassas* were the only option for many girls and women to receive education after primary school.<sup>284</sup> Madrassas provide religious education, but generally also teach non-religious subjects,<sup>285</sup> such as mathematics, science, physics, geography, and languages.<sup>286</sup> Before the Taliban takeover, about 5 000 *madrassas* were formally registered with the then government,<sup>287</sup> although thousands more operated without registration.<sup>288</sup> The de facto authorities have made efforts to regulate the *madrassa* sector,<sup>289</sup> including by registering informal *madrassas*.<sup>290</sup> These efforts have led up to almost 23 000 *madrassas* being formally registered as of August 2025, according to the de facto authorities.<sup>291</sup> Only a limited number of these are newly established institutions – about 316

<sup>274</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 18 September 2023, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>275</sup> TOLONews, Lecturer Rips Up His Certificates to Protest Ban on Women’s Education, 1 January 2023, [url](#)

<sup>276</sup> HRW, Afghanistan’s Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>277</sup> TOLONews, Nadim: We Want Youth to Be Professionals, Not ‘Talib’, 27 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>278</sup> Ariana News, Latest NewsPrimary school curriculum revised, 16 January 2024, [url](#)

<sup>279</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>280</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>281</sup> New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan’s Universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>282</sup> HRW, “Schools are Failing Boys Too”, The Taliban’s Impact on Boys’ Education in Afghanistan, 6 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>283</sup> AW, Afghanistan’s madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#); Akram, S., Living a Mullah’s Life (2): The evolution of Islamic knowledge among village clerics, AAN, 20 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>284</sup> Guardian (The), ‘Send your daughters or you get no aid’: the Taliban are making religious schools girls’ only option, 22 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>285</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 11 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI unit of the Swedish Migration Agency and Landinfo – the Norwegian COI Centre; AW, Afghanistan’s madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#)

<sup>286</sup> AW, Afghanistan’s madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#)

<sup>287</sup> AW, Afghanistan’s madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#); VOA, Religious education surges under Taliban as secular schooling languishes, 8 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>288</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>289</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>290</sup> Akram, S., Living a Mullah’s Life (2): The evolution of Islamic knowledge among village clerics, AAN, 20 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>291</sup> CNN, ‘They do not teach us what we need’: Inside the expansion of religious schools for girls across Afghanistan, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

according to the Afghanistan Human Rights Center (AHRC).<sup>292</sup> Most *madrassas* continue to be privately run,<sup>293</sup> although a few public so-called *jihadi madrassas* have been established.<sup>294</sup>

Some commentators worry that *madrassas* may fuel extremism,<sup>295</sup> and function as ‘centres for religious indoctrination’.<sup>296</sup> The Taliban have been using the education sector to reinforce their ideology within the young generation,<sup>297</sup> but Afghanistan experts Haroun Rahimi and Andrew Watkins noted that the name *jihadi madrassa* has caused ‘profound confusion’ as the term is associated with violent religious extremists. Although Rahimi and Watkins could not ‘rule out the extent to which some *jihadi madrassas* may serve as conduits for future employment in the DFA offices, including enlistment in DFA security forces’, they did not find evidence for these *madrassas* engaging in militarised training or education. They also noted that the *jihadi madrassas* apply the same curriculum as other *madrassas*.<sup>298</sup> On the contrary, CNN reported that public *madrassas* almost exclusively teach religious subjects.<sup>299</sup> AHRC reported that male students of some public *madrassas* had been promised ‘good positions and jobs in government’ upon their graduation.<sup>300</sup> According to individuals interviewed by Rahimi and Watkins, people educated in *madrassas* were easy to recruit into the de facto administration, as they often support the Taliban, although governmental service was not mandatory.<sup>301</sup>

## 1.2.7. Enforcement of selected restrictions on personal freedoms

This chapter describes the enforcement of selected restrictions. Information on how some of these and other restrictions impact women’s and girls’ freedom of movement and access to work, education and state service is provided in chapter [4.4. Women and girls](#).

### (a) Gender segregation

The necessity of gender segregation is a central idea within the Taliban movement, which impacts the decisions of the de facto government.<sup>302</sup> From their perspective, as described by an analyst interviewed by Landinfo in 2022, gender segregating restrictions are needed for women to be able to leave their homes at all, as gender segregation must be maintained for women to access public spaces.<sup>303</sup> In order to uphold gender segregation, women have been

<sup>292</sup> AHRC, Report on Access To Education for Women under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), p. 22

<sup>293</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 7; AHRC, Report on Access To Education for Women under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), pp. 22–23

<sup>294</sup> AW, Afghanistan’s madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, [url](#)

<sup>295</sup> VOA, Religious education surges under Taliban as secular schooling languishes, 8 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>296</sup> Al Jazeera, Religious schools fill gaps amid Afghanistan’s fractured education system, 7 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>297</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>298</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 14–15

<sup>299</sup> CNN, ‘They do not teach us what we need’: Inside the expansion of religious schools for girls across Afghanistan, 4 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>300</sup> AHRC, Report on Access To Education for Women under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>301</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>302</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Situasjonen for afganske kvinner etter Talibans maktovertakelse, 22 June 2022, [url](#), p. 2; Newswise, It is not just Sharia law: The Taliban, Pashtunwali and Afghan Women, 15 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>303</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Situasjonen for afganske kvinner etter Talibans maktovertakelse, 22 June 2022, [url](#), p. 2



barred from parks, gyms, public baths,<sup>304</sup> and from accessing secondary education.<sup>305</sup> Restrictions have moreover been put on some women-led business, and women shopkeepers have been relocated to designated floors at some markets, including in Mazar-e Sharif,<sup>306</sup> and Herat City.<sup>307</sup> Female and male staff have also been segregated in public offices,<sup>308</sup> and at many health facilities patients are only to be treated by health staff of the same sex.<sup>309</sup>

The ‘Morality law’ forbids unrelated men and women from looking at each other. It further instructs women not to leave their home unless there is an ‘urgent need’, and in such cases she is ‘duty bound to hide her voice, face and body’. Unaccompanied or uncovered women are, moreover, not to be offered transport by commercial vehicles, nor are they to ‘sit or mingle’ with unrelated men.<sup>310</sup> According to the Afghan analyst, the restrictions on intermingling do not apply to public settings where many people are present at the same time.<sup>311</sup> However, a de facto MPVPV official interviewed by the AAN described women presence in markets in Kabul City as a problem, citing it as evidence that their approach of enforcing *sharia* through advisory measures was not being effective in the capital.<sup>312</sup>

In some more conservative areas, restrictions generally conform with local customs,<sup>313</sup> and have therefore not brought a notable difference.<sup>314</sup> In more conservative areas, women would already barely go outdoors due to social norms,<sup>315</sup> including many women in southern provinces who live in *purdah* – meaning that they are secluded from all men except close relatives.<sup>316</sup> Nevertheless, some women also in conservative areas have been noting some stricter enforcement, being particularly upset over the de facto MPVPV’s authority to advise and question them,<sup>317</sup> and conservative families told the AAN that they were concerned about

<sup>304</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities’ Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>305</sup> Jackson, A., The Ban on Older Girls’ Education: Taliban conservatives ascendant and a leadership in disarray, AAN, 29 March 2022, [url](#); RFE/RL, Islam Does Not Ban Girls’ Education. So Why Does The Taliban?, 13 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>306</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities’ Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>307</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>308</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban Resurrects Gender Segregation In Public Offices, Transport In Afghanistan, 16 March 2022, [url](#)

<sup>309</sup> Le Monde, The risk to women’s health in Afghanistan: ‘The consequences of this segregation are catastrophic’, 31 January 2025, [url](#); RFE/RL, Taliban Resurrects Gender Segregation In Public Offices, Transport In Afghanistan, 16 March 2022, [url](#); UN Women, Gender Index 2024, 2025, Afghanistan, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>310</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 13, 20

<sup>311</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>312</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>313</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>314</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 26–27

<sup>315</sup> Al Jazeera English [YouTube], The Taliban’s rules for women in Afghanistan, Start Here, 8 March 2025, [url](#), 02:00–02:09

<sup>316</sup> Clark, K. and Rahimi, S., “We need to breathe too”: Women across Afghanistan navigate the Taliban’s hijab ruling, AAN, 1 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>317</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

the de facto MPVPV enforcers' authority to question their relationships and interrogate female family members.<sup>318</sup>

A joint telesurvey with women and men across Afghanistan, carried out by UN Women, IOM and UNAMA, suggested that the enforcement of gender segregating restrictions significantly intensified within months following the introduction of the 'Morality law' in 2024,<sup>319</sup> including women's access to public spaces, mostly being felt in the Western, Central, and Southeastern regions.<sup>320</sup>

### **(b) Dress codes and appearance**

#### **Dress codes for women**

Women were instructed to cover their faces (preferably with a *burqa*) through a decree in May 2022.<sup>321</sup> The 'Morality law' of 31 July 2024, reiterated that women should cover their entire body and faces, and that women's clothes should not be 'thin, short or tight'.<sup>322</sup> The enforcement of restrictions on women's clothing has varied depending on the local context.<sup>323</sup> As described by a de facto government official, the interpretation of *hijab* differs across the country, although according to him most interpretations were in conflict with *sharia*.<sup>324</sup> In more conservative areas the obligations generally conform with local customs,<sup>325</sup> as women in general already wear fully covering garments,<sup>326</sup> for example in Kandahar Province.<sup>327</sup>

The joint telesurvey with women and men across Afghanistan, carried out by UN Women, IOM and UNAMA, suggested that the enforcement of the restrictions on wearing 'proper *hijab*' intensified following the introduction of the 'Morality law', mostly being felt in Western, Central Highland north, and Northeastern regions.<sup>328</sup> Sources identified the *hijab* requirement as one of the most policed aspects in 2025.<sup>329</sup> A woman from a village in Baghlan Province told the

<sup>318</sup> Clark, K., Co-director and Senior Analyst at the AAN, in USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [url](#), 1:09:38–1:10:26

<sup>319</sup> UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>320</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>321</sup> Clark, K. and Rahimi, S., "We need to breathe too": Women across Afghanistan navigate the Taliban's *hijab* ruling, AAN, 1 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>322</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 13

<sup>323</sup> Al Jazeera English [YouTube], The Taliban's rules for women in Afghanistan, Start Here, 8 March 2025, [url](#), 01:48-01:52

<sup>324</sup> BBC News, Taliban order women to wear burkas to access hospitals, charity says, 12 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>325</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>326</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 26–27

<sup>327</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>328</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>329</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 6



AAN that women were forced to wear *burqa* when going outdoors,<sup>330</sup> and in some areas in the provinces of Bamyan and Ghazni, women had reportedly been instructed to wear black gloves, which is more restrictive than the attire outlined in the 'Morality Law'.<sup>331</sup>

Kabul City remained distinct from other parts of Afghanistan as regards appearance, with many women continuing to wear *hijab* covering their hair together with a medical facemask to cover their faces.<sup>332</sup> There was reportedly also a new trend among young women in city areas dressing in the fully covering Arab-style *abaya*.<sup>333</sup> Melissa Kerr Chiovenda, owner and lead researcher of Ereuna Research and Consulting (LLC) and affiliated faculty of anthropology at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, stated that there was a bit of 'breathing space' for women in the centre of Kabul City as women did not wear 'full *hijab*' and did generally not face harassment for it.<sup>334</sup> Meanwhile, in interviews with the AAN in 2025, some de facto MPVPV enforcers complained about how many Kabuli women were not wearing 'proper' *hijab*, and that many women would push back and respond rudely to their advice.<sup>335</sup>

The *chador* is mandatory in Herat City since May 2025, according to the UN Secretary-General's report, and non-compliance has reportedly 'led to detention and restricted access to markets and public transport'.<sup>336</sup> The local de facto authorities reportedly issued further restrictions on 5 November 2025 requiring women entering public hospitals to wear a *burqa*.<sup>337</sup> A local journalist suggested to BBC News on 12 November 2025, that the restrictions had laxed following criticism,<sup>338</sup> while Human Rights Watch, citing exile media, reported on the restrictions expanding to all de facto government offices and to female teachers in primary schools. The same source, again citing exile media, reported on a female surgeon being arrested for hours earlier the same month for not wearing a *burqa*.<sup>339</sup>

There have been sporadic targeted enforcement campaigns of the *hijab* requirement, in Kabul City and other areas in the country, where women have been arrested for not wearing 'proper *hijab*' in January 2024,<sup>340</sup> and again in Kabul City<sup>341</sup> and Herat City in July–September 2025.<sup>342</sup> According to UNAMA, more than 60 women and girls were arrested by the de facto MPVPV in

<sup>330</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 25–26

<sup>331</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>332</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>333</sup> AFP, New generation of Afghan women shift from *burqa*, 19 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>334</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>335</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>336</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 32

<sup>337</sup> MSF, New restrictions limit access to care for women in Herat, 10 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>338</sup> BBC News, Taliban order women to wear burkas to access hospitals, charity says, 12 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>339</sup> HRW, Taliban's Mandatory Burqa in Herat Assaults Women's Autonomy, 19 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>340</sup> EUAA, COI Query, Afghanistan – Major legislative, security-related, and humanitarian developments 2 February 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>341</sup> Le Figaro, «Un système qui fait penser à celui d'une organisation mafieuse» : l'aile la plus rigoriste des talibans renforce sa mainmise sur l'Afghanistan, 26 August 2025, [url](#); HRW, Afghan Women Continue to Fight for Bodily Autonomy, 27 July 2025, [url](#); Zan Times, Imprisoned for white shoes: Kabul's women speak of Taliban arrests, 28 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>342</sup> UNAMA, Update on the Human Rights situation in Afghanistan July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 3

16–19 July 2025 in Kabul City. Some were arrested for a few hours and others overnight, and all were released upon the arrival of male relatives signing written guarantees of their future behaviour. UNAMA further reported on a group of women being detained in Herat City in September 2025, and on the de facto MPVPV establishing checkpoints to monitor women's *hijab* in the Jebrael area of the city,<sup>343</sup> which is mainly inhabited by ethnic Hazaras.<sup>344</sup> Sources suggested that these intermittent enforcement efforts are applied to spread fear and, in turn, make people abide to the restrictions.<sup>345</sup>

### Dress codes for men

In the 'Morality law' from July 2025, men are instructed to cover their bodies from the waist down to their knees, knees included. It moreover indicates that men are not to wear very tight clothes or clothes that make certain parts of the body apparent during 'pastimes and exercise'. The law further stipulated that one is not to imitate non-Muslims in one's appearance or character, or wear non-Islamic symbols such as crucifixes and neckties.<sup>346</sup> The de facto MPVPV has also issued advisory instructions for barbers not to cut men's beard or do 'western style' haircuts.<sup>347</sup> The 'Morality law' also identified the 'wrongful acts' of 'shaving one's beard or reducing it to less than the width of a fist', and 'styling one's hair in an un-Islamic manner'.<sup>348</sup> Since March 2025, high school students and teachers must wear traditional uniforms as per a directive of the de facto Ministry of Education; reportedly a light-blue *shalwar kameez* and a cap or turban depending on their age.<sup>349</sup> The directive was reportedly enforced to a varying degree in initial months.<sup>350</sup>

Some men have started to dress traditionally to avoid problems with the de facto authorities,<sup>351</sup> or to gain benefits by looking like the power elite.<sup>352</sup> A de facto MPVPV enforcer, however, told the AAN in 2025 that the city street view of Kabul City had not changed much in recent years, as men were still clean-shaved and 'copying female styles'.<sup>353</sup> In 2025, sources reported that men's beards had become one of the most policed aspects.<sup>354</sup> UNAMA noted

<sup>343</sup> UNAMA, Update on the Human Rights situation in Afghanistan July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>344</sup> HALO, Jebrail: A safe new town for Afghanistan, 24 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>345</sup> Washington Post (The), Women despair over Taliban rules, but many Afghan returnees don't see it, 28 November 2024, [url](#); Zan Times, Imprisoned for white shoes: Kabul's women speak of Taliban arrests, 28 August 2025, [url](#); See also: ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 31

<sup>346</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 14, 22

<sup>347</sup> UNAMA, De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 11; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 11 September 2023, [url](#), para. 38

<sup>348</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>349</sup> Express Tribune (The), No turban, no class: Afghan boys face strict uniform rules, 2 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>350</sup> Le Figaro, En Afghanistan, élèves et enseignants contraints de porter l'habit taliban, 30 April 2025, [url](#); Express Tribune (The), No turban, no class: Afghan boys face strict uniform rules, 2 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>351</sup> Le Figaro, En Afghanistan, élèves et enseignants contraints de porter l'habit taliban, 30 April 2025, [url](#); AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), p. 32

<sup>352</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>353</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>354</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 6



that half of all arbitrary arrests made by the de facto MPVPV in the six months following the enactment of the ‘Morality law’ were related to non-compliant beards and hairstyles.<sup>355</sup> A man from Ghazni Province, interviewed by the AAN in 2025, stated that he had lost his job for violating beard and clothing restrictions, as he liked to wear ‘the latest fashion’ at the time. He had been stopped twice and threatened with prison for slightly trimming his beard and had thereafter chosen to adapt to the restrictions.<sup>356</sup> According to UNAMA, hundreds of men were arrested in Kandahar City in 1–12 July 2025 for shaving or trimming their beards. Their time in arrest ranged from a few hours up to three days, and they were reportedly released after promising to grow their beards. UNAMA further reported on a public trial in Kunar Province in September 2025, against three barbershop owners charged with providing grooming services. The accused were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from three to five months.<sup>357</sup> Afghan media in exile, Amu TV, reported on a barber being detained in Faryab Province in July 2025, along with his customers, for shaving a beard.<sup>358</sup>

Some men have reportedly continued to cut their beards, clean shave and wear ‘western style haircuts’ in Kabul City, but there have been a general trend among men to dress more conservatively and to grow a beard.<sup>359</sup> Some Afghan athletes were clean-shaved or had trimmed beards and wore ‘western-style’ haircuts in 2025, for example members of the Afghan Futsal team,<sup>360</sup> and the Afghan U19 cricket team.<sup>361</sup>

### (c) The ban on images of living beings

The ‘Morality law’ of 31 July 2024 instructed media not to publish reports that ‘contain pictures of animate objects’,<sup>362</sup> and proscribes ‘making pictures or videos of any animate object on computers or mobile phones, or any other such device’.<sup>363</sup> The ban has not been uniformly enforced and some de facto officials have continued to appear in news broadcasts and post photographs on social media.<sup>364</sup>

The ban has been implemented by TV stations closing down or altering their content.<sup>365</sup> This primarily concerns local branches of the state broadcaster Radio Television Afghanistan

<sup>355</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>356</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>357</sup> UNAMA, Update on the Human Rights situation in Afghanistan July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>358</sup> Amu TV, Taliban detain barber in northern Afghanistan for shaving beard, 24 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>359</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units; Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026; Clark, K., Law, Control Fear – and some Defiance, AAN, December 2025, [url](#), pp. 28, 35, 42

<sup>360</sup> TOLOnews, Afghanistan’s U17 Futsal Champions Receive Hero’s Welcome in Paktia, Khost, 8 November 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Afghanistan U-17 Futsal Team Departs for Bahrain, 19 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>361</sup> TOLOnews, ACB Announces Squad for U19 Asia Qualifiers, 3 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>362</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 17

<sup>363</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>364</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 70

<sup>365</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 6

closing down as reported by AW,<sup>366</sup> but there have also been reported cases of local television outlets shifting to radio broadcasting<sup>367</sup> or only displaying natural landscapes with voice-over<sup>368</sup> or only airing audio.<sup>369</sup> National TV has reportedly continued to air visual content, such as TOLONews and Ariana.<sup>370</sup> Afghan media in exile reported on the ban being enforced in 23 provinces, with a complete ban of broadcasting images of living beings being enforced in Paktya,<sup>371</sup> Nuristan, Sar-e Pul, Bamyan, Laghman, Zabul, Uruzgan, Helmand, Jawzjan, Faryab, Badghis, Farah, Daykundi, Kapisa, Panjsher, Kandahar, and Maidan Wardak.<sup>372</sup> Inconsistent broadcasting was reported in seven provinces (Nimruz, Kunar, Logar, Nangarhar, Kunduz, Badakshan, Samangan), while media in remaining provinces still displayed images of people.<sup>373</sup> Other sources suggested that the ban had also been enforced in Takhar Province.<sup>374</sup> As noted by Ruttig in an interview with ACCORD in October 2024, the difficult information environment make certain issues ‘impossible’ to investigate on a national scale, as much information is anecdotal – including on the ban on images of living beings.<sup>375</sup>

#### (d) Congregational prayer

The ‘Morality law’ sets out several provisions on religious practice, including praying. It *inter alia* identifies the ‘wrongful acts’ of not praying, delaying one’s prayers, omitting mandatory prayers, not praying in congregation, or neglecting obligatory fasts. The law further specifies that the de facto MPVPV is to make sure that public transport adjust timetables so that people can observe prayers. People may be referred to court if, ‘without any valid excuse’, they ‘repeatedly omit[s] saying daily obligatory and mandatory prayers’, ‘repeatedly omit[s] joining in congregational prayers’. This also applies to communities who ‘collectively omit[s] saying the call to prayer or offering congregational prayers’. People may also be referred to court if they do not fast during Ramadan, or fail to ‘perform all the virtuous acts that are required of him or do[es] not avoid all the iniquitous acts from which he should refrain’.<sup>376</sup>

The AAN reported on congregational prayer for men as one of the most policed aspects of the de facto MPVPV.<sup>377</sup> Businesses have been subject to regular inspections to ensure that they

<sup>366</sup> AW, The impact of the Taliban’s Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, 2 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>367</sup> AFJC, Ban on Publishing Images of Living Beings Expands to Sar-e-Pul Province, Increasing Total Affected Provinces to 20, 20 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>368</sup> Just Security, The Taliban’s Slow Dismantling of Afghan Media, 10 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>369</sup> AFJC, National Television Branch in Farah Province Suspends Broadcasts Following Ban on Images of Living Beings, 6 March 2025, [url](#); DW, Why the Taliban are banning ‘living beings’ on TV, 14 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>370</sup> AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, [url](#), pp. 2, 24

<sup>371</sup> Kabul Now, State-Run TV in Paktia Switches to Radio After Taliban Bans Images of Living Beings, 23 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>372</sup> Amu TV, Taliban ban on images of living beings enforced in 16 provinces, Amu survey finds, 25 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>373</sup> Amu TV, Taliban ban on images of living beings enforced in 16 provinces, Amu survey finds, 25 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>374</sup> Just Security, The Taliban’s Slow Dismantling of Afghan Media, 10 July 2025, [url](#); ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>375</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>376</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 18–19, 22, 26

<sup>377</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)



close during prayer times,<sup>378</sup> and to record staff attendance.<sup>379</sup> Local aid organisations have also been facing such routine visits to control gender segregation and staff attendance at prayers.<sup>380</sup> The Afghan analyst explained that in areas with large populations, such as Kabul City, not everyone attends the mosque when there are calls for prayers (*azan*), and those who omit prayers do not typically face consequences. In contrast, inhabitants in smaller villages or more conservative areas could experience greater control and pressure to attend prayers.<sup>381</sup>

### (e) Music

In the initial years following the Taliban takeover, music was only unofficially banned,<sup>382</sup> and ‘taken for granted’<sup>383</sup> as the Taliban movement perceived music as prohibited by *sharia*.<sup>384</sup> The ‘Morality law’ from 31 July 2024, however, specified music ‘emanating from any gathering or from the home’ as a ‘wrongful act’. The same law instructed de facto MPVPV officials to ensure that drivers of commercial vehicles do not play music.<sup>385</sup>

Many musicians left Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover<sup>386</sup> or stopped performing,<sup>387</sup> and music generally stopped being played in public spaces.<sup>388</sup> After the Taliban takeover, music schools closed,<sup>389</sup> and in some instances, Taliban fighters subjected musicians to public shaming, physical violence, and arrests.<sup>390</sup> Music instruments were also destroyed<sup>391</sup> and burned.<sup>392</sup> In August 2024, the de facto MPVPV claimed that it had destroyed over 21 000 instruments in the past year alone.<sup>393</sup>

The enforcement of the ‘Morality law’s’ provisions on music has been inconsistent, although the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan noted that it increased in 2025, ‘in

<sup>378</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study of the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 63

<sup>379</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study of the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 63; Latifi, A., How the Taliban’s vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, *New Humanitarian* (The), 22 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>380</sup> Latifi, A., How the Taliban’s vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, *New Humanitarian* (The), 22 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>381</sup> Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026

<sup>382</sup> Samim, S., The Poetry of the Emirate: From insurgent war propaganda to state-sponsored PR, AAN, 20 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>383</sup> Foschini, F., Hearts Turned Away from Music: Afghan musicians’ path to exile, AAN, 24 April 2023, [url](#)

<sup>384</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>385</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), arts. 20, 22

<sup>386</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 September 2022, [url](#), para. 50; RFE/RL, Exiled Afghan Musicians Who Fled The Taliban Fear Deportation From Pakistan, 20 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>387</sup> RFE/RL, With Music Banned, Afghan Musician Now Sells Snacks To Feed His Family, 17 December 2022, [url](#); Kabul Now, IMC Condemns ‘Musical Genocide’ in Afghanistan, 14 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>388</sup> Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 27

<sup>389</sup> Kabul Now, IMC Condemns ‘Musical Genocide’ in Afghanistan, 14 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>390</sup> AFI, Artistic Exodus, 13 November 2023, [url](#), p. 26; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 September 2022, [url](#), para. 50, 81

<sup>391</sup> AFI, Artistic Exodus, 13 November 2023, [url](#), p. 26; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 September 2022, [url](#), para. 50

<sup>392</sup> RFE/RL, ‘I Feel Suffocated’: Taliban Intensifies Clampdown On Music In Afghanistan, 17 August 2023, [url](#); Sky News Australia [YouTube], Taliban sets fire to pile of musical instruments, 1 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>393</sup> TOLOnews, 5,000 Complaints Addressed in Just Over Year: MoVV, 20 August 2024, [url](#)

particular in the south-eastern, eastern and western regions'. This included forced shutdown of several radio stations that had been playing music.<sup>394</sup> Music has continued to be played in some closed settings,<sup>395</sup> in private homes<sup>396</sup> and at wedding halls.<sup>397</sup> Sometimes people reportedly managed to pass arrangements with local de facto authorities to play music at a wedding parties for instance.<sup>398</sup> Meanwhile, arrests of individuals playing or listening to music have continued to be reported.<sup>399</sup> For example, 14 individuals were reportedly arrested in July 2025 for having played music in a private home in northern Takhar Province,<sup>400</sup> and according to Amnesty International young men have been flogged in public for listening to music.<sup>401</sup>

The de facto authorities have encouraged musicians to shift to reciting religious songs or poems.<sup>402</sup> This is a form of unaccompanied sung poetry, which they perceive as permissible. *Nasheeds*<sup>403</sup> or *taranas* are variants of sung poetry, the latter being the most popular form according to AAN expert Sabawoon Samim, with 'melodies and texts deeply rooted in Pashtun folk culture'. Samim further explained that it is 'the closest permissible thing to music', frequently heard in weddings, taxis, and radio shows in the absence of other forms of allowed music. Some new variants duplicate 'musical compositions of Pashto, Dari and Hindi songs' accompanied by beatboxing instead of instruments. Such variants have however been officially banned, although they have 'a wide fanbase' including among Taliban members.<sup>404</sup>

## 1.2.8. Capital and corporal punishments

After their takeover, the Taliban reopened courts across Afghanistan but replaced former staff with male Taliban judges educated in *madrassas*.<sup>405</sup> The interpretation of *sharia* has largely been left to individual judges,<sup>406</sup> who enjoy almost complete authority in court proceedings.<sup>407</sup> This has caused great variations in verdicts.<sup>408</sup> Amnesty International described how court

<sup>394</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 74

<sup>395</sup> Fondation Carmignac, No Woman's Land: An Intimate Look into the Battle for Women's Rights in Afghanistan [2024], [url](#)

<sup>396</sup> Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026

<sup>397</sup> Le Figaro and AFP, Afghanistan: 14 personnes arrêtées pour avoir joué de la musique, 5 July 2025, [url](#); AFP, Afghan wedding halls light up sombre Kabul nights, 10 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>398</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>399</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 4, 29; UNAMA, Update on the Human Rights situation in Afghanistan July–September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>400</sup> Le Figaro and AFP, Afghanistan: 14 personnes arrêtées pour avoir joué de la musique, 5 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>401</sup> AI, Afghanistan: Authorities must reinstate formal legal frameworks, rule of law and end four years of injustice and impunity, 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>402</sup> Le Figaro and AFP, Afghanistan: 14 personnes arrêtées pour avoir joué de la musique, 5 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>403</sup> Amu TV, Taliban adopts Afghan, Indian melodies for its nasheeds, investigation shows, 1 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>404</sup> Samim, S., The Poetry of the Emirate: From insurgent war propaganda to state-sponsored PR, AAN, 20 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>405</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 12; ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 6–7

<sup>406</sup> ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 6–7; VOA, Taliban Undertake Speedy Overhaul of Afghanistan's Justice System, 28 September 2023, [url](#)

<sup>407</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>408</sup> AI, Friday 15th of August marks four years since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan., 15 August 2025, [url](#); ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 6–7



proceedings and sentences, including corporal punishments, are impacted by widespread impunity, unaccountability and personal biases.<sup>409</sup>

On 14 November 2022, the Taliban Supreme Leader ordered all de facto judges to fully implement *sharia*,<sup>410</sup> and issue so-called *hudud* and *qisas*<sup>411</sup> punishments where applicable.<sup>412</sup> Such punishments include execution, stoning, flogging and amputation.<sup>413</sup> Since then, de facto courts have been handing down capital punishment<sup>414</sup> and floggings.<sup>415</sup> In some cases large groups have been lashed all at once,<sup>416</sup> and floggings<sup>417</sup> and executions have been carried out in public – including at sport stadiums.<sup>418</sup>

At the time of writing, the UN had recorded ten public executions in total since the Taliban takeover in 2021. All the executed were individuals convicted of murder,<sup>419</sup> and enforcement had been recorded in the provinces of Badghis, Farah, Ghazni, Jawzjan, Laghman, Nimroz, and Paktya.<sup>420</sup> On 11 April 2025, four men convicted of murder were publicly executed in front of hundreds of spectators,<sup>421</sup> at sport stadiums of Badghis, Nimroz and Farah.<sup>422</sup> They were shot to death by family members of the murder victims.<sup>423</sup>

In the first six months of 2025, both UNAMA and Rawadari recorded hundreds of cases of judicially sanctioned floggings.<sup>424</sup> According to UNAMA corporal punishments were carried out in public on a weekly basis,<sup>425</sup> while Rawadari, on the contrary, reported that most floggings were not publicly displayed, as they were often used as supplementary punishments to imprisonment. However, Rawadari noted that 'moral crimes' were punished in public, with de facto MPVPV officials and *imams* advertising these events to attract crowds.<sup>426</sup>

<sup>409</sup> AI, Afghanistan: Authorities must reinstate formal legal frameworks, rule of law and end four years of injustice and impunity, 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>410</sup> TOLONews, Islamic Emirate Leader Orders Full Implementation of Sharia Law, 14 November 2022, [url](#)

<sup>411</sup> 'Hudud offenses are crimes against God whose punishment is clearly specified in the Quran and the Sunna (prophetic traditions), and Qisas are physical assault and murder punishable through retaliation by the victim or heirs of the victim or through the payment of blood money', see Rahimi, M., Afghanistan's new Penal Code: Whether or Not to codify Hudud and Qisas, University of Texas School of Law, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>412</sup> UNAMA, Corporal Punishment and the Death Penalty in Afghanistan, 3 May 2023, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>413</sup> AFP, Afghan supreme leader orders full implementation of sharia law, 14 November 2022, [url](#)

<sup>414</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2024, 1 May 2024, [url](#), pp. 4–5

<sup>415</sup> AI, Afghanistan: Taliban's cruel return to hardline practices with public floggings must be halted immediately, 24 November 2022, [url](#)

<sup>416</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 5; Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flogs Over 60 Afghans, Including 15 Women, in Northern Afghanistan, 4 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>417</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 23; Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flogs Over 60 Afghans, Including 15 Women, in Northern Afghanistan, 4 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>418</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2024, 1 May 2024, [url](#), pp. 4–5; UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35

<sup>419</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 34

<sup>420</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>421</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>422</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 4; Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>423</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 4; RFE/RL, Public Executions By Taliban Spark Global Outcry, 11 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>424</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5; Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>425</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>426</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 34–36

Data collected by Rawadari suggested a significant increase in floggings, with 326 people flogged in the first six months of 2025, including 64 women. This represented more than a two-fold increase compared to the same period in 2024, and more than a four-fold increase since 2023.<sup>427</sup> UNAMA recorded corporal punishment against 656 individuals in the period 1 January–30 September 2025 (518 men, 131 women, 5 girls and 2 boys).<sup>428</sup>

Floggings have been used as punishment for moral crimes such as ‘running away from home’ for women, same-sex sexual relations between men, and extramarital relations,<sup>429</sup> and reportedly also for theft, drinking alcohol and drug trafficking.<sup>430</sup> People have been lashed up to 39 times,<sup>431</sup> but on 27 November 2024 a man was reportedly flogged 80 times for falsely accusing another man of adultery.<sup>432</sup> In March 2024, the Taliban Supreme Leader announced that the stoning sentence would be enforced for adultery.<sup>433</sup> Rawadari has recorded cases of women being sentenced to stoning,<sup>434</sup> including a woman in Daykundi accused of having an ‘illegitimate’ child. As of August 2025, the sentence had not been enforced awaiting approval from higher de facto courts.<sup>435</sup> Rahimi noted that almost no *hudud* sentences were being enforced, including stoning and hand amputation, as they were pending approval from the Taliban Supreme Leader.<sup>436</sup>

### 1.3. Prison conditions

Human rights organisations do not have access to detention facilities in Afghanistan,<sup>437</sup> but torture and other forms of ill-treatment are reportedly common practice at such sites.<sup>438</sup> On 8 October 2024, however, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General visited the Pul-e Charkhi prison in Kabul City, and noted issues such as over-crowding, lack of access to legal aid for vulnerable detainees, including women, and prolonged pretrial detention. At the time (24 October 2024), the prison population stood at an unprecedented 26 000 people as per official data, including 1 900 women, 1 400 juveniles and 100 foreign nationals.<sup>439</sup> Earlier, in

<sup>427</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 34–36

<sup>428</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July–September 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>429</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 5; VOA, Taliban publicly flog Afghan woman, 3 men amid UN outcry, 29 October 2024, [url](#); VOA, Taliban publicly flog 9 Afghan men, women despite UN outcry, 9 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>430</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 3; Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>431</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>432</sup> AW, Taliban enforce first Hadd punishment with public flogging in Parwan, 20 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>433</sup> Telegraph (The), Taliban leader says women will be stoned to death in public, 25 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>434</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34; Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>435</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>436</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>437</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>438</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 11 September 2023, [url](#), para. 59

<sup>439</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 36



the period 1 January 2022–31 July 2023, UNAMA documented over 1 600 human rights violations taking place during arrest and in detention facilities managed by the de facto Ministry of Interior (MoI), the de facto GDI and in provincial prisons managed by the de facto Office of Prison Administration. 50 % of cases were considered by UNAMA as acts of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and 18 custodial deaths were recorded.<sup>440</sup>

In 2025, Rawadari published research based on testimonies of former detainees, and documented torture and other forms of ill-treatment being applied by de facto authorities, such as the de facto GDI, the de facto MoI, and the de facto Ministry of Defense (MoD). Various forms of ill-treatment inflicting severe physical and psychological pain were further documented, including beatings, waterboarding, electrocution, and sexual harassment of women detainees. Such abuses were used to extract confessions and information, intimidate, punish, and humiliate detainees, as well as to punish protesters and retaliate against former government employees – in particular those considered opponents or critics of the Taliban.<sup>441</sup> Other sources have also reported on torture of detained persons,<sup>442</sup> as well as rape and sexual violence, especially against detained women.<sup>443</sup> Rawadari moreover reported on detainees being held in inadequate facilities, including ‘kindergartens, district administration buildings, containers, basements, and toilets’. Many facilities moreover lacked adequate ventilation and lighting as well as basic amenities for ‘cleanliness, sleeping, washing, and personal hygiene’. Some detainees only received water and bread during their detention.<sup>444</sup> Rawadari noted a significant increase in arbitrary arrests. In the first six months of 2025, the organisation recorded 1 509 cases compared to 614 in the same period in 2024 and 222 in 2023.<sup>445</sup>

## 1.4. Treatment of persons returning from abroad

### 1.4.1. General conditions

For decades<sup>446</sup> Afghans have been fleeing their homeland, primarily to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran,<sup>447</sup> and in periods, significant portions of the Afghan population have lived as

<sup>440</sup> UNAMA, The treatment of detainees in Afghanistan: Respecting human rights: a factor for trust, 20 September 2023, [url](#), pp. 3, 24

<sup>441</sup> Rawadari, Torture and Ill-Treatment: The State of Prisons in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, June 2025, [url](#), pp. 6, 13, 30, 35, 37, 39, 56–57

<sup>442</sup> Independent (The), Taliban critics and ‘rebel collaborators’ face systemic torture in Afghan prisons, survivors say, 8 December 2024, [url](#); OMCT et al., “Every House Felt as long as A Year”, 25 June 2025, [url](#), p. 31

<sup>443</sup> RFE/RL, Afghan Survivors Speak Out: What The Taliban Does To Imprisoned Women, 8 March 2025, [url](#); OMCT et al., “Every House Felt as long as A Year”, 25 June 2025, [url](#), p. 36

<sup>444</sup> Rawadari, Torture and Ill-Treatment: The State of Prisons in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, June 2025, [url](#), pp. 23–25

<sup>445</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>446</sup> Strand, A., Refugee Protection Is Being Eroded, PRIO, 2 February 2024, [url](#); UK, House of Commons Library, Expulsion of Afghans from Pakistan and Iran, 8 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>447</sup> UK, House of Commons Library, Expulsion of Afghans from Pakistan and Iran, 8 December 2023, [url](#)

refugees abroad.<sup>448</sup> Each powershift in Afghanistan has triggered new emigration waves, as well as voluntary and forced returns from neighbouring states.<sup>449</sup>

Following the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan, both Pakistan and Iran initiated repatriation plans leading to ‘large numbers of forced and coerced returns’<sup>450</sup> of Afghans residing on their territory.<sup>451</sup> As of September 2025, nearly 6 million people had returned from Pakistan and Iran since the Taliban takeover.<sup>452</sup> In 2025 alone (as of November) almost 2.7 million Afghans returned from these countries, according to UNHCR.<sup>453</sup> Sources noted that many Afghans have been forced or felt compelled to return ‘because of threats, harassment and intimidation’,<sup>454</sup> ‘abusive tactics’ and other pressure.<sup>455</sup>

Pakistan began their three-phase ‘Illegal Foreigners Repatriation Plan’ in October 2023. The first phase targeted undocumented Afghans,<sup>456</sup> and led to the return of over 468 000 people in October–December 2023.<sup>457</sup> The second phase included registered individuals (Afghan Citizen Card (ACC) holders),<sup>458</sup> who were to leave voluntarily by 31 March 2025 or face deportation as of 1 April 2025.<sup>459</sup> According to UNHCR, more than 483 700 Afghans returned in the period 1 April–September 2025.<sup>460</sup> Amid the plan’s resumption in April 2025, Pakistan announced that the third phase would be initiated, in which also recognised refugees (Proof of Registration (PoR) card holders) would be repatriated<sup>461</sup> as of 1 September 2025.<sup>462</sup> According to IOM and UNHCR, over 1.6 million people had returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan since the initiation of the repatriation scheme as of 18 October 2025, including over 8 000 recognised refugees (PoR card holders) being deported.<sup>463</sup> Amid armed cross-border clashes between de facto and Pakistani security forces, Pakistan intensified efforts to repatriate Afghans, including ‘escalating police raids’.<sup>464</sup>

<sup>448</sup> Britannica, Afghanistan, Demographic trends, 7 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>449</sup> Strand, A., Refugee Protection Is Being Eroded, PRIO, 2 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>450</sup> UNHCR, Afghanistan situation, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>451</sup> UNHCR, Afghanistan emergency, [2025], [url](#); FEWS NET, Despite harvest, drought and returnee influx, drive food security concerns, July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>452</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>453</sup> UNHCR, Afghanistan situation, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>454</sup> UN OHCHR, Afghanistan: Returns of Afghans creating multi-layered human rights crisis, 18 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>455</sup> HRW, Pakistan: Forced Returns Expose Afghans to Persecution, Destitution, 19 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>456</sup> Dawn, Govt decides to evict over 1M foreigners illegally residing in Pakistan: state media, 2 October 2023, [url](#); International Crisis Group, Pakistan’s mass deportation of Afghans poses risk to regional stability, 13 November 2023, [url](#); IOM and UNHCR, UNHCR-IOM, Flash update #4, arrest and detention, flow monitoring, (15 September – 04 November 2023), 8 November 2023, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>457</sup> Al, Pakistan: 1.4 million Afghan refugees at risk of deportation, 24 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>458</sup> Al, Pakistan: 1.4 million Afghan refugees at risk of deportation, 24 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>459</sup> UNHCR, Returns emergency Response, 11 July 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>460</sup> UNHCR, Pakistan - Afghanistan: Returns Emergency Response #42 (as of 4 September 2025), 5 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>461</sup> UNHCR, UNHCR urges Pakistan to exempt Afghans with international protection needs from involuntary return, 5 August 2025, [url](#); Dawn, Govt to begin repatriation of 1.3m Afghan PoR holders from Sept 1, 6 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>462</sup> Dawn, Govt to begin repatriation of 1.3m Afghan PoR holders from Sept 1, 6 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>463</sup> IOM and UNHCR, UNHCR-IOM Flash Update #65, 11 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>464</sup> DW, Pakistan ramps up Afghan migrant crackdown after clashes, 3 November 2025, [url](#)



Iran has also been repatriating Afghans in recent years<sup>465</sup> and scaled up the intensity of deportations in 2025 (particular in June–July following Israeli attacks against Iran).<sup>466</sup> This coincided with an exit deadline for unregistered Afghans. According to an IOM representative, an unmanageable number of 30 000–40 000 people crossed the border to Afghanistan from Iran every day in July 2025.<sup>467</sup> Returning Afghans indicated that they were feeling ‘unsafe’ in Iran,<sup>468</sup> and there were reports of increased harassment by Iranian authorities accusing Afghans of collaborating with Israel<sup>469</sup> and a general hostility pushing Afghans to leave.<sup>470</sup> According to UNCHR, 1.8 million people returned from Iran in 2025, as of 29 November.<sup>471</sup>

The Afghan de facto authorities have previously called on Afghans to stay in the country,<sup>472</sup> and have called on Afghans residing abroad to return to Afghanistan.<sup>473</sup> As the US issued an entry ban on Afghan citizens in June 2025, the Afghan de facto Prime Minister reiterated the general amnesty issued after the Taliban takeover,<sup>474</sup> and stated that all who fled amid the collapse of the former government were free to return under safe conditions.<sup>475</sup> The de facto authorities have responded to the large-scale returns by providing returnees with registration and national identity cards, medical care, cash grants,<sup>476</sup> shelter, SIM cards, and transport to their destinations.<sup>477</sup> According to an anonymous source interviewed by ACCORD in September 2024, some returnees have faced physical violence at the border by the de facto authorities, in particular women and children.<sup>478</sup> Sources interviewed by the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (SEM), on the contrary, did not indicate that the de facto authorities were conducting arrests or abusing returnees at air or land border crossings. Instead, most sources indicated returnees were generally treated well and were not subjected to abuse solely on the basis of being returnees.<sup>479</sup> Two surveys on the situation of returnees in Afghanistan, carried out by the UNCHR and the Mixed Migration Centre (MMC), respectively, found that 98 % of respondents had not ‘experienced physical security issues in their

<sup>465</sup> VOA, Taliban: Pakistan, Iran expelled over 400,000 Afghan refugees so far in 2024, 10 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>466</sup> UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 1; DW, Why are Afghan migrants and refugees being forced to flee Iran?, 2 August 2025, [url](#); BBC News, Iran drives out 1.5 million Afghans, with some branded spies for Israel, 1 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>467</sup> Tagesschau, Regierung führt Gespräche mit Taliban, 14 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>468</sup> UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>469</sup> DW, Why are Afghan migrants and refugees being forced to flee Iran?, 2 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>470</sup> New Humanitarian (The), Afghans say they were scapegoated in Iran during Israeli bombardment, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>471</sup> UNHCR, Afghanistan situation, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>472</sup> EUAA, Afghanistan – Country Focus, December 2024, [url](#), p. 97

<sup>473</sup> TRT World, Taliban urges Afghans to ‘return to your country’ after new US travel ban, 7 June 2025, [url](#); Bakhtar News Agency, Delawar Called on All Afghan Political Figures to Return Home, 21 May 2022, [url](#); TOLOnews, Afghan UN Mission Announces It Will Host Gathering, 14 May 2022, [url](#); TOLOnews, Anas Haqqani Calls on Unqualified Officials to Step Down, 27 December 2021, [url](#); TOLOnews, At Hajj Ceremony, Official Calls for Brotherly Intl Relations, 12 June 2022, [url](#); Ariana News, Defense ministry urges Afghan military students abroad to return home, 15 February 2022, [url](#)

<sup>474</sup> TRT World, Taliban urges Afghans to ‘return to your country’ after new US travel ban, 7 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>475</sup> AP, The Taliban leader slams Trump’s travel ban on Afghans and calls the US an ‘oppressor’, 7 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>476</sup> UNAMA, No safe heaven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>477</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Spotlight on social impact (October 2023 to February 2024), 25 April 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>478</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 85

<sup>479</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 35

communities/villages',<sup>480</sup> and 80 % felt safe and secure.<sup>481</sup> There was a gender discrepancy in MCC's survey, however, where only 15 % of women indicated that there were no specific risks making them feel unsafe or insecure, in contrast to 66 % among men. In MCC's survey 9 % among male respondents and 6 % among female respondents feared human rights violations and abuses in Afghanistan, and the MMC stressed that their aggregated data may conceal individuals belonging to vulnerable groups.<sup>482</sup> In UNHCR's survey, 1.6 % indicated that they had been feeling unsafe, and cited issues such as disputes of land, property, and water as well as kidnapping and an 'unwelcoming attitudes in the community'.<sup>483</sup> UNAMA identified several profiles exposed to human rights violations upon being involuntarily returned to Afghanistan return, including women and girls, former government officials, civil society activists, human rights defenders, journalists and musicians.<sup>484</sup> More information on these profiles is provided in chapter [4. Treatment of certain profiles and groups of the population](#) and section [1.2.7\(e\) Music](#).

The significant influx of returnees has put additional strain on the precarious humanitarian situation in Afghanistan,<sup>485</sup> already facing limited resources,<sup>486</sup> lack of basic services, and recurring climate shocks.<sup>487</sup> Most returnees arrive with no assets,<sup>488</sup> and many have never set foot in Afghanistan,<sup>489</sup> as they have been living abroad for generations.<sup>490</sup> These people tend to lack a social network in Afghanistan,<sup>491</sup> while having a social network is of great importance in Afghan society<sup>492</sup> in the absence of a social welfare state.<sup>493</sup> Having a network is vital for returnees to reintegrate,<sup>494</sup> and to secure a job.<sup>495</sup> MMC reported that returnees lacking a network may be perceived as foreigners, and that individuals returning from the region as well as from Europe may face discrimination and struggle to fit in, due to deviating accents,

---

<sup>480</sup> UNHCR, Post-Return Monitoring Report, 30 October 2024, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>481</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), p. 28

<sup>482</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 28–29

<sup>483</sup> UNHCR, Post-Return Monitoring Report, 30 October 2024, [url](#), p. 42

<sup>484</sup> UNAMA, No safe heaven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>485</sup> UNHCR, Afghan Returns from Iran and Pakistan Emergency Update #12, 3 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>486</sup> IOM, Nearly 110,000 Afghans Returned from Pakistan in a Month; IOM Seeks Urgent Funding, 6 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>487</sup> UNAMA, International Community Must Act Now, 1 Million Returning Afghans in 2025, 26 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>488</sup> UNAMA, International Community Must Act Now, 1 Million Returning Afghans in 2025, 26 June 2025, [url](#); Tagesschau, Regierung führt Gespräche mit Taliban, 14 September 2025, [url](#); NRC, Afghanistan: Humanitarian response overstretched as more than 1 million Afghans return from Iran, 10 July 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Deported Afghans Face Hardship After Returning Empty-Handed from Iran, 9 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>489</sup> UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 4; International Crisis Group, Pakistan-Afghanistan: Tempering the Deportation Drive, 22 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>490</sup> Bjelica, J. and Sabawoon, A. M., Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN, 29 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>491</sup> UN News, 'The real challenge is still ahead': UN warns on Afghan returnees, 8 August 2025, [url](#); Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), pp. 29, 42

<sup>492</sup> Schuster, L., in: DRC, Afghanistan conference, The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, [url](#), p. 47; Afghan analyst, interview, 25 April 2024; UNHCR, Protection Interventions for Afghan Returnees from Pakistan (April 2024 to December 2025), 22 May 2024, [url](#), pp. 1, 7; de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025; Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>493</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 27

<sup>494</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), p. 33; Sharan, email, 27 November 2025

<sup>495</sup> Afghan analyst, interview, 25 April 2024; UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 4



clothing, and behaviour.<sup>496</sup> Sharan also described how returnees without a network face significant exclusion and lack of safety, including those settling in urban areas instead of their areas of origin. He also noted that some families could struggle to readapt due to their way of dressing and having more liberal attitudes.<sup>497</sup>

Amid a major continuing humanitarian crisis in the country, returnees in general face very limited job prospects<sup>498</sup> or no job prospects at all.<sup>499</sup> They struggle to secure an income<sup>500</sup> and permanent housing and shelter.<sup>501</sup> Many do not return to their areas of origin since they lack property or land,<sup>502</sup> and due to limited job opportunities and basic services.<sup>503</sup> Instead, they tend to settle in cities.<sup>504</sup> Some returnees may be facing disputes over land and property in their area of origin,<sup>505</sup> since other families may have been living in their houses for generations or their land may have been confiscated.<sup>506</sup> Women-headed households are particularly vulnerable, facing limitations in accessing housing and shelter, which exposes them to gender-based violence and exploitation.<sup>507</sup> Another key issue faced by returnees is insufficient aid.<sup>508</sup> Host communities struggle to support returnees due to limited resources, leaving returnee populations struggling economically.<sup>509</sup> The general cuts to funding in the humanitarian sector have also adversely impacted the support to returnees.<sup>510</sup> More information on this topic is available in section [3. Humanitarian situation](#).

#### 1.4.2. Returns from Europe

After the Taliban takeover, many Western states halted deportations to Afghanistan, and IOM<sup>511</sup> and Frontex suspended activities facilitating accompanied returns.<sup>512</sup> As reported by SEM, there have only been isolated cases of repatriations and voluntary returns from

<sup>496</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 33–34

<sup>497</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>498</sup> Bjelica, J. and Sabawoon, A. M., Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN, 29 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>499</sup> UNAMA, International Community Must Act Now, 1 Million Returning Afghans in 2025, 26 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>500</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 29

<sup>501</sup> UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>502</sup> Bjelica, J. and Sabawoon, A. M., Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN, 29 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>503</sup> UNHCR, Post-Return Monitoring Report, 30 October 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>504</sup> Byrd, W., Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>505</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 1; Moradi, K., “Throwing Dust in Our Eyes”: Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarjat under the Taliban and its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, 31 May 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>506</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 85; See also: UN-Habitat, It all starts at home, Strategic Priorities for UN-Habitat Afghanistan 2026–2027, June 2025, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>507</sup> UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>508</sup> Bjelica, J. and Sabawoon, A. M., Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN, 29 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>509</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Humanitarian Update, April 2024, 2 July 2024, [url](#)

<sup>510</sup> UNAMA, International Community Must Act Now, 1 Million Returning Afghans in 2025, 26 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>511</sup> CoE Parliamentary Assembly, The humanitarian crisis emerging for Afghanistan and Afghan refugees, 25 September 2023, [url](#), para. 37; IOM, Assisted Voluntary Return & Reintegration, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>512</sup> CoE Parliamentary Assembly, The humanitarian crisis emerging for Afghanistan and Afghan refugees, 25 September 2023, [url](#), para. 37; Frontex, Risk Analysis for 2022/2023, September 2022, [url](#), p. 24

European countries and North America.<sup>513</sup> Initially, this included a few cases of people being forcibly returned from the US (two persons in 2022),<sup>514</sup> Belgium (February 2023),<sup>515</sup> Sweden (via Uzbekistan in 2023), and Switzerland (two persons in October 2024).<sup>516</sup> There have also been cases of voluntary returns from EU states,<sup>517</sup> and many Afghans residing abroad, including in Western countries, have been going on short-term visits to Afghanistan.<sup>518</sup>

Some EU states have sought to deport Afghans whose asylum applications have been rejected, with Germany and Austria resuming deportations in 2024<sup>519</sup> and 2025 respectively.<sup>520</sup> Germany deported 28 Afghans with criminal records on 30 August 2024.<sup>521</sup> According to Der Spiegel, these individuals were detained upon their return, but most were released about a week later, after their families assured the de facto authorities that they would not commit future crime. A handful of individuals were kept in house arrest-like conditions, while being interrogated.<sup>522</sup> One deported person was reportedly killed, although the perpetrating actor was not specified.<sup>523</sup> Germany conducted a second deportation on 18 July 2025, this time of 81 Afghans with criminal records.<sup>524</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan said that he had no information on the treatment of these individuals upon their return.<sup>525</sup> According to the German media outlet Tagesschau, the de facto authorities have used this opportunity to promote a positive image of themselves by publishing videos featuring these individuals being welcomed back to Afghanistan.<sup>526</sup> Austria deported one man convicted of crime on 21 October 2025.<sup>527</sup>

The de facto authorities reportedly see engagement over migration management as a way to build relations in the absence of diplomatic recognition.<sup>528</sup> An anonymous source interviewed by ACCORD noted that, unlike under the former government, European countries are no longer in position to push for a system supporting deported Afghans ‘to provide a landing’,

---

<sup>513</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>514</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Belgium, Cedoca, COI Focus, Afghanistan. Migration movements of Afghans since the Taliban takeover of power, 14 December 2023, [url](#), pp. 18–19

<sup>515</sup> Belgium, Cedoca, COI Focus, Afghanistan. Migration movements of Afghans since the Taliban takeover of power, 14 December 2023, [url](#), p. 18

<sup>516</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>517</sup> Switzerland, SEM, Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, [url](#), p. 13; The Netherlands, General country information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), p. 136

<sup>518</sup> Washington Post (The), Women despair over Taliban rules, but many Afghan returnees don't see it, 28 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>519</sup> JURISTnews, Germany departs 28 Afghan nationals following Solingen knife attack, citing security concerns, 30 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>520</sup> Reuters, Austria departs first Afghan since Taliban seized power, says more to come, 21 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>521</sup> Al Jazeera, Germany departs 28 Afghans for first time since 2021 Taliban takeover, 30 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>522</sup> Amu TV, Taliban releases 28 deportees from Germany, Spiegel reports, 8 September 2024, [url](#); Der Spiegel, Taliban lassen aus Deutschland abgeschobene Straftäter schon wieder frei, 6 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>523</sup> German Institute for Human Rights, Afghanistan in 2025: Richard Bennett on the Struggle for Human Rights, 1 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>524</sup> Euronews, Germany departs 81 Afghan nationals under tougher migration policy, 18 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>525</sup> German Institute for Human Rights, Afghanistan in 2025: Richard Bennett on the Struggle for Human Rights, 1 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>526</sup> Tagesschau, Die Show der Taliban, 20 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>527</sup> Reuters, Austria departs first Afghan since Taliban seized power, says more to come, 21 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>528</sup> Hakimi, H., Push to deport failed Afghan asylum seekers from Europe could benefit the Taliban, Chatham House, 3 October 2025, [url](#)



such as mental health support, housing, job training, and more. This leaves returnees more vulnerable for re-traumatisation due to displacement.<sup>529</sup>

Being interviewed on the topic of ‘westernization’, Ruttig told ACCORD that individuals perceived as ‘infected’ by Western values have been met with suspicion, and the Taliban have been targeting such individuals, including urban residents, civil society activists, individuals having a Western education or who had adopted a lifestyle deviating from local customs.<sup>530</sup>

### 1.4.3. Stigma and shame

Sharan described Afghanistan as a guilt- and shame-based society, and returnees’ sense of self-worth may diminish if they are excluded from the local community, struggle to find a job and provide for their families.<sup>531</sup> The MMC reported on a combination of social stigma and debt posing ‘a major barrier to effective integration’. In their research, securing an income and shame were the most pressing difficulties for returning Afghan men. This sentiment mainly applied to those returning after having moved relatively recently to earn an income abroad, in contrast to ‘long-term migrants’ returning from e.g. Pakistan. Stigma and shame were *inter alia* connected with the costs of emigrating, often funded by the extended family, which could result in unsolved debts and profound economic implications for their relatives. One of MMC’s respondents explained that deportations from Europe were particularly associated with stigma, and those returning often hid that they had been deported to avoid being scrutinised by people.<sup>532</sup> Sources reported on deportations bringing assumptions of engaging in criminal activities abroad,<sup>533</sup> and rumours easily spreading around being ‘contaminated’ with Western ideas and values,<sup>534</sup> having ‘lost’ one’s culture and done prohibited acts, such as not praying, converting to Christianity,<sup>535</sup> drinking alcohol or engaging with women.<sup>536</sup> Accusations that seem small may cause conflicts,<sup>537</sup> and some older sources reported on deportees being exposed to potential robbery, due to assumptions that they have become rich in Europe.<sup>538</sup>

<sup>529</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 85

<sup>530</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 82

<sup>531</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>532</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), p. 35

<sup>533</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 84

<sup>534</sup> Vera-Larrucea, C. and Malm Lindberg, H., Return to Afghanistan: The perils of returning to unstable and insecure countries, Migration Policy Practice, December 2021–April 2022, [url](#), p. 45; Schuster, L., in: DRC, Afghanistan conference, The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, [url](#), p. 39, 41, 48

<sup>535</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), p. 35

<sup>536</sup> MMC, Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [url](#), p. 35; Schuster, L., The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, [url](#), pp. 39, 41, 48

<sup>537</sup> Schuster, L., The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, [url](#), pp. 39, 41, 48

<sup>538</sup> Vera-Larrucea, C. and Malm Lindberg, H., Return to Afghanistan: The perils of returning to unstable and insecure countries, Migration Policy Practice, December 2021 – April 2022, [url](#), p. 45; Schuster, L., The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, [url](#), p. 39, 41, 48

## 2. Security situation

### 2.1. Recent security trends

Following the Taliban takeover in 2021, levels of armed violence<sup>539</sup> and civilian harm declined significantly compared to previous years of conflict.<sup>540</sup> UN sources have described the subsequent period as marked by a ‘relative absence of armed conflict’<sup>541</sup> and a ‘virtual halt of active conflict’.<sup>542</sup> In 2022, UCDP assessed that the intensity of the conflict in Afghanistan no longer met its threshold to be classified as a ‘war’.<sup>543</sup> Similarly, Bertelsmann Stiftung reported in 2024 that there was ‘no indication of systematic or scattered combat’.<sup>544</sup>

Nevertheless, the de facto government has faced armed opposition from resistance groups (see section [2.2.1](#)) and the ISKP.<sup>545</sup> While violence from such groups has generally decreased<sup>546</sup> after peaking in 2022,<sup>547</sup> resistance groups have continued to carry out low-intensity attacks,<sup>548</sup> targeting mainly the de facto authorities.<sup>549</sup> Until 2024, dozens of explosions and suicide attacks were reported annually,<sup>550</sup> targeting the de facto authorities<sup>551</sup> and civilians.<sup>552</sup> Many attacks were claimed by the ISKP,<sup>553</sup> while some remain unattributed.<sup>554</sup>

De facto security forces have also clashed with Pakistani border forces, causing casualties on both sides.<sup>555</sup> Pakistan has faced recurring attacks that they attribute to Tehreek-e-Taliban

<sup>539</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 28 January 2022, [url](#), para. 3

<sup>540</sup> UNAMA, Human Rights in Afghanistan 15 August 2021–15 June 2022, July 2022, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>541</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 20 June 2023, [url](#), para. 1

<sup>542</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025 (December 2024), 19 December 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>543</sup> UCDP, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>544</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>545</sup> International Crisis Group, Afghanistan’s Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>546</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>547</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); BBC News, What happened to IS in 2023, 26 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>548</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 3

<sup>549</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>550</sup> BBC News, Suicide bomb kills Taliban minister in Kabul, 11 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>551</sup> New York Times (The), Suicide Bombing in Afghanistan Targets Taliban Heartland, 21 March 2024, [url](#); Centre on Armed Groups, Drivers of ISKP Recruitment in Afghanistan, August 2024, [url](#), p. 5; HRW, World Report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>552</sup> AOAV, Explosive Violence Monitor 2024, 21 May 2025, [url](#), pp. 31, 47; AOAV, Explosive Violence Monitor 2023, 19 April 2023, [url](#), pp. 43–44, 48; HRW, World Report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>553</sup> New York Times (The), Suicide Bombing in Afghanistan Targets Taliban Heartland, 21 March 2024, [url](#); BBC News, Suicide bomb kills Taliban minister in Kabul, 11 December 2024, [url](#); AOAV, Explosive Violence Monitor 2024, 21 May 2025, [url](#), pp. 43, 47; AOAV, Explosive Violence Monitor 2023, 19 April 2023, [url](#), pp. 44, 48

<sup>554</sup> Centre on Armed Groups, Drivers of ISKP Recruitment in Afghanistan, August 2024, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 6; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>555</sup> TOLOnews, Security Situation Considered at Three-Year Mark of Islamic Emirate Rule, 15 August 2024, [url](#)



(TTP, 'the Pakistani Taliban'), and they accuse the Afghan de facto authorities of harbouring this organisation. In December 2024, tensions resurged as Pakistan carried out airstrikes in Paktika Province. While Pakistan claimed to target the TTP, the Afghan de facto authorities stated that nearly 50 civilians were killed in the attack.<sup>556</sup> Following a TTP attack against the Pakistani military in a border area on 9 October 2025,<sup>557</sup> Pakistan carried out an airstrike against Kabul City.<sup>558</sup> In the following days the de facto security forces fired at Pakistani posts along the shared border, and Pakistan responded with mortar fire and drone strikes,<sup>559</sup> including airstrikes against Kabul City,<sup>560</sup> the border town of Spin Boldak in Kandahar Province,<sup>561</sup> and in Paktika Province.<sup>562</sup> On 19 October 2025, Pakistan and the Afghan de facto authorities agreed on a ceasefire,<sup>563</sup> but negotiations ended without a long-term settlement,<sup>564</sup> and sporadic cross-border incidents continued to be reported in November 2025.<sup>565</sup>

There are conflicting assessments of Al-Qaida's presence in Afghanistan.<sup>566</sup> The UN Sanctions and Monitoring Team noted reports of Al-Qaida maintaining presence, although it had limited resources and 'drastically downsized'. It also noted reports of Al-Qaida training camps across the country, although 'small and rudimentary', as well as alleged links with the TTP.<sup>567</sup> Some sources have questioned some of the reports noted by the UN Sanctions and Monitoring Team, in particular claims of Al-Qaida running overt training camps in Afghanistan.<sup>568</sup>

A comparison of ACLED data covering the same January–November period in 2024 and 2025 suggests a decrease in violence levels, from 958 events down to 684 events. The same trend could be noted as regards events codified as 'battles' (from 371 down to 222 events) and 'violence against civilians' (from 493 down to 337). In contrast, the number of events codified as 'explosions/remote violence' increased from 94 to 125 events, and was mainly driven by Pakistani airstrikes, but also increased activity of the Afghanistan Freedom Front (AFF) and the National Resistance Front (NRF).<sup>569</sup> As regards violence against civilians, UCDP data covering 2025 (as of November), compared to data covering the same period in 2024

<sup>556</sup> Chatham House, What the West can do now in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, 5 February 2025, [url](#); Al Jazeera, As Pakistan, Afghanistan attack each other, what's next for neighbours?, 30 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>557</sup> Times of India (The), Pakistan: Ambush by TTP near Afghanistan border claims lives of 11 soldiers, 9 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>558</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>559</sup> BBC News, Taliban and Pakistan agree to ceasefire after days of deadly clashes, 19 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>560</sup> TOLOnews, Pakistan Airstrike Hits Kabul, Civilians and School Damaged, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>561</sup> Reuters, Pakistan, Afghanistan agree to temporary truce after fresh fighting, airstrikes, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>562</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>563</sup> BBC News, Taliban and Pakistan agree to ceasefire after days of deadly clashes, 19 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>564</sup> Al-Monitor, Explainer-Why are tensions flaring again between Afghanistan and Pakistan?, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>565</sup> International Crisis Group, Crisis Watch, Latest Updates, Asia-Pacific, November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>566</sup> CFR, The Taliban in Afghanistan, 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>567</sup> UN Security Council, Thirty-sixth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, 24 July 2025, [url](#), paras. 85, 90–91

<sup>568</sup> Obaidullah Baheer [X], posted on: 2 February 2024, [url](#); Afghan analyst, online interview, 1 October 2024. The interview was carried out by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian, and Swedish COI units.

<sup>569</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

suggest a 33 % decrease in civilian deaths (down to 287 from 426 deaths).<sup>570</sup> Rawadari also noted a decrease in civilian casualties from ‘explosive and suicide attacks’, with 11 civilian deaths and 35 injured recorded in the first six months of 2025, respectively constituting a 33.3 % and 50 % decrease from the same period in 2024 and 2023.<sup>571</sup>

**Figure 1. Conflict data covering 1 October 2024–30 November 2025**

Source	Total no. events	Battles	Explosions and remote violence	Violence against civilians	Civilian deaths
ACLED	971	336 (35 %)	168 (17 %)	467 (48 %)	N/A
UCDP	682	N/A	N/A	N/A	412

Source: EUAA table based on ACLED and UCDP data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025.

It should be noted that within the reference period of this report (1 October 2024–30 November 2025) ACLED codified 467 events as ‘violence against civilians’. Event details suggest that at least 80 % of events involved de facto security forces as the perpetrating actor; this included arrests based on various motives, and the use of excessive violence in various situations, including in combatting crime but also situations where de facto officials exploited their position to exert violence. Moreover, about 104 cases were related to the enforcement of *sharia*, including floggings, and in addition, 92 events were related to arrests and killings of former government officials and their family members, although the motive was often unclear. A handful of cases concerned arrests of individuals suspected of being affiliated with opposition groups, and in one case the de facto security forces assaulted and beat up civilians in Nahreen District in Panjsher Province, following clashes with the NRF.<sup>572</sup>

Afghanistan is moreover highly contaminated with landmines and explosive remnants of war<sup>573</sup> especially in the countryside.<sup>574</sup> Children make up the majority of victims,<sup>575</sup> and in the period 9 September 2024–5 September 2025, the UN recorded 49 civilian deaths due to unexploded

<sup>570</sup> EUAA analysis based on UCDP data. UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025; UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2023 - 30 September 2024, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 3 October 2024

<sup>571</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>572</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>573</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Unearthing hope from a legacy of mines, 3 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>574</sup> Britannica, Afghanistan, Political process, 4 December 2025, [url](#)

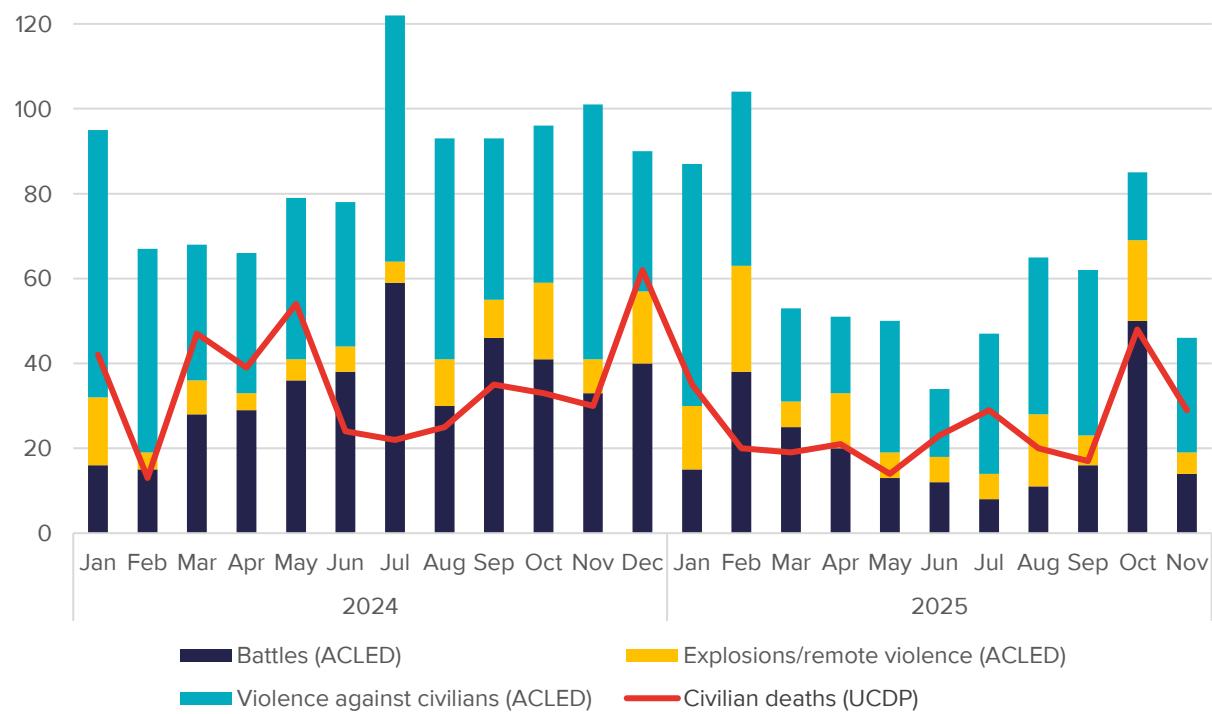
<sup>575</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 14





ordinances (UXOs), and injuries to 29 boys, 8 girls, and 12 men, and 151 civilians, including 76 boys, 28 girls, 32 men, and 15 women.<sup>576</sup>

**Figure 2. Events and civilian deaths by month, 1 January 2024–30 November 2025**



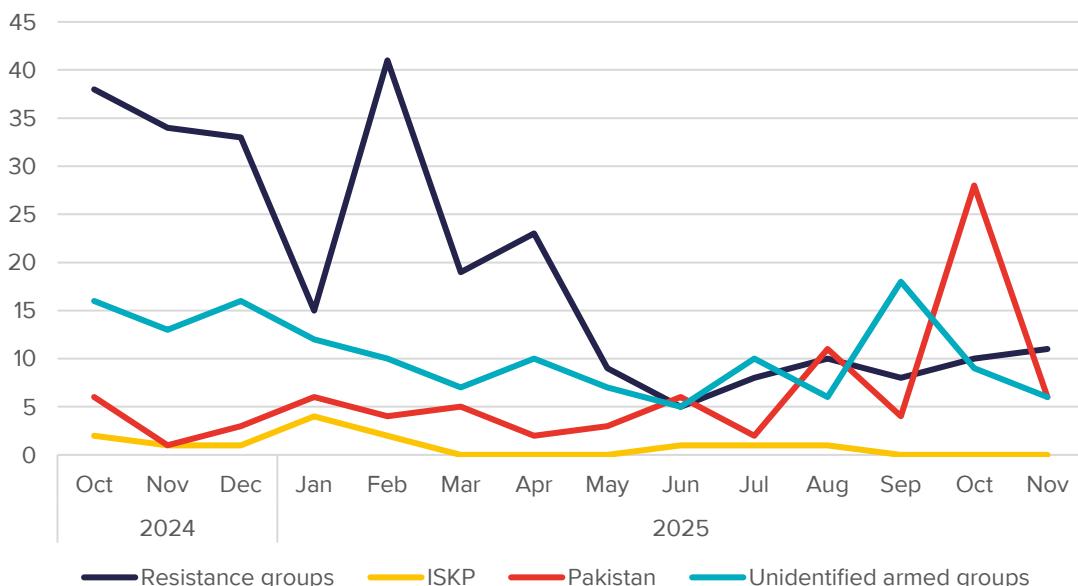
Source: EUAA table based on ACLED and UCDP data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period

<sup>576</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 27; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 34; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 32; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 26



1 January 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); UCDP, data covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in emails, 8 December 2025 and 3 October 2024.

**Figure 3. Events by actor (as 'actor 1'), 1 October 2024–30 November 2025**



Source: EUAA table based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

## 2.2. Armed groups, and armed confrontations

### 2.2.1. Activities of resistance groups

Armed resistance groups emerged in Afghanistan as a response to the Taliban takeover on 15 August 2021. These groups are aligned with the former government, and the main groups have been the NRF and the AFF,<sup>577</sup> although a number of other groups announced their existence in April 2022.<sup>578</sup> No armed resistance groups currently control territory in Afghanistan,<sup>579</sup> and according to the Afghan analyst none had overt presence in the country as of October 2024.<sup>580</sup> In his reporting covering 1 August 2024–31 October 2025, the UN Secretary-General noted activity of the NRF, AFF, Afghanistan Liberation Movement, the People's Sovereignty Front, the National Mobilization Front, the National Battle Front, and the Islamic Liberation Front.<sup>581</sup> While many other groups have previously proclaimed their

<sup>577</sup> International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>578</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban Faces Rising Armed Resistance From Former Government Factions, 27 April 2022, [url](#)

<sup>579</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 17

<sup>580</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview, 1 October 2024

<sup>581</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 14; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 19; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 20; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan



existence, their actual capacity has in some cases not extended beyond social media announcements.<sup>582</sup>

NRF claims to have a strength of 5 000 men, present in 20 provinces,<sup>583</sup> while other groups have previously been described as smaller than NRF.<sup>584</sup> It was not possible to corroborate NRF's claim of their size, and no information on the size of other resistance groups was found within the time constraints of drafting this report. Some sources have, however, suggested that resistance groups have been almost completely defeated in the NRF's former strongholds in Panjsher Province and the district of Andarab in Baghlan Province.<sup>585</sup> While resistance groups have still engaged in sporadic irregular attacks,<sup>586</sup> Ruttig told ACCORD in October 2024 that recent attacks had been 'relatively marginal and rarely noticed in the region'. Meanwhile journalist Emran Feroz stated in January 2025 that attacks by the NRF and AFF were increasing but underreported due to censorship.<sup>587</sup>

The UN Secretary-General's report assessed that the armed opposition poses no significant challenge to the de facto authorities hold on territorial control. In the period 1 August 2024–31 July 2025 the UN could verify 277 attacks by armed opposition groups, including the NRF (165 attacks), AFF (55), the Afghanistan Liberation Movement (4), and the People's Sovereignty Front (2). At least 32 additional attacks remained unattributed.<sup>588</sup> However, in recent reporting covering the reporting period 1 May–31 October 2025, the UN Secretary General could verify 38 additional attacks, but did not provide a breakdown of the data.<sup>589</sup>

Event details of ACLED data covering the reference period of this report, suggest that armed resistance groups were the perpetrating actors in 'battles' and 'explosions/remote violence'. Such events were recorded in the provinces of Kabul (61 events), Kunduz (59), Herat (33), Takhar (25), Parwan (15), Kapisa (13), Baghlan (12), Badghis (11), Farah (9), Badakhshan (8), Faryab (6), Balkh (5), Panjsher (5), Kandahar (1), Laghman (1), and Nimruz (1). ACLED data indicated that only the de facto security forces were being targeted by resistance group.<sup>590</sup>

---

and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 17; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 17

<sup>582</sup> International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>583</sup> NRF, Afghanistan's National Resistance Front: Progression and Success, OPI, 14 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>584</sup> UNICRI, The Taliban in Afghanistan: Assessing New Threats to the Region and Beyond, October 2022, [url](#)

<sup>585</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>586</sup> UNICRI, Afghanistan's Security Landscape under the Taliban, May 2023, [url](#), p. 31; UCDP, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>587</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 20

<sup>588</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 14; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 19; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 20; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 17

<sup>589</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 17; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 17

<sup>590</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

UNAMA however reported on, *inter alia*, the NRF harming civilians in ‘deliberate’ attacks.<sup>591</sup> In their reporting covering 1 October 2024–30 June 2025, UNAMA mentioned six attacks carried out by the NRF, the AFF and Afghan Liberation Front wounding 37 civilians and killing one.<sup>592</sup> UCDP recorded 5 civilian deaths in connection to events involving the de facto government and resistance groups within the reference period of this report.<sup>593</sup>

## 2.2.2. Activities of the ISKP

The UN Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team estimated the strength of the ISKP to 2 000 individuals in 2025, and described the group as ‘scattered across the northern and northeastern provinces’.<sup>594</sup> Sources suggest that the ISKP has not had any overt presence in Afghanistan under the de facto government.<sup>595</sup> The group reportedly operate through scattered decentralised networks<sup>596</sup> of cells scattered across the country.<sup>597</sup> Many ISKP cells have moreover relocated from former strongholds to Pakistan and northern Afghanistan.<sup>598</sup> The UN Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team reported on sympathisers and supports increasing ‘significantly’ in the provinces of Badakhshan and Kunduz, including in retaliation for the de facto authorities poppy eradication campaign.<sup>599</sup> AW reported on ISKP attacks as well as counteroperations by the de facto authorities ‘intensifying’ in the north of Afghanistan in the first quarter of 2025, with five attacks being claimed in the provinces of Baghlan, Takhar, and Kunduz, and counteroperations taking place in the provinces of Sar-e Pul, Badakhshan, Takhar, Baghlan, and Samangan.<sup>600</sup>

The number of ISKP attacks have significantly decreased since peaking in 2022.<sup>601</sup> The group’s operational capacity has reportedly been weakened following intense counter-operations<sup>602</sup> in which the de facto authorities captured and killed several ISKP commanders and dismantled numerous ISKP cells.<sup>603</sup> International Crisis Group noted that the ISKP had

<sup>591</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5

<sup>592</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 4; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>593</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in emails, 8 December 2025 and 3 October 2024.

<sup>594</sup> UN Security Council, Thirty-sixth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da’esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, 24 July 2025, [url](#), paras. 86–87

<sup>595</sup> Giustozzi, A., Crisis and adaptation of the Islamic State in Khorasan, LSE IDEAS, February 2024, [url](#), pp. 7, 11; Winter, C., ISKP: A Primer, CJA, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 7–8, 17

<sup>596</sup> AW, ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>597</sup> Diplomat (The), Is the Islamic State of Khorasan Province Losing Momentum, 26 June 2025, [url](#); Giustozzi, A., Crisis and adaptation of the Islamic State in Khorasan, LSE IDEAS, February 2024, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>598</sup> Giustozzi, A., Crisis and adaptation of the Islamic State in Khorasan, LSE IDEAS, February 2024, [url](#), pp. 7, 11

<sup>599</sup> UN Security Council, Thirty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da’esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, 6 February 2025, [url](#), para. 87

<sup>600</sup> AW, ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>601</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>602</sup> UN Security Council, Thirty-sixth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da’esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, 24 July 2025, [url](#), para. 88; International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#); Diplomat (The), Is the Islamic State of Khorasan Province Losing Momentum, 26 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>603</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)



shifted its operations to targets abroad,<sup>604</sup> although other sources noted that sporadic ISKP attacks have continued in Afghanistan, mainly targeting the de facto authorities,<sup>605</sup> but also religious minorities.<sup>606</sup> On 21 November 2024 the ISKP attacked the Sufi community in Nahrin District (Baghlan Province),<sup>607</sup> and on 14 June 2025 a Shia imam was shot and beheaded in Nusay District (Badakhshan Province) by unknown individuals leaving behind an ISKP flag.<sup>608</sup>

The UN Secretary-General's report assessed that the ISKP poses no significant challenge to the de facto authorities' territorial control.<sup>609</sup> In the period 1 August 2024–30 January 2025 the UN recorded at least 12 attacks.<sup>610</sup> In subsequent reports covering the reporting period 1 February–31 October 2025, the UN Secretary-General states that attacks continue without providing any numbers,<sup>611</sup> adding that they have decreased in number and scale since 1 May 2025.<sup>612</sup> Although the ISKP claimed no attack in 1 May–31 July 2025, the UN Secretary-General noted that the de facto GDI and the de facto security forces had carried out several operations killing alleged ISKP members in Kabul City, and the provinces of Kunar, Nangarhar, and Badakhshan, and that the ISKP had attacked de facto security forces in Darah-i Nur District (Nangarhar Province) on 15 June 2025, and clashed with de facto security forces in Alingar District (Lagman Province) on 8 July 2025.<sup>613</sup> Within the reference period of this report, ACLED recorded 13 events in which the ISKP was the apparent perpetrating actor in the provinces of Baghlan (3 events), Nangarhar (3), Kabul (2), Ghor (1), Kunar (1), Kunduz (1), Laghman (1), Takhar (1).<sup>614</sup>

According to the UN Secretary-General reporting on 6 December 2024, IEDs and suicide attacks, primarily claimed by the ISKP, were the leading cause of civilian casualties in the

<sup>604</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>605</sup> HRW, World Report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 26

<sup>606</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 20; HRW, World Report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 26

<sup>607</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>608</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 13

<sup>609</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 3; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 3

<sup>610</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 15; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>611</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 21; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 18; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>612</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 18; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>613</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>614</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

period 1 August–30 October 2024. The source recorded 87 civilian casualties caused by such attacks, including 16 deaths and 71 injured.<sup>615</sup> In a subsequent publication covering the period 1 November 2024–30 April 2025, the UN Secretary-General reported on 88 civilians killed in attacks, and 150 civilians wounded, but did not always specify the actor behind the attacks or the means of the attack.<sup>616</sup> No IED attack was mentioned in the UN report covering 1 May–31 July 2025.<sup>617</sup> According to UCDP, events involving the ISKP caused 20 civilian deaths within the reference period of this report.<sup>618</sup>

### 2.2.3. Clashes and airstrikes involving Pakistan

Most incidents involving crossfire between the Afghan de facto security forces and Pakistan have taken place along the shared eastern and southeastern border,<sup>619</sup> and both sides have significantly increased ‘troop presence along the border’, as reported by the UN Secretary-General.<sup>620</sup> In October 2025, Pakistan carried out airstrikes further into Afghanistan, targeting Kabul City.<sup>621</sup>

In the period 1 August 2024–31 July 2025, the UN recorded more than 48 armed incidents involving the Afghan de facto security forces and Pakistani security forces.<sup>622</sup> This figure is incomplete as no number was provided for the reporting period covering 1 February–30 April 2025, although the UN Secretary-General noted reports of ‘multiple’ armed incidents.<sup>623</sup> Similarly, the UN Secretary-General noted ‘multiple’ border incidents and Pakistani airstrikes in Afghanistan in the period 1 August–31 October 2025, but did not provide any figures.<sup>624</sup> Meanwhile, within the reference period of this report, ACLED recorded 107 events involving Pakistani and Afghan de facto security forces; 48 events took place in October 2025.<sup>625</sup>

---

<sup>615</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), paras. 25–26

<sup>616</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 32; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 30

<sup>617</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>618</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025.

<sup>619</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Pakistani, Afghan forces exchange deadly border fire: What’s next?, 12 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>620</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>621</sup> TOLOnews, Pakistan Airstrike Hits Kabul, Civilians and School Damaged, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>622</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 16; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 19

<sup>623</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>624</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), paras. 19–20

<sup>625</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)



Most Pakistani airstrikes have been carried out in border areas.<sup>626</sup> Most incidents recorded by the UN have been taking place in border districts of the provinces of Nangarhar, Kunar and Khost,<sup>627</sup> notably the districts of Goshtah, Naziyan, Lal Pur and Mohmand Darah (Nangarhar), Khas Kunar, Dur Baba (Kunar), and Tere Zayi, Gurbuz, Jaji Maidan<sup>628</sup> and Ali Sher (Khost).<sup>629</sup> Single incidents were however also recorded in the provinces of Kandahar (Shorabak),<sup>630</sup> Paktia (Dand Patan), Paktika (Barmal District),<sup>631</sup> as well as in Helmand (Dishu).<sup>632</sup> ACLED data indicated that the provinces affected by this conflict included Nangarhar (21 events), Kunar (20), Paktika (13), Kandahar (11), Khost (8), Helmand (4), Nuristan (4), Paktia (4) and Kabul (2).<sup>633</sup>

On 9 October 2025, Pakistan carried out an airstrike against Kabul City<sup>634</sup> with unclear damage, as well as against a civilian market in Paktika Province damaging 'a number of shops'.<sup>635</sup> Fighting thereafter escalated<sup>636</sup> as Afghan de facto security forces retaliated on 11 October 2025 by attacking Pakistani military posts along the shared border.<sup>637</sup> Security forces on both sides clashed on 11–12 October 2025, in what was reported as the deadliest clashes since the Taliban takeover in 2021, killing dozens of fighters,<sup>638</sup> and injuring and killing many civilians.<sup>639</sup> Heavy fighting between the Afghan de facto security forces and the Pakistani military forces was also reported in the district of Spin Boldak (Kandahar Province) on 15 October 2025.<sup>640</sup> On this day, Pakistan also conducted airstrikes against Kabul City<sup>641</sup> and Spin Boldak City.<sup>642</sup> According to UN data, clashes between Afghan de facto and Pakistani security forces caused at least 503 civilian casualties, with 50 killed and 453 injured, mainly by air strikes and cross-border shelling, in the period 10–17 October 2025.<sup>643</sup> As per UNAMA's

<sup>626</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Sikkerhetssituasjonen, 7 November 2025, [url](#), p. 4; ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>627</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 16; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 19

<sup>628</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>629</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>630</sup> General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 16

<sup>631</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>632</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>633</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>634</sup> ACLED, Kabul: First strikes in Afghanistan's capital city since 2022 – Expert comment, 10 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>635</sup> BBC News, Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of 'violating Kabul's sovereign territory', 10 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>636</sup> UNAMA, UNAMA welcomes Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire, urges protection of civilians, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>637</sup> Al-Monitor, Explainer-Why are tensions flaring again between Afghanistan and Pakistan?, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>638</sup> Reuters, Pakistani troops on high alert on Afghan border after fighting, trade halts, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>639</sup> UNAMA, UNAMA welcomes Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire, urges protection of civilians, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>640</sup> UNAMA, UNAMA welcomes Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire, urges protection of civilians, 16 October 2025, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Pakistan and Afghanistan announce ceasefire after deadly border clashes, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>641</sup> TOLOnews, Pakistan Airstrike Hits Kabul, Civilians and School Damaged, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>642</sup> Reuters, Pakistan, Afghanistan agree to temporary truce after fresh fighting, airstrikes, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>643</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 27

preliminary records, 17 civilians were killed and 346 injured in the district of Spin Boldak alone.<sup>644</sup> After reaching a temporary ceasefire agreement on 19 October 2025,<sup>645</sup> sporadic airstrikes and clashes have continued to be reported in border areas.<sup>646</sup>

According to UCDP data, events involving Pakistan caused 37 civilian deaths within the reference period of this report. Notably, 32 civilian deaths were recorded in the district of Spin Boldak in Kandahar Province.<sup>647</sup> Civilians have also been displaced due to clashes in border areas.<sup>648</sup> More information is available in section [2.3.1. Displacement and return](#).

Following clashes, Pakistan closed all border crossings with Afghanistan on 12 October 2025,<sup>649</sup> including for trade.<sup>650</sup> The border remained closed as of 30 November 2025,<sup>651</sup> except for some border crossings that have been temporarily or partially reopened for migrant movements,<sup>652</sup> mainly for Afghan returnees.<sup>653</sup> The crossing had already been closed on 22 February 2025 due to clashes for about a month, and civilians and humanitarian actors were instructed to evacuate on the Afghan side.<sup>654</sup>

While Pakistan has claimed that they conduct airstrikes against TTP targets,<sup>655</sup> the Afghan de facto authorities and media have reported on civilians being victims of such attacks.<sup>656</sup> Civilian homes have reportedly been damaged or destroyed in airstrikes, including in the provinces of Kunar<sup>657</sup> and Khost.<sup>658</sup> According to TOLOnews 80 civilian houses were destroyed in Spin Boldak, following airstrikes in October 2025, as well as 50 shops and 10 car dealerships.<sup>659</sup>

---

<sup>644</sup> UNAMA, UNAMA welcomes Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire, urges protection of civilians, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>645</sup> BBC News, Taliban and Pakistan agree to ceasefire after days of deadly clashes, 19 October 2025, [url](#);

<sup>646</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghanistan says Pakistan bombed Khost, killing nine children and a woman, 25 November 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Baradar Warns Against Any violation of Afghan Territory, 28 November 2025, [url](#); RFE/RL, Taliban Blames Pakistan For Air Strikes Killing 10, Including 9 Children, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>647</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>648</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 16; UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>649</sup> AP, Pakistan partially reopens Torkham border crossing to allow Afghan refugees to leave, 1 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>650</sup> Reuters, Pakistani troops on high alert on Afghan border after fighting, trade halts, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>651</sup> Nikkei Asia, Pakistan's trade war with Afghanistan boomerangs on its economy 30 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>652</sup> Khaama Press, Pakistan Reopens Spin Boldak Border After Week-Long Closure, 17 October 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Afghanistan–Pakistan border crossings remain shut for 50th day as trade and travel grind to a halt, 30 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>653</sup> Amu TV, Afghanistan–Pakistan border crossings remain shut for 50th day as trade and travel grind to a halt, 30 November 2025, [url](#); IOM, Afghanistan: Emergency Border Response report (26 Oct - 08 Nov 2025), 17 November 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>654</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>655</sup> DW, Pakistan strikes Afghanistan, kills 9 children, Taliban says, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>656</sup> TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Vows Timely Response to Pakistan's Airstrikes, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>657</sup> Al Jazeera, What are the risks of Afghanistan-Pakistan tensions escalating?, 25 November 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Pakistani Airstrike Hits Civilian Home in Kunar, Injures 5, 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>658</sup> TOLOnews, Khost Residents Demand Retaliation After Pakistani Attacks, 27 November 2025, [url](#); DW, Pakistan strikes Afghanistan, kills 9 children, Taliban says. 25 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>659</sup> TOLOnews, 20,000 Families Displaced by Pakistani Airstrikes in Kandahar, 18 October 2025, [url](#)



Pakistan has also carried out airstrikes against Kabul City, including on 9 October 2025.<sup>660</sup> According to a social media post by a Taliban spokesperson published the subsequent day, no injuries or harm had been reported.<sup>661</sup> On 15 October 2025, two additional explosions reportedly hit Kabul City's Police District 15 and another unspecified area, according to Khaama Press,<sup>662</sup> while the UN Secretary-General reported on the explosions taking place in police district 4.<sup>663</sup> While Pakistan claimed to have carried out an airstrike against the capital,<sup>664</sup> the de facto authorities attributed the explosions to a fuel tanker fire.<sup>665</sup> There were reportedly electricity blackouts in some areas during the night and at least until the next morning, as some cables had been damaged.<sup>666</sup>

## 2.3. Conflict trends by province

### Kabul City and Kabul Province

Kabul City has faced most security incidents since the Taliban takeover in August 2021. As noted by Landinfo, many high-profile de facto government targets are located in the capital, and Kabul has a large population.<sup>667</sup> Sources suggest that the general security situation in Kabul City has improved since the powershift.<sup>668</sup> ACLED recorded 155 events in Kabul Province within the reference period of this report, and the main actors involved were the de facto security forces targeting civilians, and the NRF and AFF targeting the de facto security forces.<sup>669</sup> The UN Secretary-General noted that the de facto authorities had carried out several operations killing alleged ISKP members in, *inter alia*, Kabul City.<sup>670</sup> Some notable events in Kabul City included:

- 19 October 2024: AFF claimed two rocket attacks against Kabul airport;<sup>671</sup>
- 11 December 2024: the ISKP carried out a suicide attack outside the de facto Ministry of Refugees killing the de facto Minister of Refugees, Khalil Haqqani, and six others;<sup>672</sup>
- 28 December 2024: an IED explosion by NRF killed one and injured four civilians;<sup>673</sup>

<sup>660</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>661</sup> Al Jazeera, Taliban blame Pakistan after explosions in Kabul, amid outreach to India, 10 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>662</sup> Khaama Press, Explosions Rock Kabul, Residents Report Twin Blasts Across Afghanistan Capital, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>663</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025, [url](#), para. 20

<sup>664</sup> Khaama Press, Pakistan Confirms Airstrikes on Kabul and Kandahar, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>665</sup> Khaama Press, Explosions Rock Kabul, Residents Report Twin Blasts Across Afghanistan Capital, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>666</sup> AFP, Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire holds after deadly border clashes, 16 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>667</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Sikkerhetssituasjonen, 7 November 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>668</sup> Akram, S., The Turbaned Traders: The Taliban take over the urban economy, AAN, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>669</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>670</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>671</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban Searches Houses In Kabul After Rocket Attack Claimed By Freedom Front, 22 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>672</sup> BBC News, Suicide bomb kills Taliban minister in Kabul, 11 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>673</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5

- 13 February 2025: the ISKP carried out a suicide attack against the de facto Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, killing 3 and injuring 10 employees, including the de facto Deputy Minister<sup>674</sup> who was ‘severely injured’.<sup>675</sup>
- 9 and 15 October 2025: Pakistan carried out two airstrikes.<sup>676</sup>

### Northeastern provinces

When comparing conflict data of northeastern provinces (Kunduz, Takhar, Badakhshan, Baghlan, and Panjsher) from the period January–November 2024 with the same period in 2025, ACLED events have remained on similar levels with 201 events recorded in 2024 and 188 in 2025.<sup>677</sup> Within the reference period of this report (1 October 2024–30 November 2025), data trends looked as follows:

**Kunduz** (71 ACLED events). Most events involved resistance groups targeting de facto security forces.<sup>678</sup> Rawadari recorded suicide and explosive attacks causing civilian deaths and injuries in, *inter alia*, Kunduz in the first half of 2025, but did not provide a data breakdown.<sup>679</sup> One notable attack claimed by the ISKP targeted de facto security force employees collecting their salaries in Kunduz City, killing 15 de facto officials and 4 civilians.<sup>680</sup>

**Takhar** (65 ACLED events). Most events involved the de facto security forces targeting civilians, and resistance groups targeting the de facto security forces.<sup>681</sup> In the first quarter of 2025, AW reported on counteroperations against the ISKP in the province.<sup>682</sup> Notable attacks reported by other sources included:

- 5 October 2024: an IED explosion in front of a high school, wounding six children, one man, and two de facto police officers. NRF claimed responsibility.<sup>683</sup>
- 21 December 2024: an IED explosion in Taloqan City injuring a civilian. The Afghan Liberation Front claimed responsibility.<sup>684</sup>
- 21 January 2025: the killing of a Chinese citizen and a de facto security official in Khwaja Baha ud Din District. The ISKP claimed responsibility.<sup>685</sup>

<sup>674</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>675</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Deputy Minister Severely Injured In Kabul Suicide Bombing, 13 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>676</sup> Khaama Press, Explosions Rock Kabul, Residents Report Twin Blasts Across Afghanistan Capital, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>677</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>678</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>679</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>680</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>681</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>682</sup> AW, ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>683</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5

<sup>684</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 27 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 4–5

<sup>685</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 20



**Badakhshan** (54 ACLED events) and **Baghlan** (24 ACLED events). Most events involved resistance groups targeting the de facto security forces, and the de facto security forces targeting civilians. In both provinces, a handful cases were also attributed to the ISKP or ‘unidentified armed groups’, targeting both civilians and the de facto security forces.<sup>686</sup> UCDP recorded 37 civilian deaths in Badakhshan, mainly connected to the de facto security forces targeting civilians, including violently suppressing protests causing 13 deaths. Moreover, 10 civilian deaths were caused by unknown actors targeting civilians. In Baghlan, UCDP recorded 17 civilian deaths, whereof 11 were caused by the ISKP attacking a Sufi shrine.<sup>687</sup> In the first quarter of 2025, AW reported on counteroperations against the ISKP taking place in, *inter alia*, these provinces,<sup>688</sup> and the UN Secretary-General reported on killings of alleged ISKP members during operations in, *inter alia*, Badakhshan.<sup>689</sup> Notable attacks in Baghlan included:

- 21 November 2024: the ISKP attacked a Sufi shrine in Nahrin District, killing 11 people;<sup>690</sup>
- 7 January 2025: the ISKP attacked two pro-Taliban clerics, killing one of them;<sup>691</sup>
- 18 January 2025: the AFF threw a hand grenade against a de facto police checkpoint in Pul-e Khumri, killing one man and injuring 18 others.<sup>692</sup>

**Panjsher** (32 ACLED events). Most events involved de facto security forces targeting civilians, but also a small number of cases in which resistance groups and unidentified armed actors targeted the de facto security forces.<sup>693</sup> According to Kerr Chiovenda, there is a lot of military presence in Andarab District and Panjsher, due to its history of resistance, although NRF has been almost completely suppressed.<sup>694</sup> More information is available in section [4.3.1. Suspected affiliates of resistance groups.](#)

### Western provinces

When comparing conflict data of western provinces (Badghis, Farah, Ghor, Herat) from the period January–November 2024 with the same period in 2025, ACLED events have decreased with 136 events recorded in 2024 and 74 in 2025.<sup>695</sup> Within the reference period of this report (1 October 2024–30 November 2025), data trends looked as follows:

<sup>686</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>687</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>688</sup> AW, ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>689</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>690</sup> AFP, IS-Khorasan Claims Attack On Sufi Shrine In Afghanistan, 23 November 2024, [url](#); UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 210

<sup>691</sup> Khaama Press, ISIS claims responsibility for assassination of cleric in Baghlan province, 8 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>692</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>693</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>694</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>695</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

**Herat** (69 events). Most events involved resistance groups targeting the de facto security forces, and the de facto security forces targeting civilians.<sup>696</sup> UCDP recorded 16 civilian deaths, connected to various situations, including violent crime.<sup>697</sup>

**Badghis** (25 ACLED events) and **Farah** (15 ACLED events). Most events involved resistance groups and unidentified armed groups targeting the de facto authorities.<sup>698</sup> UCDP recorded 9 civilian deaths in Badghis and 4 in Farah, mainly attributed to unknown actors targeting civilians.<sup>699</sup> In **Ghor** (13 ACLED events), most events involved the de facto security forces targeting civilians.<sup>700</sup> UCDP recorded 9 civilian deaths in Ghor, caused by the de facto government and unknown actors.<sup>701</sup>

### Northwestern provinces

When comparing conflict data of northwestern provinces (Balkh, Faryab, Jowzjan, Samangan, and Sar-e Pul) from the period January–November 2024 with the same period in 2025, ACLED events have decreased with 69 events recorded in 2024 and 44 in 2025.<sup>702</sup> Within the reference period of this report (1 October 2024–30 November 2025), data trends look as follows:

**Balkh** (21 ACLED events). Most events involved unidentified armed groups and de facto security forces targeting civilians. There were also some events in which resistance groups targeted the de facto authorities.<sup>703</sup> UCDP recorded 8 civilian deaths in the province.<sup>704</sup> Notable events included three IEDs attacks in Mazar-e Sharif in April 2025, two of which were claimed by the AFF and wounded seven civilians, and one remain unclaimed and killed one man and wounded nine men and one boy.<sup>705</sup> According to Afghan media sources the third attack took place in the vicinity of a Shia mosque.<sup>706</sup>

**Faryab** (23 ACLED events). Most events involved the de facto security forces and unidentified armed groups targeting civilians, and also some cases of resistance groups targeting the de facto security forces.<sup>707</sup> In **Samangan** (10 ACLED events), **Jowzjan** (7), and **Sar-e Pul** (4), most

<sup>696</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>697</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>698</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>699</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>700</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>701</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>702</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>703</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>704</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>705</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), pp. 5–6

<sup>706</sup> Amu TV, Sources: One killed in explosion near mosque in Balkh, 14 April 2025, [url](#); Khaama Press, Explosion rocks Mazar-i-Sharif, Balkh Province, Afghanistan, 14 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>707</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)



events involved de facto military forces and unidentified armed groups targeting civilians.<sup>708</sup> UCDP recorded 2 civilian deaths in Samangan, 17 civilian deaths in Jowzjan, and 11 civilian deaths in Sar-e Pul, mainly connected to unknown armed groups targeting civilians, but also some cases in which civilians were targeted by the de facto security forces, and one case in which the ISKP caused two civilian deaths in Sar-e Pul.<sup>709</sup> AW reported counteroperations against the ISKP in, *inter alia*, Sar-e Pul and Samangan.<sup>710</sup>

### South and southeastern provinces

When comparing conflict data of southern and southeastern provinces (Nangarhar, Khost, Paktika, Paktya, Laghman, Ghazni, Kunar, Nuristan, Kandahar, Helmand, Nimruz, Uruzgan, and Zabul) from the period January–November 2024 with the same period in 2025, ACLED events have increased with 195 events recorded in 2024 and 226 in 2025.<sup>711</sup> Some areas along the border with Pakistan have been impacted by airstrikes and cross-border violence.<sup>712</sup> Within the reference period of this report (1 October 2024–30 November 2025), data trends looked as follows:

In **Nangarhar** (63 ACLED events), **Khost** (37), **Paktika** (32), and **Paktya** (24), a large share of events involved Pakistani security forces, but also the de facto security forces targeting civilians. In **Laghman** (14 ACLED events) and **Ghazni** (13), most events involved de facto authorities targeting civilians. In **Kunar** (37 ACLED events), there were events in which Pakistani security forces and unidentified armed groups also clashed with the TTP. In **Nuristan** (7 ACLED events), most events involved Pakistani security forces and unidentified armed groups targeting civilians.<sup>713</sup> A large share of civilian deaths recorded by the UCDP in Khost (20) and Paktika (67) were caused by Pakistani airstrikes.<sup>714</sup> The UN Secretary-General noted that the de facto intelligence and security forces had carried out several operations killing alleged ISKP members in Kunar and Nangarhar in the period 1 May–31 July 2025. The ISKP moreover attacked de facto security forces in Darah-i Nur District (Nangarhar Province) on 15 June 2025, clashed with de facto security forces in Alingar District (Lagman Province) on 8 July 2025,<sup>715</sup> and reportedly carried out an explosion and subsequent ambush on de facto security forces, killing three de facto state employees in Kunar Province on 12 October 2024.<sup>716</sup>

<sup>708</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Sikkerhetssituasjonen, 7 November 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>709</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>710</sup> AW, ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>711</sup> EUAA analysis based on ACLED data. ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>712</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>713</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>714</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>715</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>716</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 15

**Kandahar** (37 ACLED events). Most events involved Pakistani security forces targeting civilians and the de facto security forces, although there were also a large share of events in which the de facto security forces targeted civilians.<sup>717</sup> UCDP recorded 48 civilian deaths, with a large share caused by Pakistani airstrikes and border clashes.<sup>718</sup>

**Helmand** (23 ACLED events). Most events involved unidentified groups targeting civilians, the de facto security forces and Pakistani security forces. There were also clashes between the de facto and Pakistani security forces. Both actors also targeted civilians.

Most events in **Nimruz** (11), **Uruzgan** (4) and **Zabul** (3) related to the de facto security forces targeting civilians.<sup>719</sup>

### Other provinces

In **Parwan** (35 ACLED events) and **Kapisa** (25) the data involved various actors, with civilians mainly being targeted by the de facto security forces. The de facto security forces were also targeted by resistance groups as well as unidentified groups. In **Wardak** (13 events), **Daykundi** (7), **Logar** (3), **Bamyan** (1), most events related to de facto security forces targeting civilians.<sup>720</sup>

### Figure 4. Conflict data by province

The table on the next page contains available conflict, population, and displacement data. Data limitations include challenges in collecting accurate data on population movements,<sup>721</sup> and population data, as Afghanistan lacks a census.<sup>722</sup> The official population data used is an estimate based on a household listing collected in 2003–2005 and mathematical formulas. As per this estimate the Afghan population stands at 36 million people in 2025,<sup>723</sup> which is about 10 million less than figures used by e.g. the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC).<sup>724</sup> There has also been a recent large-scale influx of returnees from neighbouring countries.<sup>725</sup> It should further be noted that the UNHCR return data only include parts of 2025 and not the whole reference period of this report.<sup>726</sup>

<sup>717</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>718</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

<sup>719</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>720</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>721</sup> IDMC, Country Profile, Afghanistan, 15 May 2025, [url](#); UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Conflict Induced Displacements, 24 November 2025, [url](#); UNHCR, Forced Displacement and Returns in Afghanistan, 20 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>722</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>723</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, Estimated population of Afghanistan 2025-26, September 2025, [url](#), pp. iii, 31

<sup>724</sup> IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2025 and Projection for May - October 2025, 6 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>725</sup> UNHCR, Afghan Returns from Iran and Pakistan Emergency Update #12, 3 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>726</sup> UNHCR, Forced Displacement and Returns in Afghanistan, 20 December 2025, [url](#)



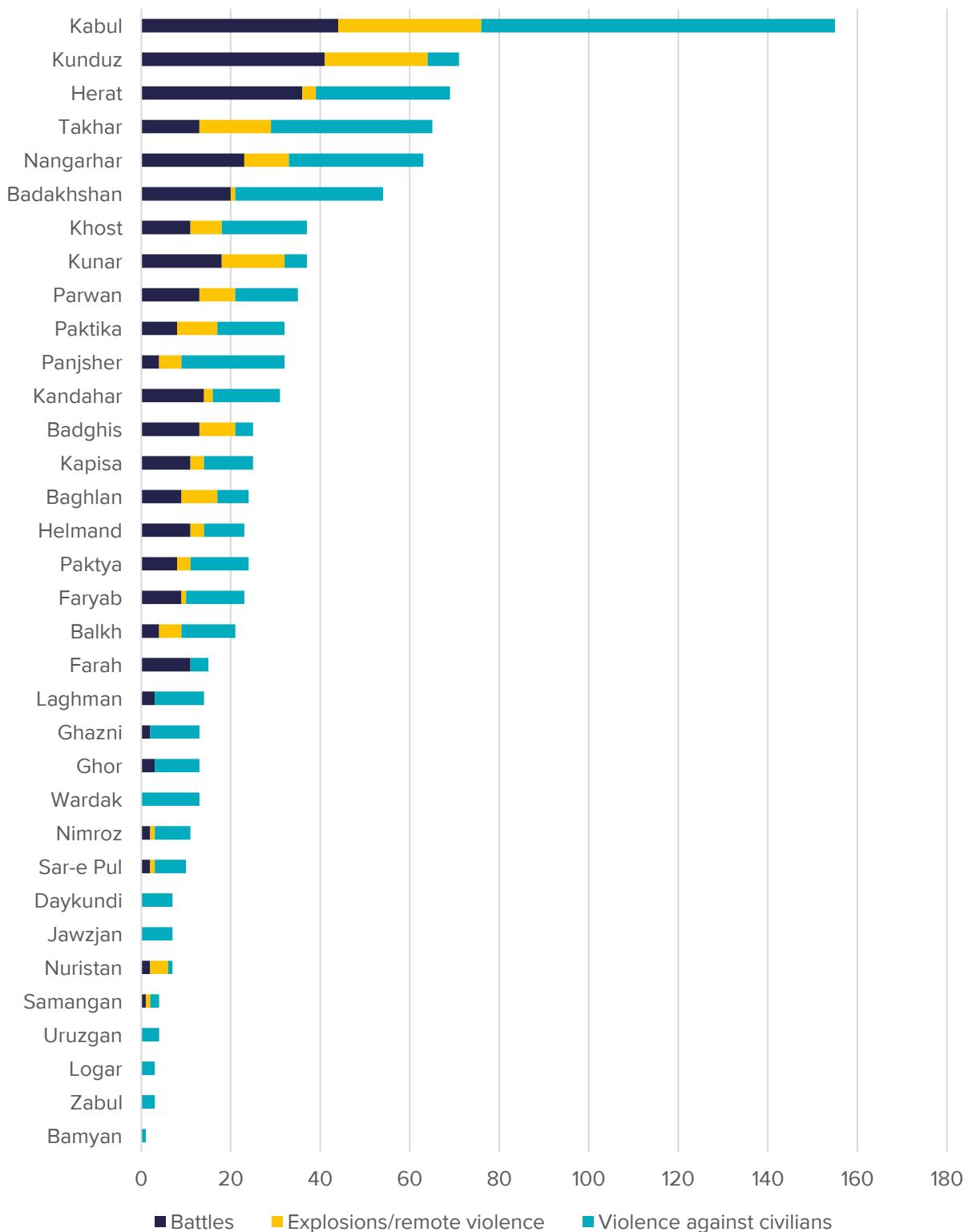
Province	Population <sup>1</sup>	Events (ACLED) <sup>2</sup>				Civilian deaths (UCDP) <sup>3</sup>	Displacement (as of 12 Oct) <sup>4</sup> / return (30 Nov) <sup>5</sup>
		Total	Battles	Explosions/ remote violence	Violence against civilians		
Badakhshan	1 150 342	54	20	1	33	37	-/41
Badghis	585 254	25	13	8	4	9	-/-
Baghlan	1 113 400	24	9	8	7	17	-/14
Balkh	1 595 814	21	4	5	12	8	-/14
Bamyan	540 614	1	0	0	1	0	-/-
Daykundi	562 913	7	0	0	7	2	-/-
Farah	615 154	15	11	0	4	4	-/12
Faryab	1 213 961	23	9	1	13	17	-/11
Ghazni	1 487 410	13	2	0	11	15	-/-
Ghor	847 731	13	3	0	10	9	-/-
Helmand	1 580 345	23	11	3	9	6	-/104
Herat	2 383 202	69	36	3	30	16	-/19
Jawzjan	660 962	7	0	0	7	3	-/13
Kabul	6 173 494	155	44	32	79	26	-/242
Kandahar	1 567 980	31	14	2	15	48	-/51
Kapisa	532 235	25	11	3	11	4	-/-
Khost	694 197	37	11	7	19	20	-/-
Kunar	544 839	37	18	14	5	5	98/8
Kunduz	1 258 535	71	41	23	7	5	-/22
Laghman	538 040	14	3	0	11	5	-/24
Logar	473 811	3	0	0	3	2	-/-
Nangarhar	1 877 232	63	23	10	30	20	7 369/27
Nimroz	201 140	11	2	1	8	8	-/14
Nuristan	178 534	7	2	4	1	4	-/7
Paktika	845 359	32	8	9	15	67	-/-
Paktya	667 956	24	8	3	13	10	-/-
Panjsher	185 194	32	4	5	23	0	-/-
Parwan	806 431	35	13	8	14	2	-/-
Samangan	562 963	4	1	1	2	2	-/-
Sar-e Pul	678 598	10	2	1	7	8	-/17
Takhar	1 196 656	65	13	16	36	7	-/-
Uruzgan	475 839	4	0	0	4	6	-/-
Wardak	719 710	13	0	0	13	4	-/-
Zabul	419 352	3	0	0	3	3	-/9
<b>Total</b>	<b>36 435 197</b>	<b>971</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>7 467/649</b>

Sources:<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, Estimated population of Afghanistan 2025-26, September 2025, [url](#), pp. 31-32; <sup>2</sup> ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024-30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#); <sup>3</sup> UCDP, data covering the period 1 October 2024-30 November 2025, provided by courtesy



of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025; <sup>4</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Conflict Induced Displacements, 24 November 2025, [url](#); <sup>5</sup> UNHCR, Forced Displacement and Returns in Afghanistan, 20 December 2025, [url](#)

**Figure 5. ACLED data by province**



Source: ACLED, Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, [url](#)



### 2.3.1. Displacement and return

The conflict between the Taliban and the previous government caused large displacement, with an average of 380 000 people becoming displaced per year across the whole country, according to Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). After the Taliban takeover, conflict-induced displacement stopped almost completely, according to the same source.<sup>727</sup> Most displacement taking place after 2021 has been induced by climate change and natural disasters.<sup>728</sup>

Nevertheless, 4.2 million people were estimated to live in internal displacement due to conflict and violence in 2024, and 3 200 new movements were recorded this year due to violence along the border with Pakistan, mainly in Khost Province.<sup>729</sup> Although not providing any figures, the UN Secretary-General noted that civilians had been displaced in border areas in 2024, including following clashes between Pakistani security forces and Afghan de facto security forces in Shorabak (Kandahar Province) on 6 and 9 October 2024, and following shelling in Dangam (Kunar Province) on 7 October 2024.<sup>730</sup>

In 2025 (as of 12 October), UN OCHA recorded 7 467 conflict-induced displacements, taking place in the provinces of Nangarhar and Kunar. This included 6 675 individuals being displaced from the district of Mohmandara and 694 individuals from the district of Durbaba (both located in Nangarhar Province) and 98 individuals being displaced from Nari district (Kunar Province). UN OCHA also noted that constrained humanitarian access prevents verifying the full extent of displacement.<sup>731</sup> Local de facto authorities however stated that about 20 000 families had been displaced from Spin Boldak following Pakistani airstrikes in October 2025.<sup>732</sup>

The UN Secretary-General also reported on 250 families being displaced from the district Sarkani (Kunar Province) on 10 January 2025, following mortar fire and heavy clashes between Afghan de facto security forces and Pakistani security forces.<sup>733</sup>

UNHCR reported on 649 IDPs returning to various provinces in 2025 (as of 30 November);<sup>734</sup> see **Figure 4** on the previous page.

<sup>727</sup> IDMC, One year on: the Taliban takeover and Afghanistan's changing displacement crisis, August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>728</sup> IOM, Climate Crisis Drives Displacement, Worsens Afghanistan's Humanitarian Needs: IOM Report, 27 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>729</sup> IDMC, Country Profile, Afghanistan, 15 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>730</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 16

<sup>731</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Conflict Induced Displacements, 24 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>732</sup> TOLONews, 20,000 Families Displaced by Pakistani Airstrikes in Kandahar, 18 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>733</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>734</sup> UNHCR, Forced Displacement and Returns in Afghanistan, 20 December 2025, [url](#)

## 2.4. Child recruitment

Children were recruited to Taliban ranks during their time as an insurgency.<sup>735</sup> Sources have suggested that children have remained in Taliban ranks after the Taliban takeover,<sup>736</sup> and that child recruitment has continued.<sup>737</sup>

The de facto authorities have been taking measures to remove and avoid recruiting young boys into their ranks, including by forming a commission for this purpose,<sup>738</sup> and issuing a command order prohibiting the recruitment of children not showing signs of puberty.<sup>739</sup> However, many people in Afghanistan do not know their age and do not perceive the age of 18 years as the end of childhood,<sup>740</sup> rather this is assessed based on signs of puberty.<sup>741</sup> The Taliban, including in their capacity as the de facto authorities, have been assessing the age of boys based on their beard's growth.<sup>742</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan reported on the ambiguous legal definition of a child leaving adolescent children vulnerable to recruitment into the de facto armed forces.<sup>743</sup> However, according to the Afghan analyst, many children have been removed from armed forces in this process, and young boys are not present among Taliban fighters in the same manner as directly after the takeover – although it was not a very common sight back then either.<sup>744</sup>

In 2023, the UN Secretary-General reported on 342 boys being used in combat and in support roles by the de facto authorities. Most boys (333) were released from Taliban ranks that year following negotiations with the UN. In the same report, the UN Secretary-General reported on 29 boys and 2 girls being detained for alleged association with opposing groups, of which one child died in custody.<sup>745</sup> In July 2025, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, reported that the engagement of the UN with the de facto

---

<sup>735</sup> HRW, This is our opportunity to end the Taliban's use of child soldiers, 20 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>736</sup> HRW, This is our opportunity to end the Taliban's use of child soldiers, 20 September 2021, [url](#); UN General Assembly, Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, 25 July 2025, [url](#), para. 37

<sup>737</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 56; USDOS, 2024 Trafficking in Persons Report: Afghanistan, 24 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>738</sup> Afghan analyst, interviews 8–9 June 2023, 1 October 2024, and email communication, 10 October 2023, 13 October 2024. The interview on 1 October 2024 was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>739</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 56

<sup>740</sup> Afghan analyst, interviews 8–9 June 2023, 1 October 2024, and email communication, 10 October 2023, 13 October 2024. The interview on 1 October 2024 was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>741</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 54

<sup>742</sup> The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), section 1.2.7.1; Afghan analyst, interviews 8–9 June 2023, 1 October 2024, and email communication, 10 October 2023, 13 October 2024. The interview on 1 October 2024 was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>743</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Advanced unedited version, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 56

<sup>744</sup> Afghan analyst, interviews 8–9 June 2023, 1 October 2024, and email communication, 10 October 2023, 13 October 2024. The interview on 1 October 2024 was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>745</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, Children and armed conflict, 3 June 2024, [url](#), paras. 16, 17, 24



authorities had ‘led to the release from their ranks of 58 children and their reintegration’ in the period August 2024–July 2025.<sup>746</sup>

According to the US DOS Trafficking in Persons report, published on 24 June 2024, children have been recruited by both the Taliban and other armed groups as soldiers for combat and support roles. The report states that the Taliban have been recruiting children in *madrassas* in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and often recruits children through coercion, fraud, and false promises’, as well as by encouraging relatives to send their children to join Taliban ranks in order to ‘expand its trusted personnel’. <sup>747</sup> In contrast, in their research on *madrassas* in Afghanistan, Rahimi and Watkins did not find any support for public *madrassas* engaging in militarised training or education, although they could not rule out that *madrassas* were being used for recruitment into the de facto administration. The prevalence of child recruitment was not mentioned in the research paper.<sup>748</sup> In an interview with the EUAA, Rahimi noted that although public *jihadi madrassas* may be used to identify suitable future de facto officials, it may take many years to complete such an education.<sup>749</sup> More information is available in section [1.2.6. Impact on the education sector](#).

US DOS further stated that the NRF and the ISKP use children in ‘direct hostilities’, including to plant and detonate IEDs, carry weapons, spy and as guards. Recruitment strategies of such armed groups include targeting children from impoverished and rural areas, and displaced children are reportedly particularly vulnerable.<sup>750</sup> It has not been possible to corroborate this information with other sources. Meanwhile, a research study carried out by Afghanistan expert Antonio Giustozzi suggested that the ISKP sought to recruit university students.<sup>751</sup> The UN Sanctions and Monitoring Team also reported on the new ISKP leader focusing on recruiting more educated individuals and extending recruitment to non-Salafists.<sup>752</sup> A research paper of Centre on Armed Groups identified the most common pathway to join the ISKP as through personal relationships or through religious institutions, and that the ISKP has ‘capitalised on the Taliban’s harassment of Salafists’. The report makes reference to child recruitment, but outlines how a ‘younger generation’ of ISKP recruits joining after the Taliban takeover in 2021 were inspired by male relatives that had previously joined the ISKP.<sup>753</sup>

<sup>746</sup> UN General Assembly, Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, 25 July 2025, [url](#), para. 37

<sup>747</sup> US DOS, 2024 Trafficking in Persons Report: Afghanistan, 24 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>748</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., The Taliban’s Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 14–15

<sup>749</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>750</sup> US DOS, 2024 Trafficking in Persons Report: Afghanistan, 24 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>751</sup> Giustozzi, A., An Unfamiliar Challenge: How the Taliban are Meeting the Islamic State Threat on Afghanistan’s University Campuses, RUSI, May 2023, [url](#), pp. 3, 6–10

<sup>752</sup> UN Security Council, Fourteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 1 June 2023, [url](#), para. 46

<sup>753</sup> Centre on Armed Groups, Drivers of ISKP Recruitment in Afghanistan, August 2024, [url](#), pp. 1, 8

## 2.5. Recent crime trends

No crime statistics are available in Afghanistan,<sup>754</sup> and available reporting on armed crime ‘has not been sufficiently systematic to allow reliable estimates of the scale’, as reported by Saleem and Semple.<sup>755</sup> Furthermore, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) indicated that, according to journalists’ reports from Herat, Nangarhar, Faryab, and Bamyan provinces, crime was not allowed to be reported.<sup>756</sup>

Following the Taliban takeover, some sources suggested that crime levels increased.<sup>757</sup> Freedom House noted that high levels of violent crime were reported across the country, including kidnappings and armed robberies,<sup>758</sup> while USDOS noted that armed groups engaged in violent activities, such as threats, robberies, and kidnappings against civilians, medical and NGO workers and foreigners.<sup>759</sup> Other sources also noted that de facto officials had been involved in violent crime against the population, including kidnapping for ransom,<sup>760</sup> robberies, and crime under the pretext of house searches,<sup>761</sup> while some robberies were allegedly committed by individuals dressed as Taliban or wearing de facto security-personnel uniforms.<sup>762</sup>

However, an Afghan analyst, who regularly visits Afghanistan to conduct field-based research, told the EUAA in October 2024 that the situation concerning violent crime had significantly improved, although it had not been completely suppressed.<sup>763</sup> By contrast, during 2025, some media outlets reported that violent crime, such as robberies, targeted killings and kidnappings, have increased in many parts of the country,<sup>764</sup> including in Kabul City.<sup>765</sup> Some of these sources attribute this rise to unemployment levels, lack of job opportunities,

---

<sup>754</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Temanotat, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for afghanske menn, 20 January 2025, [url](#), p. 8; International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023

<sup>755</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 27

<sup>756</sup> CPJ, How the Taliban’s propaganda empire consumed Afghan media, 13 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>757</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 27 February 2023, [url](#), para. 16; Business Standard, Crime rate rising in Afghanistan since Taliban takeover in August last year, 22 August 2022, [url](#); International Crisis Group, Afghanistan’s Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), pp. 6, 17

<sup>758</sup> Freedom House, Afghanistan: Freedom in the World 2024 Country Report, 2024, [url](#)

<sup>759</sup> USDOS, 2023 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, [url](#), p. 3; USDOS, 2022 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, 20 March 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>760</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>761</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 27

<sup>762</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Lives at Risk, Voices Silenced: Robbery and Murder Under Taliban Rule, 24 May 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 4 armed robbers detained in Kabul, 6 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>763</sup> Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI units at the Austrian Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum and the Swedish Migration Agency, as well as Landinfo – the Norwegian COI Centre

<sup>764</sup> Khaama Press, Armed Robbers Kill Mother and Daughter in Logar Province, Afghanistan, 9 November 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Kabul Gripped by Insecurity: Armed Robberies in Taliban Uniforms Spark Growing Public Fear, 15 October 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Two Teenagers Killed After Being Abducted in Helmand and Kandahar, 11 September 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban say child rescued from kidnappers in Balkh, 13 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>765</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Kabul Gripped by Insecurity: Armed Robberies in Taliban Uniforms Spark Growing Public Fear, 15 October 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Lives at Risk, Voices Silenced: Robbery and Murder Under Taliban Rule, 24 May 2025, [url](#)



economic hardship and poverty,<sup>766</sup> as well as to 'weak law enforcement'.<sup>767</sup> According to such media reports, some of these crimes targeted children.<sup>768</sup> AW also reported on a de facto official allegedly being involved in the rape and subsequent killing of a teenage boy.<sup>769</sup> Local media Khaama Press also noted a recent 'string of robberies and murders' in November 2025, creating 'public concern over deteriorating security conditions'.<sup>770</sup> In the period 1 November 2024–30 April 2025, the UN Secretary-General recorded 283 robbery incidents in total, with numbers marking an increase as compared with the respective same period in 2023–2024.<sup>771</sup> During the first half of 2025, Rawadari documented at least 251 cases of people killed or injured 'in targeted, mysterious, and extrajudicial killings', including 20 women, and 12 children, noting a 30 % increase compared to the same period last year. Many incidents have been linked to Taliban members or unidentified individuals.<sup>772</sup>

The de facto authorities have reportedly carried out arrests for some incidents relating to violent crimes.<sup>773</sup> However, according to Afghan media in exile, despite claims of combatting violent crime and provide security, the de facto authorities did not provide effective protection.<sup>774</sup>

<sup>766</sup> Kabul Now, Teenager Found Dead in Ghazni Amid Rising Violent Crime Across Afghanistan, 17 September 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Lives at Risk, Voices Silenced: Robbery and Murder Under Taliban Rule, 24 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>767</sup> Kabul Now, Teenager Found Dead in Ghazni Amid Rising Violent Crime Across Afghanistan, 17 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>768</sup> Kabul Now, Teenager Found Dead in Ghazni Amid Rising Violent Crime Across Afghanistan, 17 September 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Missing Boy Found Dead in Eastern Afghanistan Amid Surge in Violent Crime, 10 September 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban say child rescued from kidnappers in Balkh, 13 July 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Horrific Child Killings and Public Outrage: Taliban Remain Silent, 13 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>769</sup> CIR, Boy found dead after accusing Taliban members of sexual abuse, 9 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>770</sup> Khaama Press, Armed Robbers Kill Mother and Daughter in Logar Province, Afghanistan, 9 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>771</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 19; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>772</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>773</sup> Khaama Press, Armed Robbers Kill Mother and Daughter in Logar Province, Afghanistan, 9 November 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Teenager Found Dead in Ghazni Amid Rising Violent Crime Across Afghanistan, 17 September 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 4 armed robbers detained in Kabul, 6 February 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Amid Taliban Control, Takhar Residents Face Escalating Insecurity and Armed Crime, 9 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>774</sup> Khaama Press, Armed Robbers Kill Mother and Daughter in Logar Province, Afghanistan, 9 November 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Missing Boy Found Dead in Eastern Afghanistan Amid Surge in Violent Crime, 10 September 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Amid Taliban Control, Takhar Residents Face Escalating Insecurity and Armed Crime, 9 October 2024, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 7 killed, 5 wounded in Afghanistan last week, 10 March 2024, [url](#)

## 3. Humanitarian situation

### 3.1. Economic and humanitarian crisis

Decades of conflict, persistent economic crisis, and natural disasters have been pushing large parts of the Afghan population into poverty.<sup>775</sup> The economy suffered a severe shock amid the Taliban takeover in 2021,<sup>776</sup> and entered a stage of ‘free fall’.<sup>777</sup> By mid-2022, it stabilised again but at a lower equilibrium than before, with a general loss of economic ground and increased poverty.<sup>778</sup> According to the World Bank, the Afghan economy contracted by 20.7 % in 2021, and 6.2 % in 2022.<sup>779</sup> In this period, the population became increasingly reliant on humanitarian aid,<sup>780</sup> peaking in 2023 with 28.3 million people in need of assistance.<sup>781</sup>

In 2023–2024, the economy showed signs of slow recovery.<sup>782</sup> The World Bank however noted that the growth was insufficient to improve living standards<sup>783</sup> and remained below the population growth rate.<sup>784</sup> As a result, per-capita income stagnated.<sup>785</sup> The World Bank forecast a 4 % contraction of GDP per-capita for FY2025, due to rapid population expansion,<sup>786</sup> and almost half of the population, 22.9 million people, required humanitarian assistance in 2025 ‘to survive’, according to UN OCHA.<sup>787</sup> The economy continued to be impacted by sanctions and isolation resulting from the de facto government not being recognised,<sup>788</sup> and has suffered new shocks, including a significant reduction in US aid in 2025 and the mass influx of returnees from Pakistan and Iran, placing additional strain on humanitarian needs.<sup>789</sup>

<sup>775</sup> IRC, U.S. aid cuts are impacting millions of Afghans, 25 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>776</sup> HRW, Economic Causes of Afghanistan’s humanitarian Crisis, 4 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>777</sup> USIP, One Year Later, Taliban Unable to Reverse Afghanistan’s Economic Decline, 8 August 2022, [url](#); UN News, Afghanistan economy in ‘freefall’, threatening to take entire population with it, 19 December 2021, [url](#)

<sup>778</sup> USIP, One Year Later, Taliban Unable to Reverse Afghanistan’s Economic Decline, 8 August 2022, [url](#); World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update – Adjusting to the New Realities, October 2022, [url](#), pp. 9, 17

<sup>779</sup> World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update - Navigating Challenges: Confronting Economic Recession and Deflation, April 2024, [url](#), pp. 9, 12–13

<sup>780</sup> IOM, With More than Half of Afghans Dependent on Humanitarian Aid, IOM Calls for Sustained Support, 1 September 2022, [url](#); Islamic Relief, Two years on, millions of Afghan civilians need greater international support, 17 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>781</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023, 23 January 2023, [url](#)

<sup>782</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>783</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Economic Monitor, June 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>784</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 8; Byrd, W., Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>785</sup> Byrd, W., Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>786</sup> World Bank, Macro Poverty Outlook, October 2025, [url](#), p. 148

<sup>787</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025, December 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>788</sup> International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>789</sup> Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), pp. 33, 37



Millions of Afghans have returned from Iran and Pakistan in recent years,<sup>790</sup> and over 2.5 million in 2025 alone.<sup>791</sup> Returnees face multiple challenges upon arrival, including accessing adequate shelter, income, food, clean water, and healthcare.<sup>792</sup> More information on returnees is available in section [1.4. Treatment of persons returning from abroad](#).

The US, previously the largest state donor contributing to Afghan aid relief, decided to cut funds to almost all of its humanitarian programmes in April 2025,<sup>793</sup> and other donors have followed.<sup>794</sup> The consequences of aid cuts have included, *inter alia*, hundreds of health centres shutting down,<sup>795</sup> and the suspension of USAID programmes supporting millions of Afghans with food provision, urgent healthcare services, and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services.<sup>796</sup> Restrictions by the de facto authorities have also negatively impacted aid delivery, and complicated the work of aid organisations on the ground.<sup>797</sup> More information is available in section [4.7. Human rights defenders and activists and in the 2024 EUAA COI Report Afghanistan: Country Focus](#) (section 3.6. Aid delivery).

Afghanistan is vulnerable to climate-related disasters<sup>798</sup> and face annual flash floods,<sup>799</sup> persistent droughts<sup>800</sup> and earthquakes causing severe damage and deaths.<sup>801</sup> Reuters reported on an annual average of 560 persons being killed by earthquakes in Afghanistan and annual damages of USD 80 million.<sup>802</sup> A compilation by UN OCHA indicated that over 90 000 people had been affected by natural disasters in 2025 (as of 6 October), 2 059 people were killed and 3 882 injured. Moreover, 4 467 houses were damaged and 7 559 houses destroyed.<sup>803</sup> The most destructive incident of 2025 was an earthquake hitting the eastern province of Kunar on 31 August,<sup>804</sup> affecting over 59 000 people in adjacent districts, killing 1 986 persons and injuring 3 565, as reported by UN OCHA.<sup>805</sup> In some cases, entire communities were wiped out,<sup>806</sup> with women and children being overrepresented among

<sup>790</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>791</sup> UNHCR, Pakistan - Afghanistan: Returns Emergency Response #42 (as of 4 September 2025), 5 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>792</sup> ACAPS, Country analysis, Afghanistan, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>793</sup> Clark, K., The End of US Aid to Afghanistan: What will it mean for families, services and the economy?, AAN, 9 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>794</sup> International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>795</sup> International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>796</sup> Clark, K., The End of US Aid to Afghanistan: What will it mean for families, services and the economy?, AAN, 9 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>797</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>798</sup> FEWS Net, Afghanistan Food Security Outlook June 2024 - January 2025, 6 July 2024, [url](#); SIPRI, Climate, Peace and Security Fact Sheet: Afghanistan 2023, February 2023, [url](#), p. 1; UN OCHA, Afghanistan: The alarming effects of climate change, 1 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>799</sup> ICRC, Afghanistan: Assisting communities grappling with the impact of climate change, 25 November 2024, [url](#); Afghanaid, Afghanaid joins global UN conference on disaster risk reduction, n.d., [url](#); UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025, December 2025, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>800</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025, December 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), p. 39

<sup>801</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025, December 2025, [url](#), pp. 10, 12; Reuters, Why is Afghanistan so prone to earthquakes?, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>802</sup> Reuters, Why is Afghanistan so prone to earthquakes?, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>803</sup> UN OCHA, Natural Disasters Dashboard, 11 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>804</sup> IRC, Afghanistan earthquake: What's happening and how to help, 1 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>805</sup> UN OCHA, Natural Disasters Dashboard, 11 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>806</sup> Al Jazeera, Video: Al Jazeera reports from Afghanistan earthquake zone, 7 September 2025, [url](#)

those dead and injured.<sup>807</sup> Meanwhile, there is a shortage of female rescue staff, exacerbated by the de facto authorities' restrictions.<sup>808</sup> Some witnesses stated that there were instances of male rescuers neglecting women trapped in the rubble,<sup>809</sup> as they did not want to touch them,<sup>810</sup> while others credited male volunteers for saving female earthquake victims.<sup>811</sup>

### 3.2. Poverty, basic subsistence and employment

Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world.<sup>812</sup> The World Bank reported that about 48 % of the population lived below the poverty threshold in 2025,<sup>813</sup> while the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reported on 75 % of the population being 'subsistence-insecure'.<sup>814</sup> A significant portion of the population struggle to cover their basic needs, and have expenses exceeding their income.<sup>815</sup> UNDP noted 'significant deteriorations' of the population's ability to afford adequate housing, healthcare, cooking items, food, and winter clothing, driven by economic shocks and reduced humanitarian assistance.<sup>816</sup> Households in crisis resorted to negative coping strategies, including taking on debt,<sup>817</sup> taking children out of school and engaging them in child labour,<sup>818</sup> or marrying off girls.<sup>819</sup> More extreme, but still reported, strategies included selling children<sup>820</sup> and selling body organs.<sup>821</sup>

Agriculture is the backbone of the Afghan economy.<sup>822</sup> A great share of the population lives in rural areas and depends on farming<sup>823</sup> and tending livestock.<sup>824</sup> As many households rely on

<sup>807</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Situation Update #7 - Eastern Region Earthquake Response (25 September 2025, 25 September 2025, [url](#))

<sup>808</sup> Al Jazeera, Did restrictions on women workers hamper Afghanistan's earthquake response?, 27 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>809</sup> New York Times (The), After Afghan Quake, Many Male Rescuers Helped Men but Not Women, 4 September 2025, [url](#); NPR, Afghan earthquake triggers contradictory Taliban tactics on rescuing women, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>810</sup> Al Jazeera, Did restrictions on women workers hamper Afghanistan's earthquake response?, 27 September 2025, [url](#); New York Times (The), After Afghan Quake, Many Male Rescuers Helped Men but Not Women, 4 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>811</sup> Al Jazeera, Did restrictions on women workers hamper Afghanistan's earthquake response?, 27 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>812</sup> UNDP and OPHI, Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2024, Poverty Amid Conflict, 2024, [url](#), p. 18

<sup>813</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>814</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 7, 22–24

<sup>815</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 7, 22–24; World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>816</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 7, 22–24

<sup>817</sup> EC, European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, Afghanistan, [2025], [url](#); Byrd, W., Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>818</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), pp. 7, 19

<sup>819</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025, December 2025, [url](#), pp. 5, 14

<sup>820</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 19; DW, Children for sale in Afghanistan, 14 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>821</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>822</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 7; Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 9

<sup>823</sup> France 24, Afghanistan hit by worst drought in 30 years, 9 October 2025, [url](#); International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>824</sup> REACH, Afghanistan: Comparative Drought Analysis, September 2024, [url](#), p. 3



their own production,<sup>825</sup> they are vulnerable to climate shocks.<sup>826</sup> The agricultural sector was highly affected by persistent droughts in 2021–2023,<sup>827</sup> one of the worst drought periods in Afghan history.<sup>828</sup> In 2025, another severe drought hit Afghanistan, which mainly impacted farmers relying on springtime rain and tending livestock in the northern provinces of Balkh, Faryab, Jawzjan, Samangan, and Sar-e Pul, and the western provinces of Badghis and Herat. Nevertheless, despite droughts, Afghan wheat production has steadily increased each year since 2022, with the production for 2025 being above the levels in 2020, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). This trend was attributed to the use of improved seeds.<sup>829</sup> Meanwhile, farmers in areas depending on rainfall and growing crops such as fruit,<sup>830</sup> and tending livestock,<sup>831</sup> face another year of crisis,<sup>832</sup> with drought pushing families across the country to abandon their lands and relocate.<sup>833</sup> The opium cultivation ban has also impacted many farmers<sup>834</sup> who struggle to find alternative livelihoods.<sup>835</sup>

Some reports suggest that poverty is more intense in rural areas,<sup>836</sup> but the possibility of many households to self-produce generally makes them less vulnerable to changes in workforce demands.<sup>837</sup> A multi-authored research article of Biruni Institute suggested that the rural population has adapted over the years and developed diverse coping mechanism to handle economic shocks. The urban population, in contrast, lacked informal insurance mechanisms such as land, food savings, localised co-insurance, and could not rely on any formal insurance mechanism of a welfare state either, for example unemployment benefits.<sup>838</sup> The World Bank also reported on improved security and better market access reducing rural poverty.<sup>839</sup>

<sup>825</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 32

<sup>826</sup> International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#); WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>827</sup> UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Drought - 2021-2024, 2024, [url](#)

<sup>828</sup> REACH, Afghanistan: Comparative Drought Analysis, September 2024, [url](#), pp. 3–4

<sup>829</sup> Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), pp. 4, 10, 12, 38

<sup>830</sup> France 24, Afghanistan hit by worst drought in 30 years, 9 October 2025, [url](#); Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), p. 22

<sup>831</sup> Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>832</sup> France 24, Afghanistan hit by worst drought in 30 years, 9 October 2025, [url](#); Clark, K., Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN, July 2025, [url](#), pp. 22–23

<sup>833</sup> IOM, Afghanistan, Climate Vulnerability Assessment, February 2025, [url](#), p. 3; France 24, Afghanistan hit by worst drought in 30 years, 9 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>834</sup> International Crisis Group, Trouble In Afghanistan's Opium Fields: The Taliban War On Drugs, 12 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>835</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 5

<sup>836</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 8; Hakimi, H., Afghanistan's Outlook: Under Taliban Rule, the economy slumps as taxation income rises, 15 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>837</sup> CMI, Understanding and addressing poverty and food insecurity in Afghanistan, April 2023, [url](#)

<sup>838</sup> Rahimi, L., The Silent Erosion of Afghanistan's Urban Middle Class: A Neglected Crisis, The Diplomat, 24 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>839</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 9

Unemployment is widespread,<sup>840</sup> and in urban areas poverty is driven by the lack of job opportunities.<sup>841</sup> The urban population rely heavily on the construction sector,<sup>842</sup> which ‘boomed’ in 2024, especially in Kabul, as reported by the World Bank.<sup>843</sup> However, the job markets in Afghan cities are over-saturated, with unemployed labourers struggling to secure even low-paid daily-wage jobs.<sup>844</sup> There is also a significant gender disparity in accessing economic opportunities,<sup>845</sup> in particular for female-headed households.<sup>846</sup> The unemployment rate doubled in the period 2020–2023, with women and youth being most affected.<sup>847</sup> According to an estimate of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the unemployment rate in 2024 was 13.3 % of the total labour force.<sup>848</sup> However, there is a great discrepancy between men and women, with most men (84 %) having a job in 2024, according to a UNDP household survey, in contrast to 7 % of female household members.<sup>849</sup> Another group that is disproportionately affected is the educated youth, according to the World Bank.<sup>850</sup>

UNDP reported on a decline in salaried work in 2024 and an increase in casual labour and self-employment. According to this source, only 11 % of household income came from salaried employment in 2024, while 40 % derived from casual labour.<sup>851</sup> Meanwhile, the most recent Whole of Afghanistan Assessment (WoAA)<sup>852</sup> indicated a drop in average household incomes in 2024 from 10 712 AFN to 9 004 AFN (approximately USD 136 to USD 115).<sup>853</sup> The private sector has been one of few alternatives for working women,<sup>854</sup> but restrictions on gender mixing have been excluding women from many jobs and restricted many to home-based self-employment.<sup>855</sup> As a result, small-scale<sup>856</sup> women-run businesses have significantly increased.<sup>857</sup> However, as noted by the World Bank, increasing self-employment among

---

<sup>840</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Economic Monitor, June 2025, [url](#), p. 2; Byrd, W., Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>841</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>842</sup> MEE, ‘Afghanistan’s food crisis is one of access, not availability’, 29 September 2023, [url](#); CMI, Understanding and addressing poverty and food insecurity in Afghanistan, April 2023, [url](#)

<sup>843</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>844</sup> Zan Times, Afghanistan’s workers: More oppressed and defenseless than ever, 1 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>845</sup> UNHCR, Rebuilding lives: How return duration shapes income generation and reintegration dynamics for Afghan returnees, 26 August 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>846</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 24; WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>847</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>848</sup> World Bank, Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate), 7 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>849</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 35

<sup>850</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, [url](#), p. ix

<sup>851</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 2, 32

<sup>852</sup> WoAA is a nationwide household survey

<sup>853</sup> UNHCR, Annual Result Report 2024, 26 May 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>854</sup> AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>855</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Barriers and enablers to self-employment, 12 February 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>856</sup> World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update - Uncertainty After Fleeting Stability, 3 October 2023, [url](#), p. 23;

<sup>857</sup> World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update - Uncertainty After Fleeting Stability, 3 October 2023, [url](#), p. 23; ACAPS, Afghanistan, Barriers and enablers to self-employment, 12 February 2025, [url](#), p. 1



women 'often reflects survival rather than true entrepreneurship'.<sup>858</sup> Female-headed households are facing particularly severe decline in income and expenditure.<sup>859</sup>

The high number of returnees have intensified job competition,<sup>860</sup> which is a key source of tension in some communities.<sup>861</sup> As people return from abroad, many families lose their channel for economic support through remittances.<sup>862</sup> Compared to host communities, returnees often face more severe economic hardship.<sup>863</sup>

### 3.3. Food security

According to analysis by the Integrated Food Security Phase Classifications (IPC),<sup>864</sup> 27 % of the Afghan population experienced high levels of food insecurity (IPC Phase 3 and 4) in March–April 2025 and were in 'urgent need of humanitarian food assistance'.<sup>865</sup>

**Figure 6. IPC figures on the prevalence of acute food insecurity among the total population**

IPC Phase	October 2023	March-April 2024	Sept-Oct 2024	March-April 2025
<b>1: No or minimal</b>	31 % (13.8 million)	31 % (14.1 million)	31 % (14.1 million)	32 % (14.7 million)
<b>2: Stressed</b>	40 % (17.7 million)	36 % (16.2 million)	44 % (20.2 million)	41 % (18.7 million)
<b>3: Crisis</b>	24 % (10.6 million)	25 % (11.3 million)	21 % (9.8 million)	23 % (10.6 million)
<b>4: Acute</b>	5 % (2.4 million)	7 % (2.9 million)	4 % (1.8 million)	4 % (1.95 million)
<b>5: Famine</b>	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

Source: IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2024 and Projection for May – October 2024, 27 May 2024, [url](#); IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for October 2023 and Projection for November 2023 – March 2024, 14 December 2023, [url](#); IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for September - October 2024 and Projection for November 2024 - March 2025, 7 January 2025, [url](#); IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2025 and Projection for May - October 2025, 4 June 2025, [url](#)

It should be noted that Food Security and Agriculture Cluster (FSAC) partners have warned that the IPC projections may severely underestimate food insecurity, since returnees are not systematically captured in the data.<sup>866</sup> Moreover, although large parts of the population have an acceptable calorie-intake, their diets mainly consists of less nutritious food such as

<sup>858</sup> World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, *Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery*, April 2025, [url](#), p. ix

<sup>859</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 7, 22–24

<sup>860</sup> WFP, *A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point*, September 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>861</sup> MMC, *Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration*, August 2025, [url](#), p. 34

<sup>862</sup> WFP, *A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point*, September 2025, [url](#), p. 21

<sup>863</sup> UNHCR, *Rebuilding lives: How return duration shapes income generation and reintegration dynamics for Afghan returnees*, 26 August 2025, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>864</sup> IPC 'provides a common scale for classifying the severity and magnitude of food insecurity and acute malnutrition' with five phases ranging from None/Minimal (Phase 1) to Catastrophe/Famine (Phase 5). See: IPC, *Understanding the IPC Scales*, June 2022, [url](#), pp. 3–4

<sup>865</sup> IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2025 and Projection for May - October 2025, 4 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>866</sup> WFP, *A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point*, September 2025, [url](#), p. 21

staples,<sup>867</sup> while the consumption of meat, dairy and vegetables is more rare,<sup>868</sup> which might have long-term health implications.<sup>869</sup> WFP reported on 78 % of Afghans being unable to afford nutritious food<sup>870</sup> and stressed that Afghanistan is experiencing an unprecedented hunger crisis in 2025,<sup>871</sup> constituting one of the worst nutrition crises in the world.<sup>872</sup> The WoAA from 2022 demonstrated how the percentage of households with 'acceptable' food consumption never exceeded 30 % in 2021–2023.<sup>873</sup> Meanwhile, aid cuts have impacted the health and nutrition system that was funded with 80 % of donors, which has led to the closure of 298 WFP/UNICEF sites.<sup>874</sup> Households have coped with food insecurity by adjusting their diets to avoid expensive food,<sup>875</sup> and adults have been skipping meals so that their children can eat.<sup>876</sup> Some families only consume bread and tea.<sup>877</sup>

Urban and rural areas face different challenges in terms of food security. While food insecurity is more prevalent in rural areas on a relative level,<sup>878</sup> food is generally cheaper there<sup>879</sup> and many households rely on their own food production<sup>880</sup> and livestock.<sup>881</sup> For example, as outlined in a report by REACH from July 2025, Kandahar Province had the largest gap in terms of food affordability, but despite income constraints, this province as well as the 'wider southern region' did not report the highest levels of food insecurity.<sup>882</sup> However, as mentioned above, rural communities are vulnerable to climate shocks,<sup>883</sup> and some lack resources to engage in farming<sup>884</sup> or to access food at the markets.<sup>885</sup> For example, some households under pressure resort to eating seed stocks intended for farming, or to selling of vital

---

<sup>867</sup> Yolchi, J. and Wang, H., The impact of climate change on household dietary diversity in Afghanistan, Climate Risk Management, 2025, [url](#); Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>868</sup> Yolchi, J. and Wang, H., The impact of climate change on household dietary diversity in Afghanistan, Climate Risk Management, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>869</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>870</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>871</sup> BBC News, My three boys starved to death. I hope angels bring them home, says Afghan mother, 22 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>872</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>873</sup> REACH, Afghanistan: Comparative Drought Analysis, September 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>874</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>875</sup> ACAPS, ACAPS Thematic Report Afghanistan – Coping with the crisis, 17 June 2023, [url](#), p. 9; NAC, Joining forces against the impact of climate change in Afghanistan, 16 September 2024, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>876</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 9; NAC, Joining forces against the impact of climate change in Afghanistan, 16 September 2024, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>877</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), pp. 5, 10; BBC News, My three boys starved to death. I hope angels bring them home, says Afghan mother, 22 September 2025, [url](#); Reuters, In aid-starved Afghanistan, relief workers fight a forgotten hunger crisis, 10 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>878</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#); UN Afghanistan, Common Country Analysis, December 2024 Update, November 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>879</sup> Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>880</sup> REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview–Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>881</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>882</sup> REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview–Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>883</sup> NAC, Joining forces against the impact of climate change in Afghanistan, 16 September 2024, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>884</sup> Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>885</sup> Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 7; REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview–Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4



livestock.<sup>886</sup> Urban households generally do not have land assets<sup>887</sup> or livestock, but rely on wage labour, which is volatile<sup>888</sup> given the lack of job opportunities.<sup>889</sup> While there is a greater availability of food products in urban areas, food is generally more expensive,<sup>890</sup> and many households struggle to afford basic food items.<sup>891</sup> Urban households relying on different forms of wage labour are moreover vulnerable to price shocks at the markets.<sup>892</sup> According to a 2025 study investigating rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan, the large food expenditure shares, prevalence of coping strategies, and lack of savings among households suggest that both urban and rural households are vulnerable to shocks and trapped in a 'vicious cycle' of chronic food insecurity.<sup>893</sup> In October 2025, REACH reported that the value of their Minimum Expenditure Basket reference<sup>894</sup> was at least twice as high as the average household income.<sup>895</sup>

According to IPC, the food security situation was worst in Badakhshan in March–April 2025, with 40 % of the population classified in IPC Phase 3 and above, followed by Balkh, Bamyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Jawzjan, Nimroz, and Sar-e-Pul (35 % of the respective populations were classified in IPC Phase 3 and above).<sup>896</sup> REACH emphasised the vulnerability of populations without access to their own food production in areas with particularly high food prices, and in particular female-headed households and returnee households. Provinces with particularly high food prices in contrast to the average household income included the provinces of Kandahar, Baghlan, Kunar, Badakhshan, Faryab and Paktya. Kabul Province had the lowest price of Minimum Expenditure Basket in relation to the income ratio, although it should be noted that this still exceeded the average income by 71 %.<sup>897</sup>

Food insecurity has particularly impacted households headed by women,<sup>898</sup> persons with lower education,<sup>899</sup> persons with disabilities<sup>900</sup> as well as returnee households.<sup>901</sup> Women's access to food has been negatively impacted by restrictions on their mobility and access to

<sup>886</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>887</sup> NAC, Joining forces against the impact of climate change in Afghanistan, 16 September 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>888</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>889</sup> TOLOnews, Poverty and Unemployment Deepen as Afghans Struggle to Afford Basic Needs, 5 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>890</sup> Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>891</sup> TOLOnews, Poverty and Unemployment Deepen as Afghans Struggle to Afford Basic Needs, 5 October 2025, [url](#); REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview – Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>892</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#); IPC, IPC Acute Food Insecurity Analysis, Afghanistan, 4 June 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>893</sup> Hassanzoy, N. et. al, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>894</sup> This is a reference used on humanitarian contexts to measure a monetary threshold for goods and services that household requires to meet its essential needs, and 'is conceptually equivalent to a poverty line'. See: Food Security Cluster Handbook, 5.6.2 Minimum Expenditure Basket, 7 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>895</sup> REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview–Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>896</sup> IPC, IPC Acute Food Insecurity Analysis, Afghanistan, 4 June 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>897</sup> REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview–Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>898</sup> WFP, A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, [url](#), p. 18; Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, Food Security and Agriculture (FSAC), 19 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>899</sup> IPC, IPC Acute Food Insecurity Analysis, Afghanistan, 4 June 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>900</sup> FEWS NET, Afghanistan Food Security Outlook June 2024 - January 2025, 6 July 2024, [url](#), p. 9; Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, Food Security and Agriculture (FSAC), 19 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>901</sup> UNICEF, Afghanistan, Humanitarian Situation Report, 31 August 2025, [url](#), pp. 2–3

work.<sup>902</sup> Meanwhile, since 2023, WFP has significantly scaled down its emergency assistance and has in parallel noted a record high increase in malnutrition in Afghanistan. In 2025 (as of June), 500 000 malnourished women and children had been left without support from WFP.<sup>903</sup> IPC projections suggested that acute malnutrition would affect 1.16 million pregnant or breastfeeding women and 3.5 million children.<sup>904</sup> UNICEF reported that about 12 % of children under 2 years received the right variety and quantity of food needed for their age.<sup>905</sup>

Child malnutrition reportedly increased after the Taliban takeover<sup>906</sup> and has continued to increase amid dwindling aid.<sup>907</sup> Children suffering from severe acute malnutrition commonly die.<sup>908</sup> The most recent child malnutrition estimate and the national Standardized Monitoring and Assessment of Relief and Transitions (SMART) survey,<sup>909</sup> both from 2022, indicated that stunting (an indicator of long-term malnutrition signified by low-height-for-age) among children under five ranged from 32.7 %<sup>910</sup> to 44.6 %.<sup>911</sup> In August 2025, UNICEF and WFP launched a joint emergency appeal to address child malnutrition in Afghanistan. They noted that the country had seen the sharpest surge in child malnutrition ever recorded, and that 3.5 million children under five were affected by the nutrition crisis, with 10.3 % of them being severely malnourished.<sup>912</sup> Media reports from local hospitals across Afghanistan also suggested a significant increase in malnourishment among children under five in recent years, with some families losing several or all their children due to lack of food and poverty.<sup>913</sup>

### 3.4. Housing

According to UN Habitat, many Afghans live in informal settlements in urban, peri-urban and rural areas, making them vulnerable to forced evictions.<sup>914</sup> Traditional houses in Afghanistan, especially in the countryside, are often made of mudbricks and stone.<sup>915</sup> According to 2022 WoAA survey, 61 % of Afghan households lived in mud houses, many of which being partially damaged with leaks during both heavy and light rain. The same survey found that a majority of households had problems with water and energy, lacking access to piped water and heating

---

<sup>902</sup> IPC, IPC Acute Food Insecurity Analysis, Afghanistan, 4 June 2025, [url](#), p. 2; Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>903</sup> WFP, Q&A: How Afghanistan's hunger and nutrition crisis is affecting families, women and girls, 4 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>904</sup> IPC, Afghanistan: IPC Acute Malnutrition Snapshot, June 2024 - May 2025, 7 January 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>905</sup> UNICEF, Nutrition, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>906</sup> PBS, 1.1 million Afghan children under 5 could face severe malnutrition this year, U.N. says, 25 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>907</sup> Al Jazeera English [YouTube], Afghan children face alarming malnutrition as aid cuts and crisis deepen, 27 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>908</sup> AA, In Afghanistan, women and children bearing worst of hunger crisis, 13 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>909</sup> 'The SMART Methodology is a simplified and standardized cross-sectional survey method'. See: Nutrition Cluster et al., Afghanistan National SMART Survey Report (April-October 2022), 8 June 2023, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>910</sup> Nutrition Cluster et al., Afghanistan National SMART Survey Report (April-October 2022), 8 June 2023, [url](#), p. 42

<sup>911</sup> World Bank, Prevalence of stunting, height for age (% of children under 5) – Afghanistan, 2023, [url](#)

<sup>912</sup> WFP, UNICEF and WFP Joint Action Plan to Stop Child Wasting in Afghanistan, 12 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>913</sup> BBC News, The hospital struggling to save its starving babies, 9 September 2024, [url](#); Sky News, Crying babies blighted by hunger fill this Afghanistan hospital - where parents fear each day might be the last, 6 October 2025, [url](#); BBC News, My three boys starved to death. I hope angels bring them home, says Afghan mother, 22 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>914</sup> UN-Habitat, It all starts at home, Strategic Priorities for UN-Habitat Afghanistan 2026–2027, June 2025, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>915</sup> Britannica, Housing of Afghanistan, 4 November 2025, [url](#); UNDP, What is vernacular architecture, and how can it help Afghanistan?, 18 December 2023, [url](#)



devices for cooking, as well as sanitation facilities and soap.<sup>916</sup> As reported by UNDP, mud constructions endure harsh weather conditions but have low resistance to disasters such as earthquakes.<sup>917</sup> Tens of thousands of homes were destroyed in the Herat earthquake in 2023,<sup>918</sup> and thousands of homes were destroyed in the earthquake in eastern Afghanistan in August 2025.<sup>919</sup> Flash floods have also destroyed thousands of homes annually in recent years.<sup>920</sup> UNDP reported on a general deterioration of housing inadequacy in 2024.<sup>921</sup> Many of the poorest live in tents,<sup>922</sup> including disaster-struck individuals<sup>923</sup> and returnees.<sup>924</sup> In Herat City, several public spaces have reportedly turned into makeshift tent camps due to the influx of returnees.<sup>925</sup>

Poor housing conditions is contributing to recorded deaths due to cold,<sup>926</sup> and many households lack adequate winter clothing and blankets.<sup>927</sup> The winter season put a significant economic strain on many households,<sup>928</sup> with large amounts of snow and sub-zero temperatures<sup>929</sup> impacting transport and work opportunities for casual workers.<sup>930</sup> The lack of infrastructure and access to electricity pose challenges for many households to stay warm,<sup>931</sup> and many rely on firewood for heating.<sup>932</sup> Sporadic deaths due to cold weather conditions were recorded across Afghanistan during the winter season in 2024/2025.<sup>933</sup>

UN Habitat referred to estimates of 30 % of the Afghan population living in urban areas in 2025, although there are no updated data available.<sup>934</sup> The large influx of returnees has added pressure on the urban 'housing crisis',<sup>935</sup> with the demand accelerated by housing

<sup>916</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan, Socio-Economic Outlook 2023, 18 April 2023, [url](#), pp. 53–55, 57, 65

<sup>917</sup> UNDP, What is vernacular architecture, and how can it help Afghanistan?, 18 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>918</sup> Shapour, R., Nature's Fury: The Herat earthquakes of 2023, AAN, 10 November 2023, [url](#)

<sup>919</sup> UNICEF, UNICEF Afghanistan Humanitarian Situation Report No. 9, 30 September 2025, 31 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>920</sup> UN OCHA, Natural Disasters Dashboard, 11 November 2025, (as of 2 November 2025), 2025, [url](#)

<sup>921</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>922</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan, Socio-Economic Outlook 2023, 18 April 2023, [url](#), pp. 53–55, 57, 65

<sup>923</sup> UNICEF, UNICEF Afghanistan Humanitarian Situation Report No. 9, 30 September 2025, 31 October 2025, [url](#), p. 1; Guardian (The), War, deforestation, flooding: in Afghanistan they are all linked, 14 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>924</sup> AP, Displaced, repatriated and crossing borders: Afghan people make gruelling journeys to survive, 31 December 2023, [url](#); Bjelica, J. and Sabawoon, A. M., Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN, 29 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>925</sup> Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>926</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan, Socio-Economic Outlook 2023, 18 April 2023, [url](#), p. 54

<sup>927</sup> UNDP, Afghanistan, Socio-Economic Outlook 2023, 18 April 2023, [url](#), p. 54; Intersos, In Afghanistan we help the most vulnerable get through the winter, 15 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>928</sup> NRC, Winter in Afghanistan endangers the lives of the impoverished, 17 February 2025, [url](#); Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>929</sup> NRC, Snowfall in Kabul – What does it mean?, 7 March 2024, [url](#); Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>930</sup> NRC, Winter in Afghanistan endangers the lives of the impoverished, 17 February 2025, [url](#); Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>931</sup> Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>932</sup> Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, [url](#); Xinhua, Economic hardship leaves Afghans struggling to heat their homes this winter, 25 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>933</sup> Amu TV, Severe weather claims nine lives in Afghanistan, UN agency reports, 14 January 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Heavy Snowfall and Cold Weather Kills Three Children in Northeastern Afghanistan, 30 November 2024, [url](#); TOLONews, Two People Die Due to Cold Weather in Faryab, 7 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>934</sup> UN-Habitat, It all starts at home, Strategic Priorities for UN-Habitat Afghanistan 2026–2027, June 2025, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>935</sup> Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, [url](#)

shortages and surging rents in cities like Herat<sup>936</sup> and Kabul.<sup>937</sup> In some city areas, rents reportedly more than doubled in 2025.<sup>938</sup> In particular returnees struggle to afford the high rents,<sup>939</sup> but also other Afghans struggle with finding affordable options,<sup>940</sup> including individuals with salaried employment and living in rural areas with cheaper alternatives.<sup>941</sup> Property prices in city areas have also spiked<sup>942</sup> making it difficult for people of the middle-class and below to buy a home, as reported by the AAN.<sup>943</sup> According to the Associated Press (AP), reporting in December 2024, Afghan banks rarely issue mortgages due to a lack of deposits, and those who can afford buying a property generally pay in cash.<sup>944</sup>

### 3.5. Healthcare

The development of Afghan healthcare has been impeded by decades of war,<sup>945</sup> leaving it heavily dependent on foreign aid to deliver basic health services.<sup>946</sup> In the absence of quality healthcare, many Afghans have been travelling abroad to seek medical care, for example in Pakistan, India, Türkiye<sup>947</sup> or Iran.<sup>948</sup> This option has reportedly become increasingly unattainable in recent years, amid border closures with Pakistan and Pakistan's restricted visa policy.<sup>949</sup> Afghanistan is experiencing a deepening healthcare crisis, exacerbated by dwindling international aid and the de facto authorities' minimal state budget allocation on health.<sup>950</sup>

---

<sup>936</sup> Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, [url](#); TOLONews, Herat Residents Struggle With Soaring Rents, 25 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>937</sup> TOLONews, Kabul Residents Struggle as Rents Soar, 28 August 2025, [url](#); Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#); Austria, Staatendokumentation, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>938</sup> Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, [url](#); TOLONews, Herat Residents Struggle With Soaring Rents, 25 August 2025, [url](#); TOLONews, Kabul Residents Struggle as Rents Soar, 28 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>939</sup> Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, [url](#); TOLONews, Herat Residents Struggle With Soaring Rents, 25 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>940</sup> Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>941</sup> Austria, Staatendokumentation, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>942</sup> AP, Thanks to peace, two unexpected words are echoing across Afghanistan's capital: Luxury housing, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>943</sup> Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>944</sup> AP, Thanks to peace, two unexpected words are echoing across Afghanistan's capital: Luxury housing, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>945</sup> WHO, Afghanistan, Who's Health Emergency Appeal 2025, 16 January 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>946</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); New Humanitarian (The), Afghan doctors warn of healthcare crisis as international aid cuts bite, 25 September 2023, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>947</sup> Sherzad, A. G. et al., Factors Influencing Decision Making of Afghan Patients to Seek Medical Treatment in Pakistan: A Cross-Sectional Study, Journal of Multidisciplinary Healthcare, April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>948</sup> RFE/RL, Unreliable Medical Tests Force Afghans to Seek Treatment Abroad, 13 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>949</sup> Hasht-e Subh, The Prescription Shift: Is India Replacing Pakistan in Afghanistan's Medical Lifeline? , 20 December 2025, [url](#)

<sup>950</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 16, 51



Meanwhile, life expectancy has reportedly declined,<sup>951</sup> and mortality rates among children under five<sup>952</sup> and mothers have reportedly increased.<sup>953</sup>

Amid the Taliban takeover in August 2021, major donors cut their development funding which severely impacted the healthcare system.<sup>954</sup> Aid organisations have tried to fill the gap in donor cuts for public health,<sup>955</sup> but have not been able to replace the former scale of international donor support.<sup>956</sup> About 33 % of the population (over 14 million people) are underserved in terms of healthcare access,<sup>957</sup> and rural communities in particular.<sup>958</sup> The situation has been further exacerbated by subsequent aid cuts, prompting many organisations to shift priorities from *inter alia* healthcare to immediate relief efforts.<sup>959</sup> According to AAN, the number of operative health facilities had declined to 1 500 by 2024, down from a ‘peak’ of 3 000 facilities in 2010.<sup>960</sup> Due to the cuts in US foreign aid, 422 additional health facilities had been suspended by 31 August 2025, impacting over 3 million people in 30 provinces, according to Health Cluster and WHO.<sup>961</sup>

Amid the Taliban takeover, many healthcare professionals left the country or quit their jobs.<sup>962</sup> Already under the previous government, there was a significant shortage of healthcare staff, with the number of doctors, nurses, midwives, dentists, and pharmacists in relation to the population size being well below WHO’s thresholds<sup>963</sup> for ‘critical shortage’.<sup>964</sup> There were about 10.3 health workers per 10 000 individuals in Afghanistan in 2023 and 2024.<sup>965</sup> This figure can be put in relation to the WHO’s recommended 44.5 key health workers per 10 000

<sup>951</sup> UN Afghanistan, Annual report 2023, 19 April 2024, [url](#), p. 5; Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>952</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>953</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 16, 51; Nasari, A. et al., Let Afghan women work: maternal health depend on it, *The Lancet*, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>954</sup> HRW, “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); New Humanitarian (The), Afghan doctors warn of healthcare crisis as international aid cuts bite, 25 September 2023, [url](#); Turkmani, S. and Currie, S., Afghanistan’s fragile health system faces catastrophe without immediate international funding, *BMJ*, 16 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>955</sup> HRW, “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>956</sup> HRW, “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); BBC News, Afghanistan earthquake: What foreign aid is getting in?, 8 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>957</sup> Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, [url](#); WHO, Afghanistan, Who’s Health Emergency Appeal 2025, 16 January 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>958</sup> Salem, M. R. et. al, The current situation of health equity in underserved areas of Afghanistan, *Frontiers in Public Health*, 24 September 2024, [url](#); Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>959</sup> HRW, “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); Clark, K., The End of US Aid to Afghanistan: What will it mean for families, services and the economy?, AAN, 9 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>960</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>961</sup> Health Cluster and WHO, Afghanistan: Suspended/Closed Health Facilities due to the U.S. Government Work-Stop Ban (Update as of 31 August 2025), 31 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>962</sup> HRW, “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>963</sup> Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Public Health, Policy Brief, Role of Private Sector in Fight Against Covid-19 in Afghanistan, 30 April 2020, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>964</sup> WHO, Working together for health, 2006, [url](#), pp. 11–12

<sup>965</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country’s capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#); Bjelica, J., Rural Women’s Access to Health in Afghanistan: “Most of the time we just don’t go”, AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 16

population.<sup>966</sup> There is a particular shortage of female health staff, exacerbated by the de facto government's restrictive policies on women,<sup>967</sup> and gender segregation in medical facilities.<sup>968</sup> The prohibitions on women taking university courses and medical training furthermore blocks new generations female doctors,<sup>969</sup> nurses and midwives from graduating.<sup>970</sup> There are also shortages in specialists.<sup>971</sup> Furthermore, many healthcare personnel lack necessary qualifications.<sup>972</sup> For example, research published in Conflict and Health in 2024, outlined how medical personnel across Afghanistan generally lacked awareness of common noncommunicable diseases (NDCs),<sup>973</sup> which includes chronic diseases such as heart attacks, stroke, cancer, chronic respiratory diseases, and diabetes.<sup>974</sup> Meanwhile, in 2025, WHO estimated that NDCs accounted for 43 % of deaths in Afghanistan.<sup>975</sup> There are moreover shortages in medicines,<sup>976</sup> and the provision is highly reliant on NGO support.<sup>977</sup> However, stocks sometimes run out within days when there are many patients.<sup>978</sup>

---

<sup>966</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#)

<sup>967</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>968</sup> MSF, Excluding women from medical institutes threatens the future of healthcare in Afghanistan, 6 December 2024, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan's Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>969</sup> Health Policy Watch, 'Are We Not Human?' Afghan Women in Despair After Taliban Ban Them from Nursing and Midwifery, 19 December 2024, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Veiled rebellion: Female medical students go underground in Afghanistan, 30 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>970</sup> Health Policy Watch, 'Are We Not Human?' Afghan Women in Despair After Taliban Ban Them from Nursing and Midwifery, 19 December 2024, [url](#); UN News, Afghanistan: UN condemns Taliban ban on women attending medical classes, 5 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>971</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 21, 38

<sup>972</sup> RFE/RL, Unreliable Medical Tests Force Afghans to Seek Treatment Abroad, 13 June 2025, [url](#); Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>973</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>974</sup> WHO, Noncommunicable diseases, 25 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>975</sup> WHO, Afghanistan's hidden epidemic of noncommunicable diseases and mental health conditions, 21 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>976</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); MSF, Earthquake in Afghanistan: MSF's response, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>977</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); MSF, Persistent barriers to access healthcare in Afghanistan: An MSF report, 6 February 2023, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>978</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)



As mentioned, rural areas in particular face gaps in accessing quality healthcare<sup>979</sup> and are disproportionately affected by shortages in clinics, health staff,<sup>980</sup> and medicine.<sup>981</sup> Provincial hospitals reportedly often only had supplies of basic medications and referred patients in need of other medication (including for NDCs) to private pharmacies.<sup>982</sup>

Moreover, health facilities suffer from poor infrastructure and a lack of medical equipment.<sup>983</sup> This includes health facilities across Afghanistan<sup>984</sup> and 'on all levels', as reported by Doctors Without Borders (MSF).<sup>985</sup> For example, according to a 2024 study, a large maternal centre in Kabul City only had one ultrasound machine, and, due to the lack of basic laboratory equipment, hospitals in all of Kabul's neighbouring provinces referred patients in need of CT scans to the capital.<sup>986</sup> There are also generally high bed occupancy rates, with up to three patients sharing beds in some facilities.<sup>987</sup> The 2024 study found that many health facilities were built about 40 years ago and are in need of refurbishment as they were designed for a significantly lower number of patients, as well as a significantly lower number of beds per room.<sup>988</sup> Some facilities moreover lack reliable electricity supply,<sup>989</sup> struggle to heat the facilities during winter,<sup>990</sup> and lack ventilation systems to cool the facilities during summer.<sup>991</sup> According to the 2024 study, some child patients had died due to lack of heating.<sup>992</sup>

<sup>979</sup> Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, [url](#); Women for Afghan Women, Building Health, 17 January 2025, [url](#); Alavi, L. J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>980</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, [url](#); BBC Media Action, Understanding how to increase uptake of WASH, nutrition and child health services in Afghanistan, June 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>981</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); BBC Media Action, Understanding how to increase uptake of WASH, nutrition and child health services in Afghanistan, June 2024, [url](#), p. 21

<sup>982</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); See also: van Gurp, M. et al., The availability of essential medicines in public healthcare facilities in Afghanistan: navigating sociopolitical and geographical challenges, Health Policy and Planning, April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>983</sup> Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, [url](#); RFE/RL, Unreliable Medical Tests Force Afghans to Seek Treatment Abroad, 13 June 2025, [url](#); MSF, Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>984</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); MSF, Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>985</sup> MSF, Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>986</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>987</sup> MSF, Earthquake in Afghanistan: MSF's response, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>988</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>989</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); ICRC, Afghanistan: A year of responding to numerous humanitarian challenges, 31 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>990</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); New Humanitarian (The), In Afghanistan's battered healthcare system, power cuts can prove fatal, 17 January 2023, [url](#)

<sup>991</sup> Women for Afghan Women, Building Health, 17 January 2025, [url](#); Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>992</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

The health system is also burned by outbreaks of infectious diseases<sup>993</sup> such as measles, acute watery diarrhoea, and malaria<sup>994</sup> as well as natural disasters causing severe injuries.<sup>995</sup>

Many Afghans face economic barriers to access healthcare.<sup>996</sup> In some provinces, the de facto authorities have introduced fees for public healthcare,<sup>997</sup> but also in public institutions that are supposed to provide free healthcare, patients may have to pay for basic services, including child delivery, surgeries,<sup>998</sup> and medicines if supplies are short.<sup>999</sup> Although the general security situation has improved in recent years which facilitates travel to health centres,<sup>1000</sup> distances<sup>1001</sup> and costs associated with travelling may also impact household decisions whether to seek healthcare.<sup>1002</sup> Meanwhile, the general ability to pay for healthcare has worsened since the takeover.<sup>1003</sup> Some incur debts to fund health services<sup>1004</sup> or delay care until their condition becomes urgent.<sup>1005</sup> Women and children (in particular women in poor and rural areas and with disabilities<sup>1006</sup>) have been disproportionately affected by the deterioration in healthcare accessibility.<sup>1007</sup> Restrictions on women's travel have furthermore limited women's mobility,<sup>1008</sup> and have hampered the work of mobile health teams.<sup>1009</sup> Moreover, the requirement of both female medical staff and female patients to be accompanied by a *mahram* in some areas impact women's access to healthcare,<sup>1010</sup> as well as the general

---

<sup>993</sup> Humanitarian Action, Health, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>994</sup> WHO, Afghanistan, Emergency Situation Report, September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>995</sup> Arab News, Doctors warn US aid cuts leave rural Afghanistan without healthcare, 25 March 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Doctors Warn of Critical Shortages in Quake-Affected Eastern Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>996</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>997</sup> Alavi, L. J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 29

<sup>998</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); See also: Emergency, Access to emergency, critical and operative care in Afghanistan: Perspectives from Afghan people in 11 provinces, 26 June 2205, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>999</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1000</sup> MSF, Earthquake in Afghanistan: MSF's response, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1001</sup> MSF, Dying to reach health care in Afghanistan, 17 June 2024, [url](#); Intersos, Afghanistan: when access to healthcare is just a dream, 21 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1002</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 4; Arab News, Doctors warn US aid cuts leave rural Afghanistan without healthcare, 25 March 2025, [url](#); MSF, Bringing health care to Afghanistan's remote Bamyan province, 6 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1003</sup> Valente, M. et al., Access to care in Afghanistan after august 2021: a cross-sectional study exploring Afghans' perspectives in 10 provinces, Conflict and Health, 22 April 2024, [url](#); HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1004</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1005</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#); MSF, Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1006</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1007</sup> MSF, Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1008</sup> Guardian (The), Millions of Afghans lose access to healthcare services as USAID cuts shut clinics, April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1009</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1010</sup> Alavi, L. J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 34–35



shortage in female staff in areas where women are only permitted to be seen by female health personnel.<sup>1011</sup>

Mental health needs have increased in Afghanistan in recent years, and have become more noticeable at health clinics amid an increase in people seeking help.<sup>1012</sup> In 2025, WHO estimated that one in five Afghans live with a mental health condition.<sup>1013</sup> The de facto government's restrictions on women have also reportedly driven up the rates of mental health issues among women.<sup>1014</sup> Meanwhile, many provincial hospitals and primary healthcare services lack mental health services, as reported by WHO,<sup>1015</sup> and mental health services have not been prioritised among donors.<sup>1016</sup> According to a representative of the de facto Ministry of Public Health's mental health department, cited in local media, Afghanistan would need 3 000 mental health counsellors to meet the national demand, while 1 100 were active in May 2025. Meanwhile, the representative stated that there were about 130–150 mental health specialists across Afghanistan, while the double would be needed.<sup>1017</sup> These figures could not be corroborated with other sources within the time constraints of drafting this report. According to United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the absence of local mental health services is a primary barrier to seeking help, and there is also a lack of specialised professionals. Travel distances to access services also pose a barrier for many, especially for conditions requiring multiple sessions.<sup>1018</sup> Another barrier to seeking help is the stigma surrounding mental health issues.<sup>1019</sup> In some communities, individuals with mental health issues may be ridiculed, humiliated and ostracised,<sup>1020</sup> why many conceal their issues.<sup>1021</sup>

### 3.6. Focus on Kabul City

Estimates of the number of inhabitants of Kabul City range from about five<sup>1022</sup> to six million people.<sup>1023</sup> The population has grown significantly since 2001,<sup>1024</sup> when it stood at about

<sup>1011</sup> UN Women, FAQs: What it's like to be a woman in Afghanistan in 2025, 7 August 2025, [url](#); HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#);

<sup>1012</sup> BBC News, 'No-one comes for us': The women trapped in Afghanistan's mental health system, 19 August 2025, [url](#); Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1013</sup> WHO, Afghanistan's hidden epidemic of noncommunicable diseases and mental health conditions, 21 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1014</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); BBC News, 'No-one comes for us': The women trapped in Afghanistan's mental health system, 19 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1015</sup> WHO, Afghanistan's hidden epidemic of noncommunicable diseases and mental health conditions, 21 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1016</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1017</sup> Pajhwok News, Global support key to reducing Afghanistan mental health crisis, 27 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1018</sup> UNFPA, Mental Health Assessment, 2024, [url](#), p. 87

<sup>1019</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); BBC News, 'No-one comes for us': The women trapped in Afghanistan's mental health system, 19 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1020</sup> IOM, Displacement Trends and Challenges in Afghanistan since August 2021, 2022, [url](#), p. 7; UNFPA, Mental Health Assessment, 2024, [url](#), p. 66

<sup>1021</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); UNFPA, Mental Health Assessment, 2024, [url](#), pp. 66, 87

<sup>1022</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, Estimated Population of Afghanistan 2025-26, September 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Kabul Now, UN Says Over 40% of Afghanistan's Urban Population Lives in Kabul, 13 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1023</sup> Mercy Corps, Kabul's Water Crisis, April 2025, [url](#), p. 3; BBC News, Inside the Taliban's surveillance network monitoring millions, 27 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1024</sup> Mercy Corps, Kabul's Water Crisis, April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

500 000 people, as reported by AP.<sup>1025</sup> The city has, however, not been able to keep up with the pace of urbanisation as regards infrastructure development.<sup>1026</sup> According to UN-Habitat, reporting in 2025, 80 % of Kabul's urban population lived in informal settlements.<sup>1027</sup> The de facto authorities have initiated several infrastructure projects, including road construction.<sup>1028</sup> Many living on usurped land have seen their houses being demolished in such projects and have not been compensated for their loss of land and shelter. As a result, many have reportedly been pushed into homelessness.<sup>1029</sup> Meanwhile, AP reported on a 'boom' on the high-end real estate market in Kabul City, with increased demand for luxury homes due to the improved security situation following the Taliban takeover in 2021.<sup>1030</sup>

Kabul City is facing a water resource crisis due to plummeting groundwater levels. According to a report of the NGO Mercy Corps, the capital approaches a tipping point, where water extraction significantly exceeds the recharge of water resources. Moreover, Mercy Corps found that most of the limited groundwater available to the city population is dangerous to consume, with 80 % of the groundwater being contaminated by dangerously high levels of chemicals, sewage and toxins.<sup>1031</sup> The city might go dry by 2030, according to UNICEF.<sup>1032</sup>

Most residents of Kabul City rely on salaried jobs, day-wage labour, and small-scale trade to make a living. However, the city's labour market has been experiencing rising unemployment rates amid decreased job opportunities within the de facto government and a shrinking NGO sector resulting from aid cuts.<sup>1033</sup> The recent influx of returnees has further exacerbated the situation, intensifying competition for limited job openings,<sup>1034</sup> and securing casual labour has become increasingly difficult.<sup>1035</sup> According to data collected for Austrian Staatendokumentation in 2025, the monthly salary for entry-level employees with a university degree and three years' work experience was equivalent to EUR 250–450, depending on the position. Skilled daily-wage labourer earned an amount equivalent to EUR 10–14, and unskilled labourers typically earned EUR 4–5.<sup>1036</sup>

---

<sup>1025</sup> AP, Thanks to peace, two unexpected worked are echoing across Afghanistan's capital: Luxury housing, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1026</sup> Khaama Press, Kabul's Urban Crisis: 80% Living in Unplanned Settlements, Says UN-Habitat, 13 April 2025, [url](#); ARTF, ARTF Results, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1027</sup> UNICEF Afghanistan [X], posted on 29 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1028</sup> Guardian (The), Revealed: the truth behind the Taliban's brutal Kabul 'regeneration' programme, 18 November 2024, [url](#); TOLONews, Kabul Municipality Leads Citywide Development Initiatives, 21 July 2025, [url](#); Arab News, Vulnerable Afghans struggle as Taliban rebuild Kabul roads, 12 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1029</sup> Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#); Guardian (The), Revealed: the truth behind the Taliban's brutal Kabul 'regeneration' programme, 18 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1030</sup> AP, Thanks to peace, two unexpected worked are echoing across Afghanistan's capital: Luxury housing, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1031</sup> Mercy Corps, Kabul's Water Crisis, April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 20

<sup>1032</sup> UNICEF Afghanistan [X], posted on 29 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1033</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), pp. 3–5

<sup>1034</sup> TOLONews, Unemployment Crisis in the Country; Youth Say They Can't Find Jobs, 15 September 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Unemployment Crisis in Afghanistan: Kabul Residents Struggle Amid Deepening Hardship, 5 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1035</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 5; TOLONews, Daily Wage Workers Struggle for Jobs in Kabul, 4 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1036</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 5



According to IPC, 1 282 624 people in Kabul City (25 % of the total urban population) experienced 'crisis' conditions in terms of acute food insecurity (IPC Phase 3) in March and April 2025. Over 2 million inhabitants (40 %) were experiencing 'stressed' conditions (IPC Phase 2).<sup>1037</sup> Amid rising food prices and loss of income,<sup>1038</sup> many households in Kabul City struggle to afford food,<sup>1039</sup> and in particular nutritious food.<sup>1040</sup> According to research carried out for Staatendokumentation, the costs for a five-member household to meet their minimum daily requirement of bread, vegetables, and occasional protein exceeded the income of a daily-wage labourer by far.<sup>1041</sup> Sources also reported on individuals relying on a stable salary income struggling to purchase more expensive food.<sup>1042</sup>

As mentioned, the influx of returnees to Kabul City has led to a significant increase in demand for housing, and rental prices have surged,<sup>1043</sup> with rents more than doubling in some areas.<sup>1044</sup> According to data collected for the Austrian COI unit in 2025, 'the average rent for a three-room apartment in downtown Kabul' was about AFN 18 000 (EUR 230), while rents for similar apartments in the outskirts of the city were about AFN 10 000 (EUR 128).<sup>1045</sup>

Kabul City reportedly has the highest concentration of healthcare professionals in Afghanistan,<sup>1046</sup> including specialised physicians.<sup>1047</sup> Moreover, in urban areas such as Kabul there are more hospitals and clinics offering a wider range and more advanced healthcare,<sup>1048</sup> as well more private healthcare options.<sup>1049</sup> However, healthcare facilities in the capital also

<sup>1037</sup> IPC, Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2025 and Projection for May - October 2025, 4 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1038</sup> Pakteen, H. and Shapour, R., The Daily Hustle: At Nawruz and Eid al-Fitr, a shopkeeper reflects on high food prices, AAN, 30 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1039</sup> Action contre le Faim, Kabul's Hunger Crisis: Residents Struggle to Afford Food, 29 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1040</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 9; Hasht-e Subh, Rising Vegetable Prices Push Low-Income Families in Kabul Into Severe Hardship, 15 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1041</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1042</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6; Pakteen, H. and Shapour, R., The Daily Hustle: At Nawruz and Eid al-Fitr, a shopkeeper reflects on high food prices, AAN, 30 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1043</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 8; Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#); TOLONews, Kabul Residents Struggle as Rents Soar, 28 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1044</sup> TOLONews, Kabul Residents Struggle as Rents Soar, 28 August 2025, [url](#); Sadat, S. A. and Clark, K., A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN, 14 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1045</sup> Austria, Federal Officer for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1046</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#); Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1047</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#)

<sup>1048</sup> Satarzadeh, L. et al., Understanding patient perceptions of access to healthcare centers in one of the major cities of Afghanistan, 18 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1049</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#)

experience staffing gaps,<sup>1050</sup> supply shortages,<sup>1051</sup> and cost barriers for patients.<sup>1052</sup> In a survey carried out by IPSOS for the Austrian Staatendokumentation, 46 % of respondents in the cities of Kabul, Mazar-e Sharif, and Herat indicated that they could access medication and 35 % had access to and could afford visiting a general practitioner. Meanwhile, 45 % of respondents indicated that they had access to medication but were unable to pay for it, and similarly 37 % had access to a general practitioner but could not pay for the service. 9 % had no access to medicines at all and 28 % had no access to primary healthcare.<sup>1053</sup>

---

<sup>1050</sup> Neyazi, N. et al., Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, [url](#); RFE/RL, Exodus Of Doctors Leaves Afghans Scrambling For Treatment, 22 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1051</sup> Lamberti-Castronuovo, A. et al., Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1052</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Self-Medication in Kabul: Poverty and a Failing Health System Put Lives at Risk, 26 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1053</sup> Austria, Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum, Dossier: Socio-Economic Survey 2025 - Afghanistan, 28 August 2025, [url](#)



## 4. Treatment of certain profiles and groups of the population

### 4.1. Officials of the former government

#### 4.1.1. General amnesty and its implementation

Soon after their takeover in 2021, the Taliban issued a general amnesty for individuals who had served in the former government's civil administration and security forces. Since then, senior de facto officials have reiterated the de facto government's commitment to the amnesty, calling for it to be upheld.<sup>1054</sup> The amnesty's text has not been available beyond general references to its existence,<sup>1055</sup> and according to UNAMA this has caused uncertainties around its temporal scope and consequences for breaching it.<sup>1056</sup> The challenging information environment complicates research on the issue, with the de facto authorities reportedly preventing reports on killings,<sup>1057</sup> by deterring media,<sup>1058</sup> victims and family members.<sup>1059</sup>

Despite the amnesty, extrajudicial killings of former civil and security personnel,<sup>1060</sup> as well as arbitrary arrests and torture, have been documented.<sup>1061</sup> There have not been any 'large-scale purges'<sup>1062</sup> or massacres,<sup>1063</sup> as amid previous power-shifts in Afghan history.<sup>1064</sup> Sources have indicated that the killings that have occurred have not been part of a 'nationwide policy'<sup>1065</sup> or an orchestrated campaign,<sup>1066</sup> as this would have caused significantly more deaths.<sup>1067</sup>

However, in 2025, a joint investigative media report suggested some level of systematicity in the targeting of former security officials as three former elite soldiers had been tortured by de

<sup>1054</sup> UNAMA, No safe heaven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>1055</sup> Afghanistan International, Former Afghan President's Daughter Draws Attention During Meeting With Abdullah, 28 April 2025, [url](#); International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1056</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1057</sup> Germany, BAMF, Länderkurzinformation Afghanistan, Situation ehemaliger Sicherheitskräfte (ANSF), October 2024, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>1058</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan, Human Rights Situation Report 2023, March 2024, [url](#), pp. 5, 11

<sup>1059</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>1060</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 1; Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 19; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2024, 1 May 2024, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1061</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 28

<sup>1062</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>1063</sup> Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 17; Richard Bennet in Radio Sweden, Konflikt: Dödshoten mot Sveriges medarbetare i Afghanistan, 12 January 2024, [url](#), 25:40–25:48

<sup>1064</sup> Homayun Nadiri, K., Brokers, Bureaucrats, and the Quality of Government: Understanding Development and Decay in Afghanistan and Beyond, January 2017, [url](#), pp. 164, 166, 172; HRW, Afghanistan, The Forgotten War: Human Rights Abuses and Violations of the Laws Of War Since the Soviet Withdrawal, February 1991, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan: Blood-Stained Hands: II. Historical Background, 2005, [url](#)

<sup>1065</sup> International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1066</sup> International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023

<sup>1067</sup> International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023; International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [url](#), p. 23

facto officials to extract contact details of former colleagues.<sup>1068</sup> Rawadari reported that similarities in methods and victim selection among recorded killings indicated a more systematic and coordinated effort.<sup>1069</sup>

Sources have stressed that perpetrators have not been held accountable<sup>1070</sup> and described a climate of impunity around the issue of targeted killings.<sup>1071</sup> When commenting on the functioning of the de facto administration in general, Timor Sharan, Director of the research organisation Afghanistan Policy Lab, stressed the high level of ambiguity and lack of control of operative de facto officials, allowing them to unpredictably conduct arrests and abuse anyone without being held accountable.<sup>1072</sup> The de facto administration itself also sometimes struggled to locate arrested individuals within its own structures.<sup>1073</sup>

While killings and other abuse against former military and civil government employees have been reported,<sup>1074</sup> retired former government officials have staged regular street protests to demand their pensions.<sup>1075</sup> Some senior members of the former government have also been able to remain in Afghanistan.<sup>1076</sup> This includes former President Hamid Karzai,<sup>1077</sup> the former chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation, Abdullah Abdullah,<sup>1078</sup> and the leader of the political party Hezb-e Islami, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.<sup>1079</sup> The de facto government has not awarded them with any role in the de facto government or given them any advisory status, but they continue to meet with segments of society.<sup>1080</sup> Karzai has been publicly advocating for *inter alia* women's access to education,<sup>1081</sup> and Hekmatyar has been publicly voicing concerns over the de facto administration's legitimacy and its ability to maintain security.<sup>1082</sup> Meanwhile, Abdullah has reportedly avoided public commentary and maintains a lower profile.<sup>1083</sup> They

---

<sup>1068</sup> Lighthouse Reports, Hunted by the Taliban, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1069</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 16

<sup>1070</sup> UN, Afghanistan's Taliban responsible for revenge killings, torture of former officials, 22 August 2023, [url](#);

Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 19; Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1071</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights: April 2024, 23 April 2024, [url](#), p. 71; Rahimi, H. and Watkins, A., Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, [url](#), p. 1; Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1072</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1073</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 48

<sup>1074</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), pp. 6–9

<sup>1075</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 10; Sabawoon, A. M., Where Are My Rights? Afghan retirees appeal for their pensions, AAN, 22 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1076</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Leader Reportedly Pressures Hamid Karzai Into Exile, 28 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1077</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Lifts Ban on Former President's Travel, Claim Sources, 20 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1078</sup> Amu TV, UN's DiCarlo meets with Karzai, Abdullah in Afghanistan, 19 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1079</sup> TOLONews, No Restrictions Imposed on Former Govt Officials: Mujahid, 28 April 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1080</sup> Afghanistan International, Former Afghan President's Daughter Draws Attention During Meeting With Abdullah, 28 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1081</sup> Afghanistan International, Former Afghan President's Daughter Draws Attention During Meeting With Abdullah, 28 April 2025, [url](#); TOLONews, Karzai: Ban on Girls' Education Key to Lack of Intl Recognition, 30 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1082</sup> Afghanistan International, Hekmatyar Warns Of Rising Instability, Calls For Legitimate Government In Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, [url](#); Ariana News, Hekmatyar: We need a legitimate government in Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1083</sup> Afghanistan International, Former Afghan President's Daughter Draws Attention During Meeting With Abdullah, 28 April 2025, [url](#)



have however faced some restrictions,<sup>1084</sup> including travel restrictions for Karzai and Abdullah in 2022 and 2023.<sup>1085</sup> Hekmatyar was evicted from his government-owned home in Kabul City in March 2024,<sup>1086</sup> and in April 2025, the Taliban Supreme Leader issued an order to shut down all active offices of Hezb-e-Islami, arrest affiliated staff, and confiscate party assets.<sup>1087</sup>

Immediately after the Taliban takeover in 2021, most male civilian former public officials resumed their duties within the new de facto administration,<sup>1088</sup> as most of the former administration's structure was retained.<sup>1089</sup> Most female civil servants were however sent home<sup>1090</sup> and have not been invited back to work.<sup>1091</sup> There has moreover been a gradual exchange of personnel, where those who used to work for the former government have been replaced by individuals loyal to the Taliban.<sup>1092</sup> Most new recruits to the de facto authorities have been ethnic Pashtuns,<sup>1093</sup> and also in Hazara-dominated areas such as Bamyan and Daykundi most employees of minority communities have been replaced with Pashtuns.<sup>1094</sup>

Although most former security personnel have been dismissed in favour of Taliban members,<sup>1095</sup> some have been retained or invited back to work due to their specialist skills.<sup>1096</sup> Sources reported on the de facto authorities making use of biometrics to identify former government personnel, and dismiss them from the de facto security forces.<sup>1097</sup> In research for Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep) from November 2024, former ANDSF members stated that they were 'prevented from leading a normal life', not being allowed to serve in the de facto security forces, constantly fearing arrests, and facing 'hurdles in simple tasks such as registering a vehicle' – sometimes the de facto police refused

<sup>1084</sup> Diplomat (The), Bridging the Gap: Karzai, the Taliban, and the US Dilemma in Afghanistan, 1 April 2025, [url](#); TOLOnews, Abdullah Abdullah Leaves Afghanistan, 1 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1085</sup> TOLOnews, Karzai's Relatives Confirm Ban On His Travel Abroad, 6 September 2023, [url](#); TOLOnews, Abdullah Abdullah Leaves Afghanistan, 1 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1086</sup> AW, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar relocated from state-owned land by Taliban officials, 30 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1087</sup> Rudabe, Taliban Orders Closure of Hezb-e-Islami Offices and Arrest of Party Staff in Widening Crackdown, 14 April 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Orders Closure of Hekmatyar's Hezb-e-Islami Offices, Arrest of Members, 14 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1088</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 31

<sup>1089</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 17

<sup>1090</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; ACAPS, Afghanistan, Scenarios, April 2023, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1091</sup> AAN, Deepening Discrimination: A dossier of reports about Afghan women, 8 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1092</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Temanotat, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for afganske menn, 20 January 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 17; van Bijlert, M., How The Emirate Wants To Be Perceived, AAN, July 2024, [url](#), p. 30

<sup>1093</sup> Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 44; Norway, Landinfo, Temanotat, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for afganske menn, 20 January 2025, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1094</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 18; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1095</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 18

<sup>1096</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 19; Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024, and email communication 13 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units

<sup>1097</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 18; Afghan analyst, online interview 1 October 2024, and email communication 13 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with Austrian, Norwegian and Swedish COI units.

registration as they could identify the person as having served in the ANDSF as the process involves biometric registration.<sup>1098</sup>

The de facto authorities have announced that former officials returning from abroad will be ensured safety,<sup>1099</sup> and established the ‘Commission for the Return and Communications with Former Afghan Officials and Political Figures’ in March 2022.<sup>1100</sup> As mentioned, following the US entry ban on Afghan citizens in June 2025, the de facto prime minister reiterated the general amnesty<sup>1101</sup> and said that all who fled after the collapse of the former government were free to return home under safe conditions.<sup>1102</sup> The commission claimed that 1 223 former government officials had returned via the commission by July 2025.<sup>1103</sup> These figures could not be corroborated.

There have been reports of sporadic cases in which former government officials have been killed, subjected to arbitrary arrests and torture after returning to Afghanistan,<sup>1104</sup> including individuals who had been personally invited back by the Taliban as reported by Rawadari in August 2024.<sup>1105</sup>

#### **4.1.2. Records of extrajudicial killings and other abuse**

Most recorded violations against former government officials and ANDSF members occurred in the months following the Taliban takeover in 2021 and 2022.<sup>1106</sup> Research conducted by Human Rights Watch at the time indicated that more than 100 former members of the security forces were killed in the period 15 August–30 October 2021.<sup>1107</sup> The New York Times released a documentary in April 2022, in which it stated that in the first semester of Taliban rule it had documented the killing or enforced disappearance of 490 former government officials and former ANDSF members. It also noted that many more killings likely occurred but remained unverified as victims’ relatives were too afraid of retribution to speak out.<sup>1108</sup> Meanwhile, by 30 June 2023, UNAMA had documented 218 extrajudicial killings, and almost half had taken place during the first four and a half months of Taliban rule in 2021.<sup>1109</sup>

---

<sup>1098</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 28

<sup>1099</sup> TOLONews, Islamic Emirate Pledges Safety for Returning Afghans, 21 May 2022, [url](#); Ariana News, EA reassures returning Afghan politicians and military figures of their security, 22 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1100</sup> Arab News, Former government officials return to Kabul at Taliban invitation, 8 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1101</sup> TRT World, Taliban urges Afghans to ‘return to your country’ after new US travel ban, 7 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1102</sup> AP, The Taliban leader slams Trump’s travel ban on Afghans and calls the US an ‘oppressor’, 7 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1103</sup> TOLONews, Contact Commission Issues Security Cards to Returning Former Officials, 27 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1104</sup> UNAMA, No safe haven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), pp. 17–18

<sup>1105</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1106</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1107</sup> HRW, No Forgiveness for People Like You, Executions and Enforced Disappearances in Afghanistan under the Taliban, November 2021, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>1108</sup> New York Times (The), The Taliban Promised Them Amnesty. Then They Executed Them [Online video], 12 April 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1109</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), p. 6



Former government officials and security personnel have continued to face retaliatory violence,<sup>110</sup> including extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, torture and other ill-treatment.<sup>111</sup> In subsequent human rights reports by UNAMA covering 1 January–30 September 2025, the organisation documented 27 killings of former ANDSF members. UNAMA moreover documented 52 arbitrary arrests and detentions and 11 instances of torture and ill-treatment of both former civil and security personnel of the former government.<sup>112</sup> Several arrests documented in January–March 2025 had taken place in Panjsher and Kabul and ‘pertained to individuals affiliated with the former government of Afghanistan being arrested on allegations of affiliation with the National Resistance Front.’<sup>113</sup>

Rawadari also recorded a decrease in killings but noted that the challenging information environment may be a possible explanation of the downward facing trend, rather than an improvement of the situation. In the first six months of 2025, the organisation recorded 20 killings of former government officials, in contrast with the same period in 2024 and 2023 when respectively 51 and 55 killings were recorded.<sup>114</sup>

#### 4.1.3. Motives and victim profiles

The exact motives behind recorded killings of former government personnel have been difficult to discern, including due to the pervasive ‘revenge culture’ in Afghanistan<sup>115</sup> which brings in personal feuds,<sup>116</sup> tribal allegiances, and past conflicts into the issue.<sup>117</sup>

The Human Rights Research League (HRRL) identified revenge motives in almost all their recorded killings of former military and security personnel in the first two years after the Taliban takeover.<sup>118</sup> The de facto authorities have dismissed violations of the amnesty as the result of personal animosities.<sup>119</sup> In response to a report by UNAMA from 2025, the de facto authorities have also dismissed revenge motives as being behind any breaches of the amnesty, and claimed any such incidents have occurred ‘in the course of professional police duties’.<sup>120</sup> Rawadari noted that in killings recorded by the organisation in the first six months of 2025, the accounts of de facto officials differed significantly from those of the victims’ families

<sup>110</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 1

<sup>111</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, No safe heaven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>112</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January –March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July–September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>113</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>114</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 17

<sup>115</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; International journalist, online interview 3 October 2023

<sup>116</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 15

<sup>117</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 3 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>118</sup> HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), p. 41

<sup>119</sup> HRW, Submission to the Universal Periodic Review of Afghanistan, 11 October 2023, [url](#); Lighthouse Reports, Hunted by the Taliban, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1120</sup> UNAMA, No safe haven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025, [url](#), p. 21

and local sources. According to Rawadari, accusing victims of criminality has been a common tool of the de facto authorities to hide the true motive behind a killing.<sup>1121</sup>

Victims of recorded killings and other abuse have been both military and civilian personnel of the former government.<sup>1122</sup> Several sources have indicated to the EUAA that was not possible to identify any pattern as regards who is being targeted and not among these groups.<sup>1123</sup> For example, the hierachal rank of victims have seemingly not impacted their exposure,<sup>1124</sup> as victims have included profiles that held various different positions.<sup>1125</sup> The individuals circumstances may also impact a person's exposure, for example their having a poor human rights record or access to tribal protection. However, as noted by Sharan, amid the lack of accountability efforts, also de facto officials target people with great impunity, committing crime and extorting ransoms from families of former government officials who are perceived to have the means to pay.<sup>1126</sup>

Victims of killings held various former ranks in data collected by Rawadari in the first six months of 2025, comprising former soldiers, a former local police officer, a former provincial police officer, a former NDS employee, and a former military commander.<sup>1127</sup> In 2025, UNAMA recorded killings of only former ANDSF members, while instances of arbitrary arrests, torture and ill-treatment involved both former civil and security personnel of the former government.<sup>1128</sup> HRRL documented killings in October 2022–June 2023, which included various victim profiles, both civil and military staff holding various ranks, including service personnel in households of former officials.<sup>1129</sup> UNAMA has earlier provided a breakdown of their data covering 800 human rights violations against former government officials collected in the period 15 August 2021–30 June 2023, which outlined victim profiles including military (31 %), police (26 %), provincial and district departments (22 %), NDS (15 %), central government and national authorities (4 %), and judges and prosecutors (2 %).<sup>1130</sup>

Individuals accused of being active in or collaborating with anti-Taliban groups have been targeted in killings and arrests by the de facto authorities.<sup>1131</sup> This profile reportedly often

---

<sup>1121</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 17–18, 20

<sup>1122</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), pp. 6–9; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2024, 24 July 2024, [url](#), p. 6; Rawadari, Afghanistan, Human Rights Situation Report 2023, March 2024, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>1123</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023

<sup>1124</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1125</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), pp. 46–47, 49–51, 53, 55–56, 58, 61–62, 64, 68

<sup>1126</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1127</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 19

<sup>1128</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July–September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1129</sup> HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), pp. 46–47, 49–51, 53, 55–56, 58, 61–62, 64, 68

<sup>1130</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1131</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 15; UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), pp. 8–9



overlaps with former security personnel from areas with a history of armed resistance, being disproportionately targeted and perceived as 'potential resistance fighters', regardless of their actual involvement.<sup>1132</sup> More information is available in section [4.3. Persons with perceived affiliation to anti-Taliban groups](#).

In the PeaceRep study, authors Mawlvı Atta ur Rahman Saleem and Michael Semple suggested that former commanders of auxiliaries of the former government, such as the Afghan Local Police (ALP), have been 'singled out' in arrests and killings.<sup>1133</sup> Some former security forces employees have also had their homes raided<sup>1134</sup> or have been arrested<sup>1135</sup> over accusations of possessing government weapons.<sup>1136</sup>

Many women who had served in the police and the security forces under the former government went into hiding after the Taliban takeover.<sup>1137</sup> According to research carried out by Human Rights Watch in 2024, former women police and security personnel have faced threats, harassment and violent home searches by the de facto authorities. Some have been able to return to work or return to the police headquarters to collect their belongings – although they have been treated with suspicion and pressured to disclose contact information of former colleagues. Human Rights Watch further reported that many women have been living in fear of being reported by their neighbours, and that many had cut off contacts with former colleagues as a safeguard. Additionally, some had been experiencing threats from people who they had investigated. Family members who opposed their female relatives' work in the police were also using the powershift as an opportunity to punish them with threats and violence.<sup>1138</sup>

Some sources stated that the local contexts and local arrangements impact whether the general amnesty has been upheld or not.<sup>1139</sup> Sharan stated that the local tribes had negotiated settlements with the Taliban in some areas. For example, in Khost Province, former members of the Khost Protection Force had been spared from retaliation, and in Kandahar Province, following significant violence targeting members of the Achakzai tribe affiliated with General Raziq, a negotiated deal eventually brought an end to these killings. (More information on the targeting of individuals associated with Raziq is available in the [2023 EUAA COI Report Afghanistan Country Focus](#) (p. 70)). Sharan further noted that local settlements had been effective in reducing retribution in southern provinces and in Panjsher, but emphasised that

<sup>1132</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 27, 31

<sup>1133</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 27, 31

<sup>1134</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 27, 31

<sup>1135</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Members 'Detain' Three Ex-Servicemen in Laghman, 2 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1136</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 15; UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), pp. 8–9; Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 27, 31

<sup>1137</sup> Guardian (The), Hungry, hunted, terrified: unending plight of the Afghan women who served in military and police, 14 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1138</sup> HRW, Double Betrayal, Abuses against Afghan Policewomen, Past and Present, October 2024, [url](#), pp. 17, 19–22

<sup>1139</sup> International journalist, online interview 3 October 2023; HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), p. 69; Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

most regions lack such agreements, and that the longevity of these settlements is uncertain.<sup>1140</sup>

#### 4.1.4. Targeting of family members

According to a human rights expert interviewed by the Norwegian COI Unit Landinfo in 2023, family members of former government officials may face various ill-treatment from the Taliban, including harassment, arrests, and, in some instances also killings.<sup>1141</sup> Reports published by Rawadari and HRRL in the same year outlined that family members of individuals who had left Afghanistan were being targeted,<sup>1142</sup> including wives, children and brothers of former security officials,<sup>1143</sup> and brothers to former civil government employees.<sup>1144</sup> These organisations also recorded cases in which family members had been detained and killed together with former military officials.<sup>1145</sup> In more recent reports on targeted killings and arrests of former officials, UNAMA and Rawadari did not outline cases in which family members had been targeted,<sup>1146</sup> while Afghan media in exile has been reporting on individuals cases in which family members of former civil and security officials have been arrested.<sup>1147</sup>

Kerr Chiovenda and Sharan noted that family members have been targeted to put pressure on former security officials,<sup>1148</sup> including to force targets to come out of hiding.<sup>1149</sup> Sharan stated that some girls related to former government officials have been forced to marry de facto officials.<sup>1150</sup> Sara de Jong, Professor in Politics and International relations with the University of York, also noted how targeting sometimes shifted to other family members, and gave as an example families in which several brothers had served in foreign forces or security forces in different capacities. If the prime target would leave the country, the target sometimes moved to another family member that had a less significant background. Professor de Jong further noted that mostly male family members had been targeted in killings, although female family members might have been exposed to other forms of violence that go undocumented.<sup>1151</sup>

<sup>1140</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1141</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Familiemedlemmer til personer med tilknytning til republikke, 20 November 2023, [url](#), pp. 2–3

<sup>1142</sup> Rawadari, Human Rights Situation In Afghanistan: Mid-year Report 1 January to 30 June 2023, August 2023, [url](#), p. 12; HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), pp. 46–49

<sup>1143</sup> HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), pp. 47, 60

<sup>1144</sup> HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), p. 54

<sup>1145</sup> Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [url](#), p. 11; Rawadari, Human Rights Situation In Afghanistan: Mid-year Report 1 January to 30 June 2023, [url](#), pp. 16, 18; HRRL, Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [url](#), pp. 39, 49, 52, 54, 60

<sup>1146</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, [url](#), p. 6 Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1147</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Former Advisor to Abdullah Abdullah and His Son in Kapisa, 21 January 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Son of Former Security Official in Daykundi, Sources Report, 31 January 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Former ANDSF Member Commits Suicide After Taliban Detains His Wife, Sources Report, 19 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1148</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1149</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1150</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1151</sup> de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025



#### 4.1.5. Former judges and prosecutors

The general amnesty reportedly extends to former judges and lawyers.<sup>1152</sup> All judges that served under the former government were ousted after the Taliban takeover<sup>1153</sup> and replaced with male Taliban-affiliated judges – most being ethnic Pashtuns, as reported by the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan.<sup>1154</sup> However, some former male judges with administrative experience and considered ‘professional’ were asked to return, according to AAN interlocutors.<sup>1155</sup> International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC) noted that this only concerned a ‘handful’ cases of people being called back for limited or temporary roles.<sup>1156</sup>

Prosecutors were not formally dismissed, but were initially told not to come to work after the Taliban takeover.<sup>1157</sup> Some reportedly resumed their work at the de facto prosecutor’s office,<sup>1158</sup> although their legal and operational status was unclear and ‘varied substantially’ between regions, according to ILAC.<sup>1159</sup> In 2023, the de facto Attorney General’s Office was replaced with the de facto ‘Directorate of Supervision and Prosecution of Decrees and Orders’.<sup>1160</sup> Research for Raoul Wallenberg Institute (RWI) suggested that the mandate of this new institution indicated a role of ensuring compliance and enforcement of decrees, edicts and other instructions, rather than investigating crime and lawsuits. The term ‘prosecutor’ had moreover been replaced with ‘observer’ in the decree.<sup>1161</sup> Kerr Chiovenda noted that prosecutors have no real role in the current justice system.<sup>1162</sup>

Many prosecutors and judges left Afghanistan amid the Taliban takeover or went into hiding.<sup>1163</sup> Among the 800 human rights violations documented by UNAMA in the period 15 August 2021–30 June 2023, 2 % targeted former judges and prosecutors.<sup>1164</sup> In more recent reports, UNAMA does not indicate victim profiles, although civil former government personnel has been subjected to arbitrary arrests, torture and ill-treatment.<sup>1165</sup> In February 2025, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan stated that former judges and lawyers

<sup>1152</sup> New York Times (The), Afghan Women Who Once Presided Over Abuse Cases Now Fear for Their Lives, 20 October 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1153</sup> UN OHCHR, UN experts: legal professionals in Afghanistan face extreme risks, need urgent international support, 20 January 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1154</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 31

<sup>1155</sup> Clark, K. and Shapour, R., What do the Taliban Spend Afghanistan’s Money on?, AAN, March 2023, [url](#), p. 36

<sup>1156</sup> ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 21–22

<sup>1157</sup> ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 13, 21

<sup>1158</sup> Clark, K. and Shapour, R., What do the Taliban Spend Afghanistan’s Money on?, AAN, March 2023, [url](#), pp. 36–37; Hasht-e Subh, Reactions to Kabul Suicide Attack: Internal Purge or ISIS Strikes?, 4 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1159</sup> ILAC, Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, [url](#), pp. 21–22

<sup>1160</sup> TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Abolishes Attorney General’s Office, 18 July 2023, [url](#); Rawadari, Latest Taliban decree on Attorney General’s Office (AGO) further erodes rule of law in Afghanistan, 25 March 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1161</sup> Ramizpoor, M. A. A., Restrictions of Civic Space in Afghanistan Under the Taliban – From Religious Ideas to Actions, RWI, April 2024, [url](#), pp. 41, 55

<sup>1162</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1163</sup> Clark, K. and Shapour, R., What do the Taliban Spend Afghanistan’s Money on?, AAN, March 2023, [url](#), pp. 36–37; Independent (The), The female Afghan judges trapped in hiding, fearing reprisal from the Taliban, 7 April 2024, [url](#); Times (The), ‘Afghanistan has fallen off the agenda and been put on hold’, 7 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1164</sup> UNAMA, A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023, [url](#), pp. 5–6

<sup>1165</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2024, 1 May 2024, [url](#), p. 6; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April–June 2025, 24 July 2025, [url](#), p. 5; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July–September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 6

were among the groups 'severely affected by human rights violations' by the de facto authorities<sup>1166</sup> and noted that also defence lawyers were met with suspicion and faced threats and harassment.<sup>1167</sup> In an earlier report, the same source reported on 20 prosecutors being killed across Afghanistan in the period 1 January 2023–31 January 2024.<sup>1168</sup>

All female judges, attorneys, and prosecutors have been barred from working within the de facto justice system, and the association of female judges is inactive.<sup>1169</sup> Amid the de facto authorities' relicensing of lawyers, women have been excluded from registering, meaning that no women lawyers are registered to practice law.<sup>1170</sup> Women who previously served as legal professionals face threats and harassment, as reported by the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan.<sup>1171</sup> Nevertheless, some women lawyers continue to provide legal support to other women,<sup>1172</sup> although informally and outside court settings.<sup>1173</sup> Sometimes women lawyers reportedly accompany clients to court, but never in an official capacity.<sup>1174</sup>

Most female former judges have been evacuated, and those who remain have reportedly been living in hiding fearing reprisals from the de facto authorities as well as former convicts who they had previously sentenced – who in some cases were Taliban members.<sup>1175</sup>

## 4.2. Persons formerly affiliated with foreign forces

This chapter should be read in conjunction with section [4.1. Officials of the former government](#).

The general amnesty extends to individuals affiliated with foreign forces.<sup>1176</sup> Many of these individuals were evacuated from Afghanistan soon after the Taliban takeover in 2021,<sup>1177</sup> and those who remain have reportedly been living in hiding,<sup>1178</sup> including interpreters.<sup>1179</sup> In an

<sup>1166</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 47

<sup>1167</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 37

<sup>1168</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 29 February 2024, [url](#), para. 85

<sup>1169</sup> Austria, Austrian Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum, Afghanistan: Afghan legal system under the Taliban, 9 April 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1170</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 36, 38

<sup>1171</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 38

<sup>1172</sup> Femena, A Voice from Afghanistan: An Interview with an Afghan Woman Lawyer, 29 September 2025, [url](#), 7:10–7:47

<sup>1173</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 38, 40; Femena, A Voice from Afghanistan: An Interview with an Afghan Woman Lawyer, 29 September 2025, [url](#), 7:51–8:36

<sup>1174</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 38, 40

<sup>1175</sup> Times (The), 'I am going to find you': the plight of Afghanistan's female judges, 16 August 2025, [url](#); PassBlue, Four Years After the Taliban's Return, Afghan Women Judges Go Deeper Underground, 7 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1176</sup> AP, Afghanistan: more than 100 believed killed despite Taliban amnesty offer, says UN, 31 January 2022, [url](#); BBC News, Amid violent reprisals, Afghans fear the Taliban's 'amnesty' was empty, 31 August 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1177</sup> Lighthouse Reports, France's forgotten Afghan spies, 12 April 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1178</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 84; NPR, Three years after the U.S. withdrawal, former Afghan forces are hunted by the Taliban, 25 September 2024, [url](#); de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025

<sup>1179</sup> Boston Herald, Manuel: Afghan interpreters left behind fight for survival, 11 October 2024, [url](#); de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025



interview with Radio Sweden in January 2024, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan described people who used to serve foreign forces as particularly vulnerable to human rights violations, perceived as having worked 'for the enemy'.<sup>1180</sup> Similarly, Professor de Jong noted that the de facto authorities perceive those who served foreign forces as 'traitors', with interpreters being prime targets. The same source emphasised that the amnesty was not being felt among this group, nor among those serving the former security forces.<sup>1181</sup>

A major data leak from the British Ministry of Defence in 2022 revealed the names of over 18 000 Afghans who worked for the British forces and some of their family members. Following the leak, the UK evacuated 4 500 former Afghan allies believed to be at risk of retribution in a secret resettlement programme.<sup>1182</sup> As of 16 July 2025, the British Defence Secretary had no information on Afghan allies being killed following the data breach,<sup>1183</sup> while Afghans whose names were on the list and remained in Afghanistan stated that they were living in hiding and moving frequently, fearing for their lives.<sup>1184</sup> Research published by the organisation Refugee Legal Support in October 2025 found that among 350 Afghans affected by the data breach, 21 reported on family members remaining in Afghanistan being killed because of the breach, and 28 on former colleagues being killed. Additionally, the de facto authorities had conducted house searches in 210 instances (including of family members' homes), and 99 persons had received direct death threats. Respondents included former members of Afghan special forces, the Afghan National Army (ANA), the ANDSF, and the NDS, as well as interpreters, guards, and GardaWorld contractors.<sup>1185</sup> Moreover, the anonymous caseworker who raised the alarm of the data breach compiled a dossier with 200 names of individuals allegedly killed following the breach, including former Afghan special forces soldiers, and in some cases their family members. According to the caseworker, a special unit of the de facto security forces, 'Yarmok 60', was hunting down people on the list.<sup>1186</sup>

A joint media investigation recorded over 110 killings and several cases of torture of former ANDSF members since 2023 until mid-2025. The investigation noted that these cases were likely an undercount; many other cases were not included as they could not be corroborated. Among those killed were former security officials who worked in special forces funded or supported by US and British troops. Some killings were attributed to 'unknown gunmen' while others died following torture in detention by the de facto authorities. According to the investigation, three former soldiers of the special forces were tortured in attempts to extract contact details of their former colleagues.<sup>1187</sup> Freelance journalist Beth Bailey, who is engaged in the evacuation of Afghans who supported US troops, said that she receives accounts of revenge killings of American allies in Afghanistan on a monthly basis.<sup>1188</sup>

<sup>1180</sup> Radio Sweden, Konflikt: Dödshoten mot Sveriges medarbetare i Afghanistan, 12 January 2024, [url](#), 25:10

<sup>1181</sup> de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025

<sup>1182</sup> New York Times (The), U.K. Secretly Resettled 4,500 Afghans in Britain After Huge Data Breach, 15 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1183</sup> BBC News, Defence secretary 'unable to say' if anyone killed after Afghan data breach, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1184</sup> Independent (The), Inside the £7bn secret scramble to save lives after MoD data breach, 12 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1185</sup> UK Parliament, Refugee Legal Support, Written evidence submitted by Refugee Legal Support, October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1186</sup> UK Parliament, Written evidence submitted anonymously, October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1187</sup> Lighthouse Reports, Hunted by the Taliban, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1188</sup> France 24, Uncertainty for Afghans who supported US after Taliban takeover, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

Professor de Jong cautioned against relying on the number of recorded killings to assess the situation of Afghans who served foreign forces. She noted that many of them, especially interpreters, have been evacuated – meaning that the potential targets are no longer present in Afghanistan. Moreover, those remaining in the country have adopted survival strategies, such as living in hiding apart from their families, but they are unable to lead a normal life.<sup>1189</sup>

Although Professor de Jong noted that anyone who had a role associated with Western forces could be a potential target, she also mentioned that individual circumstances may impact a person's exposure – including the sensitivity of the mission that they were involved in (e.g. security, intelligence, combat versus less sensitive development projects). Some staff were moreover recruited from outside the area of operation, which in some cases could potentially lower their exposure to be targeted if they were to return to their area or origin. Professor de Jong noted that those recruited locally were often people carrying out 'unskilled' labour such as cleaners, drivers, and guards. While these people might not be 'prime targets', they may at the same time be 'known targets' as they were part of the local communities in which the operations took place.<sup>1190</sup>

## 4.3. Persons with perceived affiliation to anti-Taliban groups

### 4.3.1. Suspected affiliates of resistance groups

In 2022, various sources started reporting on reprisal attacks by the Taliban, including arbitrary arrests and killings of civilians, in areas associated with resistance groups, mostly in Panjsher Province,<sup>1191</sup> but also in the provinces of Baghlan, Takhar<sup>1192</sup> and in Daykundi.<sup>1193</sup> The situation had reportedly calmed by 2023,<sup>1194</sup> but some reports suggest that killings<sup>1195</sup> and arrests have continued, targeting individuals suspected of being affiliated with resistance groups.<sup>1196</sup> This includes Rawadari that recorded 18 killings of civilians accused of cooperating with military and political opponents in 2025, including the NRF and the AFF. The organisation identified 'anyone accused of cooperating with anti-Taliban groups' as one of the primary targets of extrajudicial killings, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance and torture. In many cases, the Taliban was believed to have been involved in such killings.<sup>1197</sup> In January –

<sup>1189</sup> de Jong, S., online interview, 20 October 2025

<sup>1190</sup> de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025

<sup>1191</sup> AI, Afghanistan: Taliban's cruel attacks in Panjshir province amount to war crime of collective punishment – new report, 8 June 2023, [url](#); AW, Investigating Evidence of Prisoner Executions in the Panjshir Valley in September 2022, 17 October 2022, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Torture Civilians in Panjshir, 10 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1192</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; Gossman, P., Associate Asia Director of Human Rights Watch, online interview, 12 May 2022; HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Torture Civilians in Panjshir: Collective Punishment Over Armed Group's Actions Is Unlawful, 10 June 2022, [url](#); BBC News, Afghan resistance attack Taliban, sparking reprisals in Panjshir, 16 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1193</sup> UNICEF, [X], posted on: 25 November 2022, [url](#); RFE/RL, Survivors Of Deadly Taliban Raid On Hazara Village In Afghanistan Demand Justice, 20 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1194</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1195</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1196</sup> AW, Taliban detains Panjshiris amid crackdown on resistance, 14 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1197</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 6, 16, 19



March 2025, UNAMA recorded arrests in Panjsher and Kabul of individuals affiliated with the former government on allegations of being NRF affiliates.<sup>1198</sup> AW recorded 138 arrests of men originating from Panjsher (NRF's former stronghold<sup>1199</sup>) in the period 1 January 2024–30 January 2025, both in Panjsher Province and in other areas of the country such as Kapisa and Kabul. AW reported that these arrests likely targeted suspect affiliates to resistance groups.

<sup>1200</sup>

Individuals accused of being associated with resistance groups have reportedly often been former security force personnel.<sup>1201</sup> According to Saleem and Semple, former security force personnel in areas with a history of armed resistance were disproportionately targeted, being perceived as 'potential resistance fighters' regardless of their actual involvement.<sup>1202</sup> Similarly, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan reported on individuals originating from Panjsher being targeted by the de facto authorities because of their geographical origin and the presumption of being in allegiance with anti-Taliban groups.<sup>1203</sup> Kerr Chiovenda observed that Tajik men had been arrested on 'blanket assumptions' of being NRF affiliates, including in areas far from the group's former strongholds.<sup>1204</sup>

Previous reports from 2023 suggested that also family members of individuals suspected of having ties to resistance groups had been targeted by the de facto authorities to obtain information, scare and intimidate them.<sup>1205</sup> An anonymous human rights expert told Landinfo in 2023 that a whole family was killed due to suspicions of having links to NRF.<sup>1206</sup> More recent information on the treatment of family members could not be found within the time constraints of drafting this report.

### 4.3.2. Suspected ISKP affiliates

Intense killings and abuses of suspected ISKP affiliates and supporters were reported in October and November 2021 in the provinces of Nangarhar<sup>1207</sup> and Kunar<sup>1208</sup> – previous strongholds of the ISKP.<sup>1209</sup> In their efforts to restrain the ISKP, the de facto authorities targeted Salafist communities in these areas,<sup>1210</sup> with reports of extrajudicial killings, beheadings, mutilation and severe torture,<sup>1211</sup> including of prominent members of the Salafi community and other civilians without actual links to the ISKP.<sup>1212</sup> According to Saleem and Semple, about

<sup>1198</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1199</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban's Arrest Of Ethnic Uzbek Commander Sparks Clashes In Northern Afghanistan, 29 January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1200</sup> AW, Taliban detains Panjshiris amid crackdown on resistance, 14 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1201</sup> AW, Taliban detains Panjshiris amid crackdown on resistance, 14 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1202</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 27, 31

<sup>1203</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 52

<sup>1204</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1205</sup> Latifi, A., interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 9 October 2023; Rahimi, H., online interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 4 October 2023

<sup>1206</sup> Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Familiemedlemmer til personer med tilknytning til republikke, 20 November 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1207</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 4 March 2022, [url](#), para. 26

<sup>1208</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Execute, 'Disappear' Alleged Militants, 7 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1209</sup> Centre on Armed Groups, Drivers of ISKP Recruitment in Afghanistan, August 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1210</sup> RFE/RL, Senior Clerics Caught In The Crossfire Of The Taliban's Intensifying War With IS-K, 24 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1211</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Execute, 'Disappear' Alleged Militants, 7 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1212</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23

1 300 Salafis were killed in Nangarhar Province in this period.<sup>1213</sup> Killings and disappearances were also reported in other eastern areas, as well as in northern provinces and in Kabul.<sup>1214</sup> The situation had reportedly calmed by the second half of 2022,<sup>1215</sup> and sources reported on the de facto authorities adopting a more sophisticated approach, with ‘less frequent but more targeted detentions’<sup>1216</sup> and efforts to suppress Salafi-leaning teachings at universities.<sup>1217</sup>

In 2024, an Afghan researcher stated that there were still reports of young Salafists with suspected ISKP-links being kidnapped from their homes, beheaded and killed in extrajudicial killings in Nangarhar Province, although casualties were much lower than in 2021–2022. According to the source, this was partly due to most targets having been killed or having relocated to other provinces. This included mosque imams of Jalalabad who lived elsewhere and concealed their identity.<sup>1218</sup> Other sources also reported on suspect ISKP affiliates being targeted in 2025, including Rawadari that reported on one case of a Salafi religious scholar being shot dead in Badakshan Province, allegedly for having ties with the ISKP.<sup>1219</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan reported on Salafis being targeted by the Taliban on the presumption that they are in allegiance with armed groups.<sup>1220</sup> Afghanistan experts Orzala Nemat and Antonio Giustozzi reported on a general suspicion against Salafis, due to suspected links with the ISKP. In their research, Salafi elders recounted discrimination from the Taliban, also in areas where there was no longer ISKP activity.<sup>1221</sup>

In 2024, the Afghan researcher divided Salafists into two different groups: those being part of the Jamaat al-Dawah party, which pledged allegiance to the Taliban in 2020 (which involves most Salafists in Kunar, and some in Nangarhar), and those not being part of it. The latter group had been targeted, while Salafists under Jamaat al-Dawah had not.<sup>1222</sup> Similarly, International Crisis Group reported that the de facto authorities ‘differentiated between Salafi groups espousing political goals and others focusing on social change’, with those pledging allegiance to the de facto government and ‘involved themselves in non-political work, such as preaching, appear[ing] to have been tolerated, albeit grudgingly’.<sup>1223</sup>

<sup>1213</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1214</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23; Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>1215</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 7 December 2022, [url](#), para. 36; International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023

<sup>1216</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1217</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan, A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1218</sup> Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>1219</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 22

<sup>1220</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 52

<sup>1221</sup> Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021-2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), p. 30

<sup>1222</sup> Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian and Swedish COI units.

<sup>1223</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan, A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)



## 4.4. Women and girls

### 4.4.1. General situation under Taliban rule

Several edicts, decrees and declarations have been issued restricting women's and girls' rights since the Taliban takeover, including limitations on their freedom of movement, expression and behaviour, as well as their access to education, employment, healthcare, justice, and social protection.<sup>1224</sup> The de facto government has held the position that they do protect women's and girls' rights, but in line with *sharia* and Afghan societal norms.<sup>1225</sup> Afghan women activists abroad have meanwhile been engaged in a campaign on referring to the situation in Afghanistan as 'gender apartheid'.<sup>1226</sup> In July 2025, the ICC issued arrest warrants for the Taliban Supreme Leader and the de facto Chief Justice on charges of 'crime against humanity of persecution on gender grounds' against Afghan women and girls.<sup>1227</sup>

During the initial phase after the Taliban takeover, the enforcement of directives and restrictions on women and girls was not consistent,<sup>1228</sup> however a more complex and systematic enforcement model has reportedly taken hold, limiting the variance that existed across the country.<sup>1229</sup> Meanwhile, however, regional inconsistencies and variations still exist,<sup>1230</sup> although restrictions increased with the 'Morality law', enhancing a culture of fear.<sup>1231</sup> Based on interviews on-the-ground, the AAN found that enforcers were sometimes going above and beyond issued restrictions, and many women have been 'self-policing',<sup>1232</sup> and 'self-censoring or restricting their behaviour pre-emptively'.<sup>1233</sup> Some sources suggest that policies were less strictly enforced in urban areas, and that women had found ways to adapt and navigate over the years.<sup>1234</sup> However, as reported by the AAN enforcement, it may sometimes be harsher in urban areas, such as Kabul City, as in more traditional rural areas there are fewer enforcers that show greater respect for the population, and might be hesitant to challenge local women's behaviour fearing bad reactions from their male relatives.<sup>1235</sup>

<sup>1224</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), para. 17; USIP, Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1225</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The phenomenon of an institutionalized system of discrimination, segregation, disrespect for human dignity and exclusion of women and girls, 13 May 2024, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>1226</sup> The End Gender Apartheid Campaign, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1227</sup> ICC, Situation in Afghanistan: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II issues arrest warrants for Haibatullah Akhundzada and Abdul Hakim Haqqani, 8 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1228</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 22-23;

<sup>1229</sup> UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1230</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 25-27; UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1231</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1232</sup> Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1233</sup> Bishnaw, The PVPV Law and its Impact on Women and their Communities, 31 December 2024, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1234</sup> Afghan Eye, Navigating Constraint: Women's Education, Work, and Healthcare in Taliban-Era Afghanistan, 1 July 2025, [url](#); Afghan analyst, email, 5 January 2026

<sup>1235</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

The enforcement of restrictions targeting women and girls has reportedly increasingly expanded from the de facto authorities to local community and family members.<sup>1236</sup> Men may be held accountable for the behaviour of female family members and thus have an incentive to ensure that none of their family members are found committing offences.<sup>1237</sup> In several instances recorded by the UN, male family members or community elders had to give guarantees of future good behaviour for detained or arrested women,<sup>1238</sup> especially for protesters and women accused of failure to observe *hijab* requirements.<sup>1239</sup> More information on the enforcement of instructions on dress codes and gender segregation is available in section [1.2.7. Enforcement of selected restrictions on personal freedoms](#).

A compilation of national decrees and instructions issued by the de facto authorities since the Taliban takeover is available in Annex 3: Lists of decrees and instructions. During the reference period of this report the de facto government issued the following instructions:

- a ban on women attending medical classes, including programs in midwifery and nursing (2 December 2024);<sup>1240</sup>
- a ban on windows overlooking neighbours' courtyards, kitchens, wells and other areas used by women in newly constructed buildings (28 December 2024).<sup>1241</sup>

#### 4.4.2. Freedom of expression and assembly

After the Taliban takeover, women staged peaceful protests<sup>1242</sup> against the restrictions imposed on their rights. The de facto security forces responded to some of these protests with force, intimidation, arrests, arbitrary detentions and ill-treatment.<sup>1243</sup> Some women activists were detained and subjected to ill-treatment such as sexual violence and torture.<sup>1244</sup> Consequently, the numbers of outdoor women protests decreased sharply and protesters

---

<sup>1236</sup> Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 11

<sup>1237</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 11; van Bijlert M., In pursuit of virtue: Men's view on the Islamic Emirate's restrictions on Afghan women, AAN, January 2025, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1238</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 57; UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1239</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 57

<sup>1240</sup> Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan's Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 26

<sup>1241</sup> France24, Taliban leader bans windows overlooking places 'usually used by women', 29 December 2024, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1242</sup> Reuters, Protests get harder for Afghan women amid risks and red tape, 4 October 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1243</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Women Protesters Detail Taliban Abuse, 20 October 2022, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023 [url](#), paras. 29-30

<sup>1244</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), para. 30; Rawadari, Torture and ill-treatment: The state of prisons in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, 25 June 2025, [url](#), pp. 12, 27-57



turned to other alternatives,<sup>1245</sup> such as indoor protests,<sup>1246</sup> graffiti<sup>1247</sup> and social media posts.<sup>1248</sup> By 2024, women protests were only occasionally reported.<sup>1249</sup> During the reference period, women protested against the ban on medical training for women in December 2024 in several provinces.<sup>1250</sup> According to Afghan media in exile, women retirees participated in protests demanding their pensions in Kabul City on 16 September 2025;<sup>1251</sup> some of them were reportedly beaten by guards outside the de facto Pension Department.<sup>1252</sup>

In the ‘Morality law’, the sound of a woman’s voice ‘in a song, a hymn, or a recital out loud in a gathering’ is described as something that ‘should be concealed’ and as a ‘wrongful act’.<sup>1253</sup> The de facto MPVPV has later indicated that the law does not prohibit the voice of women ‘when it is necessary for them to speak’ such as during shopping,<sup>1254</sup> and that it only applies to situations of reciting the Quran and singing loudly.<sup>1255</sup> Regarding the impact of the provisions on women’s voices on the daily lives of women, Rahimi noted, in October 2025, that in some provinces, women would not appear in public or would not speak to men regardless of what the Taliban edicts may be. He stated that he is not aware of a strong push to stop women from appearing in public or engaging in everyday activities, such as shopping, where this was the norm before. For example, in Herat and in areas where it has been the norm for women to do the shopping, they have continued to do so as well as going out and about with their lives.<sup>1256</sup>

Rahimi however noted that the restriction on women’s voices had been enforced by bans on radio with female broadcasters, with efforts across the country to get rid of such channels. However, it varied depending on the province. In Kandahar Province, female radio broadcasters were not allowed, whereas TOLOnews still had female reporters appearing on television with a mask.<sup>1257</sup> Other sources also reported that in some provinces, women’s voices

<sup>1245</sup> AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), pp. 1, 12–13; Reid R., Manoeuvring Through the Cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, 15 June 2025, [url](#), p. 68

<sup>1246</sup> AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), pp. 1, 12–13; Guardian (The), Women banned from celebrations as Taliban marks fourth anniversary of Afghanistan takeover, 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1247</sup> IPS, Afghan Women Defy Taliban Repression With Underground Protests, 25 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1248</sup> BBC News, What happened to the women who took on the Taliban?, 14 June 2024, [url](#); Diplomat (The), Afghan Women, Erased From Public Life, Are Turning to Instagram, 22/03/2025, [url](#); AW, Digital Resistance: Women’s Activism Under Taliban rule, October 2024, [url](#), pp. 12–14

<sup>1249</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghan women stage rare protests, braving Taliban reprisals, 8 March 2024, [url](#); AW, Afghan women protest Taliban’s policies on International Women’s Day, 8 April 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1250</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 16; AW, Taliban ban women from medical studies, sparking protests across provinces, 20 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1251</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Dozens of Retirees, Including Women, Stage Protest in Kabul, 16 September 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Women rally in Kabul against unpaid pensions, 16 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1252</sup> Amu TV, Women rally in Kabul against unpaid pensions, 16 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1253</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 13, 22

<sup>1254</sup> BBC News Persian, [Taliban government: Women’s voices are not prohibited in essential cases], 3 October 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1255</sup> MPVPV [X], posted on: 26 October 2024, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 33

<sup>1256</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>1257</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

have been banned from television and radio broadcasts.<sup>1258</sup> Moreover, UNAMA received reports about women's radio stations in various provinces being told that they were not allowed to operate unless they had a license registered to a man,<sup>1259</sup> and persons interviewed by Rawadari indicated that the de facto authorities punish people who attempt to record and broadcast the voice of a woman or a girl.<sup>1260</sup> Human Rights Watch also noted that de facto officials have detained media workers, *inter alia*, for violating prohibitions on broadcasting women's voices.<sup>1261</sup> Nevertheless, in some provinces, women's voices continue to be heard in radio programmes, and some women-run radio stations remain in operation.<sup>1262</sup>

#### 4.4.3. Freedom of movement

Since the Taliban takeover women have been instructed not to travel more than 72 km without an accompanying male relative (*mahram*),<sup>1263</sup> and since March 2022, unaccompanied women have been barred from boarding domestic or international flights.<sup>1264</sup> Women and girls have moreover been restricted from accessing public spaces such as public bathhouses, gyms and parks,<sup>1265</sup> and in some areas, there have been further restrictions on unaccompanied women accessing to certain religious sites such as shrines<sup>1266</sup> and restaurants.<sup>1267</sup> Drivers of commercial vehicles have been instructed not to pick up female passengers without a *hijab* covering their hair (26 December 2021),<sup>1268</sup> and the 'Morality law' further specifies that women offered transport are not to be uncovered, unaccompanied or 'sit or mingle with an unrelated man' (31 July 2024).<sup>1269</sup>

---

<sup>1258</sup> AFP, Afghan women not barred from speaking to each other: morality ministry, 9 November 2024, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [url](#), pp. 36-37, Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1259</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1260</sup> Rawadari, Excluded and deprived: the educational crisis for women and girls in Afghanistan, 21 November 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1261</sup> Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1262</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 17; UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 33

<sup>1263</sup> RFE/RL, Afghan Women Banned From Making Trips Unless Escorted, 26 December 2021, [url](#); RFE/RL, Afghans Fear For Their Rights As Taliban Resurfaces Religious Policing, 6 January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1264</sup> Reuters, Taliban ban women in Afghanistan from flying without male chaperone, 27 March 2022, [url](#); Bjelica J., What Do Young Afghan Women Do? A glimpse into everyday life after the bans, AAN, 17 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1265</sup> Bjelica J., What Do Young Afghan Women Do? A glimpse into everyday life after the bans, ANN, 17 August 2023, [url](#); UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1266</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [url](#), pp. 36, 72; USIP, Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1267</sup> Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); USIP, Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1268</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), pp. 43–45, 100

<sup>1269</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 20



The restriction on solo travelling of women has sometimes been enforced for shorter distances than 72 km,<sup>1270</sup> reportedly even for short trips<sup>1271</sup> or leaving the house.<sup>1272</sup> In 2023, journalist Ali Latifi stated that the restriction was implemented inconsistently, being ignored by 'thousands of women' still going out on a daily basis'.<sup>1273</sup> Yet, since the 'Morality law' the implementation and the enforcement of the *mahram* requirement intensified.<sup>1274</sup> In several instances, it was more stringently enforced than stipulated in the current laws.<sup>1275</sup> Women are increasingly self-regulating<sup>1276</sup> and some 'limit their outings to essential needs or avoid going out altogether'<sup>1277</sup> or 'rarely leave the house, or only with a man'.<sup>1278</sup>

Even though the de facto MPVPV has stated that the *mahram* regulation is not absolute and does not apply for families without male relatives,<sup>1279</sup> it has been described as a source of distress for women without a *mahram* in their family.<sup>1280</sup> Women without access to a *mahram* were described as having a particularly precarious situation, as the restrictions made it more difficult for them to access services and humanitarian assistance.<sup>1281</sup> It is not possible to say from what age a boy can be considered as a woman's *mahram*.<sup>1282</sup> Some situations allow young boys to accompany a woman,<sup>1283</sup> and the enforcement of the *mahram* requirement is reportedly sometimes circumstantial, with women being allowed to accompany each other for shorter trips in some more conservative provinces,<sup>1284</sup> and women traveling in groups of other women.<sup>1285</sup>

<sup>1270</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The phenomenon of an institutionalized system of discrimination, segregation, disrespect for human dignity and exclusion of women and girls, 13 May 2024, [url](#), para. 34; Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1271</sup> van Bijlert M., In pursuit of virtue: Men's view on the Islamic Emirate's restrictions on Afghan women, AAN, January 2025, [url](#), p. 32

<sup>1272</sup> Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1273</sup> Latifi, A., interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 9 October 2023

<sup>1274</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), paras. 16, 19, 27; UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 15

<sup>1275</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 39; Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1276</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 54

<sup>1277</sup> Bishnaw, The PVPV Law and its Impact on Women and their Communities, 31 December 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1278</sup> AAN, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1279</sup> Ruttig T., Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 43; BBC News Persian, حکومت طالبان: صدای زنان در موارد ضروری ممنوع نیست [Taliban government: Women's voices are not prohibited in essential cases], 3 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1280</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1281</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Third update on Taliban decrees and directives relevant to the humanitarian response (July–December 2024), 24 December 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1282</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Third update on Taliban decrees and directives relevant to the humanitarian response (July–December 2024), 24 December 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1283</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 41–42

<sup>1284</sup> Clark, K., Law, Control, Fear – and some Defiance, December 2025, [url](#), p. 20

<sup>1285</sup> Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

The implementation of the *mahram* requirement has differed across the country.<sup>1286</sup> In October 2024, Ruttig noted that in the south, 'much more pressure' existed, whereas the de facto authorities were more flexible in Kabul. Two other persons interviewed by ACCORD in August and November 2024 also described the *mahram* regulation in Kabul as more lenient, for example in the sense that a woman could go out and purchase something without a *mahram*. A person interviewed by ACCORD in October 2024 described that in Badakhshan, women went to the market by themselves, whereas in Nangarhar, it was more conservative, and women were 'always under the watch'.<sup>1287</sup> The AAN also reported on restrictions on women's movement being more noticeable in some areas;<sup>1288</sup> some Afghans in the provinces of Jawzjan, Baghlan and Ghazni told the AAN that having a *mahram* was being strictly enforced, even for short distances, making it impossible for women to go outdoors alone.<sup>1289</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Afghanistan noted that, within weeks of the 'Morality law's' announcement, women across Afghanistan reported facing tightened restrictions on their movement, including being stopped, interrogated, and harassed at checkpoints, regardless of the distance they travelled. Even when accompanied by a *mahram*, women reported scrutiny to ensure that their *mahram* was an immediate family member. In some areas enforcers have been using loudspeakers to humiliate unaccompanied women.<sup>1290</sup> The de facto authorities have reportedly been focusing on the enforcement of the ban on using transport without a *mahram* in particular.<sup>1291</sup>

Sources reported on consequences for travelling without a *mahram* including arrests,<sup>1292</sup> sometimes with 'rigorous inspections',<sup>1293</sup> harassment and beatings.<sup>1294</sup> According to Rawadari, women had also been arrested for leaving the house without a *mahram*.<sup>1295</sup>

There have been cases in which unaccompanied women were barred from leaving the country<sup>1296</sup> and in some cases even despite having a *mahram*, for example when trying to go

<sup>1286</sup> AFP, Afghan women struggle under male guardian rules, 10 May 2024, [url](#); Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 40-46

<sup>1287</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1288</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), p. 25; Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1289</sup> Bjelica, J., Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 25-26; Clark, K., A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1290</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), paras. 53, 78

<sup>1291</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 37

<sup>1292</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1293</sup> AFP, Afghan women struggle under male guardian rules, 10 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1294</sup> AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan: The Impact of the Taliban's Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, 2 May 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1295</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>1296</sup> Khaama Press, A Generation in Waiting: Four Years After the Fall of the Afghan Republic, 15 August 2025, [url](#)



abroad to study.<sup>1297</sup> Reportedly, in some cases it is still possible to leave the country via the airport without a *mahram* after individual negotiations with the airport staff.<sup>1298</sup>

The *mahram* requirement creates barriers for women and girls to access public services, work and conduct other activities outside their homes.<sup>1299</sup> Women have also been barred from entering de facto government offices without a *mahram*.<sup>1300</sup> According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR), in some provinces, also women with a *mahram* were denied access to de facto government premises.<sup>1301</sup> In general, women cannot appear in court without a *mahram*.<sup>1302</sup> As reported by UNAMA, the de facto MPVPV have instructed health clinics, shops, markets, government offices and taxi drivers to deny services to unaccompanied women.<sup>1303</sup> Unaccompanied women have moreover been denied access to markets in some provinces,<sup>1304</sup> including in Uruzgan, Farah and Kandahar, as reported by UNAMA.<sup>1305</sup> Moreover, sources reported that women in some provinces have to be accompanied by a *mahram* to access healthcare facilities, and that female healthcare workers had to be accompanied by a *mahram* to go to work.<sup>1306</sup> The *mahram* requirement has also made the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance to women more difficult.<sup>1307</sup>

#### 4.4.4. Access to education

Following the Taliban takeover, primary and elementary schools were reopened for both boys and girls<sup>1308</sup> after having been closed since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>1309</sup> Girls have however been denied education beyond primary level,<sup>1310</sup> as the de facto authorities only reopened secondary schools for boys in September 2021.<sup>1311</sup> Initially, the de facto authorities policies towards girls' secondary education was inconsistent.<sup>1312</sup> In 2021–2022, some

<sup>1297</sup> BBC News, Taliban stop female Afghan students leaving country to study in Dubai, 28 August 2023, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Rights groups condemn Taliban's new curbs on women's education, movement, 28 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1298</sup> Sweden, Migrationsverket, Afghanistan: Identitetshandlingar, 10 October 2025, [url](#), p. 29; Mirzada R. and Shapour R., The Daily Hustle: A young women's journey home for the summer holidays, AAN, 13 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1299</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), pp. 2–3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 2–3

<sup>1300</sup> AFP, Afghan women struggle under male guardian rules, 10 May 2024, [url](#); Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1301</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 15

<sup>1302</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 45

<sup>1303</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), pp. 2–3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), pp. 2–3

<sup>1304</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 15

<sup>1305</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1306</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 39

<sup>1307</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 98; AP Giha WG, UN Women, UN Women, Women and Girls in Crisis: 2024 Gender Analysis of Humanitarian Sectors in Afghanistan, 27 April 2025, [url](#), pp.12-13

<sup>1308</sup> TOLOnews, Afghan Students Anxious as Schools Remain Closed, 16 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1309</sup> Al Jazeera, The Taliban closes Afghan girls' schools hours after reopening, 23 March 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1310</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 20 June 2023, [url](#), para. 33

<sup>1311</sup> Guardian (The), Taliban ban girls from secondary education in Afghanistan, 17 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1312</sup> HRW, Four Ways to Support Girls' Access to Education in Afghanistan, 20 March 2022, [url](#)

secondary schools for girls were able to open<sup>1313</sup> and private secondary schools were reportedly allowed to continue to offer education for girls.<sup>1314</sup> However, by 2023, sources indicated that most secondary schools had closed<sup>1315</sup> in all provinces, including private secondary schools.<sup>1316</sup> In 2025, the ban on secondary education for girls remains in place and secondary schools remain closed for girls.<sup>1317</sup> Women's university studies were moreover 'suspended' until further notice on 20 December 2022,<sup>1318</sup> and one of the last 'loopholes' to acquire higher education was closed. Women were further barred from pursuing medical education in December 2024.<sup>1319</sup> PVPV inspectors have been monitoring and enforcing the Morality law and girls' education bans in educational institutions and *madrassas*.<sup>1320</sup> PVPV inspectors monitored compliance on how to wear proper *hijab*, compliance with the ban on girls above the sixth grade or girls who looked older; and that classrooms and offices for female and male teachers were segregated.<sup>1321</sup> In some instances, UNAMA observed that the Morality law was applied arbitrarily in the context of girls' education.<sup>1322</sup>

There have been initiatives to provide girls with education online,<sup>1323</sup> but these methods have not been 'equally accessible or sustainable'<sup>1324</sup> *inter alia* due to Afghanistan's unstable internet connection.<sup>1325</sup> Reportedly, underground secret schools have been running despite the ban.<sup>1326</sup> Some sources reported on such initiatives being known by the local de facto authorities in

<sup>1313</sup> Clark K., Who Gets to Go to School? (1): What people told us about education since the Taliban took over, AAN, 26 January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1314</sup> Rubin, B., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, Stimson, 20 October 2022, [url](#); Guardian (The), 'She asked me, will they kill you if they discover you?': Afghan girls defy education ban at secret schools, 13 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1315</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 20 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 33, 36

<sup>1316</sup> Durrani, P., online interview, 19 October 2023

<sup>1317</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#); Human Rights Watch, Taliban Deny Afghan Girls' Their Education and Future, 17 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1318</sup> Reuters, Taliban-led Afghan administration suspends women from universities, 20 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1319</sup> HRW, Afghanistan's Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1320</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 16; Rawadari, Excluded and deprived: the educational crisis for women and girls in Afghanistan, 21 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 13-14; Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); Rahimi H. and Watkins A., The Taliban's Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>1321</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 14; Clark K. and AAN-Team, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and 'enforced' speak about the Emirate's morality law, AAN, 21 August 2025, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 40

<sup>1322</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>1323</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), para. 42 ; RFE/RL, Taliban's Internet Ban Threatens Afghan Women's Livelihoods And Education, 26 September 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan Human Rights Center, Report on Access to Education for Women Under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), pp. 26-32

<sup>1324</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 33, 36

<sup>1325</sup> International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023; Reuters, Afghan girls struggle with poor internet as they turn to online classes, 28 March 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1326</sup> RFE/RL, Secret Schools Offer 'A Ray Of Hope' For Rural Afghan Girls, 20 December 2023, [url](#); CNN, 'The school is like a light for me:' The secret classrooms giving Afghan girls a chance to learn despite Taliban rules, 5 October 2023, [url](#); BBC News, Five key moments in the crushing of Afghan women's rights, 15 August 2023, [url](#); UN Women, Photo essay: A glimpse into the lives of Afghan women, 7 March 2024, [url](#); HRW, Women's Rights Activists Under Attack in Afghanistan, 30 November 2023, [url](#)



some areas, and that they 'accepted' or 'informally permitted' such initiatives<sup>1327</sup> or 'shut a blind eye' to them.<sup>1328</sup> In 2025, online education and underground schools remained an important lifeline,<sup>1329</sup> although online education programs<sup>1330</sup> as well as underground schools<sup>1331</sup> were being undermined by cuts to international funding. In a survey by Bishnaw, participants reported increasing difficulties accessing non-formal learning spaces such as underground schools, online programs, and private tutoring.<sup>1332</sup> Rawadari noted that, in 2024, as well as in the first half of 2025, the Taliban have been identifying and shutting down educational centres that secretly provided learning opportunities to girls.<sup>1333</sup> Some radio stations have been offering educational programs,<sup>1334</sup> but in some provinces, radio stations have been instructed to stop broadcasting educational programs for girls beyond grade six.<sup>1335</sup>

In the absence of higher education opportunities many women and girls have turned to education in *madrassas*.<sup>1336</sup> Reportedly, no age limit is imposed<sup>1337</sup> and girls over the age of 12 are able to study in de facto authority-registered *madrassas* in some provinces.<sup>1338</sup> Female *madrassa* enrolment has augmented<sup>1339</sup> and a 'significant' number of female students have been enrolled in Taliban religious *madrassas*.<sup>1340</sup> Some sources mentioned alleged plans to restrict access to *madrassa* education for women and girls,<sup>1341</sup> and several *madrassas* have been closed.<sup>1342</sup> UNAMA reported that in some provinces de facto officials took steps to close *madrassas* to women and girls beyond grade six in late August 2025 due to violations of the *hijab* regulations, the teaching of 'modern secular courses' and the age of the girls.<sup>1343</sup> Rahimi noted in an interview of October 2025 that from the beginning, the top leadership of the Taliban have not been promoting or been fond of the idea of women attending *madrassas*, especially amid the sentiment of people using it to as a workaround to teach general topics

<sup>1327</sup> PRIO et al., Pathways towards Strengthening Girl's Education in Afghanistan, December 2023, [url](#), pp. 7–8

<sup>1328</sup> Huck, A glimpse of life for women in Afghanistan under Taliban rule, 6 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1329</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 12

<sup>1330</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 12; Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan: Relentless Repression 4 Years into Taliban Rule, [url](#)

<sup>1331</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 12; CNN, 'They do not teach us what we need': Inside the expansion of religious schools for girls across Afghanistan, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1332</sup> Bishnaw, The PVPV Law and its Impact on Women and their Communities, 31 December 2024, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1333</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 40; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [url](#), p. 32

<sup>1334</sup> Zan Times, The radio classrooms defying the Taliban ban, 15 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1335</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 34; USIP, Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1336</sup> AP, With no access to education beyond the 6th grade, girls in Afghanistan turn to religious schools, 24 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1337</sup> Afghanistan Human Rights Center, Report on Access to Education for Women Under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>1338</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 9

<sup>1339</sup> Rahimi H. and Muhammad Din F., Female Madrasas & Islamic Agency of Afghan Women, 4 November 2024, [url](#), p. 118

<sup>1340</sup> Afghanistan Human Rights Center, Report on Access to Education for Women Under the Taliban, December 2024, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>1341</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 12; France24, 'Afghan women are leading the resistance against the Taliban,' researcher says, 25/08/2025, [url](#)

<sup>1342</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2; Amu TV, Sources: Several girls' madrassas closed in Kabul, 23 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1343</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2

for women. He stated that there have been more efforts to make sure that female *madrassas* only focus on religious subjects and get rid of this loophole.<sup>1344</sup>

#### 4.4.5. Access to employment

Unlike the 1990s, the de facto authorities have not outright banned paid employment for women.<sup>1345</sup> Women have however faced limitations in pursuing various professions,<sup>1346</sup> and working women have been impacted by the general restrictions on them.<sup>1347</sup> Women public officials working for the previous government were instructed to stay home after the Taliban takeover,<sup>1348</sup> with exceptions in areas such as education, healthcare and certain security institutions.<sup>1349</sup> Reportedly some women still work at airports and as security in detention facilities,<sup>1350</sup> and UNAMA noted that there were female de facto MPVPV inspectors in the provincial capital of Baghlan.<sup>1351</sup> Some women still work in the de facto Directorate General of Passports,<sup>1352</sup> and additionally, as reported by Amu tv, the de facto MoI also mentioned women working in public services, and checkpoints.<sup>1353</sup> UN OHCHR noted that 'some limited peripheral functions within the de facto administration were also permitted'.<sup>1354</sup> Reportedly, women could still work in the banking sector.<sup>1355</sup> In June 2024, salaries of female government employees and school teachers were cut to 5 000 afghanis.<sup>1356</sup> A letter later clarified that this applied only to women civil servants who remained at home at the de facto authorities' request.<sup>1357</sup> Zan Times and Amu TV reported that hundreds of female professors were dismissed in May 2025.<sup>1358</sup>

Women have been banned from working in international and national NGOs since December 2022, and for the UN since April 2023. Most foreign embassies were also informed in April 2023 that Afghan women could no longer work in their offices, as reported by the UN.<sup>1359</sup>

---

<sup>1344</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units.

<sup>1345</sup> Bjelica J., What Do Young Afghan Women Do? A glimpse into everyday life after the bans, AAN, 17 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1346</sup> UN Women, FAQs: Afghan women three years after the Taliban takeover, 12 August 2024, [url](#); CARE, A 'window of hope' for the women of Afghanistan: business training to address missing jobs, 3 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1347</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 48-49; UNDP, Listening to Women Entrepreneurs in Afghanistan: Their Struggle and Resilience, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1348</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), para. 27; Latifi, A., interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 9 October 2023

<sup>1349</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [url](#), p. 33

<sup>1350</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1351</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1352</sup> Amu TV, Female employees in public offices face 'severe restrictions' by Taliban, 14 November 2024, [url](#); Sweden, Migrationsverket, Afghanistan: Identitetshandlingar, 10 October 2025, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>1353</sup> Amu TV, Female employees in public offices face 'severe restrictions' by Taliban, 14 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1354</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1355</sup> SIGAR, Quarterly Report to the United States Congress, 30 January 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1356</sup> AW, Confusion after Taliban decree to cap women's salaries, 16 July 2024, [url](#); RFE/RL, 'Systematic Discrimination': Taliban's Drastic Cut In Salaries Of Female State Employees Triggers Anger, 18 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1357</sup> Foschini F., Education in Hibernation: The end of a virtuous cycle of literacy and empowerment for women in Shughnan?, AAN, 19 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1358</sup> Amu TV, Taliban dismiss hundreds of university professors across Afghanistan, sources say, 11 May 2025, [url](#); Zan Times, Taliban dismisses hundreds of female professors from public universities in Afghanistan, 14 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1359</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 47–48



Many NGOs reported that exemptions on the ban were negotiated with local authorities for women working in health, nutrition and education sectors.<sup>1360</sup> Since the Morality law, there has been a general increase in the enforcement of restrictions for NGOs.<sup>1361</sup> In December 2024, the de facto Ministry of Economy disseminated a letter reiterating the 24 December 2022 ban of women working for domestic and international NGOs,<sup>1362</sup> warning that NGOs not complying would lose their license to operate in Afghanistan.<sup>1363</sup> In reaction to this, some NGOs stopped recruiting Afghan women, as recorded by the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group.<sup>1364</sup> In some provinces, women's applications for work permits related to employment in NGOs were denied, as reported by UNAMA.<sup>1365</sup> A survey by UN Women of 2025 found that the ban on women NGO workers has intensified.<sup>1366</sup> Some NGOs advised their female staff to work from home, whereas others continued to allow them to work from offices where gender-segregated facilities were available and where exemptions to the decree applied.<sup>1367</sup> In May 2025, dozens of Afghan women received death threats in relation to their work for UN agencies,<sup>1368</sup> resulting in interim measures by the UN to protect their safety,<sup>1369</sup> such as working from home.<sup>1370</sup> In September 2025, Afghan women, including local staff and contractors, were prevented from entering UN compounds by de facto security officials.<sup>1371</sup>

Women in other professions have also been impacted, including former women security personnel who lost their jobs amid the Taliban takeover,<sup>1372</sup> and women lawyers and judges who have been barred from practicing.<sup>1373</sup> Women journalists have been facing severe restrictions and it is estimated that around 80 % of female journalists have left Afghanistan since the Taliban takeover.<sup>1374</sup> The number of female teachers has also decreased due to the

<sup>1360</sup> Clark K., Bans on women working, then and now: The dilemmas of delivering humanitarian aid during the first and second Islamic Emirates, AAN, April 2023, [url](#), pp. 8, 9

<sup>1361</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 12; UN Women, Tracking Impact Report on The Ban and Other Restrictions on Women for NGOs, INGOs and UN - Twelfth snapshot (June 2025), 15 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1362</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 4; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 98

<sup>1363</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 98; Al Jazeera, Afghanistan's Taliban rulers say will close all NGOs employing women, 30 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1364</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1365</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1366</sup> UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1367</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 9

<sup>1368</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 3; Amu tv, UN female staff in Kabul confined to homes following 'Taliban threats': Sources, 23 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1369</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1370</sup> Amu tv, UN female staff in Kabul confined to homes following 'Taliban threats': Sources, 23 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1371</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 2; Amu TV, UN urges Taliban to lift ban on female staff access to its compounds, 12 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1372</sup> Human Rights Watch, Double Betrayal, Abuses against Afghan Policewomen, Past and Present, 10 October 2024, [url](#); Guardian (The), 'I was a policewoman. Now I beg in the street': life for Afghan women one year after the Taliban took power, 14 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1373</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 39

<sup>1374</sup> Afghanistan: "The Taliban Took All My Dreams Away", Women's exclusion from the Afghan media space has meant that issues critical to women go unreported, 2 May 2025, [url](#); Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

restrictions on secondary education for girls, on women teaching male students and other restrictions targeting women and girls.<sup>1375</sup> In July 2023, the de facto authorities ordered beauty salons to shut down.<sup>1376</sup> Several beauty salons have however continued to operate underground, but in 2025, the de facto authorities conducted house-to-house searches shutting down such salons, confiscating beauty products, and detaining women beauticians. Those arrested were later released after a warning or after they committed not to repeat the same act.<sup>1377</sup>

The private sector has been one of the few areas for women to work in.<sup>1378</sup> Home-based self-employment and small-scale economic activities<sup>1379</sup> have become the predominant form of employment among women in Afghanistan.<sup>1380</sup> The de facto authorities highlight their support for women-led businesses, but have at the same time restricted women entrepreneurs.<sup>1381</sup> For instance, the de facto authorities have ordered the closure of women-run shops in some provinces,<sup>1382</sup> and have barred women from participating in some trade fairs.<sup>1383</sup> In November 2024, the de facto authorities have ordered the closure of all women-only cafés in Herat.<sup>1384</sup> Amid reports about the closure of women-markets in some areas,<sup>1385</sup> for example in Kandahar Province,<sup>1386</sup> in other places, women-markets are still in place.<sup>1387</sup> Women in the private sector have also been impacted by general restrictions on them,<sup>1388</sup> including travel restrictions,<sup>1389</sup> having suppliers refusing to sell material to them,<sup>1390</sup> and being requested to operate in a

---

<sup>1375</sup> Foschini, F., Education in Hibernation: The end of a virtuous cycle of literacy and empowerment for women in Shughnan?, AAN, 17 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1376</sup> USIP, Two Years of the Taliban's 'Gender Apartheid' in Afghanistan, 14 September 2023, [url](#); New York Times (The), Taliban Shut Beauty Salons, One of Afghan Women's Last Public Spaces, 25 July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1377</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), p. 7; Amu TV, Beauticians say Taliban shut down dozens of home salons in Kabul, 8 August 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1378</sup> AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), p. 9; AW, Taliban allegedly raid underground beauty parlours, 14 March 2025, [url](#); Guardian (The), Taliban launch crackdown on Afghanistan's secret beauty salons, 30 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1379</sup> Small-scale economic activities include work as seamstress, make handicrafts, tend to livestock and engage in small-scale agriculture; UN Women, Afghanistan Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1380</sup> UN Women, Afghanistan Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024, [url](#), p. 44; ACAPS, Afghanistan: barriers and enablers to self-employment for women, 12 February 2025, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>1381</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 15; AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>1382</sup> UNAMA, *De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights*, July 2024, [url](#), p. 10; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1383</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October–December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>1384</sup> RFE/RL, Four Years On, UN Says Taliban Close To 'Erasing' Afghan Women From Public Life, 14 August 2025, [url](#); Amu tv, Taliban begin shutting down women-only cafes in Herat, 23 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1385</sup> UN Women, Afghanistan Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024, [url](#), p. 45

<sup>1386</sup> Afghan Times (The), From Livelihood to Silence: Taliban Crushes Women's Work Behind Closed Doors, 18 June 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, Kandahar women-only market closed, hundreds lose jobs, 7 January 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1387</sup> UNDP, What Supporting Women-Led Businesses Really Means in Afghanistan, 13 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1388</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 48-49; UNDP, Listening to Women Entrepreneurs in Afghanistan: Their Struggle and Resilience, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1389</sup> UNDP, Listening to Women Entrepreneurs in Afghanistan: Their Struggle and Resilience, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1390</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan, 15 June 2023, [url](#), paras. 48-49; UNDP, Listening to Women Entrepreneurs in Afghanistan: Their Struggle and Resilience, 16 April 2024, [url](#), p. 3



gender segregated environment and to cater to female consumers only.<sup>1391</sup> Since the enactment of the Morality law, hurdles for businesswomen have increased.<sup>1392</sup>

According to reports, the lack of employment prospects has increasingly pushed more women living in the main cities to stroll the streets selling second-hand goods or simple food goods from carts.<sup>1393</sup> In May 2024, the de facto authorities adopted anti-begging laws. Several women were arrested and detained under these laws and reportedly there have been cases of torture and ill-treatment, including sexual violence and verbal abuse by de facto officials.<sup>1394</sup>

#### 4.4.6. Access to healthcare and basic services

Women's access to healthcare has been reduced by 'significant barriers', including restrictions on their movement, gender segregation, poverty, the financial cost of treatment, and a lack of female doctors.<sup>1395</sup> UNAMA reported that women's already limited healthcare access has worsened under the Morality law, with inspectors regularly visiting facilities to enforce compliance, for example regarding *hijab*, segregation and *mahram* rules.<sup>1396</sup> The requirement for women to be accompanied by a *mahram* when travelling has impacted both women seeking<sup>1397</sup> and providing care.<sup>1398</sup> In some areas, women without a *mahram* have been prevented from accessing health facilities or denied service.<sup>1399</sup> In various instances, PVPV inspectors have given instructions that female patients without a *mahram* should not be treated.<sup>1400</sup> In some cases, female health workers were required to have a *mahram* at work<sup>1401</sup>,

<sup>1391</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1392</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para. 39

<sup>1393</sup> Latifi, A., interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 9 October 2023; Sadat S. A., and Shapour R., The Daily Hustle: Women take to street peddling to feed their families, AAN, 22 July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1394</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 56; Zan Times, Women arrested by Taliban for begging report rape and forced labour, 29 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1395</sup> Bjelica J. and AAN-Team, Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time, we just don't go", AAN, 18 March 2025, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), paras. 17-23

<sup>1396</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 9, 10, 13; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July-September 2025, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1397</sup> UNAMA, *De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights*, July 2024, [url](#), p. 3; HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1398</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1399</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October- December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UN Human Rights Council, The phenomenon of an institutionalized system of discrimination, segregation, disrespect for human dignity and exclusion of women and girls, 13 May 2024, [url](#), para. 40

<sup>1400</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1401</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 41; Zan Times, When working requires a man and a *mahram* card, 25 June, 2025, [url](#)

and since May 2025 in Kandahar Province, these *mahrams* reportedly needed an official identification card.<sup>1402</sup>

Sources noted that general restrictions on women's access to education<sup>1403</sup> and the ban on women to attend medical classes from December 2024<sup>1404</sup> are likely to exacerbate the existing shortage in women medical staff.<sup>1405</sup> This has an adverse impact on the health outcome for women, given that 'cultural norms limit the treatment of women by male doctors'<sup>1406</sup> and that these norms restrict health-care providers in seeing patients of the opposite sex.<sup>1407</sup> Cuts in international funding of aid have also negatively impacted women's access to healthcare.<sup>1408</sup> The bans on women from working for NGOs and the UN,<sup>1409</sup> the restrictions on female aid workers<sup>1410</sup> and on women in general, have moreover negatively impacted the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance to women.<sup>1411</sup>

Women in poor and rural areas and women with disabilities are disproportionately affected.<sup>1412</sup> The AAN reported that women in rural areas are confronted with several barriers in accessing healthcare, *inter alia* the lack of clinics in their vicinity, financial hardship, restrictions on their movement, as well as damaged or non-existent roads and insufficient means of transport.<sup>1413</sup> Afghanistan's maternal mortality rate was already among the highest in the world, and reportedly the situation is getting worse.<sup>1414</sup> According to research for RWI, many women and girls have no access to essential maternal health services.<sup>1415</sup>

---

<sup>1402</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 32; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1403</sup> Human Rights Watch, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future" Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1404</sup> Human Rights Watch, Afghanistan's Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#); UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1405</sup> MSF, Excluding women from medical institutes threatens the future of healthcare in Afghanistan, 6 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1406</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), paras. 17-18

<sup>1407</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The phenomenon of an institutionalized system of discrimination, segregation, disrespect for human dignity and exclusion of women and girls, 13 May 2024, [url](#), p. 40; Medscape, How Women in Afghanistan Struggle for Life and Health, 10 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1408</sup> New Humanitarian (The), Three years on, the Taliban's Islamic Emirate is full of contradictions, 15 August 2024, [url](#); International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1409</sup> International Crisis Group, Taliban Restrictions on Women's Rights Deepen Afghanistan's Crisis, 23 February 2023, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 11 September 2023, [url](#), para. 11

<sup>1410</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 98; AP Giha WG, UN Women, UN Women, Women and Girls in Crisis: 2024 Gender Analysis of Humanitarian Sectors in Afghanistan, 27 April 2025, [url](#), pp.12-13

<sup>1411</sup> AP Giha WG, UN Women, UN Women, Women and Girls in Crisis: 2024 Gender Analysis of Humanitarian Sectors in Afghanistan, 27 April 2025, [url](#), pp.12-13

<sup>1412</sup> HRW, "A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future", Afghanistan's Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1413</sup> Bjelica J. and AAN-Team, Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time, we just don't go", AAN, [url](#), 18 March 2025, p. 7

<sup>1414</sup> RFE/RL, Every Two Hours A Woman Dies During Childbirth In Afghanistan, 15 March 2025, [url](#); Bjelica J. and AAN-Team, Is maternal mortality on the rise in Afghanistan? No official data, but much cause for concern, AAN, 28 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1415</sup> Alavi L.J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, [url](#), p. 48



The policies of the de facto authorities have contributed to a the mental health crisis among women and girls.<sup>1416</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan stated that he has been receiving alarming reports of stress, anxiety, depression, suicide and suicidal ideation, especially among young women and girls.<sup>1417</sup> A survey by UN Women in 2025 noted that 75 % of the surveyed women described their mental health as bad or very bad.<sup>1418</sup> Suicides among women and girls have moreover reportedly increased,<sup>1419</sup> and AW reported on suicides being connected to education, domestic violence, forced marriage, rape and detention.<sup>1420</sup> There are only limited mental health and psychosocial support services (see section [3.5. Healthcare](#)),<sup>1421</sup> and only a handful facilities are dedicated to women's mental health, as noted by BBC News.<sup>1422</sup>

#### 4.4.7. Violence against women

Gender-based violence is widespread in Afghanistan.<sup>1423</sup> Even before the Taliban takeover there was a high prevalence of incidents of gender-based violence,<sup>1424</sup> but the issue is reportedly on the rise.<sup>1425</sup> Violence against women and girls takes place 'inside and outside of their homes',<sup>1426</sup> in both the 'public and private sphere'.<sup>1427</sup> Specific groups of women are at higher risk of gender-based violence, including women headed-households, widows, girls forced into early marriage, internally displaced and returnees, women with disabilities, as well as religious, ethnic, sexual and gender minorities.<sup>1428</sup> Even though the de facto authorities claimed to effectively combat violence against women,<sup>1429</sup> UNAMA has recorded several incidents of gender-based violence against women and girls, including murders; so-called honour killings; child marriages; forced marriages; rape; domestic violence and suicides

<sup>1416</sup> UNHCR, Counselling offers Afghan women a safe space to share their mental health struggles, 10 October 2024, [url](#); UN Women Australia, FAQs: What it's like to be a woman in Afghanistan in 2025, 7 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1417</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 22

<sup>1418</sup> UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1419</sup> UN News, Afghanistan: Taliban rule has erased women from public life, sparked mental health crisis, 13 August 2024, [url](#); UN Women, Afghanistan, Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024, [url](#), p. 36; RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty), Taliban Restrictions Blamed For Surge In Suicides Among Afghans, 29 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1420</sup> AW, Surge in female suicides linked to forced marriages, Taliban violence, and arrests, 26 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1421</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 22; UNHCR, Counselling offers Afghan women a safe space to share their mental health struggles, 10 October 2024, [url](#); Human Rights Watch, World Report 2025: Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1422</sup> BBC, 'No-one comes for us': The women trapped in Afghanistan's mental health system, 19 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1423</sup> UN Women, Afghanistan Gender Index 2024, June 2025, [url](#), p. 56; AW, Afghan Witness report reveals 'daily occurrence' of gender-based violence under Taliban rule as women suffer 'systematic erasure' from public life, 14 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1424</sup> UNAMA, Divergence of Practice: The Handling of Complaints of Gender-Based Violence against Women and Girls by Afghanistan's de facto Authorities, December 2023, [url](#), p. 3; Human Rights Watch, No Shelter in Afghanistan, 19 March 2018, [url](#)

<sup>1425</sup> Rasuli H., Highlighting Afghan Women's Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 56-57; RFE/RL, Taliban's Closure Of Women's Shelters Leaves Afghan Women Vulnerable To Abuse, 9 July 2025, [url](#); UN News, Four years on, here's what total exclusion of women in Afghanistan looks like, 11 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1426</sup> UN News, Four years on, here's what total exclusion of women in Afghanistan looks like, 11 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1427</sup> UNAMA, Divergence of Practice: The Handling of Complaints of Gender-Based Violence against Women and Girls by Afghanistan's de facto Authorities, December 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1428</sup> Protection Cluster Afghanistan, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends, May 2024, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1429</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 3

because of domestic violence.<sup>1430</sup> UNAMA recorded cases where de facto officials intervened to prevent violence and forced marriages, however, it also documented cases in which de facto officials were accused of being perpetrators of forced marriage, enforcing forced marriages, and encouraging a victim to stay in a marriage in which she was physically abused.<sup>1431</sup>

The fear of social shame to be punished for ‘immoral’ behaviour of female family members led men towards repression and violence against women,<sup>1432</sup> with honour killings increasing according to an anonymous source interviewed by ACCORD.<sup>1433</sup> Afghan human rights lawyer Humaira Rasuli found in a research study that, among women exposed to domestic violence, 57 % were facing violence by husbands and other family members, while in 43 % of the cases, perpetrators also included unidentified people and de facto MPVPV enforcers in the streets, workplace, and other public places.<sup>1434</sup> Because of a culture of silence and out of fear of being stigmatised, women survivors of sexual violence rarely report sexual abuse and rape.<sup>1435</sup> Reportedly, several women who were detained have been subjected to sexual violence by the de facto authorities.<sup>1436</sup> Former female detainees face social stigma,<sup>1437</sup> rejection by their families and report continued harassment and intimidation, including by the Taliban.<sup>1438</sup>

Even though there are no official data,<sup>1439</sup> sources noted that the prevalence of child, early and forced marriages has been high and on the rise.<sup>1440</sup> Early and forced marriages of girls have reportedly increased since the Taliban takeover<sup>1441</sup> due to factors such as the economic and humanitarian crisis, the lack of education and employment prospects, and families’ belief that

---

<sup>1430</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1431</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1432</sup> Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1433</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 71–72

<sup>1434</sup> Rasuli H., Highlighting Afghan Women’s Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1435</sup> Rasuli H., Highlighting Afghan Women’s Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 25; UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 58

<sup>1436</sup> Rawadari, Torture and ill-treatment: The state of prisons in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, 25 June 2025, [url](#), pp. 6, 54–58; UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1437</sup> AW, The Erasure of Women, 15 August 2024, [url](#), p. 1; UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1438</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 21

<sup>1439</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Living in a Collapsed Economy (4): The desperation and guilt of giving a young daughter in marriage, AAN, 20 October 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1440</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban’s Education Ban On Afghan Girls Fuels Spike In Child Marriages, 13 June 2024, [url](#); Protection Cluster Afghanistan, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [url](#); UN Women Australia, FAQs: What it’s like to be a woman in Afghanistan in 2025, 7 August 2025, [url](#); IPS, Afghanistan: Ban on Girls’ Education Linked to Rise in Forced and Child Marriage, 3 October 2025, [url](#);

<sup>1441</sup> Savi, M. et al., Changing social norms around age of marriage in Afghanistan Data on repression and resistance under the Taliban, ODI, February 2024, [url](#)



securing a spouse for their daughters would protect them from being forced to marry a member of the Taliban.<sup>1442</sup>

Corporal punishments inflicted by de facto courts for both men and women have increased under Taliban rule,<sup>1443</sup> including many cases related to *zina* (adultery or ‘running away from home’).<sup>1444</sup> Women and girls are disproportionately affected by the criminalisation of adultery as they are much more likely to be accused of *zina* (sex outside of marriage), often based on little or no evidence. Situations of women fleeing forced marriage or domestic violence and crimes of rape are frequently mischaracterised as adultery or other moral crimes.<sup>1445</sup>

#### 4.4.8. Access to justice

In December 2021, the de facto authorities issued a decree on Women’s Rights,<sup>1446</sup> outlawing some traditional practices, such as forced marriage of adult women, including for widows, as well as *baad* - the exchange of daughters between families or clans as a way to end feuds or disputes.<sup>1447</sup> In a decree of 19 March 2025, the importance of women’s free consent to marriage was re-emphasised and it was stated that perpetrators of unlawful acts against women such as ‘shooting, forcibly marrying, or violating a woman’s rights’ [to inheritance, dowry, independence] should be prosecuted in the courts of the Islamic Emirate.<sup>1448</sup> Taliban spokespersons frequently asserted that the de facto authorities are protecting women’s rights,<sup>1449</sup> and the de facto MPVPV has been presenting itself as a defender of women’s rights online.<sup>1450</sup>

Women and girls however face severe barriers to access justice.<sup>1451</sup> Despite the above-mentioned decrees, cases of gender-based violence have reportedly been treated inconsistently by the de facto authorities,<sup>1452</sup> with many cases being resolved through informal

<sup>1442</sup> RFE/RL, Taliban's Education Ban On Afghan Girls Fuels Spike In Child Marriages, 13 June 2024, [url](#); RFE/RL, Afghans Increasingly Marrying Off Young Daughters To Avoid Forced Unions With Taliban, 1 December 2022, [url](#); Sinclair, S., In the new Afghanistan, it's sell your daughter or starve, 15 January 2024, Washington Post (The), [url](#)

<sup>1443</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1444</sup> UNAMA, Corporal Punishment in Afghanistan, May 2023, [url](#), pp. 13–14

<sup>1445</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 29; USIP, Failure to Protect: The Taliban’s Reversal of Violence Against Women Protections, 22 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1446</sup> Zabihullah [X], posted on: 3 December 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1447</sup> Barnett, R., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, 20 October 2022, [url](#); Philips L. and Mirzada R., Shaking the sky: Women’s attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN, February 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1448</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 8; Alemarah English, Decree of the Esteemed Amir-ul-Momineen (may Allah protect him) Regarding prevention of improper customs during weddings, calamities, and upon return from Hajj and Umrah, 19 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1449</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 28

<sup>1450</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 86; AW, Policing Morality in Afghanistan: The Impact of the Taliban’s Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, 2 May 2025, [url](#), p. 36

<sup>1451</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), Para. 17; UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), pp. 7–12

<sup>1452</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 11 September 2023, [url](#), para. 27; Rasuli H., Highlighting Afghan Women’s Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 22

means such as mediation.<sup>1453</sup> Specialised institutions and frameworks which provided specific protections and support for women have been dismantled,<sup>1454</sup> leaving women with almost no access to justice and effective remedies.<sup>1455</sup>

There are no women judges, prosecutors, and no officially registered female lawyers.<sup>1456</sup> Few women work in the de facto police and other institutions,<sup>1457</sup> reducing safe channels to report abuse or to seek redress.<sup>1458</sup> Moreover, almost all shelters for victims of gender-based violence have been shut down.<sup>1459</sup>

The *mahram* requirement also creates significant barriers,<sup>1460</sup> as women need a *mahram* to travel and interact with the de facto authorities.<sup>1461</sup> In court, women are often prevented from speaking for themselves and may be forced to rely on their *mahram* to speak for them.<sup>1462</sup> Women seeking justice are confronted with victim blaming,<sup>1463</sup> and survivors of gender-based violence risk false accusations and self-incrimination.<sup>1464</sup>

Women who engage with the de facto court system reportedly face a ‘hostile environment’,<sup>1465</sup> with de facto courts being biased against women,<sup>1466</sup> with some women experiencing it as humiliating and exclusionary.<sup>1467</sup> As noted by the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights, complaints, particularly those concerning divorce, child custody, or sexual and gender-based violence, are frequently dismissed, redirected to mediation, and seldom ruled in women’s

---

<sup>1453</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 11 September 2023, [url](#), para. 27; UN Women, Afghanistan, Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024, [url](#), p. 30; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October–December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1454</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 39

<sup>1455</sup> AI, Afghanistan: Authorities must reinstate formal legal frameworks, rule of law and end four years of injustice and impunity, 15 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1456</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), Para. 18; UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 39

<sup>1457</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 7

<sup>1458</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>1459</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 18; RFE/RL, Taliban's Closure Of Women's Shelters Leaves Afghan Women Vulnerable To Abuse, 9 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1460</sup> Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 43

<sup>1461</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 73

<sup>1462</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 45

<sup>1463</sup> Rasuli H., Highlighting Afghan Women's Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 23; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 74

<sup>1464</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 74; UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 49

<sup>1465</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 19; Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3-4

<sup>1466</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 19; Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3-4

<sup>1467</sup> Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#), pp. 3-4



favour.<sup>1468</sup> According to UNAMA, in some instances, de facto officials referred severe cases, such as attempt murder, to mediation despite the victim's request for a formal judicial resolution.<sup>1469</sup>

According to UN OHCHR, women have increasingly turned to alternate justice mechanisms such as *jirgas*, *shuras*, or mediation through religious leaders, family or community elders to resolve disputes.<sup>1470</sup> However, these alternate mechanisms are also described as male-dominated<sup>1471</sup> and biased against women.<sup>1472</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights noted that decisions often reflect patriarchal norms and favour male interests.<sup>1473</sup>

Getting a divorce has always been difficult for Afghan women, but under the de facto authorities sources described it as having become 'almost impossible'<sup>1474</sup> and 'extremely challenging'.<sup>1475</sup> While lawyers told the AAN that stigma and shame are the main barriers preventing women from seeking divorce,<sup>1476</sup> the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights also reported on cases in which judges had told women reporting violence or seeking divorce that husbands can treat their wives as they wish, and women seeking divorce from abusive husbands sometimes received marriage proposals ('essentially forced') from de facto officials, or were told to present their husband to court, which was impossible in many cases.<sup>1477</sup> De facto courts have reportedly overturned or invalidated divorces granted under the previous government.<sup>1478</sup> Some women have been forced back to abusive or unwanted marriages, and in other instances women who had remarried were imprisoned for adultery.<sup>1479</sup> The AAN noted, however, that there seemed to be no systematic attempt to overturn divorce cases.<sup>1480</sup>

<sup>1468</sup> UN OHCHR, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 19

<sup>1469</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October-December 2024, 28 January 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1470</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 76, 78

<sup>1471</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 77

<sup>1472</sup> Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1473</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 77, 81

<sup>1474</sup> Philips L. and Mirzada R., "The Doors to Separation Are Closed for Women": Women and divorce under the Emirate, AAN, 4 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1475</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 50

<sup>1476</sup> Philips L. and Mirzada R., "The Doors to Separation Are Closed for Women": Women and divorce under the Emirate, AAN, 4 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1477</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 49, 50

<sup>1478</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 51; USIP, Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1479</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), paras. 51, 53

<sup>1480</sup> Philips L. and Mirzada R., "The Doors to Separation Are Closed for Women": Women and divorce under the Emirate, AAN, 4 May 2025, [url](#)

Despite the Taliban outlawing forced marriages of adult women,<sup>1481</sup> UNAMA documented cases in which de facto officials were accused of being both perpetrators of forced marriage, enforcing forced marriages, and encouraging a victim to stay in marriage in which she was physically abused. However, UNAMA also recorded cases in which de facto officials did intervene to prevent violence and forced marriages.<sup>1482</sup> There have moreover been cases where women have had their inheritance cases recognised and successfully enforced by local de facto courts.<sup>1483</sup> In some cases, women succeeded to file their inheritance claims without a *mahram*.<sup>1484</sup> As reported by UN Women surveys, stigma prevents women to claim their inheritance and many are unaware of their inheritance rights in the decree on Women's Rights.<sup>1485</sup> The AAN also noted that attitudes to the inheritance rights for women are an obstacle, and women risk the disapproval of their community and being ostracised by their family.<sup>1486</sup>

## 4.5. LGBTQ+ persons

Already before the Taliban's return to power in 2021, individuals identifying as LGBTQ+ reportedly faced a precarious situation, with no specific legal protections<sup>1487</sup> – a situation that has not changed under the de facto government, where no laws protect against discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, or sex characteristics.<sup>1488</sup> Instead, the 'Morality Law', enacted on 31 July 2024, contains specific prohibitions against 'lesbianism' and anal intercourse<sup>1489</sup> and the enabling of 'opportunities and means' for same-sex relationships, according to UN OHCHR.<sup>1490</sup> A spokesperson of the de facto Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited by CNN, declared 'acts such as sodomy, bestiality and other perversions that contravene Islamic law are illegal and perpetrators are dealt with within the legal

<sup>1481</sup> Barnett, R., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, 20 October 2022, [url](#); Philips L. and Mirzada R., Shaking the sky: Women's attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN, February 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1482</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January-March 2025, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 3; UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April-June 2025, 10 August 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1483</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 54; Philips, L. and Mirzada, R., Shaking the sky: Women's attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 29–30; Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1484</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 54; Philips, L. and Mirzada, R., Shaking the sky: Women's attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 29–30

<sup>1485</sup> UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, [url](#), p. 8

<sup>1486</sup> Philips, L. and Mirzada, R., Shaking the sky: Women's attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN, February 2025, [url](#), p. 30

<sup>1487</sup> JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1488</sup> ILGA World Database, Afghanistan, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>1489</sup> Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>1490</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 59



framework'.<sup>1491</sup> According to Amnesty International, same-sex relations are punishable by death.<sup>1492</sup> There are no registered interest groups inside Afghanistan advocating for the rights of LGBTQ+ persons.<sup>1493</sup>

The de facto authorities have been enforcing judicially ordered corporal punishment in public,<sup>1494</sup> including for homosexuality,<sup>1495</sup> 'immoral relationships',<sup>1496</sup> 'sodomy' and 'adultery'.<sup>1497</sup> As noted by AW, it is difficult to discern how many of these cases involve LGBTQ+ persons.<sup>1498</sup> According to data published by Rainbow Afghanistan,<sup>1499</sup> at least 98 LGBTQ+ persons were subjected to public punishment that included stoning, wall crushing, flogging ranging from 25 to 39 lashes, and imprisonment, in 14 Afghan provinces between 2022 and 2024. Additional cases involving LGBTQ+ individuals were reported in the provinces of Wardak, Faryab, Laghman, Ghor, Parwan, Helmand, Nangarhar, Kunduz, Zabul, and Farah.<sup>1500</sup> The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan noted an increase in corporal punishments for 'sodomy' in 2024, 'with a significant escalation beginning in September' after the enactment of the 'Morality law'. The UN Special Rapporteur also reported on corporal punishments of people in same-sex relationships often being combined with prison sentences, and noted some individuals being sentenced to 'burial under a wall'.<sup>1501</sup> However, as noted by Rahimi, only corporal punishments in the form of lashings have been enforced.<sup>1502</sup>

Since the Taliban takeover in August 2021, the situation for LGBTQ+ persons has 'significantly worsened', according to Human Dignity Trust.<sup>1503</sup> According to the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan, LGBTQ+ persons continue to face entrenched and systematic discrimination under Taliban rule.<sup>1504</sup> The ICC's arrest warrants for the de facto Supreme Leader and the de facto Chief of Justice, included the crime of persecution on gender grounds of 'persons non-conforming with the Taliban's policy on gender, gender identity, or expression'.<sup>1505</sup>

<sup>1491</sup> CNN World, 'My whole body was praying for my death': LGBTQ Afghans say they face abuse in detention as Taliban crackdown intensifies, 19 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1492</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1493</sup> Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), p. 100; Outright International, Country Overview, Afghanistan, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>1494</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35

<sup>1495</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 10

<sup>1496</sup> Afghan LGBT, Flogging 63 people on charges of "Sodomy" and "Adultery" by the Taliban, 7 June 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1497</sup> VOA, Men, women experience near daily floggings in Afghanistan, 18 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1498</sup> CNN World, 'My whole body was praying for my death': LGBTQ Afghans say they face abuse in detention as Taliban crackdown intensifies, 19 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1499</sup> a non-profit organization established to defend the rights, dignity, and lives of members of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ community.

<sup>1500</sup> JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1501</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 60

<sup>1502</sup> Rahimi, H., online interview, 29 October 2025

<sup>1503</sup> Human Dignity Trust, Afghanistan, summary, 3 April 2025, [url](#); VOA, Taliban continues corporal punishment, flogging 20 Afghans over alleged adultery, 24 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1504</sup> UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 69

<sup>1505</sup> ICC, Situation in Afghanistan: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II issues arrest warrants for Haibatullah Akhundzada and Abdul Hakim Haqqani, 8 July 2025, [url](#)

Amnesty International reported on LGBTIQ+ persons facing arbitrary arrests,<sup>1506</sup> and LGBTIQ+ rights advocates have reported on sexual violence against, and extrajudicial killings of LGBTIQ+ persons, including in detention facilities. The Afghan LGBT Organization has documented more than 50 cases of LGBTIQ+ persons being detained since August 2021, although the actual number is difficult to estimate in the absence of reliable reporting channels.<sup>1507</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan reported on LGBTIQ+ persons having been accused of, or punished for, homosexuality often being 'at greater risk of violence and discrimination, especially if these "offences" become known to their families and communities.' The same source reported on male survivors of sexual violence sometimes facing punishment and revictimisation.<sup>1508</sup>

Many LGBTIQ+ persons conceal their gender identity or sexual orientation<sup>1509</sup> and some live in hiding.<sup>1510</sup> Having a norm-breaking sexual orientation or gender identity entails taboos and social stigma in the general Afghan society,<sup>1511</sup> which restrict them from 'openly expressing their identity or appearing in public'.<sup>1512</sup> Already before the Taliban takeover, LGBTIQ+ persons were reported to have faced threats and harassment from the general population.<sup>1513</sup> Social norms do not recognise '[t]he idea that an individual may have a particular orientation or that a community could exist around a common orientation or gender identity', as reported by the Dutch Ministry for Foreign Affairs in June 2023, and it is not acceptable to '[o]penly identifying as gay and putting into practice the desire to share your life with a person of the same sex', as it 'goes against traditional gender norms, societal codes and tribal and other codes of honour'.<sup>1514</sup>

Due to the often-visible nature of their gender expression, transgender individuals are particularly vulnerable,<sup>1515</sup> and there have reportedly been cases of the Taliban beating such individuals and subjecting them to other forms of ill-treatment.<sup>1516</sup> Under the former government transgender persons experienced 'widespread discrimination, exploitation, and

---

<sup>1506</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1507</sup> CNN, 'My whole body was praying for my death': LGBTQ Afghans say they face abuse in detention as Taliban crackdown intensifies, 19 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1508</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Study on the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, 12 March 2025, [url](#), para. 60

<sup>1509</sup> HRW, "Even If You Go to the Skies, We'll Find You", 26 January 2022, [url](#); UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 70

<sup>1510</sup> JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, [url](#); Al, Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, [url](#); HRW, World report 2024: Afghanistan, Events of 2023, 12 January 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1511</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 29 February 2024, [url](#), para. 66; UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 69

<sup>1512</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 81, 86

<sup>1513</sup> FP, What the Taliban Mean for Queer Afghans, 20 April 2022, [url](#); Fuller Project (The), Queer Afghan lives are at risk under the Taliban, 20 April 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1514</sup> The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), p. 98

<sup>1515</sup> JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1516</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 86



violence', and since the Taliban takeover, the German-based organisation Rainbow Afghanistan have noted reports of genital mutilation, electric shock therapy, and gang rape of transgender persons while imprisoned.<sup>1517</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan reported in February 2025 that relatives of LGBTIQ+ persons, including those of individuals who have left the country, have faced reprisals such as detention, threats, and physical violence. According to a transgender woman, her family members were 'detained, beaten, and harassed by Taliban-affiliated individuals' after she fled, reportedly due to her gender identity.<sup>1518</sup>

## 4.6. Journalists and media workers

Media freedom has continued to decline, with increasing limitations placed on national and international broadcasters.<sup>1519</sup> According to the 2025 RSF World Press Freedom Index, Afghanistan ranked 175 out of 180 countries, reflecting a decline of 23 positions compared to year 2023.<sup>1520</sup> By 2025, the Afghan media landscape has been 'decimated', as described by RSF, and 'devoid of pluralism and dissenting voices'.<sup>1521</sup> More information on civic space and freedom of expression is available in section [1.1.1. Political opposition and civic space](#).

Since the Taliban takeover, the de facto authorities have issued several verbal and written instructions limiting the work of Afghan media,<sup>1522</sup> including on publishing content that is indecent, profane,<sup>1523</sup> insulting national figures,<sup>1524</sup> or considered defamation and 'unproven criticism' of de facto officials.<sup>1525</sup> Article 17 of the 'Morality law' specifies that de facto MPVPV inspectors are to ensure contents of publication or public information do not contradict *sharia*, 'deride or humiliate Muslims', or include pictures of 'animate objects'.<sup>1526</sup> A compilation of relevant national decrees and instructions issued since the Taliban takeover is available in [Annex 3: Lists of decrees and instructions](#).

<sup>1517</sup> JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1518</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 68

<sup>1519</sup> European Commission, 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176, para 1

<sup>1520</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, index 2025, [url](#), European Commission, 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176; Kabul Now, Taliban Ban Images of Living Beings in Herat, Now Enforced in 22 Provinces, 23 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1521</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>1522</sup> AFJC, The Taliban's Directives on Freedom of Media and Access to Information, 28 September 2023, [url](#); RSF, Afghanistan : the disturbing, escalating censorship suffocating the free press, 27 February 2025, [url](#); Just Security, The Taliban's Slow Dismantling of Afghan media, 10 July 2025, [url](#); دعليي وزارت - وزارت علیه [X], posted on: 21 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1523</sup> AAN, Decrees, Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Amir al-mu'minin, as published in the Official Gazette on 22 May 2023, July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1524</sup> AFJC, The Taliban's Directives on Freedom of Media and Access to Information, 28 September 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1525</sup> TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Leader Bans 'Unproven Allegations' Against Members, 22 July 2022, [url](#); Zabihullah [X], posted on: 21 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1526</sup> Afghanistan, De facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 17; UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 9

Issued restrictions on the media have been vague and difficult to follow in practice.<sup>1527</sup> According to a compilation of the Afghanistan Journalists Center (AFJC), the de facto authorities have issued a number of directives that run in parallel with official laws. Although these directives have not been ‘issued by a single authority or following proper legal procedures’, they have restricted the work of journalists and media personnel.<sup>1528</sup> Reporters Without Borders (RSF) also noted a ‘particularly confusing situation for journalists’ receiving directives from various de facto authorities.<sup>1529</sup> UNAMA also outlined how the de facto authorities have established various ‘red lines’ for reporting, i.e. ‘no-go areas’, which are informal and broad. These include any content deemed contrary to *sharia*, Afghan culture, and national interests, and have been subject to ongoing and fluctuating interpretation.<sup>1530</sup>

In the period 29 September–1 October 2025, Afghanistan experienced an almost complete shutdown of internet connectivity and mobile phone services.<sup>1531</sup> UNAMA reported that media outlets relying on the internet to transmit, halted operations entirely, and journalists could not collect information via internet or telephone.<sup>1532</sup> More information on this event is available in section [1.1.1. Political opposition and civic space](#).

The prohibition of images of living beings and music further limits the public information space and freedom of expression, as reported by UNAMA.<sup>1533</sup> While prohibitions on images of living beings existed in some areas prior to the issuance of the ‘Morality law’, these rules were progressively enforced in the media sector starting with September 2024.<sup>1534</sup> More information is available in section [1.2.7\(c\) The ban on images of living beings](#).

After the Taliban takeover, there was a large exodus of journalists,<sup>1535</sup> and some went into hiding.<sup>1536</sup> Many media outlets moreover closed.<sup>1537</sup> Out of the roughly 12 000 journalists that were active in Afghanistan in 2021, more than two thirds were estimated to have quit the profession after the Taliban takeover. In particular the number of active women journalists decreased significantly.<sup>1538</sup> 84 % of female journalists reportedly lost their jobs within two months of the Taliban takeover.<sup>1539</sup> Around half of Afghanistan’s 4 748 journalists, of which 747

---

<sup>1527</sup> JHR, Freedom of the Afghan Media, August 2024, [url](#), pp. 15–16, 20; USIP, Amid Taliban Repression, Afghan Media Are a Beacon of Hope, 10 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1528</sup> AFJC, AFJC: The Ministry of Information and Culture should respect media freedom in the use of official languages, 18 January 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1529</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, [2025], [url](#)

<sup>1530</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p.13

<sup>1531</sup> RSF, In Afghanistan, new Taliban tactic to humiliate journalists: forced “confessions” broadcast online, 4 November 2025, [url](#); CNN, Taliban cuts internet across Afghanistan, 30 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1532</sup> UNAMA, Out of reach: The impact of telecommunications shutdowns on the Afghan people, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>1533</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1534</sup> UNAMA, Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, 10 April 2025, [url](#), p. 18; European Commission: 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176

<sup>1535</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>1536</sup> RFE/RL, This Is What It’s Like To Be A Journalist Under Taliban Rule, 3 May 2024, [url](#); RSF, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>1537</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Severely Restrict Media, 1 October 2021, [url](#); Columbia Journalism Review, What happened to Afghanistan’s journalists after the government collapsed, 17 March 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1538</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, [2024], [url](#)

<sup>1539</sup> Just Security, The Taliban’s Slow Dismantling of Afghan media, 10 July 2025, [url](#)



are female journalists, receive no pay or benefits, and AIJU warns that job security remains uncertain even in major media outlets.<sup>1540</sup> Reports suggest that 11 television stations and one radio station reportedly closed during 2024.<sup>1541</sup> According to IFJ, approximately 470 media outlets remain operational in Afghanistan in 2025.<sup>1542</sup>

Media workers have also been facing threats, intimidation, harassment,<sup>1543</sup> arbitrary arrests and detention by the de facto authorities.<sup>1544</sup> AFJC recorded at least 140 incidents of media freedom violations across Afghanistan during the first six months of 2025, representing an increase of approximately 56 % compared to the same period in 2024.<sup>1545</sup> Human Rights Watch reported that media restrictions in Afghanistan have led many journalists to self-censor and to concentrate their reporting on official events. In addition, journalists failing to cover such events may face reprimands, threats, or, in some instances, detention.<sup>1546</sup>

One journalist was killed within the reference period of this report as per CPJ's records.<sup>1547</sup> The journalist reportedly died in crossfire on 15 October 2025 during a battle between Afghan de facto security forces and Pakistani security forces.<sup>1548</sup>

Sources recorded cases in which journalists had been detained during 2024–2025 on allegations of various crimes, such as links to media outlets operating in exile,<sup>1549</sup> or producing content considered hostile to the de facto authorities.<sup>1550</sup> The number of arrests differs between sources, with RSF recording 17 detentions of journalists and media workers in 2025,<sup>1551</sup> while AFJC recorded at least 20 cases in the first half of the year alone.<sup>1552</sup> There were cases of journalists being arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for producing 'propaganda' against the de facto government.<sup>1553</sup> Some journalists were humiliated in videos with forced confessions, as reported by RSF.<sup>1554</sup> According to AFJC, reporting in May 2025, at

<sup>1540</sup> IFJ, Frontline Democracy Media Amid Political Churn, Asia Press Freedom Report 2024-2025, 4 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1541</sup> European Commission, 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176, para 1

<sup>1542</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Ban Images of Living Beings in Herat, Now Enforced in 22 Provinces, 23 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1543</sup> AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, July 11, 2025, [url](#).

<sup>1544</sup> RSF, Afghanistan, 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p.14; AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, 11 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1545</sup> AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, 11 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1546</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1547</sup> CPJ, Explore CPJ's database of attacks on the press, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1548</sup> CPJ, Abdul Ghafor Abed, 15 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1549</sup> European Commission: 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176

<sup>1550</sup> RSF, In Afghanistan, new Taliban tactic to humiliate journalists: forced "confessions" broadcast online, 4 November 2025, [url](#); AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, 11 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1551</sup> RSF, World: Abuses in real time, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1552</sup> AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, 11 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1553</sup> AFJC, AFJC Urges Immediate Release of Detained Journalist Soliman Rahel Amid Rising Repression in Ghazni, 10 May 2025, [url](#).

<sup>1554</sup> RSF, In Afghanistan, new Taliban tactic to humiliate journalists: forced "confessions" broadcast online, 4 November 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Court Sentences Journalist to Over a Year in Prison for Alleged Anti-Regime Propaganda, 8 January 2025, [url](#)

least 13 journalists and media workers were being held in detention or serving prison sentences ranging from several months to multiple years.<sup>1555</sup>

As reported by Human Rights Watch, collaborating with Afghan media in exile is ‘particularly dangerous’ as the de facto authorities perceive them as linked to the opposition, a threat to their control,<sup>1556</sup> and as operating illegally.<sup>1557</sup> Various sources have reported on journalists being arrested on accusations of having collaborated with exile media,<sup>1558</sup> and Human Rights Watch also noted severe beatings and death threats against such individuals.<sup>1559</sup>

Female media workers have been particularly affected by restrictions,<sup>1560</sup> including prohibitions on broadcasting women’s voices in some provinces,<sup>1561</sup> gender segregation at media offices,<sup>1562</sup> as well as general restrictions on women,<sup>1563</sup> including requirements for women to cover their faces<sup>1564</sup> and to be accompanied by a *mahram*.<sup>1565</sup> Female journalists have been excluded from press conferences, and are regularly denied interviews with de facto officials.<sup>1566</sup> In 2024, the Afghanistan Journalists Support Organization (AJSO) highlights reported on 38 % of women journalists facing major barrier to accessing information due to gender discrimination.<sup>1567</sup> According to the IFJ, the number of employed female journalists has dropped from 2 833 before 2021 to only 747 in 2025, a decline of 74 %.<sup>1568</sup>

Although not specifying certain profiles, sources consulted by ACCORD reported that the de facto authorities threaten family members of individuals not complying with their rule, making it difficult for people in general to speak up.<sup>1569</sup> The Swiss Refugee Council furthermore reported on threats towards *inter alia* journalists extending to their family members, and that the issue of family members being targeted was most probably an underreported issue.<sup>1570</sup> For more information on family members of critical voices, see chapter 4.11. in the [2024 EUAA Country Focus – Afghanistan](#).

---

<sup>1555</sup> AFJC, AFJC Urges Immediate Release of Detained Journalist Soliman Rahel Amid Rising Repression in Ghazni, 10 May 2025, [url](#).

<sup>1556</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1557</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1558</sup> AFJC, AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase 11 July 2025, [url](#); RSF, In Afghanistan, new Taliban tactic to humiliate journalists: forced “confessions” broadcast online, 4 November 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>1559</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1560</sup> European Commission: 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, [url](#), p. 176

<sup>1561</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 4; Zan Times, A day in the life of a woman journalist in southern Afghanistan, 1 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1562</sup> BBC Media Action, Women and the media in Afghanistan, October 2024, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1563</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1564</sup> CPJ, Taliban bans television broadcasts and public filming and photographing in Takhar province, October 28, 2024, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Ban Images of Living Beings in Herat, Now Enforced in 22 Provinces, September 23, 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1565</sup> Zan Times, A day in the life of a woman journalist in southern Afghanistan, 1 April 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1566</sup> UNAMA, Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1567</sup> AJSO, Barriers to Truth: Afghan Female Journalists’ Struggle for Access to Information in 2024, December 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1568</sup> IFJ, Frontline Democracy Media Amid Political Churn, Asia Press Freedom Report 2024-2025, 4 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1569</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 12, 78–79

<sup>1570</sup> SFH, Afghanistan: Verfolgung von Familienangehörigen durch die Taliban, 20 February 2025, [url](#), pp. 12, 14–15



## 4.7. Human rights defenders and activists

Since the Taliban takeover, the space for Afghanistan's civil society has narrowed significantly,<sup>1571</sup> in parallel to a gradual deterioration of the general human rights situation.<sup>1572</sup> Already in the first weeks after their takeover, the Taliban introduced restrictions on demonstrations, requiring them to have prior official approval,<sup>1573</sup> and dissolved existing human rights protection bodies.<sup>1574</sup> Human rights organisations have faced administrative pressure, including demands to re-register, having bank accounts frozen, and certain activities barred.<sup>1575</sup> Since 2023, CIVICUS has rated civic space in Afghanistan as 'closed'<sup>1576</sup> which is the worst ranking on the organisations five-point scale.<sup>1577</sup> More information on civic space in Afghanistan is available in section [1.1.1. Political opposition and civic space](#).

According to Bertelsmann Stiftung, reporting in 2024, civil society activities have nearly vanished, and only international NGOs and humanitarian aid organisations remain.<sup>1578</sup> Almost all experienced human rights defenders have left Afghanistan,<sup>1579</sup> and those who remain are not able to work openly, but have been forced to find clandestine ways of working.<sup>1580</sup>

Local and international NGOs operate in a restrictive environment.<sup>1581</sup> Although some have taken adaptive measures, many civil society organisations, advocacy groups and professional associations have halted all activities.<sup>1582</sup> One anonymous interviewee told ACCORD that 'humanitarian organisations were not as severely affected as other NGOs by restrictions introduced by the de facto authorities'.<sup>1583</sup> Similarly, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan reported that NGOs 'have been limited to humanitarian- and development-related activities' and have been limiting their activities in public awareness on issues such as health and hygiene, peacebuilding, and advocacy, including human rights promotion, as the de facto Ministry of Economy discouraged such activities at the end of

<sup>1571</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 4 March 2022, [url](#), para. 52; Freedom House, A Needs Assessment of Afghan Human Rights Defenders, 2023, [url](#), p. 6; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 1

<sup>1572</sup> UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 1; Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 8; UNAMA, UNAMA statement on UN day and 80th anniversary of the United Nations, 24 October 2025, [url](#); Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan, Styre och rättskipning, 6 July 2023, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1573</sup> Guardian (The), Taliban ban protests and slogans that don't have their approval, 8 September 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1574</sup> Freedom House, A Needs Assessment of Afghan Human Rights Defenders, 2023, [url](#), p. 14

<sup>1575</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, June 2025, [url](#), pp. 45–46

<sup>1576</sup> CIVICUS, Afghanistan: Activists targeted, media restricted as women further silenced by the Taliban, 13 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1577</sup> CIVICUS, Ratings, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1578</sup> Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), pp. 11, 15

<sup>1579</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, June 2025, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1580</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, June 2025, [url](#), p. 2; Freedom House, A Needs Assessment of Afghan Human Rights Defenders, 2023, [url](#), pp. 11, 14

<sup>1581</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p.14; ACAPS, Afghanistan, Working under the ITA's evolving NGO regulations, 31 July 2023, [url](#), p.1; UN OCHA, Afghanistan: Overview of Funding Shortfall and Impact on Humanitarian Operations, 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1582</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/80/432, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para.40-41

<sup>1583</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 62

2023.<sup>1584</sup> ACCORD reported on NGOs and international organisations having been ‘severely restricted in advocating for certain issues, such as women’s rights’, and a sources described sensitivities around terms such as ‘human rights’, ‘women’s voices’, ‘gender-based violence’, ‘democracy’ or ‘gender equality’.<sup>1585</sup> Women are forbidden from working for UN agencies,<sup>1586</sup> and the de facto authorities have called on NGOs to suspend female staff or risk losing their licenses.<sup>1587</sup> NGOs reported on documents signed by women staff being rejected by the de facto authorities, and that they faced pressure to replace women leaders with men.<sup>1588</sup>

The de facto authorities cracked down on human rights defenders immediately after their takeover,<sup>1589</sup> in particular on protesting women activists who faced torture,<sup>1590</sup> imprisonment, and threats to their families.<sup>1591</sup> Critical voices, including civil society activists and human rights defenders, have continued to face arbitrary arrest, enforce disappearances, torture and other ill-treatment as well as extrajudicial killings.<sup>1592</sup> Other sources also reported on activists facing arbitrarily arrest after criticising the Taliban,<sup>1593</sup> and that arrests, disappearances and torture have been used to silence and prevent civil engagement.<sup>1594</sup> Rawadari reported that at least 32 civil society activists and human rights defenders, including 5 women, were arbitrarily arrested during the first half of 2025. Charges included organising training courses for women, campaigning against the Taliban or criticising their policies.<sup>1595</sup>

Sources reported on family members of *inter alia* human rights defenders and activists sometimes being affected by the de facto authorities’ crackdown on dissent,<sup>1596</sup> including intimidation or reprisals,<sup>1597</sup> and threats extending to family members of critics.<sup>1598</sup> Some human rights defenders in exile have reportedly reduced their visibility fearing for the safety of remaining family members.<sup>1599</sup> More information on family members of critical voices is available in chapter 4.11. in the report [2024 EUAA Country Focus – Afghanistan](#).

---

<sup>1584</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), paras. 38–39

<sup>1585</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 62

<sup>1586</sup> UN News, Excluded from Education, Public Life, Women, Girls Facing ‘Gender Apartheid’ in Afghanistan, Delegate Tells Security Council, 21 June 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1587</sup> UN News, ‘Absolutely the wrong path,’ Türk warns against Afghanistan’s ban on women in NGOs, 31 December 2024, [url](#); TOLOnews, Ministry Orders NGOs to Suspend Female Staff, 24 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1588</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), paras. 38–39

<sup>1589</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, June 2025, [url](#), p. 45

<sup>1590</sup> Akbar, S., former AIHRC chairperson, emails, 22 and 24 June 2022

<sup>1591</sup> Atlantic Council, The Taliban’s violence ‘ignited a fierce resistance within me.’ A protester’s story, 26 August 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1592</sup> AI, The State of the World’s Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, [url](#); CIVICUS, Afghanistan: The Taliban threatens to shutdown NGOs employing women and continues to criminalise activists and journalists, 21 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1593</sup> CIVICUS, Afghanistan: The Taliban threatens to shutdown NGOs employing women and continues to criminalise activists and journalists, 21 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1594</sup> Rawadari, Torture and Ill-Treatment: The state of prisons in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, June 2025, [url](#), p.16

<sup>1595</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025 August 2025, [url](#), pp. 8. 26

<sup>1596</sup> UN General Assembly, Situation of Human Rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), paras. 1, 24

<sup>1597</sup> CIVICUS, Afghanistan: The Taliban threatens to shutdown NGOs employing women and continues to criminalise activists and journalists, 21 February 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1598</sup> SFH, Afghanistan: Verfolgung von Familienangehörigen durch die Taliban, 20 February 2025, [url](#), pp. 12, 14–15

<sup>1599</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, June 2025, [url](#), pp. 2, 48



## 4.8. Ethnic and religious groups

### 4.8.1. General situation under Taliban rule

The de facto government is led by a thirty-three-member caretaker cabinet, composed of men who are predominantly ethnic Pashtuns,<sup>1600</sup> and Taliban members or individuals loyal to the group.<sup>1601</sup> Most senior de facto officials, moreover, originate from Kandahar,<sup>1602</sup> and other southern and southeastern Pashtun-majority provinces, whereas northern and central provinces have ‘little to no representation’, as noted by Amu TV.<sup>1603</sup> Non-Pashtun members of the cabinet include a small number of ethnic Tajiks and Uzbeks,<sup>1604</sup> and three Hazaras serve as deputy ministers.<sup>1605</sup> Sikhs and Hindus have no representation in the cabinet.<sup>1606</sup> According to the Middle East Institute (MEI), out of approximately 1 185 individuals mapped in the Taliban leadership as of September 2025, around 90 % were Pashtuns, 5.3 % Tajiks, 2.5 % Uzbeks, 0.6 % Hazaras, and 0.4 % Turkmen.<sup>1607</sup>

Due to their limited representation in public positions, ethnic and religious minorities face marginalisation in decision-making processes.<sup>1608</sup> Local communities are reportedly slightly better represented in the provinces, although they do not necessarily feel represented solely based on shared ethnicity,<sup>1609</sup> especially as local officials have often been appointed outside their home areas.<sup>1610</sup> In Hazara-dominated areas some local Hazaras were appointed to de facto administration positions on district or provincial level<sup>1611</sup> and some low-level de facto government positions.<sup>1612</sup> However, Hazaras have largely been excluded from the de facto administration,<sup>1613</sup> from senior positions, as well as within the police and intelligence service.<sup>1614</sup>

<sup>1600</sup> CFR, The Taliban in Afghanistan, last updated 14 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1601</sup> CFR, The Taliban in Afghanistan, last updated 14 August 2025, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 43, 44

<sup>1602</sup> Amu TV, Exclusive: Taliban’s cabinet largely dominated by leaders from Kandahar, 16 November 2025, [url](#); Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1603</sup> Amu TV, Exclusive: Taliban’s cabinet largely dominated by leaders from Kandahar, 16 November 2025, [url](#)  
<sup>1604</sup> EUAA, Afghanistan – Country Focus, November 2024, [url](#), p. 117

<sup>1605</sup> Amu TV, Taliban Housing Ministry stops sharing photos of ‘living beings’, 3 August 2025, [url](#); Ariana News, Afghanistan’s economy not dependent on foreign aid, says deputy minister Nazari, 2 August 2025, [url](#); Tolo News, Afghanistan’s Health System in 1403 Reviewed, 21 March 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1606</sup> Amu TV, Exclusive: Taliban’s cabinet largely dominated by leaders from Kandahar, 16 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1607</sup> MEI, Taliban Leadership Tracker: Who is in power, last updated September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1608</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), paras. 62, 63; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 50; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 February 2023, [url](#), para. 42

<sup>1609</sup> Adili A. Y., The politics of survival in the face of exclusion (2): The Emirate’s accommodation and suppression of local Hazara commanders, 8 April 2025, [url](#); International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), p. 18

<sup>1610</sup> Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), pp. 22, 25–26, 28

<sup>1611</sup> Adili A. Y., The politics of survival in the face of exclusion (2): The Emirate’s accommodation and suppression of local Hazara commanders, 8 April 2025, [url](#); Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>1612</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1613</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>1614</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

Furthermore, in many Ismaili-populated districts of Badakhshan Province, Ismailis have reportedly no representation in local offices.<sup>1615</sup>

Rawadari reported that, although the de facto authorities ‘prioritize ideological loyalty and a history of membership over ethnic and religious affiliation in their hiring process’, they have been acting discriminatorily in appointments and dismissals procedures since 2021,<sup>1616</sup> relying on religious and ethnic criteria.<sup>1617</sup> Primarily Pashtuns have been appointed in hiring processes,<sup>1618</sup> and employees of ethnic and religious minorities have sometimes been collectively dismissed.<sup>1619</sup> In the first half of 2025, several de facto government departments, including the de facto Ministry of Higher Education and universities, were restructured and many positions eliminated, disproportionately affecting non-Pashtun staff members in provinces such as Kabul, Panjshir, and Bamyan.<sup>1620</sup> Collective dismissals of Hazaras from local de facto government offices have been also reported in Daykundi, Bamyan, and Ghazni provinces.<sup>1621</sup> During 2025, the de facto authorities dismissed many university professors, including in Bamyan.<sup>1622</sup> This reportedly included many Hazara professors who were either dismissed or offered transfer to universities in Pashtun-dominated areas.<sup>1623</sup>

Religious freedom has been curtailed since the Taliban takeover, with a de facto government ‘who vigorously assert their interpretation of the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam’, as reported by Freedom House.<sup>1624</sup> As a result, religious and ethnic minority groups have faced severe restrictions on their freedoms.<sup>1625</sup> Saleem and Semple noted that, while a majority of Afghans adhere to the Hanafi sect, Shias and Salafis constitute two major religious minorities, and they have been ‘affected by the Taliban efforts to favour the Hanafi sect’, including pressure on Salafi *madrassas* to conform with Hanafi doctrines, and excluding Shia jurisprudence from the justice system and removing references to Shia teachings from school curriculums.<sup>1626</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan noted that Afghan stakeholders have been voicing concern about ethnic and religious grievances linked to ‘discrimination, exclusion, violence and the lack of protection, as well as lack of recognition of past violations’. Although the de facto authorities have ‘emphasized unity, stability and equal rights’, they

---

<sup>1615</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1616</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 50

<sup>1617</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1618</sup> Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 44; Norway, Landinfo, Temanotat, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for aghanske menn, 20 January 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [url](#), p. 33

<sup>1619</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 5, 43

<sup>1620</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 50

<sup>1621</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 50; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1622</sup> Amu TV, Taliban dismiss hundreds of university professors across Afghanistan, sources say, 11 May 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Dismisses Dozens of Staff Members, Including Lecturers, from Bamyan University, 13 May 2025, [url](#); Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1623</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1624</sup> Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2024, Afghanistan, 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1625</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 62; Freedom House, Afghanistan: Freedom in the World 2025 Country Report, 2025, [url](#); GPC, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1626</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 22–23, 25



appeared ‘unwilling to acknowledge or address such grievances’.<sup>1627</sup> Likewise, sources noted that the de facto authorities have not sufficiently documented or addressed cases of crimes and targeted attacks against minorities.<sup>1628</sup>

Sources have also emphasised that women from minority communities face intersecting and various forms of discrimination.<sup>1629</sup> This discrimination was reported in the forms of ‘structural exclusion’, gender-based violence, denial of education on the basis of both gender and ethnicity<sup>1630</sup> and access to healthcare.<sup>1631</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan noted ‘instances of hate speech and discrimination among Afghans, including online’. De facto officials have also used derogatory terms for ethnic and religious minorities.<sup>1632</sup> This included the de facto Minister of the MPVPV who was cited by media as comparing non-Muslims with ‘four-legged animals’.<sup>1633</sup>

The de facto authorities have increasingly promoted Pashto as the primary language in official communication<sup>1634</sup> – replacing other languages in signs and official correspondence.<sup>1635</sup> Research for RWI suggested that this reflected a broader pattern linked to the predominance of Pashtun officials in the de facto administration, and that Tajiks, Hazaras and other minority groups have been most negatively affected.<sup>1636</sup> In predominately Hazara-populated areas, such as Daykundi, there is a requirement for government interactions to be in Pashto instead of Dari.<sup>1637</sup> According to the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights, speakers of minority languages have further noted that media programming and education in their languages ‘have become rarer’.<sup>1638</sup>

In 2024, ISKP attacks targeting members of religious minorities continued to be reported,<sup>1639</sup> especially against Shia Muslims, who are predominantly ethnic Hazaras, and also Sufis.<sup>1640</sup> During 2025, the number of ISKP attacks has reportedly decreased, targeting mostly the de

<sup>1627</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 44

<sup>1628</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 63; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1629</sup> UN CEDAW, Concluding observations on the fourth periodic report of Afghanistan, 10 July 2025, [url](#), para. 40; Alavi, L. J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 39, 43; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1630</sup> UN CEDAW, Concluding observations on the fourth periodic report of Afghanistan, 10 July 2025, [url](#), para. 40

<sup>1631</sup> Alavi, L. J., Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1632</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 65

<sup>1633</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Minister’s Remarks On Non-Muslims Spark Concern Among Afghan Sikhs & Hindus, 12 April 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban minister calls non-Muslims ‘worse than four-legged animals’, 9 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1634</sup> Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 58–59; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1635</sup> Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 58, 59; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 48; Hasht-e Subh, Public Response to Taliban Political Deputy’s Remarks: Prejudice on the Rise, 13 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1636</sup> Formuli, H. A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 59

<sup>1637</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1638</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 48

<sup>1639</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 49; HRW, World report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1640</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 49

facto authorities.<sup>1641</sup> Within the reference period of this report the UN Secretary-General recorded continuous ISKP attacks targeting the de facto authorities, and one attack targeting ethnic minorities: the Sufi community.<sup>1642</sup>

## 4.8.2. Land disputes

After the Taliban takeover, the de facto authorities started to reclaim government land<sup>1643</sup> for infrastructure projects and to recover land they claim was usurped.<sup>1644</sup> Within the reference period of this report, the de facto authorities have seized large areas of land reclassified as state property in several provinces across the country, including in Ghor, Maidan Wardak, Takhar, Nuristan, Badghis, Panjshir,<sup>1645</sup> Logar<sup>1646</sup>, Badakhshan,<sup>1647</sup> Nangarhar<sup>1648</sup> and Kabul provinces,<sup>1649</sup> and especially in urban areas.<sup>1650</sup> The Taliban's land reclamation process has been marked by lack of transparency and legal safeguards,<sup>1651</sup> with affected landowners often denied the ability to file appeals, present ownership documents,<sup>1652</sup> or obtain compensation.<sup>1653</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights stated that land disputes, frequently between different communities or related to fertile land, resources, as well as struggles for power and wealth, 'have plagued Afghanistan for generations'.<sup>1654</sup> Disputes over land ownership involving individual citizens have been a recurrent issue in Afghanistan,<sup>1655</sup> and often resurface with

<sup>1641</sup> The Diplomat, Is the Islamic State of Khorasan Province Losing Momentum?, 26 June 2025, [url](#); International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1642</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para 15; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 20; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 21; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>1643</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Land in Afghanistan: This time, retaking instead of grabbing land?, AAN, 15 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1644</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 108; Guardian (The), Revealed: the truth behind the Taliban's brutal Kabul 'regeneration' programme, 18 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1645</sup> Afghanistan International, Confiscated Over 259,000 Acres Of Land In Past Month, Claims Taliban, 8 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1646</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Announce Confiscation Of Vast Tracts Of Land In Logar, 25 August 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Confiscated Over 259,000 Acres Of Land In Past Month, Claims Taliban, 8 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1647</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Seizure of Public and Private Lands: Taliban Divide the Ishkashim District Market Among Themselves, 3 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1648</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Extend Land Seizures, Taking Over Influential Afghan Leader Township, 22 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1649</sup> Tolo News, Identification of Nine State-Owned Townships in Four Provinces, 2 November 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Taliban Announce Confiscation Of Vast Tracts Of Land In Logar, 25 August 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban confiscate 31 hectares of land in Kabul's Sherpur area, 28 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1650</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 108

<sup>1651</sup> Khaama Press, Land Commission claims 3.9 million Jeribs of grabbed land reclaimed, 12 May 2025, [url](#); UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 108

<sup>1652</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Extend Land Seizures, Taking Over Influential Afghan Leader Township, 22 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1653</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 108

<sup>1654</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 23 February 2024, [url](#), para. 61

<sup>1655</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Land in Afghanistan: This time, retaking instead of grabbing land?, AAN, 15 December 2023, [url](#)



each change in power.<sup>1656</sup> After the Taliban takeover in 2021, there was another shift in power balance and representation of communities, including at local levels and in the legal system.<sup>1657</sup> This led to an increase in land disputes,<sup>1658</sup> as many re-erupted<sup>1659</sup> across different areas of the country.<sup>1660</sup> Land disputes have *inter alia* involved Pashtun returnees from Pakistan, most of whom are Kuchis (a nomadic pastoralist group), reclaiming land upon return.<sup>1661</sup> Disputes between local communities and Kuchis have affected different ethnic groups, including Hazara, Pashtuns, Tajiks, Turkmen, and Uzbeks.<sup>1662</sup> However, such disputes have also re-emerged in provinces with a homogenous ethnic composition, often along tribal or clan-based lines.<sup>1663</sup> Afghanistan expert Fabrizio Foschini indicated that '[a]lmost every Afghan province, if not district, has its own, specific type of land dispute, often dating back some decades'.<sup>1664</sup> However, the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan also reported in 2025 that, although disputes over land and claims of usurpation occurred across Afghanistan, they disproportionately affected minorities and internally displaced persons.<sup>1665</sup> The de facto authorities have reportedly supported Pashtun communities, especially in land conflicts with non-Pashtuns,<sup>1666</sup> while local de facto courts and Taliban-controlled commissions have consistently ruled in favour of the Kuchis,<sup>1667</sup> sometimes ordering the payment of compensation for alleged land-use losses<sup>1668</sup> to the Kuchis who raise these claims.<sup>1669</sup>

Land conflicts between sedentary Hazara communities and nomadic Kuchi pastoralists trace back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1670</sup> when Amir Abdur Rahman Khan displaced many Hazaras and

<sup>1656</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Land in Afghanistan: This time, retaking instead of grabbing land?, AAN, 15 December 2023, [url](#); ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 1

<sup>1657</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 23 February 2024, [url](#), para. 61

<sup>1658</sup> IFRC, Emergency Appeal, Operational Strategy, Afghanistan: Population Movement (Returnees), 24 May 2025, [url](#), p. 4; RFE/RL, The Azadi Briefing: Afghanistan Witnesses A Surge In Violence, 20 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1659</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 106; ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 3; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1660</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1661</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 3, 6, 23; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1662</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1663</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1664</sup> Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1665</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 85

<sup>1666</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1667</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 14, 34, 35, 37; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 83; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1668</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 34, 36, 39; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1669</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1670</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#); Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 5

redistributed lands to Kuchi tribes.<sup>1671</sup> According to an academic research fellow with RWI, '[l]and has long been a deeply contested and politicized issue' in Afghanistan's Hazarajat region (the central region of the country which has historically been disputed between the Kuchis/local Pashtuns and the Hazara people). Before the Taliban's return to power in 2021, land conflicts between Hazaras and Kuchis often led to seasonal confrontations.<sup>1672</sup> State interventions under previous governments lacked long-term solutions,<sup>1673</sup> thus many of these disputes had remained unresolved.<sup>1674</sup> Since the Taliban takeover, the land conflict in Hazarajat between Hazara communities and Kuchi has intensified.<sup>1675</sup> As 'a greater number' of Kuchi nomads, compared to previous years, have moved into Hazarajat<sup>1676</sup> and gained broader access to the region,<sup>1677</sup> an increase in land disputes was reported.<sup>1678</sup> In some provinces, Kuchis have asserted collective ownership over entire villages, basing their claims on historical rights to pasturelands as well as agricultural and residential areas,<sup>1679</sup> while many such claims often lack formal documentation.<sup>1680</sup> Land claims were also raised against Hazaras in Hazarajat region by ethnic Tajiks.<sup>1681</sup>

The UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan stated that land disputes are handled through informal dispute resolution mechanisms or de facto courts.<sup>1682</sup> In a previous report, the same source indicated that many legal disputes in general are resolved through informal dispute resolution processes 'both because litigants prefer those mechanisms and because judges refer disputes to them'.<sup>1683</sup> Due to the absence of a clear legal framework for housing, land, and property administration since 2021,<sup>1684</sup> along with ambiguity in the enforcement of property laws, in cases of land and property disputes many individuals turn to

<sup>1671</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 5; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1672</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 5–6

<sup>1673</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 5–6

<sup>1674</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1675</sup> Kabul Now, Armed Kochis Kill Hazara Farmer in Behsud, Renewing Fears of Systematic Violence and Displacement, 29 July 2025, [url](#); Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1676</sup> Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1677</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1678</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Sources: Nomads Shoot and Kill Young Hazara Man in Maidan Wardak Province, 30 July 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1679</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1680</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1681</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1682</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 86; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1683</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 12

<sup>1684</sup> GPC, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [url](#), p. 13; Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan: Protection, 19 December 2024, [url](#)



informal dispute resolution methods,<sup>1685</sup> including community councils, such as Shuras<sup>1686</sup> and Jirgas.<sup>1687</sup> Abdul Ghafoor Rafiey, former director and founder of the Afghanistan Migrants Advice & Support Organization (AMASO) told ACCORD that implementation of certain rules or regulations varies by region, with these differences depending on the specific issue being addressed, such as land grabbing.<sup>1688</sup> Women frequently face difficulties obtaining the official documentation, including identity documents and land titles, limiting their ability to prove ownership or defend legal land claims in cases of land disputes.<sup>1689</sup> As noted by the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan, women seeking resolution through the Taliban court system 'face intimidation and humiliation',<sup>1690</sup> while community mechanisms are often biased towards women.<sup>1691</sup> Information in public reports published by the de facto authorities indicated that in the period 31 October 2024–3 August 2025, at least 109 local conflicts, including land disputes, had been resolved 'through mediation by local community elders, religious scholars and the de facto authorities' in several provinces.<sup>1692</sup> Regardless of the mechanism to settle land disputes, representatives of minority communities facing such land claims 'report feeling powerless, distrustful and fearful of the de facto authorities, often referring to their alleged bias or close connections with claimants'.<sup>1693</sup> For instance, Sharan noted that Hazaras faced limited prospects for a favourable outcome in legal disputes, including land conflict cases, due to lack of representation.<sup>1694</sup>

In some cases, threats and violence were employed to enforce land claims,<sup>1695</sup> leading to disputes not reaching de facto courts.<sup>1696</sup> Other reports have suggested that land disputes often result in forced evictions and displacement especially of minority groups, including Hazaras, and have been facilitated or tolerated by the de facto authorities.<sup>1697</sup> In July 2025, Afghan media in exile reported that the de facto authorities forcibly evicted the residents of

<sup>1685</sup> GPC, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1686</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>1687</sup> EURAC Research, A traditional code and its consequences: how Pashtunwali affects women and minorities in Afghanistan, 25 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1688</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 26

<sup>1689</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 48, 66

GPC, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [url](#), p. 13

<sup>1690</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, 16 June 2025, [url](#), para. 48

<sup>1691</sup> Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan: Protection, 19 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1692</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 14; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 12; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 14

<sup>1693</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 86

<sup>1694</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025

<sup>1695</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 86; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1696</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 107

<sup>1697</sup> Moradi, K., "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarajat under the Taliban and Its Human Rights Impacts, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), pp. 4, 13, 49; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 105; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

Rashk village in Panjshir District, Bamyan Province – a predominantly Hazara community<sup>1698</sup> – after a Taliban court ruled in favour of Kuchi nomads in a decades-old land dispute, which re-emerged after the Taliban takeover. A de facto authorities' delegation, accompanied by Kuchi tribesmen, reportedly enforced a previously issued 15-day eviction order by removing belongings from houses and locking the properties, in an allegedly 'biased' legal process. Residents reportedly accused the de facto authorities of arresting villagers involved in the dispute.<sup>1699</sup>

Although incidents of violence have reportedly occurred less frequently than during the Islamic Republic,<sup>1700</sup> land disputes often result in violence,<sup>1701</sup> especially in rural areas.<sup>1702</sup> Within the reference period of this report, media sources reported on several incidents of killings and injuries of individuals over land disputes, including in Nangarhar,<sup>1703</sup> Takhar,<sup>1704</sup> Kapisa,<sup>1705</sup> Nuristan,<sup>1706</sup> and Uruzgan provinces.<sup>1707</sup> These incidents referred to cases of land disputes within<sup>1708</sup> and between families.<sup>1709</sup> According to Afghan media in exile in a village of Warsaj District, Takhar Province, family members of a local Taliban commander shot a resident and physically assaulted others over a land ownership dispute. The de facto authorities reportedly arrested a relative of the commander, while the other involved remained free and threatened residents against filing complaints.<sup>1710</sup> Exile media also reported on a Hazara farmer in Behsud District of Wardak Province being killed by armed Kuchis in July 2025, after attempting to prevent their livestock from entering his farmland.<sup>1711</sup> According to Kabul Now, the de facto

<sup>1698</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1699</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Forcibly Evict Villagers In Bamiyan Following Land Dispute With Nomads, 29 July 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1700</sup> Foschini, F., The Pastures of Heaven: An update of Kuchi-Hazara disputes as spring approaches, AAN, 24 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1701</sup> Amu TV, Young man killed in family land dispute in eastern Afghanistan, sources say, 6 May 2025, [url](#); UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 88

<sup>1702</sup> Amu TV, Young man killed in family land dispute in eastern Afghanistan, sources say, 6 May 2025, [url](#);

<sup>1703</sup> Pajhwok News, 10 killed, 22 injured in Afghanistan last week, 27 July 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 1 killed, 7 wounded over property dispute in Nangarhar, 25 July 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Young man killed in family land dispute in eastern Afghanistan, sources say, 6 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1704</sup> Afghanistan International, Violent Land Dispute Involving Taliban Commander Reported In Takhar, 3 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1705</sup> Pajhwok News, 2 killed, as many wounded in Afghanistan last week, 10 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1706</sup> Pajhwok News, 6 people killed in Afghanistan last week, 6 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1707</sup> Pajhwok News, 3 people killed, as many injured in Afghanistan last week, 7 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1708</sup> Pajhwok News, Land dispute claims 2 lives in Nangarhar, 10 September 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 2 killed, as many wounded in Afghanistan last week, 10 August 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 6 people killed in Afghanistan last week, 6 July 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Young man killed in family land dispute in eastern Afghanistan, sources say, 6 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1709</sup> Pajhwok News, 10 killed, 22 injured in Afghanistan last week, 27 July 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 1 killed, 7 wounded over property dispute in Nangarhar, 25 July 2025, [url](#); Pajhwok News, 6 people killed, 4 injured in Afghanistan last week, 5 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1710</sup> Amu TV, Clash over grazing land in northern Afghanistan injures six, sources say, 4 November 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Violent Land Dispute Involving Taliban Commander Reported In Takhar, 3 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1711</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Sources: Nomads Shoot and Kill Young Hazara Man in Maidan Wardak Province, 30 July 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Armed Kochis Kill Hazara Farmer in Behsud, Renewing Fears of Systematic Violence and Displacement, 29 July 2025, [url](#)



authorities later detained the suspected perpetrators.<sup>1712</sup> In November 2025, a similar killing was reported in Daymirdad District, Wardak Province.<sup>1713</sup>

#### 4.8.3. Blood feuds

In August 2025, AAN expert Sharif Akram described blood feuds or revenge killings as closely connected to notions of honour, pride and shame ‘as seen through tribal customs and centuries-old traditions in Afghan society’. Although blood feuds exist to some extent among all ethnic groups in Afghanistan, they ‘have been historically widespread’ among Pashtun tribes, especially in the south, east and southeast, representing a ‘defining feature’ of Pashtun tribal tradition. Blood revenge is enshrined in *Pashtunwali* (traditional social, cultural, and quasi-legal code regulating the Pashtun way of life) and is called *bada*.<sup>1714</sup> Blood feuds sometimes can start with minor incidents or disagreements escalating into long-lasting enmities.<sup>1715</sup> These feuds do not have a specific time limit to end<sup>1716</sup> and may last for generations.<sup>1717</sup> Blood feuds that are not resolved, often gradually involve more family members, while they can expand from family to clan and tribe level.<sup>1718</sup> They are frequently initiated by disputes linked to honour-related issues, often involving women or girls, the killing of a relative, land disputes,<sup>1719</sup> inheritance,<sup>1720</sup> water rights, and family conflicts.<sup>1721</sup>

Akram, based on research carried out in Khost province, suggested that, in the past decades, there had been ‘shifts in cultural norms’ in Afghan society which had led to a noticeable decline in blood feuds. The same source however highlighted that, due to lack of data and documentation information, ‘as well as the complex and deeply personal nature of these conflicts’, estimating this decline is challenging. Moreover, the nature of blood feuds has reportedly changed, with their frequency and length decreasing and becoming more ‘contained’ in terms of persons involved. Increased ‘access to education, exposure to other cultures and values and inter-tribal connectivity’ were identified as some of the main factors of this change.<sup>1722</sup> However, since the Taliban takeover in 2021, blood feud cases had been re-

<sup>1712</sup> Kabul Now, Armed Kochis Kill Hazara Farmer in Behsud, Renewing Fears of Systematic Violence and Displacement, 29 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1713</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Armed Kuchis Shoot a Man Dead in Maidan Wardak Province, 17 November 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1714</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1715</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#); Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 10; Pajhwok News, Hundreds of bloody feuds resolved in past 2 years, 28 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1716</sup> Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>1717</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#); Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>1718</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1719</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#); Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 10

<sup>1720</sup> Pajhwok News, Hundreds of bloody feuds resolved in past 2 years, 28 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1721</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1722</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

emerging,<sup>1723</sup> while confidential sources interviewed by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2023 indicated that cases previously processed by the former government were being reconsidered under the de facto authorities.<sup>1724</sup>

Blood feuds and retaliation killings are mainly resolved through informal *jirga* resolution, and in some cases through judicial proceedings.<sup>1725</sup> Residents of Khost Province interviewed for the 2025 AAN report noted that, although new blood feuds were rare, many such conflicts remained from previous generations. However, these unresolved feuds had become less violent as tribal elders, youth and *jirgas* were ‘playing a more active role in mediation and conflict resolution’.<sup>1726</sup> In February 2024, the de facto Ministry of Borders and Tribal Affairs (MoBTA), as cited by local media, claimed to have resolved 1 271 disputes with the help of religious scholars and elders across the country since the Taliban takeover in 2021.<sup>1727</sup> In certain cases blood feuds can be resolved or averted through the practice of ‘blood price’, which refers to a form of compensation paid by a person or a member of a family whose rights have been violated,<sup>1728</sup> or through compensation in form of property or land.<sup>1729</sup> They may also be resolved through the practice of *baad*, which refers to the exchange of girls and women between families or clans.<sup>1730</sup> For instance, the family of the person accused of murder or manslaughter gives a bride to a male member of the victim’s family in order to end the feud.<sup>1731</sup> In 2022, AAN expert Ali Mohammad Sabawoon noted that *baad* marriages were relatively rare and had become rarer in recent years.<sup>1732</sup> However, the Austrian Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum in a 2024 report, indicated that forced marriage of girls to settle feuds was ‘still common among Pashtuns’, who ‘believe that this principle can keep families safe and imposes a heavy penalty on the violator’.<sup>1733</sup> In December 2021, the de facto authorities issued

<sup>1723</sup> The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), p. 97; Khaama Press, Family Feuds; Family Conflict in South-Eastern Afghanistan Kills and Injures 9 People, 10 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1724</sup> The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023, [url](#), p. 97

<sup>1725</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1726</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1727</sup> Pajhwok News, Hundreds of bloody feuds resolved in past 2 years, 28 February 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1728</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#); Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 9

<sup>1729</sup> Akram, S., Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN, 4 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1730</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, 15 June 2025, [url](#), p. 52; Butt, J., A force for good, or source of coercion? An Islamic scholar reflects on the Emirate’s morality law, AAN, April 2025, [url](#), p. 41; VOA, Taliban Edict in Afghanistan Bars Marriages Without Women’s Consent, 3 December 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1731</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Living in a Collapsed Economy (4): The desperation and guilt of giving a young daughter in marriage, AAN, 20 October 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1732</sup> Sabawoon, A. M., Living in a Collapsed Economy (4): The desperation and guilt of giving a young daughter in marriage, AAN, 20 October 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1733</sup> Austria, BFA Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, [url](#), p. 10



a decree on Women's Rights,<sup>1734</sup> outlawing some traditional practices, including *baad*,<sup>1735</sup> as un-Islamic.<sup>1736</sup>

#### 4.8.4. Hazaras and other Shia groups

##### (a) Background

The majority of Hazaras in Afghanistan are Shia Muslims (Twelver branch).<sup>1737</sup> A significant number follow the Ismaili Shia school of thought, while others are Sunni Muslims.<sup>1738</sup> Most Hazaras are Dari speakers.<sup>1739</sup>

The Hazara community has historically faced discrimination and repression under various rules in Afghanistan,<sup>1740</sup> most notably under the rule of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in the 19th century,<sup>1741</sup> when Hazaras were enslaved, subjected to mass killings, and pushed to mass exodus.<sup>1742</sup> The Taliban also engaged in massacres of Hazara civilians during their previous rule in 1996–2001.<sup>1743</sup> Before the Taliban takeover in 2021, Hazaras were targeted by attacks by both the Taliban and the ISKP.<sup>1744</sup> Political influence of Hazaras improved under the Islamic Republic,<sup>1745</sup> although they faced discrimination.<sup>1746</sup>

<sup>1734</sup> Zabihullah [X], posted on: 3 December 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1735</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, 15 June 2025, [url](#), p. 52; Butt, J., A force for good, or source of coercion? An Islamic scholar reflects on the Emirate's morality law, AAN, April 2025, [url](#), p. 41; Barnett, R., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, 20 October 2022, [url](#); VOA, Taliban Edict in Afghanistan Bars Marriages Without Women's Consent, 3 December 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1736</sup> Reid, R., Manoeuvring through the cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN, 15 June 2025, [url](#), p. 52

<sup>1737</sup> MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#); ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 83

<sup>1738</sup> MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#); Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1739</sup> MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1740</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 82; Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 24; Diplomat (The), The Plight of Hazaras Under the Taliban Government, 24 January 2024, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan: ISIS Group Targets Religious Minorities, 6 September 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1741</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Hazara Culture: A Legacy of Resilience and Awareness, 19 May 2025, [url](#); Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 24

<sup>1742</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Hasht-e Subh, Hazara Culture: A Legacy of Resilience and Awareness, 19 May 2025, [url](#); HRW, Afghanistan: ISIS Group Targets Religious Minorities, 6 September 2022, [url](#); EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), pp. 130 – 131

<sup>1743</sup> BBC News, Afghan Hazara refugees live in fear of being deported by Pakistan, 6 December 2023, [url](#); EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 132

<sup>1744</sup> EURAC Research, A traditional code and its consequences: how Pashtunwali affects women and minorities in Afghanistan, 25 June 2025, [url](#); MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1745</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Shared Struggles: Kurds and Hazaras in the Fight for Identity and Survival, 27 September 2024, [url](#); Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Hazaraer og afgansk opprørsbevegelse, 3 October 2016, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1746</sup> MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Shared Struggles: Kurds and Hazaras in the Fight for Identity and Survival, 27 September 2024, [url](#)

## (b) Policies and discrimination by the de facto authorities

Following their takeover, the Taliban held a series of meetings with Shia Hazara leaders from various parts of the country,<sup>1747</sup> and pledged to provide security for all citizens, including Hazaras,<sup>1748</sup> and expressing their willingness to avoid sectarian divisions.<sup>1749</sup> Hazaras' limited participation in de facto government positions<sup>1750</sup> has negatively impacted their access to government services,<sup>1751</sup> including in obtaining official documents, such as passports.<sup>1752</sup> More information on representation of Hazaras is available in section [4.8.1. General situation under Taliban rule](#). Sources noted a discrepancy between the Taliban leadership's public stance towards Shia Hazaras and the actual treatment of these communities by their rank-and-file.<sup>1753</sup> Kerr Chiovenda noted that there are sentiments among parts of the population that Hazaras are not 'proper' Muslims.<sup>1754</sup>

The Taliban have stated that Shia Muslims are free to practice their beliefs,<sup>1755</sup> but they have been restricting 'religious practices that they considered discordant with their views'.<sup>1756</sup> Some Shia ceremonies and celebrations were allowed to take place,<sup>1757</sup> mainly in private spaces or in Shia mosques.<sup>1758</sup> However, the de facto authorities restricted the observance of *Muharram* and *Ashura* commemorations by monitoring celebrations,<sup>1759</sup> prohibiting holding ceremonies in open spaces<sup>1760</sup> or hindering participation in the ceremonies and removing religious symbols, including in Kabul, Herat, Ghazni, Parwan, Nimruz, Ghor, and Bamyan provinces.<sup>1761</sup> In November 2024, the de facto authorities arrested two Shia clerics in Jebrael Herat

<sup>1747</sup> Afghanistan International, Expect Hazaras To Support Taliban Security Forces, Says Taliban Interior Minister, 9 February 2023, [url](#); Adili A. Y., The politics of survival in the face of exclusion: Hazara and Shia Actors under the Taliban, AAN, February 2023, [url](#), p. 22; US DOS, 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, 12 April 2022, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>1748</sup> Khaama Press, Hazaras are Expected to Support Taliban Security Forces: Sirajuddin Haqqani, 10 February 2023, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Expect Hazaras To Support Taliban Security Forces, Says Taliban Interior Minister, 9 February 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1749</sup> US DOS, 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, 12 April 2022, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>1750</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>1751</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1752</sup> Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025; Mohammadi, M., Human Rights Conditions for Hazaras in Afghanistan Under the Taliban Regime, 7 February 2023, [url](#), pp. 2, 13

<sup>1753</sup> International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1754</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1755</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Two Shia Clerics in Western Afghanistan, 4 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1756</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 36

<sup>1757</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Ashura Under the Shadow of the Taliban: Shiites Protest Restrictions on Religious Freedom, 7 July 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Ashura commemorated amid restrictions and calls for unity, 6 July 2025, [url](#); Ariana news, 10th of Muharram observed peacefully in Afghanistan, 6 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1758</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1759</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Ashura Under the Shadow of the Taliban: Shiites Protest Restrictions on Religious Freedom, 7 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1760</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 50–51; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Kabul Now, Taliban Impose Restrictions as Shias Begin to Observe Muharram, 7 July 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1761</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), pp. 50–51



Province.<sup>1762</sup> Although the reason for their arrest was not clarified,<sup>1763</sup> local sources told exile Afghan media that the clerics had previously protested against the restrictions on the *Ashura* commemoration.<sup>1764</sup> In March 2025, the de facto authorities in Ghazni Province instructed members of the Shiite council of scholars to begin Ramadan and hold the Eid prayer according to Hanafi jurisprudence, forcing Shiites to perform Eid prayers one day earlier than their religious practice foresaw, and arresting three Shiite religious scholars for not complying.<sup>1765</sup> In June 2025, similar arrests were reported in Daykundi province.<sup>1766</sup> Furthermore, a local ban on intermarriages between Shias, including Ismailis,<sup>1767</sup> and Sunnis was reported in Paktia, Nimruz,<sup>1768</sup> and Badakhshan provinces.<sup>1769</sup>

Shia Ja'fari jurisprudence has been excluded from the de facto judiciary,<sup>1770</sup> as well as from school and university curricula, being replaced with Hanafi jurisprudence.<sup>1771</sup> The de facto authorities have instructed educational institutions to remove materials and books conflicting with Hanafi jurisprudence and considered contrary to the regime's principles and policies,<sup>1772</sup> particularly those associated with the Shia sect,<sup>1773</sup> including in Bamyan, Daykundi, Ghazni, and Ghor provinces.<sup>1774</sup> In October 2024, the Taliban have distributed a list of 400 banned books to libraries and bookstores prohibiting their sale and mandating their removal,<sup>1775</sup> including those related to the Shia branch of Islam.<sup>1776</sup>

Shia Hazaras have moreover faced discrimination.<sup>1777</sup> Rafiey noted that particularly Hazaras are vulnerable to discrimination in Afghanistan, as they are one of the largest minority, and also

<sup>1762</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Two Influential Shia Clerics In Herat's Jibril Town, 4 November 2024, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Two Shia Clerics in Western Afghanistan, 4 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1763</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Two Influential Shia Clerics In Herat's Jibril Town, 4 November 2024, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Two Shia Clerics in Western Afghanistan, 4 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1764</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Two Influential Shia Clerics In Herat's Jibril Town, 4 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1765</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>1766</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Clerics, Residents In Daikundi For Early Eid Observance, 9 June 2025, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban Arrests 70 People in Daikundi for Holding Eid Prayers a Day Early, 8 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1767</sup> Zan Times, Afghanistan's Ismailis face systematic persecution under the Taliban, 8 September 2025, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>1768</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 45

<sup>1769</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 51; Hasht-e Subh, Taliban Ban Shia-Sunni Marriages in Badakhshan's Nusay District, 3 February 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1770</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Kabul Now, Taliban Intensifies Campaign Against "Banned" Books in Central Afghanistan, 27 October 2024, [url](#); Zan Times, 'I saw them execute the others': How 14 Hazara men were killed by terrorists, 19 September 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1771</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 44; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 83

<sup>1772</sup> Zan Times, Banning 700 books and 18 subjects: The Taliban's latest effort at dismantling higher education, 16 September 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Taliban's Ideological Purge: Rewriting Afghanistan's University Curriculum, 16 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1773</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 44; ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 83

<sup>1774</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1775</sup> France 24, Taliban govt clearing 'un-Islamic' books from Afghanistan shelves, 20 November 2024, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban issue list of 400 banned books to libraries, 26 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1776</sup> Amu TV, Taliban issue list of 400 banned books to libraries, 26 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1777</sup> MRG, MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, [url](#); Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 25; EUAA, Afghanistan – Country Focus, November 2024, [url](#), p. 123

due to their historical experiences of facing oppression (including under the current *de facto* administration) owing to their ethnicity, and their classification as ‘infidels’ by the Taliban.<sup>1778</sup> Kerr Chiovenda noted that, although no current large-scale massacres have occurred, past violence against the group by the Taliban suggests a possibility that this may recur in the future.<sup>1779</sup>

Sources described a perception that Hazaras benefitted too much under the former government, which needed to be revised,<sup>1780</sup> resulting in Hazaras being ‘systematically treated differently’ by the local Taliban.<sup>1781</sup> As noted by Kerr Chiovenda, the *de facto* authorities’ treatment of Hazaras has enabled people in ethnically mixed areas ‘to express their anti-Hazara prejudice’.<sup>1782</sup> Hazaras have for example been facing derogatory terms relating to their facial features,<sup>1783</sup> and their Shia identity.<sup>1784</sup> Meanwhile, Saleem and Semple also reported on Hazaras being discriminated by the *de facto* authorities, but suggested that this was only ‘tangentially related to sectarian differences’ and ‘far more plausibly explained by the history of ethnic competition’.<sup>1785</sup>

Some sources suggested that the *de facto* authorities have intentionally excluded religious and ethnic minorities from humanitarian aid.<sup>1786</sup> For example, Rawadari reported that the *de facto* Rural Rehabilitation and Development Directorate in Ghazni distributing cash and food aid to nearly 10 000 families in several districts, excluded Hazara and other ethnic and religious minority communities from the initiative.<sup>1787</sup> Likewise, the same source reported on aid mainly being directed to non-Hazara districts in Bamyan and Ghor provinces,<sup>1788</sup> as well as development projects, such as road construction and water systems, being allocated to Pashtun-majority districts in Ghazni Province, while only a few small-scale projects were implemented in Shia- and Tajik-majority areas.<sup>1789</sup> In Badakhshan and Parwan provinces, Ismaili-majority districts were similarly excluded, with development and public projects directed to Taliban-favoured districts.<sup>1790</sup> More information on aid delivery and aid diversion is available in section 3.6. in the [2024 EUAA COI Report: Afghanistan – Country Focus](#).

Moreover, since 2021, the *de facto* authorities carried out forced evictions affecting Hazaras.<sup>1791</sup> A joint investigation of redevelopment projects in Kabul City between 2021–2024,

---

<sup>1778</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 82 – 83

<sup>1779</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1780</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban’s information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), pp. 83–84; Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1781</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1782</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1783</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 8 October 2025, [url](#), para. 65

<sup>1784</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1785</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 25

<sup>1786</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 42

<sup>1787</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 49

<sup>1788</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1789</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 49

<sup>1790</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January–June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 49

<sup>1791</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025; AI, The State of the World’s Human Rights; Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, [url](#), p. 71; UN Security Council, Fourteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 1 June 2023, [url](#), para. 28



carried out by the Guardian, AW, Lighthouse Reports and Afghan media outlets, suggested that large areas of the capital were razed and many residential properties and 'informal settlements' often inhabited by poorer or displaced families demolished, with reports alleging deaths and injuries during eviction operations, leaving thousands homeless. The investigation also suggested that there were signs that 'the destruction is in part linked to ethnicity', as three of the six most affected districts were populated predominantly by Hazaras, and two by Tajiks.<sup>1792</sup>

### (c) Reported attacks and other incidents

Hazara women have been facing intersecting discrimination due to both their gender and minority status.<sup>1793</sup> There have been claims that de facto MPVPV particularly targeted Hazara young women during enforcement operations of the *hijab* decree.<sup>1794</sup> Such an operation was reported in January 2024 in predominantly Hazara and Tajik areas of Kabul City and other areas.<sup>1795</sup> Some women reported being beaten, abused, and subjected to derogatory anti-Hazara remarks during detention.<sup>1796</sup> Kerr Chiovenda noted that over-policing of dress codes was reported in Hazara-populated neighbourhoods, and Hazara women have been disproportionately affected by arrests and imprisonment, and faced derogatory comments and treatment while imprisoned.<sup>1797</sup>

As mentioned, ethnic and religious minorities have been targeted in attacks often claimed by or attributed to the ISKP,<sup>1798</sup> and Human Rights Watch has criticised the de facto authorities for not providing the Shia Hazara community with sufficient protection from such attacks<sup>1799</sup> which had killed or injured at least 700 Hazaras as of 2022.<sup>1800</sup> These attacks have however declined since its peak in 2022,<sup>1801</sup> although sporadic attacks have resurfaced in periods.<sup>1802</sup> The UN did not report on any violent attacks targeting the Shia Hazara community within the reference period of this report,<sup>1803</sup> although the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan

<sup>1792</sup> Guardian (The), Revealed: the truth behind the Taliban's brutal Kabul 'regeneration' programme, 18 November 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1793</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 37

<sup>1794</sup> Just Security, Hazara Women: How Gender and Ethnicity Intersect in the Taliban's Repression, 7 March 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1795</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 22; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 23 February 2024, [url](#), para. 16

<sup>1796</sup> Zan Times, 'I was arrested for the crime of being a Hazara and a woman': The Taliban's 'bad hijab' campaign targets Hazara women, 22 January 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1797</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1798</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 42; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Richard Bennett, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 49; HRW, World report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1799</sup> HRW, Attacks Target Afghanistan's Hazaras, 3 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1800</sup> HRW, World report 2023, Afghanistan, Events of 2022, 12 January 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1801</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1802</sup> UNAMA, Human rights situation in Afghanistan, October – December 2023 Update, January 2024, [url](#), p. 4; EUAA, Afghanistan – Country Focus, November 2024, [url](#), pp. 125–126

<sup>1803</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 6 December 2024, [url](#), para 15; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 21 February 2025, [url](#), para. 20; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its

noted that unidentified individuals shot and reportedly beheaded a Shia imam in Nusay District, Badakhshan Province, in June 2025, leaving an ISKP flag at the scene.<sup>1804</sup>

**(d) Ismailis**

Roughly 90 % of Ismaili Shias in Afghanistan are ethnically Hazara, living mostly in the Hazarajat region; some Ismaili communities also reside in Badakhshan Province and are classified as ethnic Tajiks.<sup>1805</sup> Followers of the Ismaili Shia school of thought faced ideological pressure by the de facto authorities, including conversion attempts to Sunni Islam, in Badakhshan<sup>1806</sup> (which is predominantly inhabited by Tajiks<sup>1807</sup>) and Baghlan provinces.<sup>1808</sup> As reported by UNAMA, 50 Ismaili men were forced to convert to Sunni Islam by the local de facto authorities in Badakhshan Province in the period 17 January–3 February 2025. The men were ‘questioned on religious topics. Those who refused to convert were subject to physical assaults, coercion and death threats’.<sup>1809</sup> Rawadari also indicated that, since 2024 and as of the first six months of 2025, at least 203 Ismailis in Shughnan, Ishkashim, Khahan, Nasi, and Maimay districts of Badakhshan Province had been forced to convert.<sup>1810</sup> According to Kabul Now, local sources claimed that the de facto authorities link ‘the provision of humanitarian aid to this community with their conversion to Sunni Islam’.<sup>1811</sup> Foschini however reported that ‘[t]he battle for local influence and political survival’ in Badakhshan ‘also plays out in the field of education’, and the de facto authorities have emphasised control of religious schools nationally especially in this province, ‘arguably because of concerns about rival or untrusted groups promoting “wrong” tenets or loyalties’.<sup>1812</sup> The de facto authorities have established several *madrassas* across Badakhshan Province,<sup>1813</sup> in predominantly Ismaili-populated areas, requiring Ismaili children to enrol and follow religious education based on the Sunni faith.<sup>1814</sup> They have banned the construction of Ismaili mosques and other Ismaili religious sites in Badakhshan Province.<sup>1815</sup> According to media sources, in June 2025 an Ismaili man, working

---

implications for international peace and security, 11 June 2025, [url](#), para. 3; UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>1804</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 18

<sup>1805</sup> ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Afghanistan: Sicherheitslage für Ismailiten in der Provinz Baghlan; Berichte über gezielte Angriffe durch die Taliban oder Hezb-e Islami, 3 April 2015, [url](#)

<sup>1806</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Religious Repression and Enforced Silence: Ismailis of Darwaz, Badakhshan Face Collective Persecution, 5 October 2025, [url](#); Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#) p. 51; Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1807</sup> Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), p. 5

<sup>1808</sup> Zan Times, Afghanistan’s Ismailis face systematic persecution under the Taliban, 8 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1809</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January – March 2025 Update, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6

<sup>1810</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 51

<sup>1811</sup> Kabul Now, Taliban Detains 15 Ismaili Shia Community Members in Badakhshan, 7 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1812</sup> Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), p. 28

<sup>1813</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January – March 2025 Update, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 45; Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), p. 29

<sup>1814</sup> Zan Times, Afghanistan’s Ismailis face systematic persecution under the Taliban, 8 September 2025, [url](#); UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January – March 2025 Update, 1 May 2025, [url](#), p. 6; Afghanistan International, Taliban Forcibly Converting Ismailis In Badakhshan, Claims Rukhshana Media, 28 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1815</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 46



as a security guard in the World Health Organization (WHO), was killed by unidentified perpetrators in Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province, after allegedly being tortured.<sup>1816</sup> UNAMA reported that as of 28 October 2025, no one had been arrested in connection with the killing.<sup>1817</sup> A prominent member of the Ismaili community was shot and killed in July 2025 by unidentified armed individuals in Badakhshan Province.<sup>1818</sup>

#### 4.8.5. Tajiks

The term Tajik in Afghanistan has been historically ambiguous and vaguely defined,<sup>1819</sup> and can be described as signifying ‘non-Hazara Farsi speakers’,<sup>1820</sup> as many speak a variant of Dari close to the national language of Iran<sup>1821</sup> – although some are Pashto-speaking.<sup>1822</sup> Nevertheless, Tajiks form the second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan.<sup>1823</sup> The Tajik community lacks a tribal structure. A majority of Tajiks are Sunni Muslims, but there are also those adhering to the Shia branch of Islam. Tajiks live in various areas of the country, but are mainly concentrated in northern, northeastern and western Afghanistan,<sup>1824</sup> Panjsher, and according to older sources, also in Kabul (both the province and the city), Balkh, Ghor, Takhar, and Herat (especially Herat City).<sup>1825</sup>

Since 2021, several sources reported on the targeting of Tajik communities in the northeast provinces of the country, due to their perceived affiliation to armed resistance groups.<sup>1826</sup> The Afghan analyst noted in 2023 that Tajiks were among the communities more prone to violations in the aftermath of the takeover.<sup>1827</sup> More information is available in section [4.3.1. Suspected affiliates of resistance groups](#).

The de facto government cabinet reportedly include at least three ethnic Tajiks.<sup>1828</sup> According to Foschini, the de facto authorities have avoided to appoint local de facto officials originating from the district or province in question. In Badakhshan Province, however, the local population is predominantly Tajik, appointments to the local de facto governance did instead

<sup>1816</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Murder of WHO Employee Sparks Outrage over Religious Tensions and Taliban Silence, 4 June 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Ismaili WHO Office Guard Tortured, Killed In Afghanistan, Say Sources, 3 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1817</sup> UNAMA, Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July – September 2025 Update, 28 October 2025, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1818</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 36; Amu TV, Aga Khan Foundation official shot dead in Badakhshan: Sources, 10 July 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Gunmen Kill Aga Khan Foundation Religious Affairs Official In Badakhshan, 6 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1819</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 144

<sup>1820</sup> Kerr Chiovenda, M., email, 29 November 2025

<sup>1821</sup> MRG, Tajiks, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1822</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 144

<sup>1823</sup> MRG, Tajiks, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1824</sup> MRG, Tajiks, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1825</sup> Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan – Socio-Economic Survey 2021, 12 January 2022, pp. 11–12, 22, [url](#); Ali, O., The Non-Pashtun Taliban of the North (3): The Takhar case study, AAN, 29 July 2017, [url](#)

<sup>1826</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023; HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Torture Civilians in Panjshir: Collective Punishment Over Armed Group’s Actions Is Unlawful, 10 June 2022, [url](#); BBC News, Afghan resistance attack Taliban, sparking reprisals in Panjshir, 16 May 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1827</sup> Afghan analyst, interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023

<sup>1828</sup> Pajhwok News, Hanif, UN officials discuss expediting aid to quake victims, 3 September 2025, [url](#); Ariana News, Afghanistan’s Army Chief of Staff dismisses Daesh threat as anti-IEA propaganda, 23 July 2025, [url](#); Reuters, Exclusive: Taliban in talks with Russia, China for trade transactions in local currencies, 23 May 2025, [url](#)

rely on high-ranking Badakhshi Taliban members, as of September 2024. Foschini suggested that this was due to the fact that the province had never been under Taliban control before, and therefore lacked support in the province.<sup>1829</sup> Since 2023, though, external de facto officials were appointed,<sup>1830</sup> an act viewed as a process of marginalising non-Pashtun northern Taliban leaders and commanders within the hierarchy.<sup>1831</sup> By the end of 2023, nearly all Tajik and Uzbek Taliban in Badakhshan had been removed from any position of authority in their home areas, after being dismissed or assigned to minor positions in other provinces.<sup>1832</sup> There were cases of local de facto officials rebelling after they or their forces were dismissed under the ongoing purges of the de facto security forces.<sup>1833</sup> In 2025, de facto authorities have continued to appoint external Pashtun de facto officials to Badakhshan and other mainly Tajik-populated provinces.<sup>1834</sup>

As mentioned, members of ethnic and religious minorities face discrimination in hiring and dismissals procedures for de facto government positions,<sup>1835</sup> including collective dismissals.<sup>1836</sup> According to Rawadari, in the first half of 2025, in Ghazni Province the employees of some de facto government departments from some ethnic groups, including Tajiks, were removed from their positions.<sup>1837</sup> Rawadari also reported that Tajiks were excluded from equal access to government services, development projects, and humanitarian aid by the de facto authorities in Ghazni and Ghor provinces.<sup>1838</sup>

Since the Taliban takeover, mainly during 2022, there have been reports of forced evictions and displacement carried out by the Taliban, affecting Tajik communities in several provinces, including in northeastern provinces, Jowzjan, Faryab, Ghor, Mazar-e Sharif, Kabul, Sar-e Pul and Takhar.<sup>1839</sup> These evictions occurred in cases of land seizure by groups perceived as supported by the de facto authorities,<sup>1840</sup> including Kuchis.<sup>1841</sup>

<sup>1829</sup> Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), pp. 22, 23, 25–26, 28, 38

<sup>1830</sup> Amu TV, A look at administrative structure of Taliban in Badakhshan?, 9 May 2024, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban leader appoints three new provincial governors, 26 June 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1831</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1832</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1833</sup> Foschini, F., Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN, September 2024, [url](#), pp. 22, 23, 25–26, 28, 38; UN Security Council, Fourteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 1 June 2023, [url](#), para. 28

<sup>1834</sup> Foschini, F., The mining sector in Afghanistan: A picture in black and gold, AAN, 30 August 2025, [url](#), p. 40

<sup>1835</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 50

<sup>1836</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), pp. 5, 43

<sup>1837</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 50

<sup>1838</sup> Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [url](#), p. 49; Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, March 2025, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1839</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 February 2023, [url](#), paras. 46–48; Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1840</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 9 February 2023, [url](#), paras. 46–48

<sup>1841</sup> Kabul Now, Law of the Gun: How Local Conflicts Became Extortion Spree, 23 January 2024, [url](#); Foschini, F., Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN, 22 December 2022, [url](#)



Since mid-2024, many farmers in Badakhshan (many from Tajik populated districts) have been protesting the destruction of poppy fields.<sup>1842</sup> Some of protests have been met with violence by the de facto authorities, resulting in people killed or injured.<sup>1843</sup> Such protests flared up anew in June and July 2025,<sup>1844</sup> and according to the UN Secretary-General's report 10 people died and 40 were injured by the de facto authorities response, while many others were arbitrarily detained and allegedly ill-treated in the districts of Argo, Jurm and Khash.<sup>1845</sup> In April 2025, SpecialEurasia, a consulting and media agency specialising in geopolitical intelligence, reported on arrests of some ethnic Tajik Taliban commanders in northern Afghanistan who sided with the protesters.<sup>1846</sup> This information could not be corroborated with other sources.

#### 4.8.6. Uzbeks

Around 9 % of Afghanistan's population are ethnic Uzbeks. They are Sunnis, belong to the Turkic peoples and live both in rural areas (including Jawzjan, Takhar, Faryab, Baghlan, Sar-e Pol) and in urban centres (Mazar-e Sharif, Kabul, Kandahar, Laschkargah, etc.). They are bilingual and, in addition to Uzbek they also speak Dari.<sup>1847</sup>

A UN report published in September 2023 noted that members of *inter alia* the Uzbek community have continued to allege that the removal of their languages as official curriculum languages constitutes an 'attack' on their linguistic heritage.<sup>1848</sup> Amu TV noted that the National Uzbek Language Day had largely gone unrecognised under Taliban rule,<sup>1849</sup> and Human Rights Watch reported that there is 'virtually no media in minority languages like Uzbek'.<sup>1850</sup>

Earlier reports suggest that Uzbeks have also been involved in land disputes. While the UN Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team noted 'persistent reports' in 2022 of what they referred to as 'a deliberate and seemingly organized campaign by Pashtuns to dislodge ethnic Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek communities from rich agricultural land in the north',<sup>1851</sup> ACAPS noted in 2023 that land disputes should not only be analysed 'through the lens of

<sup>1842</sup> Bjelica, J., Foschini, F., Opium Cultivation in Badakhshan: The new national leader, according to UNDOC, 13 November 2024, [url](#); Amu TV, Badakhshan residents protest against Taliban, sources say, 3 July 2024, [url](#); RFE/RL, Taliban's Drug Ban, Heavy-Handed Tactics Fuel Deadly Protests In Northern Afghanistan, 15 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1843</sup> Bjelica, J., Foschini, F., Opium Cultivation in Badakhshan: The new national leader, according to UNDOC, 13 November 2024, [url](#); Amu TV, Badakhshan residents protest against Taliban, sources say, 3 July 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1844</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 31; Amu TV, Taliban units leave district in Badakhshan amid poppy crop protests: Sources, 20 June 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Protesters In Badakhshan Demand Removal Of Taliban-Appointed Governor, 27 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1845</sup> UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 31

<sup>1846</sup> SpecialEurasia, Tajik Taliban Commanders Arrested in Afghanistan Underline the Movement's Internal Frictions, 15 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1847</sup> Austria, Staatendokumentation, AfPAk: Grundlagen der Stammes- & Clanstruktur, 2016, [url](#)

<sup>1848</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 1 September 2023, [url](#), para. 53

<sup>1849</sup> AmuTV, Citizens say Taliban ignore Uzbek language on National Uzbek Language Day, 20 October 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1850</sup> HRW, Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1851</sup> UN Security Council, Thirteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 26 May 2022, [url](#), para. 19

ethnicity' although disputes have been politicised for ethnic mobilisation in the past – such disputes are ultimately about resources according to this source.<sup>1852</sup>

In June 2025, dozens of protesters were arrested by the de facto authorities in Faryab Province after demonstrating against the de facto local police command in Daulatabad District. The protests were triggered by the arrest of several young Uzbeks accused of harassing girls, and protesters chanted slogans praising the Uzbek former warlord Abdul Rashid Dostum<sup>1853</sup>

#### 4.8.7. Turkmen

Turkmen originate from Turkic-speaking tribes and adhere to the Sunni Hanafi school of thought.<sup>1854</sup> They speak Turkmen and Dari.<sup>1855</sup> Although their exact number is 'uncertain',<sup>1856</sup> some sources have estimated that they make up 1% to 3% of the Afghan population.<sup>1857</sup> Turkmen predominantly reside in northern Afghanistan,<sup>1858</sup> in provinces bordering Turkmenistan.<sup>1859</sup> Large numbers of Turkmen were reportedly residing in Jawzjan Province, as well as smaller numbers in the provinces of Faryab,<sup>1860</sup> Takhar, Samangan, Sar-e Pul, Balkh, Kunduz,<sup>1861</sup> Badghis,<sup>1862</sup> and Herat.<sup>1863</sup> They live mainly in rural areas.<sup>1864</sup>

Since the Taliban takeover, ethnic minorities, including Turkmen, have faced marginalisation,<sup>1865</sup> and Turkmen have also reportedly been affected by forced evictions.<sup>1866</sup> According to the UN Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, there were 'persistent reports of a deliberate and seemingly organized campaign by Pashtuns to dislodge ethnic Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek communities from rich agricultural land in the north'.<sup>1867</sup>

<sup>1852</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan, Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1853</sup> Afghanistan International, Protesters Chant "Long Live Dostum" As Clashes Erupt With Taliban In Faryab, 10 June 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1854</sup> MRG, Uzbeks and Turkmens in Afghanistan, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1855</sup> SCA, The Afghan Population, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1856</sup> MRG, Uzbeks and Turkmens in Afghanistan, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1857</sup> USCIRF, Afghanistan, April 2022, [url](#), p. 2; MRG, Uzbeks and Turkmens in Afghanistan, n.d., [url](#); SCA, The Afghan Population, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1858</sup> Deccan Herald, Dominant ethnic groups in Afghanistan, 18 August 2021, [url](#); MRG, Uzbeks and Turkmens in Afghanistan, n.d., [url](#); SCA, The Afghan Population, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1859</sup> Jamestown Foundation, Afghanistan's Ethnic Turkmens: Enemies or Allies for Ashgabat?, 4 October 2015, [url](#)

<sup>1860</sup> Jamestown Foundation, Afghanistan's Ethnic Turkmens: Enemies or Allies for Ashgabat?, 4 October 2015, [url](#); Obaid, A., and Ruttig, T., Elections 2014 (22): How disenchantment with General Dostum split the Uzbek vote bank, 22 May 2014, [url](#)

<sup>1861</sup> Obaid, A., and Ruttig, T., Elections 2014 (22): How disenchantment with General Dostum split the Uzbek vote bank, 22 May 2014, [url](#)

<sup>1862</sup> Jamestown Foundation, Afghanistan's Ethnic Turkmens: Enemies or Allies for Ashgabat?, 4 October 2015, [url](#)

<sup>1863</sup> Rasekh, M. S., A Study of the Turkmen Dialects of Afghanistan: Phonology – Morphology – Lexicon – Sociolinguistic Aspects, PhD Thesis, 7 October 2016, [url](#), p. 12

<sup>1864</sup> Rasekh, M. S., A Study of the Turkmen Dialects of Afghanistan: Phonology – Morphology – Lexicon – Sociolinguistic Aspects, PhD Thesis, 7 October 2016, [url](#), p. 33

<sup>1865</sup> AI, The State of the World's Human Rights; Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, [url](#), p. 71; UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 1 September 2023, [url](#), para. 50

<sup>1866</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 106; AI, The State of the World's Human Rights; Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, [url](#), p. 71; UN Security Council, Fourteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 1 June 2023, [url](#), para. 28

<sup>1867</sup> UN Security Council, Thirteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, 26 May 2022, [url](#), para. 19



Forced evictions were reported in several provinces across Afghanistan,<sup>1868</sup> but particularly in the northern parts of the country, as reported by Maliha Shirzay for RWI.<sup>1869</sup> In many cases, forced evictions occurred as a result of land disputes and claims by persons and groups perceived to have Taliban support,<sup>1870</sup> such as Kuchis.<sup>1871</sup>

A UN report published in September 2023 noted that members of *inter alia* the Turkmen community has continued to allege that the removal of their languages as official curriculum languages constitutes an ‘attack’ on their linguistic heritage.<sup>1872</sup>

In June 2025, Sheikh Samiullah Farahmand, a Turkmen cleric, was appointed by the de facto authorities as their ambassador to Türkiye.<sup>1873</sup> Before this appointment, he served as the de facto provincial head of the military court in Kunduz Province.<sup>1874</sup>

#### 4.8.8. Hindus and Sikhs

The Hindu and Sikh communities have significantly declined in numbers in Afghanistan<sup>1875</sup> amid an ongoing large-scale exodus since the early 1990s.<sup>1876</sup> Many remaining community members resettled outside of Afghanistan following the Taliban takeover.<sup>1877</sup> According to community representatives, only a small number of Hindus and Sikhs remain in the country,<sup>1878</sup> making up about 100 people in total,<sup>1879</sup> that are mainly concentrated in urban areas,<sup>1880</sup> including Kabul, Jalalabad, and Ghazni.<sup>1881</sup> Sources in 2025 reported that less than 50 Sikhs

<sup>1868</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 1 September 2023, [url](#), para. 50; UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 23 February 2024, [url](#), para. 62

<sup>1869</sup> Shirzay, M., Pioneering Uzbek Women in Educational Process in Afghanistan: An Intersectional Exploration of Uzbek Women's Historical Struggles, RWI, May 2025, [url](#), p. 9; UN Security Council, Thirteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring, 26 May 2022, [url](#), para. 19

<sup>1870</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 106

<sup>1871</sup> ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1872</sup> UN, General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 1 September 2023, [url](#), para. 53

<sup>1873</sup> Afghanistan International, Taliban Appoints Turkmen Cleric As Ambassador To Türkiye, 26 June 2025, [url](#); MEI, Taliban Leadership Tracker: Sheikh Samiullah Farahmand, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1874</sup> MEI, Taliban Leadership Tracker: Sheikh Samiullah Farahmand, n.d., [url](#)

<sup>1875</sup> Indian Express, ‘Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there’s no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples’: Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban minister calls non-Muslims ‘worse than four-legged animals’, 9 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1876</sup> Kabul Now, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Urge Taliban to Restore Temples, Ensure Minority Rights, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Indian Express, ‘Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there’s no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples’: Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1877</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Who Fled Religious Persecution Meet Taliban’s Foreign Minister in New Delhi, 13 October 2025, [url](#); Amu TV, Five years after deadly Kabul temple attack, Afghan Sikhs face near extinction, 25 March 2025, [url](#); Print (The), Muttaqi in Delhi, assures Sikhs & Hindus of restoration of places of worship, security under Taliban, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1878</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Afghanistan’s Sikh Community Sends Aid to Kunar Earthquake Victims, 3 September 2025, [url](#); Afghanistan International, Taliban Minister’s Remarks On Non-Muslims Spark Concern Among Afghan Sikhs & Hindus, 12 April 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1879</sup> Pajhwok News, Afghan Hindus happy with security, seek lands’ restitution, 24 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1880</sup> Rasuli, H., Highlighting Afghan Women’s Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI, 30 May 2025, [url](#), p. 55

<sup>1881</sup> Indian Express, ‘Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there’s no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples’: Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

reside in Afghanistan,<sup>1882</sup> in contrast to the reportedly approximately 300 members of the group residing in the country by the time of the Taliban takeover in 2021.<sup>1883</sup>

Since the Taliban takeover, the ISKP has carried out attacks against Sikhs,<sup>1884</sup> including an attack against a Sikh place of worship in June 2022, and an explosion targeting a Sikh shop close to a Sikh place of worship in Kabul City on 27 July 2022.<sup>1885</sup> No attacks targeting Hindus or Sikhs were found within the reference period of this report, but in a report from February 2025, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan noted that attacks had been targeting, *inter alia*, Sikhs and Hindus, without specifying particular incidents.<sup>1886</sup> According to Rafiey, due to 'their small numbers and low visibility' in the country, there have been few reports of mistreatment against Hindus and Sikhs.<sup>1887</sup>

The Taliban have pledged to protect the rights of Sikhs and Hindus, and have given security assurances during meetings with community leaders,<sup>1888</sup> including at a meeting with a delegation of exile Hindus and Sikhs in New Delhi on 13 October 2025.<sup>1889</sup> The delegation raised several demands, including greater minority representation in the de facto government,<sup>1890</sup> protection and restoration of religious sites,<sup>1891</sup> and return of seized properties.<sup>1892</sup> Although the de facto Minister of Foreign Affairs assured the delegation that 'they were welcome to return' and restart their businesses,<sup>1893</sup> and claimed that the de facto authorities support the renovation of religious sites and protection of property rights,<sup>1894</sup> the delegation expressed scepticism, citing safety and security concerns as a major obstacle for their return.<sup>1895</sup>

---

<sup>1882</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Afghanistan's Sikh Community Sends Aid to Kunar Earthquake Victims, 3 September 2025, [url](#); Indian Express, Handful of Sikhs living in Afghanistan donate relief material for earthquake victims in Kunar, 3 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1883</sup> BBC News, Afghanistan: Deadly explosion rocks Sikh site in Kabul, 18 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1884</sup> Jamestown Foundation, ISKP Challenges Indian Interests in Afghanistan by Attacking Sikh Worshippers in Kabul, 9 September 2022, [url](#); Al Jazeera, Deadly attack on Sikh temple in Kabul leaves community in fear, 18 June 2022, [url](#); BBC News, Afghanistan gurdwara attack: Sikhs say 'We don't feel safe', 18 June 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1885</sup> Indian Express, Explosion rocks Sikh man's shop near Kabul gurdwara; kin in Delhi call for India's help, 27 July 2022, [url](#); Times of India (The), Kabul Gurdwara Attacked Again, Blast Near Main Gate, 28 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1886</sup> UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 20 February 2025, [url](#), para. 49

<sup>1887</sup> ACCORD, Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [url](#), p. 81

<sup>1888</sup> USDOS, 2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Afghanistan, 2 June 2022, [url](#), p. 2

<sup>1889</sup> Times of India (The), Afghan Hindus and Sikhs meet foreign minister Muttaqi; urge restoration, maintenance of gurdwaras, temples, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Hasht-e Subh, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Who Fled Religious Persecution Meet Taliban's Foreign Minister in New Delhi, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1890</sup> Kabul Now, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Urge Taliban to Restore Temples, Ensure Minority Rights, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Print (The), Muttaqi in Delhi, assures Sikhs & Hindus of restoration of places of worship, security under Taliban, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1891</sup> Kabul Now, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Urge Taliban to Restore Temples, Ensure Minority Rights, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1892</sup> Kabul Now, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Urge Taliban to Restore Temples, Ensure Minority Rights, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Indian Express, 'Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there's no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples': Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1893</sup> Al Jazeera, Afghan foreign minister in India: Why New Delhi is embracing Taliban now, 14 October 2025, [url](#); Indian Express, 'Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there's no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples': Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1894</sup> Print (The), Muttaqi in Delhi, assures Sikhs & Hindus of restoration of places of worship, security under Taliban, 13 October 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1895</sup> Indian Express, 'Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there's no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples': Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, [url](#)



#### 4.8.9. Salafists

Most Salafists oppose the IS, but Salafism is the religious approach adopted by the group.<sup>1896</sup> In their suppression of the ISKP in the months following their takeover, the de facto authorities violently targeted Salafist communities in Nangarhar and Kunar.<sup>1897</sup> More information is available in section [4.3.2. Suspected ISKP affiliates](#).

Most victims of the de facto government's initial crackdown on the ISKP were reportedly ethnic Pashtuns, although a significant number of Uzbeks and Tajiks adhere to Salafism in northern Afghanistan.<sup>1898</sup> The Salafi identity is distinct from the Hanafi identity. Salafists, as other ethnoreligious minority groups, reportedly also experience a lack of true representation, including on district and village level, as only Taliban sympathisers have been appointed.<sup>1899</sup>

The Salafi community has been facing some limitations on practicing their religion, including, as mentioned, pressure on Salafi *madrassas* in eastern Afghanistan to conform with Hanafi doctrines,<sup>1900</sup> and on praying 'Salafi-style' in mosques.<sup>1901</sup> The Afghan researcher stated in 2024 that in areas where Salafists are in minority, they are in general not allowed to do their prayer as they want, and that some people had been arrested for praying 'Salafi-style'. The same source highlighted hostility from southern Taliban commanders, heavily influenced by Sufism, in southern Afghanistan (e.g. the provinces Paktya, Paktika, Khost, Kandahar, Helmand, Nimroz). For example, to pray the way Salafists do in Kandahar would not be acceptable, and such an individual would not even be allowed to enter the mosque.<sup>1902</sup> Afghanistan expert Antonio Giustozzi, as cited by the Danish COI unit, also described 'a hostility towards the Salafis in general', primarily from the Deobandi and Sufi communities in the southern parts of Afghanistan.<sup>1903</sup>

The de facto authorities have closed multiple Salafi *madrassas*<sup>1904</sup> and reportedly also Salafi mosques.<sup>1905</sup> There have also been cases in which *madrassas* taken over by Hanafis, or Hanafi imams have been appointed to mosques.<sup>1906</sup>

<sup>1896</sup> International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan: A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1897</sup> RFE/RL, Senior Clerics Caught In The Crossfire Of The Taliban's Intensifying War With IS-K, 24 August 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1898</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1899</sup> Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021-2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 26–27

<sup>1900</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 22–23, 25–27, 31

<sup>1901</sup> International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023; UNAMA, De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights, July 2024, [url](#), p. 13; Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI units at the Austrian Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum and the Swedish Migration Agency.

<sup>1902</sup> Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI units at the Austrian Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum and the Swedish Migration Agency

<sup>1903</sup> Denmark, Centre for Documentation and Counter Extremism, Afghanistan, Ahl-e Hadith, October 2023, [url](#), p. 11

<sup>1904</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23; Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021-2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), p. 30

<sup>1905</sup> Saleem, M. A. and Semple, M., Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, [url](#), p. 23

<sup>1906</sup> Nemat, O. and Giustozzi, A., Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021-2023, 4 November 2024, [url](#), pp. 30–31

## Annex 1: Bibliography

### Oral sources, including anonymous sources

Afghan analyst, in-person interviews. The analyst is based outside Afghanistan, but often travels to the country to conduct field-based research on the security situation, armed groups and the general situation under Taliban rule. The source requested to be anonymised for operational reasons. The source was consulted in the following instances:

- email, 5 January 2026
- email communication, 13 October 2024
- online interview, 1 October 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian, Norwegian, and Swedish COI units (Staatendokumentation, Landinfo and Unit for Migration Analysis)
- in-person interview, 25 April 2024
- email communication, 10 October 2023
- in-person interviews, 8–9 June 2023.

Afghan researcher, online interview, 12 September 2024. The source has multiple years of experience of reporting for an international organisation in Afghanistan. The source is currently not based in Afghanistan but remains in contact with sources on the ground. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Austrian and Swedish COI units (Staatendokumentation and Unit for Migration Analysis)

Akbar, S., emails, 22 and 24 June 2022. Shaharzad Akbar is an Afghan human rights activist in exile. She served as chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) in 2019–2021. She is currently the Executive Director of the Afghan human rights organisation Rawadari.

Azizi, H., PhD Candidate, Flinders University, online interview, 9 September 2024. Hamid Azizi is a PhD Candidate at Flinders University in Adelaide, Australia. Mr. Azizi has conducted research on Afghanistan since 2007, *inter alia* for UNODC, on various topics including organised crime, illicit economy and insurgency groups.

Baheer, O., interview, 25 April 2024. Obaidullah Baheer is an adjunct lecturer with the American University of Afghanistan and has been teaching topics related to democracy, international relations, peace and conflict resolution, geopolitics and foreign policy at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He has been writing and commenting on Afghanistan for media outlets including The Washington Post, Al Jazeera, South Asian Voices, The Economist, and the Diplomat. Baheer has also engaged in aid delivery in Afghanistan through his own aid initiative ‘Save Afghans from Hunger’. Baheer has also engaged in aid delivery in Afghanistan through his own aid initiative ‘Save Afghans from Hunger’.



Durrani, P., online interview, 19 October 2023. Pashtana Durrani is a human rights activist and founder of the NGO LEARN Afghanistan (<https://learnafghan.org/>). Durrani is currently based outside Afghanistan but is still engaged in the activities of LEARN Afghanistan.

International analyst (A), interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 10 October 2023. The senior analyst is based in Afghanistan since many years and has extensive experience on researching and reporting on the security situation, as well as the political and human rights situation in the country. The source requested to be anonymised for operational reasons.

International journalist, online interview, 3 October 2023. The international journalist has reported from Afghanistan for international media outlets for several years, and covered various topics, but is currently based outside the country. The source requested to be anonymised for operational reasons.

de Jong, S., online interview, 30 October 2025. Sara de Jong is Professor in Politics and International relations with the University of York and has *inter alia* conducted research on Afghans who have worked for Western military forces, and resettlement efforts of such profiles.

Kerr Chiovenda, M., in-person meeting, 29 November 2025. Melissa Kerr Chiovenda is an anthropologist who has *inter alia* conducted research on Hazaras in Afghanistan. Kerr Chiovenda is based outside Afghanistan, but remains in contact with many sources from previous field-research.

Latifi, A., interview 8–9 June 2023, and email communication, 9 October 2023. Ali Latifi is an Afghanistan-based journalist. Latifi has reported from various parts of Afghanistan for several international media outlets, covering a range of different topics.

Rahimi, H., online interviews and email communication. Haroun Rahimi is Associate Professor and Chair of Law Department at the American University of Afghanistan, and has extensive experience on researching Afghan politics, law and governance. Rahimi was consulted in the following instances:

- online interview, 30 October 2025. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the Belgian and Romanian COI units (Cedoca and the COI unit of the Romanian General Inspectorate for Immigration).
- online interview, 11 September 2024. The interview was conducted by the EUAA in cooperation with the COI unit of the Swedish Migration Agency and Landinfo – the Norwegian COI Centre
- email communication, 4 October 2023
- online interview 8–9 June 2023.

Sharan, T., email, 27 November 2025. Timor Sharan is the Director of Afghanistan Policy Lab (<https://www.afghanistanpolicylab.com>), a research organisation specialising in applied research on Afghanistan. Sharan has written extensively on Afghan politics, security and governance for several reputable international research organisations. In 2017–2019, Sharan

served as Deputy Director-General for Policy and Programmes at the Independent Directorate of Governance under the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

## Public sources

دعايلی وزارت - وزارت عدليه [X], posted on: 21 August 2024,  
<https://x.com/MojAfghanistan/status/1826221513504382986>, accessed 14 December 2024

AA (Anadolu Agency), In Afghanistan, women and children bearing worst of hunger crisis, 13 March 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/in-afghanistan-women-and-children-bearing-worst-of-hunger-crisis/3163229>, accessed 10 December 2025

AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), Decrees, Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Amir al-mu'minin, as published in the Official Gazette on 22 May 2023, July 2023,  
<https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2023/07/Decrees-order-of-Taleban-amir-English.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), Deepening Discrimination: A dossier of reports about Afghan women, 8 March 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/dossiers/deepening-discrimination-a-dossier-of-reports-about-afghan-women/>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, ACAPS Thematic Report Afghanistan – Coping with the crisis, 17 June 2023, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/acaps-thematic-report-afghanistan-coping-crisis-conversations-afghan-households-kabul-province-16-june-2023>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan, Barriers and enablers to self-employment, 12 February 2025,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20250212\\_ACAPS\\_Afghanistan-Barriers\\_and\\_enablers\\_to\\_self-employment\\_for\\_women.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20250212_ACAPS_Afghanistan-Barriers_and_enablers_to_self-employment_for_women.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan, Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20230726\\_ACAPS\\_Afghanistan\\_analysis\\_hub\\_land\\_conflict\\_and\\_humanitarian\\_action.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230726_ACAPS_Afghanistan_analysis_hub_land_conflict_and_humanitarian_action.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan, Scenarios, April 2023,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20230425\\_acaps\\_afghanistan\\_scenarios\\_possible\\_developments\\_in\\_household\\_livelihoods\\_and\\_purchasing\\_power\\_over\\_the\\_next\\_20\\_months.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230425_acaps_afghanistan_scenarios_possible_developments_in_household_livelihoods_and_purchasing_power_over_the_next_20_months.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan, Spotlight on social impact (October 2023 to February 2024), 25 April 2024,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20240425\\_ACAPS\\_Thematic\\_report\\_Afghanistan\\_Spotlight\\_on\\_social\\_impact.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20240425_ACAPS_Thematic_report_Afghanistan_Spotlight_on_social_impact.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan, Taliban directives and decrees affecting human rights and humanitarian actors, 21 April 2023,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20230424\\_acaps\\_thematic\\_report\\_afghanistan\\_taliban\\_directives\\_and\\_decrees\\_0.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230424_acaps_thematic_report_afghanistan_taliban_directives_and_decrees_0.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025



ACAPS, Afghanistan, Third update on Taliban decrees and directives relevant to the humanitarian response (July–December 2024), 24 December 2024, [https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20241224\\_ACAPS\\_Afghanistan\\_Third\\_update\\_on\\_Taliban\\_decrees\\_and\\_directives.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20241224_ACAPS_Afghanistan_Third_update_on_Taliban_decrees_and_directives.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan: barriers and enablers to self-employment for women, 12 February 2025, <https://www.acaps.org/en/countries/archives/detail/afghanistan-barriers-and-enablers-to-self-employment-for-women>, accessed 19 November 2025

ACAPS, Country analysis, Afghanistan, 2025, <https://www.acaps.org/en/countries/afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACAPS, Afghanistan: Land conflicts and humanitarian action: a conflict sensitivity perspective, 26 July 2023, [https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20230726\\_ACAPS\\_Afghanistan\\_analysis\\_hub\\_land\\_conflict\\_and\\_humanitarian\\_action.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230726_ACAPS_Afghanistan_analysis_hub_land_conflict_and_humanitarian_action.pdf), accessed 30 October 2025

ACCORD (Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation), Afghanistan: Report on the impact of the Taliban's information practices and legal policies, particularly on women and girls, February 2025, [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2122510/ACCORD\\_Afghanistan\\_February\\_2025\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2122510/ACCORD_Afghanistan_February_2025_FINAL.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACCORD (Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation), Anfragebeantwortung zu Afghanistan: Sicherheitslage für Ismailiten in der Provinz Baghlan; Berichte über gezielte Angriffe durch die Taliban oder Hezb-e Islami [Response to query on Afghanistan: Security situation for Ismailis in Baghlan province; reports of targeted attacks by the Taliban or Hezb-e Islami], 3 April 2015, <https://www.ecoi.net/de/dokument/1058514.html>, accessed 17 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), About ACLED, n.d., <https://acleddata.com/about-acled/>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), ACLED Methodology and Coding Decisions around Political Violence and Demonstrations in Afghanistan (Version 5), February 2022, [https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/dlm\\_uploads/2019/01/ACLED\\_Afghanistan-Methodology\\_v5-February-2022.pdf](https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/dlm_uploads/2019/01/ACLED_Afghanistan-Methodology_v5-February-2022.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), ACLED's Afghanistan Coverage: Adapting Sourcing Strategy in an Evolving Context, 16 March 2022, <https://acleddata.com/2022/03/16/acleds-afghanistan-coverage-adapting-sourcing-strategy-in-an-evolving-context/>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) Codebook, 3 October 2024, [https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ACLED\\_Codebook\\_v1\\_January-2021.pdf](https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ACLED_Codebook_v1_January-2021.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), Comparing Conflict Data, Similarities and Differences Across Conflict Datasets, August 2019, [https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/ACLED-Comparison\\_8.2019.pdf](https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/ACLED-Comparison_8.2019.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), Curated Data Files, Afghanistan covering the period 1 January 2024–30 November 2025, as of 10 December 2025, <https://acleddata.com/curated-data-files/>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), Guide for Media Users, January 2015, [https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/ACLED\\_User-Guide-for-Media\\_2015.pdf](https://www.acleddata.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/ACLED_User-Guide-for-Media_2015.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), Kabul: First strikes in Afghanistan's capital city since 2022 – Expert comment, 10 October 2025, <https://acleddata.com/expert-comment/kabul-first-strikes-afghanistans-capital-city-2022-expert-comment>, accessed 10 December 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data), The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project - Bringing clarity to crisis, n.d., <https://acleddata.com/#/dashboard>, accessed 10 December 2025

Action contre le Faim, Kabul's Hunger Crisis: Residents Struggle to Afford Food, 29 October 2025, <https://www.actioncontrelafaim.org/en/news/headlines/kabuls-hunger-crisis-residents-struggle-to-afford-food/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Adili, Ali Yawar, The politics of survival in the face of exclusion: Hazara and Shia Actors under the Taliban, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), February 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/political-landscape/the-politics-of-survival-in-the-face-of-exclusion-hazara-and-shia-actors-under-the-taleban/>, accessed 4 November 2025

Afghan Eye, Navigating Constraint: Women's Education, Work, and Healthcare in Taliban-Era Afghanistan, 1 July 2025, <https://afghaneye.net/2025/07/01/afghanistan-girls-education-under-taliban-dr-zuhra-faizi/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghan human rights activist, interviewed by Austria, Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum, Country of Origin Information Department, COI-CMS, <https://www.ecoi.net/en/countries/afghanistan/coi-cms>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghan LGBT, Flogging 63 people on charges of "Sodomy" and "Adultery" by the Taliban, 7 June 2024, <https://afghanlgbt.com/en/content/gruY/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghan LGBT, Taliban's New Legal Measures Escalate Persecution of LGBTQ+ Community, 25 August 2024, <https://afghanlgbt.com/en/content/mWBA/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghan Times (The), From Livelihood to Silence: Taliban Crushes Women's Work Behind Closed Doors, 18 June 2025, <https://theafghanetimes.com/from-livelihood-to-silence-taliban-crushes-womens-work-behind-closed-doors/>, accessed 21 November 2025

Afghanaid, "As winter approaches, deep humanitarian need continues.", 2 December 2024, <https://www.afghanaid.org.uk/news/as-the-cold-winter-approaches-deep-humanitarian-need-continues>, accessed 10 December 2025



Afghanaid, Afghanaid joins global UN conference on disaster risk reduction, n.d., <https://www.afghanaid.org.uk/news/afghanaid-joins-global-un-conference-on-disaster-risk-reduction>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan, de facto authorities, Estimated population of Afghanistan 2025-26, September 2025, <https://nsia.gov.af:8443/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%AF-%D9%86%D9%81%D9%88%D8%B3-%DA%A9%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%84-1404.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan, de facto authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2024/08/Law-on-Virtue-and-Vice-Basic.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Death Toll Rises To Eight After Taliban Open Fire On Protesters In Badakhshan, 2 July 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202507028466>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Confiscated Over 259,000 Acres Of Land In Past Month, Claims Taliban, 8 October 2024, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202410089815>, accessed 3 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Expect Hazaras To Support Taliban Security Forces, Says Taliban Interior Minister, 9 February 2023, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202302092603>, accessed 10 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Gunmen Kill Aga Khan Foundation Religious Affairs Official In Badakhshan, 6 July 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202507060052>, accessed 23 October 2025

Afghanistan International, Former Afghan President's Daughter Draws Attention During Meeting With Abdullah, 28 April 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202504284905>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Hekmatyar Warns Of Rising Instability, Calls For Legitimate Government In Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202502240849>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Hekmatyar Warns Of Rising Instability, Calls For Legitimate Government In Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202502240849>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Ismaili WHO Office Guard Tortured, Killed In Afghanistan, Say Sources, 3 June 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202506038803>, accessed 20 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Protesters In Badakhshan Demand Removal Of Taliban-Appointed Governor, 27 May 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202505270535>, accessed 21 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Swiss Development Agency Resumes Operations In Kabul After Four-Year Absence, 27 August 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202508278350>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Accuses UN Of Bias, Says Group Deserves Afghanistan's UN Representation, 30 July 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202507306343>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Announce Confiscation Of Vast Tracts Of Land In Logar, 25 August 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202508255474>, accessed 3 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Appoints Turkmen Cleric As Ambassador To Türkiye, 26 June 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202506265961>, accessed 23 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Clerics, Residents In Daikundi For Early Eid Observance, 9 June 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202506096770>, accessed 17 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests Sufi Leader Ibrahim Gailani & Followers In Afghanistan, 6 September 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202509065096>, accessed 21 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Arrests TikTok Users, Forces Public Apologies Over Online Content, 16 May 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202505168330>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Delegation Attends 15th Session Of OIC In Gambia, 5 May 2024, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202405053500>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Deputy Minister Severely Injured In Kabul Suicide Bombing, 13 February 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202502133668>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Extend Land Seizures, Taking Over Influential Afghan Leader Township, 22 October 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202510228537>, accessed 4 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Forcibly Converting Ismailis In Badakhshan, Claims Rukhshana Media, 28 October 2024, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202410285647>, accessed 22 October 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Forcibly Evict Villagers In Bamiyan Following Land Dispute With Nomads, 29 July 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202507292919>, accessed 4 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Leader Reportedly Pressures Hamid Karzai Into Exile, 28 August 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202508280789>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Lifts Ban on Former President's Travel, Claim Sources, 20 May 2024, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202405204002>, accessed 10 December 2025



Afghanistan International, Taliban Members 'Detain' Three Ex-Servicemen in Laghman, 2 November 2024, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202411026537>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Minister's Remarks On Non-Muslims Spark Concern Among Afghan Sikhs & Hindus, 12 April 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202504126908>, accessed 16 October 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Monitoring Social Media, Warns Of Legal Action For 'Improper' Use, 12 May 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202505128077>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Publicly Flog Two Men In Nangarhar For Robbery, 23 November 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202511235588>, accessed 19 November 2025

Afghanistan International, Taliban Sentences Afghan University Professor To 16 Months In Prison in Kabul, 30 October 2023, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202310303768>, accessed 10 December 2025

Afghanistan International, Violent Land Dispute Involving Taliban Commander Reported In Takhar, 3 November 2025, <https://www.afintl.com/en/202511037030>, accessed 10 November 2025

Afghanistan Times, Women and food, Insecurity in Afghanistan, 16 October 2024, <https://www.humanitarianlibrary.org/sites/default/files/2025/08/Women-and-food-insecurity-in-Afghanistan-2.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFI (Artistic Freedom Initiative), Artistic Exodus, 13 November 2023, <https://artisticfreedominitiative.org/our-programs/advocacy-for-artistic-freedom/research-2/afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), 366 Violations against media freedoms in Afghanistan during two years of Taliban rule: AFJC, 15 August 2023, <https://afjc.media/english/events/press-release/366-violations-against-media-freedoms-in-afghanistan-during-two-years-of-taliban-rule-afjc>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), 2024 Annual Report on Media Freedom in Afghanistan, 26 December 2024, <https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/annual-report/2024-annual-report-on-media-freedom-in-afghanistan-3>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), AFJC Reports 140 Media Freedom Violations in First Half of 2025, Signifying a Sharp Increase, 11 July 2025, <https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/press-release/afjc-reports-140-media-freedom-violations-in-first-half-of-2025-signifying-a-sharp-increase>, accessed 10 October 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), AFJC Urges Immediate Release of Detained Journalist Soliman Rahel Amid Rising Repression in Ghazni, 10 May 2025, <https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/inside-afghanistan/souht-east/ghazni/afjc-urges-immediate-release-of-detained-journalist-soliman-rahel-amid-rising-repression-in-ghazni>, accessed 10 October 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), AFJC: The Ministry of Information and Culture should respect media freedom in the use of official languages, 18 January 2024,  
<https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/press-release/afjc-the-ministry-of-information-and-culture-should-respect-media-freedom-in-the-use-of-official-languages>, accessed 10 October 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), Ban on Publishing Images of Living Beings Expands to Sar-e-Pul Province, Increasing Total Affected Provinces to 20, 20 July 2025,  
<https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/press-release/ban-on-publishing-images-of-living-beings-expands-to-sar-e-pul-province-increasing-total-affected-provinces-to-20>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists 2025: AFJC Calls for Justice for Victims and the Protection of Journalists' Rights in Afghanistan, 2 November 2025, <https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/press-release/international-day-to-end-impunity-for-crimes-against-journalists-2025-afjc-calls-for-justice-for-victims-and-the-protection-of-journalists-rights-in-afghanistan>, accessed 10 October 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), National Television Branch in Farah Province Suspends Broadcasts Following Ban on Images of Living Beings, 6 March 2025,  
<https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/inside-afghanistan/western-province-news/farah/national-television-branch-in-farah-province-suspends-broadcasts-following-ban-on-images-of-living-beings>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFJC (Afghanistan Journalist Center), Taliban Imposes Stricter Regulations on Afghan Media, Raising Concerns Over Press Freedom, 23 September 2024,  
<https://afjc.media/english/index.php/news/press-release/taliban-imposes-stricter-regulations-on-afghan-media-raising-concerns-over-press-freedom>, accessed 5 January 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Afghan supreme leader orders full implementation of sharia law, 14 November 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/14/afghanistan-supreme-leader-orders-full-implementation-of-sharia-law-taliban>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Afghan wedding halls light up sombre Kabul nights, 10 February 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20250210-afghan-wedding-halls-light-up-sombre-kabul-nights>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Afghan women stage rare protests on International Women's Day, 8 March 2024, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2473356/world>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Afghan women struggle under male guardian rules, 10 May 2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20240510-afghan-women-struggle-under-male-guardian-rules>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire holds after deadly border clashes, 16 October 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20251016-ceasefire-halts-deadly-afghanistan-pakistan-fighting>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), IS-Khorasan Claims Attack On Sufi Shrine In Afghanistan, 23

November 2024, <https://www.barrons.com/news/is-khorasan-claims-attack-on-sufi-shrine-in-afghanistan-ee656ee0>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), New generation of Afghan women shift from burqa, 19 March 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20250319-new-generation-of-afghan-women-shift-from-burqa>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Taliban leader bans windows overlooking places 'usually used by women', 29 December 2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20241229-taliban-leader-bans-windows-overlooking-women-s-areas>, accessed 10 December 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Taliban rule sparks hopes of peace in rural Afghanistan, 9 November 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2021/11/9/photos-taliban-rule-peace-rural-afghanistan-farmers>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ahmad, Javid, The Taliban's religious roadmap for Afghanistan, MEI (Middle East Institute), 26 January 2022, <https://www.mei.edu/publications/talibans-religious-roadmap-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ahmad, Javid and London, Douglas, America Should Recognize Afghanistan's Taliban Government, FP, 23 May 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/23/afghanistan-biden-taliban-akhundzada-haqqani/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AHRC (Afghanistan Human Rights Center), Report on Access To Education for Women under the Taliban, December 2024, <https://afghanhrcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Access-to-Education-for-Women.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/asia-and-the-pacific/south-asia/afghanistan/report-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Afghanistan: Authorities must reinstate formal legal frameworks, rule of law and end four years of injustice and impunity, 15 August 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/08/afghanistan-four-years-of-injustice-and-impunity/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Afghanistan: Release journalist convicted of propaganda: Mahdi Ansari, 4 February 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa11/8988/2025/en/>, accessed 9 October 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Afghanistan: Taliban's cruel attacks in Panjshir province amount to war crime of collective punishment – new report, 8 June 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/06/afghanistan-talibans-cruel-attacks-in-panjshir-province-amount-to-war-crime-of-collective-punishment-new-report/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Afghanistan: Taliban's cruel return to hardline practices with public floggings must be halted immediately, 24 November 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/11/afghanistan-talibans-cruel-return-to-hardline-practices-with-public-floggings-need-to-be-halted-immediately/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Friday 15ht of August marks four years since the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan., 15 August 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org.au/four-years-of-taliban-rule-demands-end-to-prolonged-injustice/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Pakistan: 1.4 million Afghan refugees at risk of deportation, 24 June 2025, <https://amnesty.ca/urgent-actions/pakistan-1-4-million-afghan-refugees-at-risk-of-deportation/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), The State of the World's Human Rights; Afghanistan 2023, 24 April 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/asia-and-the-pacific/south-asia/afghanistan/report-afghanistan/>, accessed 31 October 2025

AI (Amnesty International), The State of the World's Human Rights: April 2024, 23 April 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/7200/2024/en/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AI (Amnesty International), The State of the World's Human Rights, Afghanistan 2024, 29 April 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/asia-and-the-pacific/south-asia/afghanistan/report-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Akram, Sharif, Breaking the Cycle of Centuries-old Violence: A decline in blood feuds in Khost province?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 3 August 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/context-culture/breaking-the-cycle-of-centuries-old-violence-a-decline-in-blood-feuds-in-khost-province/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Akram, Sharif, Living a Mullah's Life (2): The evolution of Islamic knowledge among village clerics, AAN AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 20 July 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/political-landscape/living-a-mullahs-life-2-the-evolution-of-islamic-knowledge-among-village-clerics/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Akram, Sharif, The Turbaned Traders: The Taliban take over the urban economy, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 14 October 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/the-turbaned-traders-the-taliban-take-over-the-urban-economy/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Afghan foreign minister in India: Why New Delhi is embracing Taliban now, 14 October 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/14/afghan-foreign-minister-in-india-why-new-delhi-is-embracing-taliban-now>, accessed 18 October 2025

Al Jazeera, Afghan women stage rare protests, braving Taliban reprisals, 8 March 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/3/8/afghan-women-stage-rare-protests-braving-taliban-reprisals>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Afghanistan imposes internet blackout: What has the effect been so far?, 30 September 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/9/30/afghanistan-imposes-internet-blackout-what-has-the-effect-been-so-far>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Afghanistan says Pakistan bombed Khost, killing nine children and a woman, 25 November 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/11/25/taliban-says-pakistan-bombed-afghanistan-killing-nine-children-and-a-woman>, accessed 10 December 2025



Al Jazeera, Afghanistan's Taliban rulers say will close all NGOs employing women, 30 December 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/12/30/afghanistans-taliban-rulers-say-will-close-all-ngos-employing-women>, accessed 19 November 2025

Al Jazeera, As Pakistan, Afghanistan attack each other, what's next for neighbours?, 30 December 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/12/30/as-pakistan-afghanistan-attack-each-other-whats-next-for-neighbours>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Deadly attack on Sikh temple in Kabul leaves community in fear, 18 June 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/6/18/deadly-attack-on-sikh-temple-in-kabul-leaves-community-in-fear>, accessed 30 October 2025

Al Jazeera, Did restrictions on women workers hamper Afghanistan's earthquake response?, 27 September 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/9/27/aid-restrictions-on-women-worsened-afghanistans-earthquake-response>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Germany deports 28 Afghans for first time since 2021 Taliban takeover, 30 August 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/30/germany-deports-28-afghans-for-first-time-since-2021-taliban-takeover>

Al Jazeera, India to reopen embassy in Kabul after 4-year hiatus amid new Taliban ties, 10 October 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/10/india-to-reopen-embassy-in-kabul-after-4-year-hiatus-amid-new-taliban-ties>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Pakistan and Afghanistan announce ceasefire after deadly border clashes, 15 October 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/15/dozens-killed-injured-in-new-pakistan-afghanistan-border-clashes>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Pakistani, Afghan forces exchange deadly border fire: What's next?, 12 October 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/12/afghanistan-pakistan-border-clashes-what-we-know-so-far>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Religious schools fill gaps amid Afghanistan's fractured education system, 7 August 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2025/8/7/religious-schools-fill-gaps-amid-afghanistans-fractured-education-system>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Rights groups condemn Taliban's new curbs on women's education, movement, 28 August 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/28/rights-groups-condemn-talibans-new-curbs-on-womens-education-movement>, accessed 27 November 2025

Al Jazeera, Russia recognises the Taliban: Which other countries may follow?, 4 July 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/7/4/russia-recognises-the-taliban-which-other-countries-may-follow>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Taliban blame Pakistan after explosions in Kabul, amid outreach to India, 10 October 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/10/explosions-hit-kabul-as-taliban-make-diplomatic-push-to-india>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, The Taliban closes Afghan girls' schools hours after reopening, 23 March 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/23/taliban-orders-girls-schools-shut-hours-after-reopening>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Veiled rebellion: Female medical students go underground in Afghanistan, 30 December 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/12/30/veiled-rebellion-female-medical-students-go-underground-in-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, Video: Al Jazeera reports from Afghanistan earthquake zone, 7 September 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/video/newsfeed/2025/9/7/video-al-jazeera-reports-from-afghanistan-earthquake-zone#flips-6378706024112:0>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera, What are the risks of Afghanistan-Pakistan tensions escalating?, 25 November 2025, <https://www.aljazeera.com/video/inside-story/2025/11/25/what-are-the-risks-of-afghanistan-pakistan-tensions-escalating>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera English [YouTube], Afghan children face alarming malnutrition as aid cuts and crisis deepen, 27 May 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddtZjbRno-Q>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al Jazeera English [YouTube], The Taliban's rules for women in Afghanistan, Start Here, 8 March 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L0VYarHoqBI&t=57s>, accessed 10 December 2025

Al-Monitor, Explainer-Why are tensions flaring again between Afghanistan and Pakistan?, 25 November 2025, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2025/11/explainer-why-are-tensions-flaring-again-between-afghanistan-and-pakistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Alavi, Latifa Jafari, Intersectionality and Human Rights: Ensuring Access to Maternal Health in Afghanistan, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), May 2025, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Latifa-Jafari-Alavi-2025-Intersectionality-and-Human-Rights.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Alemarsh English, Decree of the Esteemed Amir-ul-Momineen (may Allah protect him) Regarding prevention of improper customs during weddings, calamities, and upon return from Hajj and Umrah, 19 March 2025, <https://www.alemarahenglish.af/decree-of-the-esteemed-amir-ul-momineen-may-allah-protect-him-regarding-prevention-of-improper-customs-during-weddings-calamities-and-upon-return-from-hajj-and-umrah/>, accessed 7 November 2025

Ali, Obaid, The Non-Pashtun Taliban of the North (3): The Takhar case study, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 29 July 2017, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/war-and-peace/the-non-pashtun-taliban-of-the-north-the-takhar-case-study/>, accessed 17 December 2025

Amu TV, A look at administrative structure of Taliban in Badakhshan?, 9 May 2024, <https://amu.tv/96016/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Amu TV, Afghanistan ranked world's most authoritarian country in 2024 Democracy Index, 28 February 2025, <https://amu.tv/160138/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Afghanistan: Paktika teacher sentenced to death over alleged blasphemy, sources say, 17 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/186922/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Afghanistan–Pakistan border crossings remain shut for 50th day as trade and travel grind to a halt, 30 November 2025, <https://amu.tv/213492/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Aga Khan Foundation official shot dead in Badakhshan: Sources, 10 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/185626/>, accessed 23 October 2025

Amu TV, Ashura commemorated amid restrictions and calls for unity, 6 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/184887/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Amu TV, Badakhshan residents protest against Taliban, sources say, 3 July 2024, <https://amu.tv/107859/>, accessed 25 November 2025

Amu TV, Beauticians in Kabul say they are being extorted by Taliban, 21 September 2024, <https://amu.tv/125112/>, accessed 17 November 2025

Amu TV, Beauticians say Taliban shut down dozens of home salons in Kabul, 8 August 2025, <https://amu.tv/191278/>, accessed 17 November 2025

Amu TV, Clash over grazing land in northern Afghanistan injures six, sources say, 4 November 2025, <https://amu.tv/209047/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Amu TV, Exclusive: Taliban's cabinet largely dominated by leaders from Kandahar, 16 November 2025, <https://amu.tv/211150/>, accessed 27 November 2025

Amu TV, Female employees in public offices face 'severe restrictions' by Taliban, 14 November 2024, <https://amu.tv/136993/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Amu TV, Five years after deadly Kabul temple attack, Afghan Sikhs face near extinction, 25 March 2025, <https://amu.tv/165129/>, accessed 19 October 2025

Amu TV, Severe weather claims nine lives in Afghanistan, UN agency reports, 14 January 2025, <https://amu.tv/150880/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Sources: One killed in explosion near mosque in Balkh, 14 April 2025, <https://amu.tv/168567/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Amu TV, Sources: Several girls' madrassas closed in Kabul, 23 August 2025, <https://amu.tv/194184/>, accessed 29 October 2025

Amu TV, Taliban ban on images of living beings enforced in 16 provinces, Amu survey finds, 25 August 2025, <https://amu.tv/194610/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban begin shutting down women-only cafes in Herat, 23 November 2024, <https://amu.tv/139133/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban detain barber in northern Afghanistan for shaving beard, 24 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/188268/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban confiscate 31 hectares of land in Kabul's Sherpur area, 28 November 2024, <https://amu.tv/140223/>, accessed 5 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban detain dozens, including journalists, over social media posts: Sources, 27 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/188755/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban dismiss hundreds of university professors across Afghanistan, sources say, 11 May 2025, <https://amu.tv/173369/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban Housing Ministry stops sharing photos of 'living beings', 3 August 2025, <https://amu.tv/190186/>, accessed 11 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban issue list of 400 banned books to libraries, 26 October 2024, <https://amu.tv/133193/>, accessed 29 October 2025

Amu TV, Taliban leader approves law to curb begging, 18 May 2024, <https://amu.tv/98246/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban leader bans romantic poetry and his criticism under new law, 31 August 2025, <https://amu.tv/195842/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban minister calls non-Muslims 'worse than four-legged animals', 9 April 2025, <https://amu.tv/167755/>, accessed 16 October 2025

Amu TV, Taliban reassign six officials in latest reshuffle, 12 February 2025, <https://amu.tv/157090/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban releases 28 deportees from Germany, Spiegel reports, 8 September 2024, <https://amu.tv/122257/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Taliban say child rescued from kidnappers in Balkh, 13 July 2025, <https://amu.tv/186169/>, accessed 16 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban units leave district in Badakhshan amid poppy crop protests: Sources, 20 June 2025, <https://amu.tv/181563/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Amu TV, Taliban's wage cuts for female employees deemed 'unjust', 10 June 2024, <https://amu.tv/103260/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, UN female staff in Kabul confined to homes following 'Taliban threats': Sources, 23 May 2025, <https://amu.tv/175904/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Amu TV, UN urges Taliban to lift ban on female staff access to its compounds, 12 September 2025, <https://amu.tv/198949/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Amu TV, UN's DiCarlo meets with Karzai, Abdullah in Afghanistan, 19 May 2024, <https://amu.tv/98556/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Women rally in Kabul against unpaid pensions, 16 September 2025, <https://amu.tv/200075/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Amu TV, Young man killed in family land dispute in eastern Afghanistan, sources say, 6 May 2025, <https://amu.tv/172565/>, accessed 30 October 2025

AOAV (Action on Armed Violence), Explosive Violence Monitor 2024, 21 May 2025, <https://aoav.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Explosive-Violence-Monitor-2024-3.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), Afghanistan: more than 100 believed killed despite Taliban amnesty offer, says UN, 31 January 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/31/afghanistan-more-than-100-believed-killed-despite-taliban-amnesty-offer-says-un>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), Displaced, repatriated and crossing borders: Afghan people make gruelling journeys to survive, 31 December 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-war-poverty-refugees-displaced-pakistan-011714d17c5b8bd6cb8c5ddf65e9a5d2>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), Pakistan partially reopens Torkham border crossing to allow Afghan refugees to leave, 1 November 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/pakistan-afghanistan-torkham-crossing-81b8dad2d70062c5bf4bdcdc5eee9c00>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), Thanks to peace, two unexpected worked are echoing across Afghanistan's capital: Luxury housing, 3 December 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-real-estate-taliban-luxury-market-06cb2e2386a8fe1b24c416b0bd2bad92>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), The Taliban are outlawing women's beauty salons in Afghanistan, 4 July 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/taliban-beauty-salons-ban-womens-rights-afghanistan-06f401ddb19dc4176f0907f144995a99>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), The Taliban have waged a systematic assault on freedom in Afghanistan, says UN human rights chief, 12 September 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-taliban-un-human-rights-women-5613b81b95c9dc26e9204b9776284783>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), The Taliban leader slams Trump's travel ban on Afghans and calls the US an 'oppressor', 7 June 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-taliban-amnesty-eid-aladha-cada96ecfb33699207ffe93a6ffd8691>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP (Associated Press), With no access to education beyond the 6th grade, girls in Afghanistan turn to religious schools, 24 July 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/afghanistan-taliban-education-girls-madrassa-7cdaf68896e8ccfda2abd71a07a02b99>, accessed 10 December 2025

AP Giha WG (Asia Pacific Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group), UN Women, Women and Girls in Crisis: 2024 Gender Analysis of Humanitarian Sectors in Afghanistan, 27 April 2025, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/women-and-girls-crisis-2024-gender-analysis-humanitarian-sectors-afghanistan>, accessed 20 October 2025

Ariana News, 10th of Muharram observed peacefully in Afghanistan, 6 July 2025, <https://www.ariananews.af/10th-of-muharram-observed-peacefully-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 27 November 2025

Ariana News, Afghanistan's Army Chief of Staff dismisses Daesh threat as anti-IEA propaganda, 23 July 2025, <https://www.ariananews.af/afghanistans-army-chief-of-staff-dismisses-daesh-threat-as-anti-iea-propaganda/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Ariana News, Afghanistan's economy not dependent on foreign aid, says deputy minister Nazari, 2 August 2025, <https://www.ariananews.af/afghanistans-economy-not-dependent-on-foreign-aid-says-deputy-minister-nazari/>, accessed 10 November 2025

Arab News, Doctors warn US aid cuts leave rural Afghanistan without healthcare, 25 March 2025, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2594786/amp>, accessed 10 December 2025

Arab News, Former government officials return to Kabul at Taliban invitation, 8 June 2022, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2099631/world>, accessed 10 December 2025

Arab News, Vulnerable Afghans struggle as Taliban rebuild Kabul roads, 12 December 2024, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2582761/world>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ariana News, Defense ministry urges Afghan military students abroad to return home, 15 February 2022, <https://www.ariananews.af/defense-ministry-urges-afghan-military-students-abroad-to-return-home/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ariana News, EA reassures returning Afghan politicians and military figures of their security, 22 May 2022, <https://www.ariananews.af/ea-reassures-returning-afghan-politicians-and-military-figures-of-their-security/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ariana News, Hekmatyar: We need a legitimate government in Afghanistan, 24 February 2025, <https://www.ariananews.af/hekmatyar-we-need-a-legitimate-government-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ariana News, IEA leader approves law on prevention of begging, 19 May 2024, <https://www.ariananews.af/iea-leader-approves-law-on-prevention-of-begging/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ariana News, Latest NewsPrimary school curriculum revised, 16 January 2024, <https://www.ariananews.af/primary-school-curriculum-revised/>, accessed 10 December 2025

ARTF (Afghanistan Resilience Trust Fund), ARTF Results, n.d., <https://www.wb-artf.org/results/artf-stories/transforming-face-kabul-0>, accessed 10 December 2025

Atlantic Council, The Taliban's violence 'ignited a fierce resistance within me.' A protester's story, 26 August 2024, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content-series/inside-the-talibans-gender-apartheid/the-talibans-violence-ignited-a-fierce-resistance-within-me-a-protesters-story/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Afghan legal system under the Taliban, 9 April 2024, available at: [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2106982/2024-04-09\\_COI\\_CMS\\_Research\\_Paper\\_Afghanistan\\_Afghan\\_legal\\_system\\_under\\_the\\_Taliban.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2106982/2024-04-09_COI_CMS_Research_Paper_Afghanistan_Afghan_legal_system_under_the_Taliban.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Pashtuns and the Pashtunwali, 10 April 2024, available at: <https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2106990/2024-04->



[10\\_COI\\_CMS\\_Research%20Paper%20Afghanistan\\_%20Pashtuns%20and%20the%20Pashtunwali.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2131581/2025-10-27_COI_CMS_Research+Papers+Afghanistan_+Socio-Economic+Landscape%2C+Version_1-3473.pdf), accessed 31 October 2025

Austria, Staatendokumentation, Afghanistan: Socio-Economic Landscape, 27 October 2025, available at: [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2131581/2025-10-27\\_COI\\_CMS\\_Research+Papers+Afghanistan\\_+Socio-Economic+Landscape%2C+Version\\_1-3473.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2131581/2025-10-27_COI_CMS_Research+Papers+Afghanistan_+Socio-Economic+Landscape%2C+Version_1-3473.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Austria, Staatendokumentation, Dossier: Socio-Economic Survey 2025 - Afghanistan, 28 August 2025, available at: <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2131657.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Austria, Staatendokumentation, AfPAk: Grundlagen der Stammes- & Clanstruktur [Fundamentals of Tribal & Clan Structure], 2016, [https://www.bfa.gv.at/402/files/03\\_Berichte/AFGH\\_Stammes\\_undClanstruktur\\_Onlineversion\\_2016\\_07.pdf](https://www.bfa.gv.at/402/files/03_Berichte/AFGH_Stammes_undClanstruktur_Onlineversion_2016_07.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

AW (Afghan Witness), Afghan Witness report reveals 'daily occurrence' of gender-based violence under Taliban rule as women suffer 'systematic erasure' from public life, 14 August 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/articles/afghan-witness-report-reveals-daily-occurrence-of-gender-based-violence-under-taliban-rule-as-women-suffer-systematic-erasure-from-public-life/>, accessed 13 November 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Afghan women protest Taliban's policies on International Women's Day, 8 April 2024, <https://www.afghanwitness.org/reports/afghan-women-protest-taliban%E2%80%99s-policies-on-international-women%E2%80%99s-day>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Afghanistan's madrasa system under the Taliban, 7 November 2023, <https://www.afghanwitness.org/reports/afghanistan%E2%80%99s-madrasa-system-under-the-taliban-->, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Confusion after Taliban decree to cap women's salaries, 16 July 2024, <https://www.afghanwitness.org/reports/confusion-after-taliban-decree-to-cap-women%27s-salaries>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Digital Resistance: Women's Activism Under Taliban rule, October 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/app/uploads/2024/10/Digital-Resistance-Womens-Activism-Under-Taliban-rule.pdf>, accessed 10 October 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Gulbuddin Hekmatyar relocated from state-owned land by Taliban officials, 30 April 2024, <https://www.afghanwitness.org/reports/gulbuddin-hekmatyar-relocated-from-state-owned-land-by-taliban-officials>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Investigating Evidence of Prisoner Executions in the Panjshir Valley in September 2022, 17 October 2022, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/investigating-evidence-of-prisoner-executions-in-the-panjshir-valley-in-september-2022/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), ISKP shifts focus to northern Afghanistan, 31 March 2025, <https://www.info-res.org/reports/iskp-shifts-focus-to-northern-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), No reopening: Taliban disputes claims of girls' schools allowed in Kabul, 16 July 2024, <https://www.afghanwitness.org/reports/no-reopening%3A-taliban-disputes-claims-of-girls'-schools-allowed-in-kabul>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Policing Morality in Afghanistan, 17 March 2025, <https://www.info-res.org/app/uploads/2025/05/PVPV-Law-Report-AW.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Surge in female suicides linked to forced marriages, Taliban violence, and arrests, 26 February 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/surge-in-female-suicides-linked-to-forced-marriages-taliban-violence-and-arrests/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Taliban allegedly raid underground beauty parlours, 14 March 2025, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/taliban-beauty-raids/>, accessed 10 October 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Taliban ban women from medical studies, sparking protests across provinces, 20 December 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/taliban-ban-women-from-medical-studies-protests-erupt-across-provinces/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Taliban detains Panjshiris amid crackdown on resistance, 14 February 2025, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/taliban-detains-panjshiris/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Taliban enforce first Hadd punishment with public flogging in Parwan, 20 December 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/taliban-enforce-first-hadd-punishment-with-public-flogging-in-parwan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), The Erasure of Women, An overview of women's rights under the Taliban: Erasure from public life, violence at home and online, 15 August 2024, [https://1428cf7b-1a53-46a9-bbdc-15c96c60e192.usrfiles.com/ugd/510644\\_028976255681477b856df43e408a7cde.pdf](https://1428cf7b-1a53-46a9-bbdc-15c96c60e192.usrfiles.com/ugd/510644_028976255681477b856df43e408a7cde.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), The impact of the Taliban's Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice, 2 May 2025, <https://www.info-res.org/reports/the-impact-of-the-talibans-law-on-the-propagation-of-virtue-and-prevention-of-vice/>, accessed 10 December 2025

AW (Afghan Witness), Two years of Taliban rule: documenting human rights abuses using open source, 15 August 2023, [https://1428cf7b-1a53-46a9-bbdc-15c96c60e192.usrfiles.com/ugd/e138d3\\_a6bf73de27564c08bb8836ce8e17832c.pdf](https://1428cf7b-1a53-46a9-bbdc-15c96c60e192.usrfiles.com/ugd/e138d3_a6bf73de27564c08bb8836ce8e17832c.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Bakhtar News Agency [X], posted on: 15 August 2025, <https://t.co/fIMAM7kOyg%22%20%20X>, accessed 10 December 2025

Bakhtar News Agency, Delawar Called on All Afghan Political Figures to Return Home, 21 May 2022, <https://bakhtarnews.af/en/iea-made-the-commission-of-contact-afghan-personalities-bill-public/>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC Media Action, Understanding how to increase uptake of WASH, nutrition and child health services in Afghanistan, June 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/documents/pathways-to-improved-health-in-afghanistan-research-report.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC Media Action, Women and the media in Afghanistan, October 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/documents/women-and-the-media-in-afghanistan-research-report.pdf>, accessed 7 January 2026

BBC News, 'My wife died giving birth after Trump cut funding to our clinic', 14 September 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/ckgqdneev1no>, accessed 26 November 2025

BBC News, 'No-one comes for us': The women trapped in Afghanistan's mental health system, 19 August 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c80dg700dego>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghan Hazara refugees live in fear of being deported by Pakistan, 6 December 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67474187>, accessed 27 October 2025

BBC News, Afghan resistance attack Taliban, sparking reprisals in Panjshir, 16 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61430836>, accessed 27 November 2025

BBC News, Afghan resistance attack Taliban, sparking reprisals in Panjshir, 16 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61430836>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of 'violating Kabul's sovereign territory', 10 October 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c62lp7yd1jeo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan country profile, 10 March 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12011352>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan earthquake: What foreign aid is getting in?, 8 July 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-59518628>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan gurdwara attack: Sikhs say 'We don't feel safe', 18 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61852956>, accessed 30 October 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan: Deadly explosion rocks Sikh site in Kabul, 18 June 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61850021>, accessed 17 November 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan: Policing faces, bodies and beards on Kabul streets, 22 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-61480248>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Afghanistan: Taliban ban women from visiting popular national park, 27 August 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-66633178>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Amid violent reprisals, Afghans fear the Taliban's 'amnesty' was empty, 31 August 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-58395954>

BBC News, Defence secretary 'unable to say' if anyone killed after Afghan data breach, 16 July 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c1k8yvij89kyo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Five key moments in the crushing of Afghan women's rights, 15 August 2023, [https://www.bbc.com/news/world-66461711?at\\_medium=RSS&at\\_campaign=KARANGA](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-66461711?at_medium=RSS&at_campaign=KARANGA), accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Hardliners get key posts in new Taliban government, 7 September 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-58479750>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Inside the Taliban's surveillance network monitoring millions, 27 February 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cjev9kzxeqgo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Iran drives out 1.5 million Afghans, with some branded spies for Israel, 1 August 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/ckqlp8epg11o>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, My three boys starved to death. I hope angels bring them home, says Afghan mother, 22 September 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cwydgi4pg9jo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Russia becomes first state to recognise Afghanistan's Taliban government, 4 July 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c78n4wely9do>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Suicide bomb kills Taliban minister in Kabul, 11 December 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cvg952q81x8o>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Taliban and Pakistan agree to ceasefire after days of deadly clashes, 19 October 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cze6nzpl74do>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c0kn7yyzrjgo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Taliban order women to wear burkas to access hospitals, charity says, 12 November 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c993l1z7envo>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Taliban stop female Afghan students leaving country to study in Dubai, 28 August 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-66636750>, accessed 27 November 2025

BBC News, The hospital struggling to save its starving babies, 9 September 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cj3561ngyro>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News, Teenage Afghan girls were banned from school - now these classes are their only option, 25 March 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c36wyzl3n00o>, accessed 30 October 2025

BBC News, What happened to the women who took on the Taliban?, 14 June 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c9xxk1r0070o>, accessed 10 December 2025



BBC News, What happened to IS in 2023, 26 December 2023,  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67819988>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News [YouTube], Women banned from speaking in public by Afghanistan's Taliban rulers, 10 September 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NkuvyWOhNnY>, accessed 10 December 2025

BBC News Persian, [Taliban government: صدای زنان در موارد ضروری ممنوع نیست Women's voices are not prohibited in essential cases], 3 October 2025,  
<https://www.bbc.com/persian/articles/c77xze8ywv7o>, accessed 10 October 2025

Bishnaw, The PVPV Law and its Impact on Women and their Communities, 31 December 2024,  
[https://bishnaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Women-Peace-Brief\\_March-2025-English.pdf](https://bishnaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Women-Peace-Brief_March-2025-English.pdf), accessed 24 October 2025

Bishnaw, Women's peace brief – April & June 2025, Women's Access to Justice under Taliban Governance, 30 April 2025, <https://bishnaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/Women-Peace-Brief-Jun-2025-English.pdf> , accessed 14 November 2025

Bjelica, Jelena, Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), March 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/03/20250326-Rural-women-health-access-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Bjelica Jelena and AAN-Team, Is maternal mortality on the rise in Afghanistan? No official data, but much cause for concern, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 28 September 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/is-maternal-mortality-on-the-rise-in-afghanistan-no-official-data-but-much-cause-for-concern/>, accessed 10 October 2025

Bjelica Jelena and AAN-Team, Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time, we just don't go", AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 18 March 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/03/20250326-Rural-women-health-access-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 25 November 2025

Bjelica, Jelena and Sabawoon, Ali Mohammad, Returning from Pakistan: How are Afghan returnees coping back in their homeland?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 29 September 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/migration/returning-from-pakistan-how-are-afghan-returnees-coping-back-in-their-homeland/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Belgium, Cedoca, COI Focus, Afghanistan. Migration movements of Afghans since the Taliban takeover of power, 14 December 2023,  
[https://www.cgrs.be/sites/default/files/rapporten/coi\\_focus\\_afghanistan.\\_migration\\_movement\\_s\\_of\\_afghans\\_since\\_the\\_taliban\\_takeover\\_of\\_power\\_20231214.pdf](https://www.cgrs.be/sites/default/files/rapporten/coi_focus_afghanistan._migration_movement_s_of_afghans_since_the_taliban_takeover_of_power_20231214.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2024 Country Report, Afghanistan, 19 March 2024, [https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country\\_report\\_2024\\_AFG.pdf](https://bti-project.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2024_AFG.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

van Bijlert, Martine, How The Emirate Wants To Be Perceived: A closer look at the

Accountability Programme, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), July 2024:  
<https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/themed-reports/political-landscape-themed-reports/how-the-emirate-wants-to-be-perceived-a-closer-look-at-the-accountability-programme/>, accessed 10 December 2025

van Bijlert, Martine, In pursuit of virtue: Men's view on the Islamic Emirate's restrictions on Afghan women, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), January 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/01/Mens-Perception-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 15 October 2025

Bjelica Jelena, What Do Young Afghan Women Do? A glimpse into everyday life after the bans, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 17 August 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/what-do-young-afghan-women-do-a-glimpse-into-everyday-life-after-the-bans/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Bjelica, Jelena and Foschini Fabrizio, Opium Cultivation in Badakhshan: The new national leader, according to UNDOC, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 13 November 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/opium-cultivation-in-badakhshan-the-new-national-leader-according-to-undoc/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Bjelica, Jelena, Rural Women's Access to Health in Afghanistan: "Most of the time we just don't go", AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), March 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/03/20250326-Rural-women-health-access-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Boston Herald, Manuel: Afghan interpreters left behind fight for survival , 11 October 2024, <https://www.bostonherald.com/2024/10/11/manuel-afghan-interpreters-left-behind-fight-for-survival/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Britannica, Afghanistan, Demographic trends, 7 October 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Afghanistan/Demographic-trends>, accessed 10 December 2025

Britannica, Afghanistan, Political process, 4 December 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Afghanistan/Political-process#ref226135>, accessed 10 December 2025

Britannica, Housing of Afghanistan, 4 November 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Afghanistan/Housing>, accessed 10 December 2025

Britannica, Taliban, Definition, History & Facts, 25 August 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Taliban>, accessed 10 December 2025

Brookings, Recognition and the Taliban, 30 September 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/recognition-and-the-taliban-2/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Business Standard, Crime rate rising in Afghanistan since Taliban takeover in August last year, 22 August 2022, <https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/crime-rate-rising-in->



[afghanistan-since-taliban-takeover-in-august-last-year-122082200029\\_1.html](https://afghanistan-since-taliban-takeover-in-august-last-year-122082200029_1.html), accessed 22 November 2025

Butt, John, A Force for Good, or Source of Coercion? An Islamic scholar reflect on the Emirate's morality law, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 21 April 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/themed-reports/rights-and-freedoms-themed-reports/a-force-for-good-or-source-of-coercion-an-islamic-scholar-reflects-on-the-emirates-morality-law/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Butt, John, A Taliban Theory of State: A review of the Chief Justice's book of jurisprudence, AAN, 3 September 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/themed-reports/political-landscape-themed-reports/a-taliban-theory-of-state-a-review-of-the-chief-justices-book-of-jurisprudence/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Byrd, William, Where Does Afghanistan Stand After Four Years of Taliban Rule?, Lawfare, 21 August 2025, <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/where-does-afghanistan-stand-after-four-years-of-taliban-rule>, accessed 10 December 2025

CARE, A 'window of hope' for the women of Afghanistan: business training to address missing jobs, 3 June 2024, <https://www.care.org/news-and-stories/news/a-window-of-hope-for-afghanistan-women-business-training-to-address-missing-jobs/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Centre on Armed Groups, Drivers of ISKP Recruitment in Afghanistan, August 2024, [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/628c94ceae15ed6eb64d03fd/t/66b9af900444bf03f6c5218a/1723445162520/Drivers+of+ISKP+Recruitment+in+Afghanistan\\_August+2024.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/628c94ceae15ed6eb64d03fd/t/66b9af900444bf03f6c5218a/1723445162520/Drivers+of+ISKP+Recruitment+in+Afghanistan_August+2024.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), The Taliban in Afghanistan, last updated 14 August 2025, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan>, accessed 3 November 2025

Chatham House, What the West can do now in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan, 5 February 2025, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2025/02/what-west-can-do-now-taliban-ruled-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

CIR (Centre for Information Resilience), Boy found dead after accusing Taliban members of sexual abuse, 9 October 2024, <https://www.info-res.org/afghan-witness/reports/boy-found-dead-after-accusing-taliban-members-of-sexual-abuse/>, accessed 13 November 2025

CIVICUS, Afghanistan: Assault on civic space persists two years after Taliban takeover, 13 August 2023, <https://www.civicus.org/index.php/media-resources/news/6513-assault-on-civic-space-persists-two-years-after-the-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

CIVICUS, Afghanistan: The Taliban threatens to shutdown NGOs employing women and continues to criminalise activists and journalists, 21 February 2025, <https://monitor.civicus.org/explore/afghanistan-the-taliban-threatens-to-shutdown-ngos-employing-women-and-continues-to-criminalise-activists-and-journalists/> accessed 26 November 2025

CIVICUS, Protests Escalate in Afghanistan as Frustration with Taliban Rule and Abuses Grow, 28 November 2022, <https://monitor.civicus.org/explore/protests-escalate-afghanistan-frustration-taliban-rule-and-abuses-grow/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark, Kate, A year of Propagating Virtue and Preventing Vice: Enforcers and ‘enforced’ speak about the Emirate’s morality law, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 21 August 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/a-year-of-propagating-virtue-and-preventing-vice-enforcers-and-enforced-speak-about-the-emirates-morality-law/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark, Kate, Another Drought Year for Afghanistan... But prospects are not as bad as the could be, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), July 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/07/20250725-Drought-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark Kate, Bans on women working, then and now: The dilemmas of delivering humanitarian aid during the first and second Islamic Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), April 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2023/04/Bans-on-Women-Working-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark, Kate, Law, Control Fear – and some Defiance, AAN, December 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/12/virtue-and-vice-FINAL-rev.pdf>, accessed 5 January 2025

Clark, Kate, The End of US Aid to Afghanistan: What will it mean for families, services and the economy?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 9 May 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/the-end-of-us-aid-to-afghanistan-what-will-it-mean-for-families-services-and-the-economy/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark Kate, Who Gets to Go to School? (1): What people told us about education since the Taliban took over, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 26 January 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/who-gets-to-go-to-school-1-what-people-told-us-about-education-since-the-taliban-took-over/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark, Kate and Rahimi, Sayeda, “We need to breathe too”: Women across Afghanistan navigate the Taliban’s hijab ruling, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 1 June 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/we-need-to-breathe-too-women-across-afghanistan-navigate-the-talibans-hijab-ruling%EF%BF%BC/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Clark, Kate and Shapour, Roxanna, What do the Taliban Spend Afghanistan’s Money on?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), March 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/what-do-the-taliban-spend-afghanistans-money-on-government-expenditure-under-the-islamic-emirate/>, accessed 10 December 2025

CMI (Chr. Michelsen Institute), Understanding and addressing poverty and food insecurity in Afghanistan, April 2023, <https://www.cmi.no/publications/8783-understanding-and-addressing-poverty-and-food-insecurity-in-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

CNN, ‘My whole body was praying for my death’: LGBTQ Afghans say they face abuse in detention as Taliban crackdown intensifies, 19 November 2024,

<https://edition.cnn.com/2024/11/19/asia/afghanistan-taliban-lgbtq-detention-intl>, accessed 9 October 2025

CNN, 'They do not teach us what we need': Inside the expansion of religious schools for girls across Afghanistan, 4 August 2024, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/08/04/asia/afghanistan-religious-schools-for-girls-expansion-intl-cmd>, accessed 10 December 2025

CNN, 'The school is like a light for me:' The secret classrooms giving Afghan girls a chance to learn despite Taliban rules, 5 October 2023, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/10/05/asia/afghanistan-girls-hidden-schools-taliban-intl-cmd/index.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

CNN, Taliban cuts internet across Afghanistan, 30 September 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/09/30/world/video/taliban-afghanistan-internet-blackout-vrtc> accessed 3 November 2025

CNN, Taliban's religious police instructed to be more moderate, 12 October 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/10/11/asia/afghanistan-taliban-justice-cmd-intl/index.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

CNN, Women banned from Afghan television dramas under new Taliban media rules, 22 November 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/11/22/asia/taliban-women-banned-tv-drama-afghanistan-intl/index.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

CoE (Council of Europe) Parliamentary Assembly, The humanitarian crisis emerging for Afghanistan and Afghan refugees, 25 September 2023, available at: <https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2097952/doc.+15831.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

CPJ (Committee to Protect Journalists), How the Taliban's propaganda empire consumed Afghan media, 13 August 2025, <https://cpj.org/2025/08/how-the-talibans-propaganda-empire-consumed-afghan-media/>, accessed 21 November 2025

CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), The Taliban in Afghanistan, 14 August 2025, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

CPJ (Committee to Protect Journalists), Taliban bans television broadcasts and public filming and photographing in Takhar province, 28 October 2024, <https://cpj.org/2024/10/taliban-bans-television-broadcasts-and-public-filming-and-photographing-in-takhar-province/?utm>, accessed 3 November 2025

CPJ (Committee to Protect Journalists), Taliban detains 2 media workers, suspends women-run broadcaster Radio Begum, February 6, 2025, <https://cpj.org/2025/02/taliban-detains-2-media-workers-suspends-women-run-broadcaster-radio-begum/?utm>, accessed 25 November 2025

Dawn, Govt decides to evict over 1M foreigners illegally residing in Pakistan: state media, 2 October 2023, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1778946/govt-decides-to-evict-over-1m-foreigners-illegally-residing-in-pakistan-state-media>, accessed 10 December 2025

Dawn, Govt to begin repatriation of 1.3m Afghan PoR holders from Sept 1, 6 August 2025, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1928959>, accessed 10 December 2025

Deccan Herald, Dominant ethnic groups in Afghanistan, 18 August 2021,  
<https://www.deccanherald.com/world/dominant-ethnic-groups-in-afghanistan-1021070.html>,  
accessed 12 November 2025

Der Spiegel, Taliban lassen aus Deutschland abgeschobene Straftäter schon wieder frei [Taliban release criminals deported from Germany], 6 September 2024,  
<https://www.spiegel.de/ausland/afghanistan-taliban-lassen-aus-deutschland-abgeschobene-strafaeter-wieder-frei-a-1181ca8f-23fc-4af9-bb2d-c49062f09c0c>, accessed 14 December 2025

Diplomat (The), Afghan Women, Erased From Public Life, Are Turning to Instagram, 22/03/2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/03/afghan-women-erased-from-public-life-are-turning-to-instagram/>, accessed 22 October 2025

Diplomat (The), Is the Islamic State of Khorasan Province Losing Momentum, 26 June 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/06/is-the-islamic-state-of-khorasan-province-losing-momentum/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Diplomat (The), The Plight of Hazaras Under the Taliban Government, 24 January 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/the-plight-of-hazaras-under-the-taliban-government/>, accessed 30 October 2025

DRC (Danish Refugee Council), Afghanistan conference, The Human Rights Situation after August 2021, 28 November 2022, <https://asyl.drc.ngo/media/13vhsflb/drc-afghanistan-conference-report-28nov2022.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Afghan women taking the initiative against the Taliban, 13 July 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/afghan-women-taking-the-initiative-against-the-taliban/a-69610237>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Afghanistan: Are the Taliban still isolated after 4 years?, 14 August 2025, <https://www.dw.com/en/afghanistan-are-the-taliban-still-isolated-after-4-years/a-73637691>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Children for sale in Afghanistan, 14 August 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/children-for-sale-in-afghanistan/video-62797435>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Germany allows Taliban envoys to facilitate deportations, 21 July 2025, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-allows-taliban-envoys-to-facilitate-deportations/a-73360224>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Pakistan ramps up Afghan migrant crackdown after clashes, 3 November 2025, <https://www.dw.com/en/pakistan-ramps-up-afghan-migrant-crackdown-after-clashes/a-74597216?maca=en-rss-en-asia-5133-rdf>, accessed 17 January 2026

DW (Deutsche Welle), Pakistan strikes Afghanistan, kills 9 children, Taliban says. 25 November 2025, <https://www.dw.com/en/pakistan-airstrike-afghanistan-khost-taliban/a-74874535>, accessed 10 December 2025



DW (Deutsche Welle), Why are Afghan migrants and refugees being forced to flee Iran?, 2 August 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtGJ3bC5tPY>, accessed 10 December 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Why the Taliban are banning 'living beings' on TV, 14 November 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/why-the-taliban-are-banning-living-beings-on-tv/video-70767921>, accessed 10 December 2025

Diplomat (The), Are Taliban-Iran Relations Moving on a Positive Trajectory?, 22 September 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/09/are-taliban-iran-relations-moving-on-a-positive-trajectory/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Diplomat (The), Bridging the Gap: Karzai, the Taliban, and the US Dilemma in Afghanistan, 1 April 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/04/bridging-the-gap-karzai-the-taliban-and-the-us-dilemma-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Diplomat (The), Is the Islamic State of Khorasan Province Losing Momentum, 26 June 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/06/is-the-islamic-state-of-khorasan-province-losing-momentum/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Diplomat (The), Taliban Officials Are No Longer 'Acting', 19 August 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/08/taliban-officials-are-no-longer-acting/>, accessed 10 December 2025

DROPS (Organization for Policy Research and Development Studies), Women's Peace Brief – March 2023, [2023], [https://bishnaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Briefer\\_March\\_2023.pdf](https://bishnaw.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Briefer_March_2023.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Afghanistan – Country focus, January 2022, [https://coi.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2022\\_01\\_EASO\\_COI\\_Report\\_Afghanistan\\_Country\\_focus.pdf](https://coi.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2022_01_EASO_COI_Report_Afghanistan_Country_focus.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [https://europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2022-09/2022\\_05\\_COI\\_Report\\_Afghanistan\\_Targeting\\_of\\_Individuals\\_EN.pdf](https://europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2022-09/2022_05_COI_Report_Afghanistan_Targeting_of_Individuals_EN.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

EC (European Commission), European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations, Afghanistan, [2025], [https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/asia-and-pacific/afghanistan\\_en](https://civil-protection-humanitarian-aid.ec.europa.eu/where/asia-and-pacific/afghanistan_en), accessed 10 December 2025

Economist (The), Afghans are suffering. Don't expect any tears from the Taliban, 14 August 2024, <https://www.economist.com/asia/2024/08/14/afghans-are-suffering-dont-expect-any-tears-from-the-taliban>, accessed 10 December 2025

El Pais, Germany seeks deal with the Taliban to expedite expulsion of Afghan migrants, 3 November 2025, <https://english.elpais.com/international/2025-11-03/germany-seeks-deal-with-the-taliban-to-expedite-expulsion-of-afghans-with-criminal-convictions.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Emergency, Access to emergency, critical and operative care in Afghanistan: Perspectives from Afghan people in 11 provinces, 26 June 2025,

<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/access-emergency-critical-and-operative-care-afghanistan-perspectives-afghan-people-11-provinces>, accessed 10 December 2025

EUAA (European Union Agency for Asylum), Afghanistan – Country Focus, December 2024, [https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2023\\_12\\_EUAA\\_COI\\_Report\\_Afghanistan\\_Country\\_Focus.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2023_12_EUAA_COI_Report_Afghanistan_Country_Focus.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

EUAA (European Union Agency for Asylum), COI Query, Afghanistan – Major legislative, security-related, and humanitarian developments 2 February 2024, [https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2024\\_02\\_EUAA\\_COI\\_Query\\_Response\\_Q13\\_Afghanistan\\_Major\\_legislative\\_security\\_related\\_and\\_humanitarian\\_developments.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2024_02_EUAA_COI_Query_Response_Q13_Afghanistan_Major_legislative_security_related_and_humanitarian_developments.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

EURAC Research, A traditional code and its consequences: how Pashtunwali affects women and minorities in Afghanistan, 25 June 2025, <https://www.eurac.edu/en/blogs/gender-matters/a-traditional-code-and-its-consequences-how-pashtunwali-affects-women-and-minorities>, accessed 20 October 2024

Euronews, Germany deports 81 Afghan nationals under tougher migration policy, 18 July 2025, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2025/07/18/germany-deports-81-afghan-nationals-under-tougher-migration-policy>, accessed 10 December 2025

European Commission: 2024 Human Rights and Democracy in the World (country reports), 22 May 2025, available at: [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2131638/2024\\_Human\\_Rights\\_and\\_Democracy\\_in\\_the\\_World\\_\(country\\_reports\).pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2131638/2024_Human_Rights_and_Democracy_in_the_World_(country_reports).pdf) 3 November 2025

Express Tribune (The), No turban, no class: Afghan boys face strict uniform rules, 2 May 2025, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2543459/no-turban-no-class-afghan-boys-face-strict-uniform-rules>, accessed 10 December 2025

Femena, A Voice from Afghanistan: An Interview with an Afghan Woman Lawyer, 29 September 2025, <https://femena.net/2025/09/29/a-voice-from-afghanistan-an-interview-with-an-afghan-woman-lawyer/>, accessed 10 December 2025

FEWS Net (Famine Early Warning Systems Network), Afghanistan Food Security Outlook June 2024 - January 2025: The wheat harvest is improving food access, particularly in rural areas, 6 July 2024, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-food-security-outlook-june-2024-january-2025-wheat-harvest-improving-food-access-particularly-rural-areas>, accessed 10 December 2025

FEWS Net (Famine Early Warning Systems Network), Despite harvest, drought and returnee influx, drive food security concerns, July 2025, <https://fews.net/middle-east-and-asia/afghanistan/key-message-update/july-2025>, accessed 10 December 2025

Fondation Carmignac, No Woman's Land: An Intimate Look into the Battle for Women's Rights in Afghanistan [2024], <https://www.fondationcarmignac.com/en/no-womans-land-battle-for-womens-rights-in-afghanistan-M%C3%89LISSA-CORNET-KIANA-HAYERI/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Food Security Cluster Handbook, 5.6.2 Minimum Expenditure Basket, 7 December 2023, <https://handbook.fscluster.org/docs/562-minimum-expenditure-basket>, accessed 10 December 2025

Formuli, Hamid A., Leaving Many Behind: Examining the State of Inclusivity and Non-Discrimination in Afghanistan, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), May 2025, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Hamid-Formuli-2025-Leaving-Many-Behind.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, Conflict Management or Retribution? How the Taliban deal with land disputes between Kuchis and local communities, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 22 December 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/political-landscape/conflict-management-or-retribution-hoe-the-taliban-deal-with-land-disputes-between-kuchis-and-local-communities/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, Education in Hibernation: The end of a virtuous cycle of literacy and empowerment for women in Shughnan?, AAN (Afghanistan Analyst Network), 17 September 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/education-in-hibernation-the-end-of-a-virtuous-cycle-of-literacy-and-empowerment-for-women-in-shughnan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, Hearts Turned Away from Music: Afghan musicians' path to exile, AAN (Afghanistan Analyst Network), 24 April 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/hearts-turned-away-from-music-afghan-musicians-paths-of-exile/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, The mining sector in Afghanistan: A picture in black and gold, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 30 August 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/08/20250830-Mining-in-Afghanistan-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 28 October 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, The Pastures of Heaven: An update of Kuchi-Hazara disputes as spring approaches, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 24 February 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/political-landscape/the-pastures-of-heaven-an-update-of-kuchi-hazara-disputes-as-spring-approaches/>, accessed 24 November 2025

Foschini, Fabrizio, Ruling Uncharted Territory: Islamic Emirate governance in northeastern Afghanistan, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), September 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2024/09/Ruling-Uncharted-Territory-FINAL-1.pdf>, accessed 18 November 2025

France 24, Afghanistan hit by worst drought in 30 years, 9 October 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/tv-shows/focus/20251009-afghanistan-hit-by-worst-drought-in-30-years>, accessed 10 December 2025

France24, Despair grips Afghan women healthcare students facing ban, 9 December 2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20241209-despair-grips-afghan-women-healthcare-students-facing-ban>, accessed 10 October 2025

France 24, Taliban bans Afghan women from gyms, public baths, 13 November 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20221113-taliban-bans-afghan-women-from-gyms-public-baths>, accessed 10 December 2025

France 24, Taliban govt clearing 'un-Islamic' books from Afghanistan shelves, 20 November 2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20241120-taliban-govt-clearing-un-islamic-books-from-afghanistan-shelves>, accessed 29 October 2025

France24, Taliban leader bans windows overlooking places 'usually used by women', 29 December 2024, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20241229-taliban-leader-bans-windows-overlooking-women-s-areas>, accessed 28 November 2025

France 24, Taliban suspends chess in Afghanistan, cites religious concerns over gambling, 11 May 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20250511-taliban-suspends-chess-afghanistan-cites-religious-concerns-gambling>, accessed 10 December 2025

France 24, Uncertainty for Afghans who supported US after Taliban takeover, 16 July 2025, <https://www.france24.com/en/video/20250716-uncertainty-for-afghans-who-supported-us-after-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

France 24 English [YouTube], 'Afghan women are leading the resistance against the Taliban,' researcher says, 25 August 2025, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cmVj\\_MILa70](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cmVj_MILa70), accessed 10 December 2025

Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2024, Afghanistan, 24 September 2024, <https://freedomhouse.org/country/afghanistan/freedom-world/2024>, accessed 10 December 2025

Freedom House, Afghanistan: Freedom in the world 2025 Country report, 2025, <https://freedomhouse.org/country/afghanistan/freedom-world/2025>, accessed 20 October 2025

Frontex, Risk Analysis for 2022/2023, September 2022, [https://www.frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk\\_Analysis/Risk\\_Analysis/ARA\\_2022\\_Public\\_Web.pdf](https://www.frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk_Analysis/Risk_Analysis/ARA_2022_Public_Web.pdf), accessed 14 December 2025

GCR2P (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect), R2P Monitor, Issue 71 (1 December 2024), 1 December 2024, <https://www.globalr2p.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/R2P-Monitor-December-2024-Final.pdf>, accessed 21 October 2025

German Institute for Human Rights, Afghanistan in 2025: Richard Bennett on the Struggle for Human Rights, 1 September 2025, <https://www.institut-fuer-menschenrechte.de/en/news/detail/afghanistan-in-2025-richard-bennett-on-the-struggle-for-human-rights>, accessed 10 December 2025

Germany, BAMF (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees), Länderkurzinformation Afghanistan SOGI (Sexuelle Orientierung und geschlechtliche Identität): Situation von LGBTIQ-Personen, March 2024, [https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/germany/PLib/DE\\_BAMF\\_L%C3%A4nderkurzinformation\\_Afghanistan\\_Mar-2024.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/germany/PLib/DE_BAMF_L%C3%A4nderkurzinformation_Afghanistan_Mar-2024.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025



Germany, BAMF (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees), Länderkurzinformation Afghanistan, Situation ehemaliger Sicherheitskräfte (ANSF), October 2024, [https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/Laenderkurzinformationen/2024/laenderkurzinfo-afghanistan-10-24-ansf.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=1](https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Behoerde/Informationszentrum/Laenderkurzinformationen/2024/laenderkurzinfo-afghanistan-10-24-ansf.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=1), accessed 10 December 2025

Giustozzi, Antonio, An Unfamiliar Challenge: How the Taliban are Meeting the Islamic State Threat on Afghanistan's University Campuses, RUSI (Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies), May 2023, <https://static.rusi.org/rusi-emerging-insights-how-taliban-meeting-is-threat-on-afghan-university-campuses.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Giustozzi, Antonio, Crisis and adaptation of the Islamic State in Khorasan, LSE IDEAS, February 2024, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/2024-02-01-SpecialReport-Giustozzi-Khorasan-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

GPC (Global Protection Cluster), Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2025-02/afghanistan\\_pau\\_dec\\_2024\\_final.pdf](https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2025-02/afghanistan_pau_dec_2024_final.pdf), accessed 30 October 2025

Guardian (The), 'Frightening' Taliban law bans women from speaking in public, 26 August 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/article/2024/aug/26/taliban-bar-on-afghan-women-speaking-in-public-un-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), 'I was a policewoman. Now I beg in the street': life for Afghan women one year after the Taliban took power, 14 August 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/14/life-for-afghan-women-one-year-after-the-taliban-took-power>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), 'Send your daughters or you get no aid': the Taliban are making religious schools girls' only option, 22 September 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/sep/22/taliban-afghanistan-women-girls-madrassa-religious-schools-only-option-education>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), 'She asked me, will they kill you if they discover you?': Afghan girls defy education ban at secret schools, 13 August 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/aug/13/she-asked-me-will-they-kill-you-if-they-discover-you-afghan-girls-defy-education-ban-at-secret-schools>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), How ordinary men became unpaid Taliban enforcers in their own homes, 9 June 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/ng-interactive/2025/jun/09/ordinary-men-unpaid-taliban-enforcers-homes-afghanistan-women>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Hungry, hunted, terrified: unending plight of the Afghan women who served in military and police, 14 August 2023, [https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/aug/14/hungry-hunted-terrified-unending-plight-of-the-afghan-women-who-served-in-military-and-police?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/aug/14/hungry-hunted-terrified-unending-plight-of-the-afghan-women-who-served-in-military-and-police?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter), accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Millions of Afghans lose access to healthcare services as USAID cuts shut clinics, April 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/apr/03/millions-afghans-left-without-healthcare-usaid-cuts-shut-clinics-malnutrition-measles-malaria-polio-world-health-organization>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Revealed: the truth behind the Taliban's brutal Kabul 'regeneration' programme, 18 November 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2024/nov/18/revealed-the-truth-behind-the-talibans-brutal-kabul-regeneration-programme>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Taliban ban Afghan women from university education, 20 December 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/dec/20/taliban-ban-afghan-women-university-education>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Taliban ban girls from secondary education in Afghanistan, 17 September 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/17/taliban-ban-girls-from-secondary-education-in-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Taliban launch crackdown on Afghanistan's secret beauty salons, 30 August 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/aug/30/taliban-crackdown-afghanistan-secret-beauty-salons-women-gender-apartheid>, accessed 17 November 2025

Guardian (The), Taliban minister 'forced to flee Afghanistan' after speech in support of girls' education, 3 February 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/feb/03/mohammad-abbas-stanikzai-taliban-minister-flees-afghanistan-over-support-girls-education>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), Taliban stop Afghan women from using bathhouses in northern provinces, 7 January 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/jan/07/taliban-stop-afghan-women-using-bathhouses-in-northern-provinces>, accessed 10 December 2025

Guardian (The), War, deforestation, flooding: in Afghanistan they are all linked, 14 September 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/sep/14/afghanistan-war-deforestation-flooding-climate-change>, accessed 14 December 2025

Guardian (The), Women banned from celebrations as Taliban marks fourth anniversary of Afghanistan takeover, 15 August 2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/aug/15/celebrations-anniversary-taliban-afghanistan-kabul-flower-shower>, accessed 22 October 2025

van Gurp, Margo, Alba, Sandra, Ammiwala, Maida, Rahim Arab, Sayed, Murtaza Sadaat, Sayed, Hanifi, Fazelrabie, Safi, Sohrab Safi, Ansari, Nasratullah Ansari, Campos-Ponce, Maiza and Olivier Kok, Maarten, The availability of essential medicines in public healthcare facilities in Afghanistan: navigating sociopolitical and geographical challenges, *Health Policy and Planning*, April 2025, <https://academic.oup.com/heapol/article/40/3/368/7928429>, accessed 14 December 2025

Hakimi, Hameed, Afghanistan's Outlook: Under Taliban Rule, the economy slumps as taxation income rises, 15 August 2023, <https://blog.bti-project.org/2023/08/15/afghanistans-outlook-under-taliban-rule-the-economy-slumps-as-taxation-income-rises/>, accessed 10 December 2025



Hakimi, Hameed, Push to deport failed Afghan asylum seekers from Europe could benefit the Taliban, Chatham House, 3 October 2025, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2025/08/push-deport-failed-afghan-asylum-seekers-europe-could-benefit-taliban>, accessed 10 December 2025

HALO, Jebrail: A safe new town for Afghanistan, 24 September 2024, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/jebrail-safe-new-town-afghanistan>, accessed 7 January 2026

Hasht-e Subh, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Who Fled Religious Persecution Meet Taliban's Foreign Minister in New Delhi, 13 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/afghan-hindus-and-sikhs-who-fled-religious-persecution-meet-talibans-foreign-minister-in-new-delhi/>, accessed 19 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Afghanistan's Sikh Community Sends Aid to Kunar Earthquake Victims, 3 September 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/afghanistans-sikh-community-sends-aid-to-kunar-earthquake-victims/>, accessed 15 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Amid Taliban Control, Takhar Residents Face Escalating Insecurity and Armed Crime, 9 October 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/amid-taliban-control-takhar-residents-face-escalating-insecurity-and-armed-crime/>, accessed 23 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Armed Kuchis Shoot a Man Dead in Maidan Wardak Province, 17 November 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/armed-kuchis-shoot-a-man-dead-in-maidan-wardak-province/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Ashura Under the Shadow of the Taliban: Shiites Protest Restrictions on Religious Freedom, 7 July 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/ashura-under-the-shadow-of-the-taliban-shiites-protest-restrictions-on-religious-freedom/>, accessed 27 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Dozens of Retirees, Including Women, Stage Protest in Kabul, 16 September 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/dozens-of-retirees-including-women-stage-protest-in-kabul/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Hazara Culture: A Legacy of Resilience and Awareness, 19 May 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/hazara-culture-a-legacy-of-resilience-and-awareness/>, accessed 21 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Horrific Child Killings and Public Outrage: Taliban Remain Silent, 13 March 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/horrific-child-killings-and-public-outrage-taliban-remain-silent/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Kabul Gripped by Insecurity: Armed Robberies in Taliban Uniforms Spark Growing Public Fear, 15 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/kabul-gripped-by-insecurity-armed-robberies-in-taliban-uniforms-spark-growing-public-fear/>, accessed 25 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Lives at Risk, Voices Silenced: Robbery and Murder Under Taliban Rule, 24 May 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/lives-at-risk-voices-silenced-robbery-and-murder-under-taliban-rule/>, accessed 23 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Murder of WHO Employee Sparks Outrage over Religious Tensions and Taliban Silence, 4 June 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/murder-of-who-employee-sparks-outrage-over-religious-tensions-and-taliban-silence/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Public Response to Taliban Political Deputy's Remarks: Prejudice on the Rise, 13 October 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/public-response-to-taliban-political-deputys-remarks-prejudice-on-the-rise/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Reactions to Kabul Suicide Attack: Internal Purge or ISIS Strikes?, 4 September 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/reactions-to-kabul-suicide-attack-internal-purge-or-isis-strikes/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Hasht-e Subh, Reactions to the Attack on Sufi Followers: Taliban Are Responsible for the Killings and Takfirism, 27 November 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/reactions-to-the-attack-on-sufi-followers-taliban-are-responsible-for-the-killings-and-takfirism/>, accessed 17 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Religious Repression and Enforced Silence: Ismailis of Darwaz, Badakhshan Face Collective Persecution, 5 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/religious-repression-and-enforced-silence-ismailis-of-darwaz-badakhshan-face-collective-persecution/>, accessed 22 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Removal of the Uzbek Language from Jawzjan University's Signboard: A Stark Symbol of Taliban Linguistic Discrimination and Hostility, 15 November 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/removal-of-the-uzbek-language-from-jawzjan-universitys-signboard-a-stark-symbol-of-taliban-linguistic-discrimination-and-hostility/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Seizure of Public and Private Lands: Taliban Divide the Ishkashim District Market Among Themselves, 3 October 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/seizure-of-public-and-private-lands-taliban-divide-the-ishkashim-district-market-among-themselves/>, accessed 17 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Shared Struggles: Kurds and Hazaras in the Fight for Identity and Survival, 27 September 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/shared-struggles-kurds-and-hazaras-in-the-fight-for-identity-and-survival/>, accessed 17 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Sources: Nomads Shoot and Kill Young Hazara Man in Maidan Wardak Province, 30 July 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/sources-nomads-shoot-and-kill-young-hazara-man-in-maidan-wardak-province/>, accessed 5 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban Ban Shia-Sunni Marriages in Badakhshan's Nusay District, 3 February 2023, <https://8am.media/eng/2023/02/03/taliban-ban-shia-sunni-marriages-in-badakhshans-nusay-district/>, accessed 18 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban's Ideological Purge: Rewriting Afghanistan's University Curriculum, 16 May 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/talibans-ideological-purge-rewriting-afghanistans-university-curriculum/>, accessed 3 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban Discrimination in Bamyan Province: Former Government Officials Dismissed, Militants Hired, 13 December 2023, <https://8am.media/eng/taliban-discrimination->

[in-bamyan-province-former-government-officials-dismissed-militants-hired/](https://in-bamyan-province-former-government-officials-dismissed-militants-hired/), accessed 23 November 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban's Religious Intolerance: Sufis in Nahrin, Baghlan Were Previously Threatened, 27 November 2024, <https://8am.media/eng/talibans-religious-intolerance-sufis-in-nahrin-baghlan-were-previouslly-threatened/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Hasht-e Subh, The Prescription Shift: Is India Replacing Pakistan in Afghanistan's Medical Lifeline? , 20 December 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/the-prescription-shift-is-india-replacing-pakistan-in-afghanistans-medical-lifeline/>, accessed 5 January 2026

Hasht-e Subh, Unemployment Crisis in Afghanistan: Kabul Residents Struggle Amid Deepening Hardship, 5 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/unemployment-crisis-in-afghanistan-kabul-residents-struggle-amid-deepening-hardship/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Rising Vegetable Prices Push Low-Income Families in Kabul Into Severe Hardship, 15 September 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/rising-vegetable-prices-push-low-income-families-in-kabul-into-severe-hardship/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Self-Medication in Kabul: Poverty and a Failing Health System Put Lives at Risk, 26 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/self-medication-in-kabul-poverty-and-a-failing-health-system-put-lives-at-risk/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban Oppose Nowruz Celebrations, 23 March 2023, <https://8am.media/eng/taliban-oppose-nowruz-celebrations/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hasht-e Subh, Taliban's Forced Confession from Journalist: Mahdi Ansari's Health in Grave Condition, 2 October 2025, <https://8am.media/eng/talibans-forced-confession-from-journalist-mahdi-ansaris-health-in-grave-condition/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Hassanzoy, Najibullah, Petrick, Martin and Teuber, Ramona, Patterns of rural and urban food insecurity in Afghanistan after August 2021, Food Security, 12 September 2025, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12571-025-01586-w>, accessed 10 December 2025

Health Cluster and WHO (World Health Organization), Afghanistan: Suspended/Closed Health Facilities due to the U.S. Government Work-Stop Ban (Update as of 31 August 2025), 31 August 2025, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-suspendedclosed-health-facilities-due-us-government-work-stop-ban-update-31-august-2025>, accessed 10 December 2025

Health Policy Watch, 'Are We Not Human?' Afghan Women in Despair After Taliban Ban Them from Nursing and Midwifery, 19 December 2024, <https://healthpolicy-watch.news/are-we-not-human-afghan-women-in-despair-after-taliban-bans-nursing-and-midwifery-training/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Afghanistan: Ruling by Decree, April 2024, [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/importedFiles/2024/04/11/ruling-by-decree-hbs-afpak\\_0.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/importedFiles/2024/04/11/ruling-by-decree-hbs-afpak_0.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Hindustan Times, Taliban open fire to push back protesting women in Kabul, 30 September 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/taliban-open-fire-to-push-back-protesting-women-in-kabul-101633005017690.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Homayun Nadiri, Khalid, Brokers, Bureaucrats, and the Quality of Government: Understanding Development and Decay in Afghanistan and Beyond, January 2017, <https://jsscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/60827/NADIRI-DISSERTATION-2017.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRRL (Human Rights Research League), Those We Left Behind, November 2023, [https://www.hrrleague.org/gallery/HRRL-AFG%20Report%20\(Those%20We%20Left%20Behind\)%20\(FINAL\).pdf](https://www.hrrleague.org/gallery/HRRL-AFG%20Report%20(Those%20We%20Left%20Behind)%20(FINAL).pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), “A Disaster for the Foreseeable Future”, Afghanistan’s Healthcare Crisis, 12 February 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/02/12/disaster-foreseeable-future/afghanistans-healthcare-crisis>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), “Even If You Go to the Skies, We’ll Find You”, 26 January 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2022/01/26/even-if-you-go-skies-well-find-you/lgbt-people-afghanistan-after-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), “Schools are Failing Boys Too”, The Taliban’s Impact on Boys’ Education in Afghanistan, 6 December 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/12/06/schools-are-failing-boys-too/talibans-impact-boys-education-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghan Women Continue to Fight for Bodily Autonomy, 27 July 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/07/27/afghan-women-continue-to-fight-for-bodily-autonomy>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghan Women Watching the Walls Close In, 2 March 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/03/02/afghan-women-watching-walls-close>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan, The Forgotten War: Human Rights Abuses and Violations of the Laws Of War Since the Soviet Withdrawal, February 1991, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/45c9a5d12.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Blood-Stained Hands: II. Historical Background, 2005, [https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/afghanistan0605/3.htm#\\_ftnref12](https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/afghanistan0605/3.htm#_ftnref12), accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Internet Shutdowns Imperil Rights, Arbitrary Restrictions Throttle Access to Education, Media, Banking, Information, 1 October 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/10/01/afghanistan-internet-shutdowns-imperil-rights>, accessed 29 October 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: ISIS Group Targets Religious Minorities, 6 September 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/09/06/afghanistan-isis-group-targets-religious-minorities>, accessed 20 November 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Relentless Repression 4 Years into Taliban Rule, 5 August 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/08/05/afghanistan-relentless-repression-4-years-into-taliban-rule>, accessed 26 November 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, Journalists Face Arrest, Torture; Journalists in Exile at Risk of Forced Return, 23 October 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/10/23/afghanistan-taliban-tramples-media-freedom>, accessed 24 October 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Women Artists Help Drive Resistance to Taliban, 11 December 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/11/afghanistan-women-artists-help-drive-resistance-taliban>, accessed 21 October 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Women Protesters Detail Taliban Abuse, 20 October 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/20/afghanistan-women-protesters-detail-taliban-abuse>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Relentless Repression 4 Years into Taliban Rule, 5 August 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/08/05/afghanistan-relentless-repression-4-years-into-taliban-rule>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Taliban Execute, ‘Disappear’ Alleged Militants, 7 July 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/07/07/afghanistan-taliban-execute-disappear-alleged-militants>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Taliban Torture Civilians in Panjshir: Collective Punishment Over Armed Group’s Actions Is Unlawful, 10 June 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/10/afghanistan-taliban-torture-civilians-panjshir>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan: Taliban Tramples Media Freedom, 23 October 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/10/23/afghanistan-taliban-tramples-media-freedom>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Afghanistan’s Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/03/afghanistans-taliban-ban-medical-training-women>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), An Avenue to Justice for Afghan Women, 13 May 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/13/avenue-justice-afghan-women>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Attacks Target Afghanistan’s Hazaras, 3 May 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/03/attacks-target-afghanistans-hazaras>, accessed 17 November 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Double Betrayal, Abuses against Afghan Policewomen, Past and Present, October 2024, [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/media\\_2024/10/afghanistan1024web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/media_2024/10/afghanistan1024web.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Economic Causes of Afghanistan's humanitarian Crisis, 4 August 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/08/04/economic-causes-afghanistans-humanitarian-crisis>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Four Ways to Support Girls' Access to Education in Afghanistan, 20 March 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/03/20/four-ways-support-girls-access-education-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), No Forgiveness for People Like You, Executions and Enforced Disappearances in Afghanistan under the Taliban, November 2021, [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/media\\_2021/11/afghanistan1121\\_web.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/media_2021/11/afghanistan1121_web.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), No Shelter in Afghanistan, Afghan Government Moves to Seize Control of Women's Shelters – Again, 19 March 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/03/19/no-shelter-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Pakistan: Forced Returns Expose Afghans to Persecution, Destitution, 19 March 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/03/19/pakistan-forced-returns-expose-afghans-persecution-destitution>, accessed 15 January 2026

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Religious Freedom in Afghanistan: Three Years After the Taliban Takeover, 20 March 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/03/20/religious-freedom-afghanistan-three-years-after-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Submission to the Universal Periodic Review of Afghanistan, 11 October 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/10/11/submission-universal-periodic-review-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Taliban Deny Afghan Girls' Their Education and Future, 17 September 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/09/17/taliban-denies-afghan-girls-their-education-and-future>, accessed 20 October 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Taliban Expand Civil Society Crackdown, 29 March 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/03/29/taliban-expand-civil-society-crackdown>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Taliban's Mandatory Burqa in Herat Assaults Women's Autonomy, 19 November 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2025/11/19/talibans-mandatory-burqa-in-herat-assaults-womens-autonomy>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), This is our opportunity to end the Taliban's use of child soldiers, 20 September 2021, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/09/20/our-opportunity-end-talibans-use-child-soldiers>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Women's Rights Activists Under Attack in Afghanistan, 30 November 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/30/womens-rights-activists-under-attack-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), World report 2023, Afghanistan, Events of 2022, 12 January 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/afghanistan>, accessed 17 November 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), World Report 2024: Afghanistan, Events of 2023, 12 January 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/afghanistan-0#260ac4>, accessed 10 December 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), World Report 2025, Afghanistan, Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Huck, A glimpse of life for women in Afghanistan under Taliban rule, 6 September 2024, <https://www.huckmag.com/article/a-glimpse-of-life-for-women-in-afghanistan-under-increasingly-restrictive-taliban-rule>, accessed 10 December 2025

Humanists International, The Freedom of Thought Report, Afghanistan, 31 October 2024, <https://fot.humanists.international/countries/asia-southern-asia/afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, 2025, 19 December 2024, <https://humanitarianaction.info/plan/1263/article/health-0>, accessed 10 December 2025

Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan, Food Security and Agriculture (FSAC), 19 December 2024, <https://humanitarianaction.info/plan/1263/article/food-security-and-agriculture-fsac-0>, accessed 10 December 2025

Humanitarian Action, Afghanistan: Protection, 19 December 2024, <https://humanitarianaction.info/plan/1263/article/protection-0>, accessed 6 November 2025

Humanitarian Action, Health, [2024], <https://humanitarianaction.info/plan/1185/article/health>, accessed 10 December 2025

Humanitarian Action, Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan Afghanistan 2025, 13 January 2025, <https://humanitarianaction.info/document/humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-afghanistan-2025/article/planning-assumptions-operational-capacity-and-access-and-response-trends>, accessed 21 November 2025

Human Dignity Trust, Afghanistan, Summary, 3 April 2025, <https://www.humandignitytrust.org/country-profile/afghanistan/?utm> accessed 8 October 2025

Ibrahimi, Niamatullah, Saba, Arif and Taye, Safiullah, After 4 years of repressive Taliban rule, Afghans are suffering in silence. Is the world still watching?, Conversation (The), 14 August 2025, <https://theconversation.com/after-4-years-of-repressive-taliban-rule-afghans-are-suffering-in-silence-is-the-world-still-watching-262801>, accessed 10 December 2025

ICC (International Criminal Court), Situation in Afghanistan: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II issues arrest warrants for Haibatullah Akhundzada and Abdul Hakim Haqqani, 8 July 2025, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-afghanistan-icc-pre-trial-chamber-ii-issues-arrest-warrants-haibatullah-akhundzada>, accessed 7 January 2026

ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross), Afghanistan: A year of responding to numerous humanitarian challenges, 31 December 2024, <https://www.icrc.org/en/photo-gallery/afghanistan-responding-humanitarian-challenges>, accessed 10 December 2025

ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross), Afghanistan: Assisting communities grappling with the impact of climate change, 25 November 2024, <https://www.icrc.org/en/article/afghanistan-assisting-communities-grappling-with-climate-change>, accessed 10 December 2025

ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross), The legal protection of persons living under the control of non-State armed groups, January 2022, <https://international-review.icrc.org/articles/legal-protection-persons-under-control-of-nsags-915>, accessed 7 January 2026

IDMC (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre), Country Profile, Afghanistan, 15 May 2025, <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

IDMC (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre), One year on: the Taliban takeover and Afghanistan's changing displacement crisis, August 2022, <https://www.internal-displacement.org/expert-opinion/one-year-on-the-taliban-takeover-and-afghanistans-changing-displacement-crisis>, accessed 10 December 2025

IFJ (International Federation of Journalists), Afghanistan: Media continues to erode under three years of Taliban rule, 15 August 2024, <https://www.ifj.org/media-centre/news/detail/category/press-releases/article/afghanistan-media-continues-to-erode-under-three-years-of-taliban-rule>, accessed 10 December 2025

IFJ (International Federation of Journalists), Frontline Democracy Media Amid Political Churn, Asia Press Freedom Report 2024-2025, 4 May 2025, [https://www.ifj.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/IFJ\\_SAPFR\\_2024-25.pdf](https://www.ifj.org/fileadmin/user_upload/IFJ_SAPFR_2024-25.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

IFRC (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies), Emergency Appeal, Operational Strategy, Afghanistan: Population Movement (Returnees), 24 May 2025, <https://go-api.ifrc.org/api/downloadfile/91243/MDRAF018OS>, accessed 17 November 2025

IISS (International Institute for Strategic Studies), Towards the Reintegration of Afghanistan into the International Community, 12 December 2024, <https://www.iiss.org/publications/armed-conflict-survey/2024/towards-the-reintegration-of-afghanistan-into-the-international-community/>, accessed 7 January 2026

ILAC (International Legal Assistance Consortium), Justice Matters: A Status Report on Afghanistan Since the Taliban Takeover, 2023, available at: <https://www.ceeli.cz/resources/justice-matters-a-status-report-on-afghanistan-since-the-taliban-takeover-2023>, accessed 10 December 2025

ILGA World Database, Afghanistan, [2024], <https://database.ilga.org/afghanistan-lgbti>, accessed 10 December 2025

Independent (The), Inside the £7bn secret scramble to save lives after MoD data breach, 12 July 2025, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/superjunction-afghan-evacuation-mod-data-breach-b2789204.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Independent (The), Taliban critics and 'rebel collaborators' face systemic torture in Afghan prisons, survivors say, 8 December 2024, <https://www.independent.co.uk/asia/south-asia/taliban-torture-prisons-afghanistan-rebels-b2660032.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Independent (The), The female Afghan judges trapped in hiding, fearing reprisal from the Taliban, 7 April 2024, <https://www.independent.co.uk/asia/south-asia/afghan-judges-women-hiding-taliban-b2523877.html>, accessed 14 December 2025

Indian Express, Explosion rocks Sikh man's shop near Kabul gurdwara; kin in Delhi call for India's help, 27 July 2022, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/explosion-rocks-sikh-mans-shop-near-kabul-gurdwara-kin-in-delhi-call-for-indian-help-8055393/>, accessed 23 October 2025

Indian Express, Handful of Sikhs living in Afghanistan donate relief material for earthquake victims in Kunar, 3 September 2025, <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/chandigarh/handful-of-sikhs-living-in-afghanistan-donate-relief-material-for-earthquake-victims-in-kunar-10226884/>, accessed 17 October 2025

Indian Express, 'Taliban says return to Afghanistan but there's no point now, just want safety of our gurdwaras, temples': Afghan Sikhs, Hindus meet Muttaqi, 14 October 2025, <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/chandigarh/taliban-says-return-to-afghanistan-but-theres-no-point-now-just-want-safety-of-our-gurdwaras-temples-afghan-sikhs-hindus-meet-muttaqi-10305664/lite/>, accessed 15 October 2025

International Crisis Group, A Precarious Lifeline? Women-led Business in Afghanistan, 17 December 2025, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia-pacific/afghanistan/352-precarious-lifeline-women-led-business-afghanistan>, accessed 7 January 2026

International Crisis Group, Afghanistan's Security Challenges under the Taliban, 12 August 2022, [https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/326-afghanistans-security-challenges\\_0.pdf](https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/326-afghanistans-security-challenges_0.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, Afghanistan Three Years after the Taliban Takeover, 14 August 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/afghanistan-three-years-after-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, After the Aid Axe: Charting a Path to Self-reliance in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia-pacific/afghanistan/350-after-aid-axe-charting-path-self-reliance-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, Crisis Watch, Latest Updates, Asia-Pacific, November 2025, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/november-trends-and-december-alerts-2025#afghanistan>, accessed 7 January 2026

International Crisis Group, Pakistan's mass deportation of Afghans poses risk to regional stability, 13 November 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan->

[afghanistan.pakistans-mass-deportation-afghans-poses-risks-regional-stability](https://afghanistan.pakistans-mass-deportation-afghans-poses-risks-regional-stability), accessed 14 December 2025

International Crisis Group, Pakistan-Afghanistan: Tempering the Deportation Drive, 22 May 2025, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan-afghanistan/pakistan-afghanistan-tempering-deportation-drive>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, Taliban Restrictions on Women's Rights Deepen Afghanistan's Crisis, 23 February 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/329-taliban-restrictions-womens-rights-deepen-afghanistans-crisis>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Afghanistan, A Jihadist Threat in Retreat?, 16 July 2025, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/b183-islamic-state-afghanistan-jihadist-threat-retreat>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, The Taliban's Neighbourhood: Regional Diplomacy with Afghanistan, 30 January 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/337-talibans-neighbourhood-regional-diplomacy-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

International Crisis Group, Trouble In Afghanistan's Opium Fields: The Taliban War On Drugs, 12 September 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/340-trouble-afghanistans-opium-fields-taliban-war-drugs>, accessed 10 December 2025

Intersos, Afghanistan: when access to healthcare is just a dream, 21 November 2024, <https://www.intersos.org/en/silenced-dreams-the-struggles-of-afghan-men/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Intersos, In Afghanistan we help the most vulnerable get through the winter, 15 March 2024, <https://www.intersos.org/en/in-afghanistan-we-help-the-most-vulnerable-get-through-the-winter/>, accessed 12 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), Afghanistan: Emergency Border Response report (26 Oct - 08 Nov 2025), 17 November 2025, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-emergency-border-response-report-26-oct-08-nov-2025>, accessed 7 January 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), Assisted Voluntary Return & Reintegration, n.d., <https://afghanistan.iom.int/assisted-voluntary-return-and-reintegration>, accessed 10 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), Climate Crisis Drives Displacement, Worsens Afghanistan's Humanitarian Needs: IOM Report, 27 February 2025, <https://roasiapacific.iom.int/news/climate-crisis-drives-displacement-worsens-afghanistans-humanitarian-needs-iom-report>, accessed 10 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), Displacement Trends and Challenges in Afghanistan since August 2021, 2022, [https://afghanistan.iom.int/sites/q/files/tmzbdl1071/files/inline-files/Digital\\_RADA%20research%20papers\\_mental%20health.pdf](https://afghanistan.iom.int/sites/q/files/tmzbdl1071/files/inline-files/Digital_RADA%20research%20papers_mental%20health.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025



IOM (International Organization for Migration), Nearly 110,000 Afghans Returned from Pakistan in a Month; IOM Seeks Urgent Funding, 6 May 2025, <https://www.iom.int/news/nearly-110000-afghans-returned-pakistan-month-iom-seeks-urgent-funding>, accessed 10 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), With More than Half of Afghans Dependent on Humanitarian Aid, IOM Calls for Sustained Support, 1 September 2022, <https://www.iom.int/news/more-half-afghans-dependent-humanitarian-aid-iom-calls-sustained-support>, accessed 10 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration) and UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), UNHCR-IOM, Flash update #4, arrest and detention, flow monitoring, (15 September – 04 November 2023), 8 November 2023, <https://pakistan.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl1121/files/documents/2023-11/unhcr-iom-flash-update-4-pakistan-8-november-2023-v3.pdf>, accessed 14 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration) and UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), UNHCR-IOM Flash Update #65, 11 October 2025, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/119317>, accessed 10 December 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration) Afghanistan, Climate Vulnerability Assessment, February 2025, <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/afghanistan-climate-vulnerability-assessment-round-1-nov-dec-2024?close=true>, accessed 10 December 2025

Islamic Relief, Two years on, millions of Afghan civilians need greater international support, 17 August 2023, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/two-years-millions-afghan-civilians-need-greater-international-support>, accessed 10 December 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), Afghanistan: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for March - April 2025 and Projection for May - October 2025, 4 June 2025, <https://www.ipcinfo.org/ipc-country-analysis/details-map/en/c/1159622/?iso3=AFG>, accessed 10 December 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), Afghanistan: IPC Acute Malnutrition Snapshot, June 2024 - May 2025, 7 January 2025, [https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC\\_Afghanistan\\_Acute\\_Malnutrition\\_June2024\\_May2025\\_Snapshot.pdf](https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Afghanistan_Acute_Malnutrition_June2024_May2025_Snapshot.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), IPC Acute Food Insecurity Analysis, Afghanistan, 4 June 2025, [https://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/IPC\\_Afghanistan\\_Acute\\_Food\\_Insecurity\\_Mar\\_Oct2025\\_Report.pdf](https://fscluster.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/IPC_Afghanistan_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Mar_Oct2025_Report.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), Understanding the IPC Scales, June 2022, [https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ipcinfo/docs/communication\\_tools/brochures/IPC\\_Brochure\\_Understanding\\_the\\_IPC\\_Scales.pdf](https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/communication_tools/brochures/IPC_Brochure_Understanding_the_IPC_Scales.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

IPS (Inter Press Service), Afghan Women Defy Taliban Repression With Underground Protests, 25 April 2025, <https://www.ipsnews.net/2025/04/afghan-women-defy-taliban-repression-with-underground-protests>, accessed 10 December 2025

IPS (Inter Press Service), Afghanistan: Ban on Girls' Education Linked to Rise in Forced and Child Marriage, 3 October 2025, <https://www.ipsnews.net/2025/10/afghanistan-ban-on-girls-education-linked-to-rise-in-forced-and-child-marriage/>, accessed 13 November 2025

IRC (International Rescue Committee), Afghanistan earthquake: What's happening and how to help, 1 September 2025, <https://www.rescue.org/article/afghanistan-earthquake-whats-happening-and-how-help>, accessed 10 December 2025

IRC (International Rescue Committee), U.S. aid cuts are impacting millions of Afghans, 25 April 2025, <https://www.rescue.org/article/us-aid-cuts-are-impacting-millions-afghans>, accessed 10 December 2025

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Public Health, Policy Brief, Role of Private Sector in Fight Against Covid-19 in Afghanistan, 30 April 2020, <https://moph.gov.af/sites/default/files/2020-05/7.%20Policy%20Brief%20Private%20Sector%20to%20fight%20COVID-19.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

IWPR (Institute for War & Peace Reporting), Afghanistan: "The Taliban Took All My Dreams Away", Women's exclusion from the Afghan media space has meant that issues critical to women go unreported, 2 May 2025, <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/afghanistan-taliban-took-all-my-dreams-away>, accessed 7 November 2025

Jackson, Ashley, Aid Diversion in Afghanistan: Is it time for a candid conversation?, AAN, 1 October 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2023/09/Aid-Diversion-FINAL.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Jackson, Ashley, The Ban on Older Girls' Education: Taliban conservatives ascendant and a leadership in disarray, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 29 March 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/the-ban-on-older-girls-education-taliban-conservatives-ascendant-and-a-leadership-in-disarray/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Jamestown Foundation, Afghanistan's Ethnic Turkmens: Enemies or Allies for Ashgabat?, 4 October 2015, <https://jamestown.org/afghanistans-ethnic-turkmens-enemies-or-allies-for-ashgabat/>, accessed 21 November 2025

Jamestown Foundation, ISKP Challenges Indian Interests in Afghanistan by Attacking Sikh Worshippers in Kabul, 9 September 2022, <https://jamestown.org/iskp-challenges-indian-interests-in-afghanistan-by-attacking-sikh-worshippers-in-kabul/>, accessed 21 October 2025

Japan Times, Afghan women forced back to abusive ex-husbands after divorces annulled, 2 April 2023, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20230402101745/https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2023/04/02/world/divorced-afghan-women-fear-abuse-husband-return/>, accessed 10 December 2025

JURISTnews, Germany deportes 28 Afghan nationals following Solingen knife attack, citing security concerns, 30 August 2024, <https://www.jurist.org/news/2024/08/germany-carries-out-deportation-flight-to-afghanistan-following-solingen-knife-attack/>, accessed 10 December 2025



JURISTnews, Hidden Atrocities: The Unseen Struggle of Afghanistan's LGBTQ+ Community Under Taliban Rule – report and interview, 8 November 2024, <https://www.jurist.org/features/2024/11/08/hidden-atrocities-the-unseen-struggle-of-afghanistans-lgbtq-community-under-taliban-rule-report-and-interview/>, accessed 9 October 2025

Just Security, Hazara Women: How Gender and Ethnicity Intersect in the Taliban's Repression, 7 March 2024, <https://www.justsecurity.org/93123/hazara-women-how-gender-and-ethnicity-intersect-in-the-talibans-repression/>, accessed 14 November 2025

Just Security, The Taliban's Slow Dismantling of Afghan media, 10 July 2025, <https://www.justsecurity.org/116034/talibans-slow-dismantling-afghan-media/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Afghan Hindus and Sikhs Urge Taliban to Restore Temples, Ensure Minority Rights, 14 October 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/10/afghan-hindus-and-sikhs-urge-taliban-to-restore-temples-ensure-minority-rights/>, accessed 15 October 2025

Kabul Now, Armed Kochis Kill Hazara Farmer in Behsud, Renewing Fears of Systematic Violence and Displacement, 29 July 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/07/armed-kochis-kill-hazara-farmer-in-behsud-renewing-fears-of-systematic-violence-and-displacement/>, accessed 3 November 2025

Kabul Now, Former ANDSF Member Commits Suicide After Taliban Detains His Wife, Sources Report, 19 December 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/12/former-andsf-member-commits-suicide-after-taliban-detains-his-wife-sources-report/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Kabul Now, Heavy Snowfall and Cold Weather Kills Three Children in Northeastern Afghanistan, 30 November 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/11/heavy-snowfall-and-cold-weather-kills-three-children-in-northeastern-afghanistan/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Kabul Now, IMC Condemns 'Musical Genocide' in Afghanistan, 14 December 2022, <https://kabulnow.com/2022/12/imc-condemns-musical-genocide-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Law of the Gun: How Local Conflicts Became Extortion Sprees, 23 January 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/01/law-of-the-gun/>, accessed 11 November 2025

Kabul Now, Missing Boy Found Dead in Eastern Afghanistan Amid Surge in Violent Crime, 10 September 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/09/missing-boy-found-dead-in-eastern-afghanistan-amid-surge-in-violent-crimes/>, accessed 18 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Appoint a Shia-Hazara as Deputy Minister, 2 December 2022, <https://kabulnow.com/2022/12/taliban-appoint-a-shia-hazara-as-deputy-minister/>, accessed 4 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Arrest Man in Balkh Over Blasphemy as Morality Crackdown Grows, 11 August 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/08/taliban-arrest-balkh-man-for-blasphemy-as-morality-crackdown-intensifies/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Arrests 70 People in Daikundi for Holding Eid Prayers a Day Early, 8 June 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/06/taliban-arrests-70-people-in-dai-kundi-for-holding-eid-prayers-a-day-early/>, accessed 17 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Ban Images of Living Beings in Herat, Now Enforced in 22 Provinces, September 23, 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/09/taliban-ban-images-of-living-beings-in-herat-now-enforced-in-22-provinces>, accessed 3 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Court Sentences Journalist to Over a Year in Prison for Alleged Anti-Regime Propaganda, 8 January 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/01/taliban-court-sentences-journalist-to-over-a-year-in-prison-for-alleged-anti-regime-propaganda/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Detains 15 Ismaili Shia Community Members in Badakhshan, 7 May 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/05/taliban-detains-15-ismaili-shia-community-members-in-badakhshan/>, accessed 23 October 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Former Advisor to Abdullah Abdullah and His Son in Kapisa, 21 January 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/01/taliban-detains-former-advisor-to-dr-abdullah-and-his-son-in-kapisa-sources-confirm/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Son of Former Security Official in Daykundi, Sources Report, 31 January 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/01/taliban-detain-son-of-former-security-official-in-daykundi-sources-report/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Kabul Now, Taliban Detains Two Shia Clerics in Western Afghanistan, 4 November 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/11/taliban-detains-two-shia-clerics-in-eastern-afghanistan/>, accessed 17 October 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Dismisses Dozens of Staff Members, Including Lecturers, from Bamyan University, 13 May 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/05/taliban-dismisses-dozens-of-staff-members-including-lecturers-from-bamyan-university/>, accessed 24 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Evicts Entire Hazara Village in Bamiyan After Ruling in Favor of Nomadic Kuchis, 28 July 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/07/taliban-evicts-entire-hazara-village-in-central-afghanistan-after-ruling-in-favor-of-nomadic-kuchis/>, accessed 3 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Impose Restrictions as Shias Begin to Observe Muharram, 7 July 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/07/taliban-impose-restrictions-as-shias-begin-to-observe-muharram/>, accessed 13 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban in Herat prohibit people from celebrating Nowruz, 21 March 2023, <https://kabulnow.com/2023/03/taliban-in-herat-prohibit-people-from-celebrating-nowruz/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Impose Restrictions as Shias Begin to Observe Muharram, 7 July 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/07/taliban-impose-restrictions-as-shias-begin-to-observe-muharram/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Intensifies Campaign Against “Banned” Books in Central Afghanistan, 27 October 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/10/taliban-intensifies-campaign-against-banned-books-in-central-afghanistan/>, accessed 4 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban leader appoints three new provincial governors, 26 June 2023, <https://kabulnow.com/2023/06/taliban-leader-appoints-three-new-provincial-governors/>, accessed 10 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Orders Closure of Hekmatyar’s Hezb-e-Islami Offices, Arrest of Members, 14 April 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/04/taliban-orders-closure-of-hekmatyars-hezb-e-islami-offices-arrest-of-members/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flog Four Individuals on Charges of Sodomy and Blasphemy, 22 January 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/01/taliban-publicly-flog-four-individuals-on-charges-of-sodomy-and-blasphemy/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flogs Over 60 Afghans, Including 15 Women, in Northern Afghanistan, 4 June 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/06/taliban-publicly-flogs-over-60-afghans-including-15-women-in-northern-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flogs Seven as Use of Corporal Punishment Escalates Across Afghanistan, 11 April 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/04/taliban-publicly-flogs-seven-as-use-of-corporal-punishment-escalates-across-afghanistan/>, accessed 05 November 2025

Kabul Now, Taliban Publicly Flogs Three Individuals in Northern Afghanistan, December 14, 2024, <https://kabulnow.com/2024/12/taliban-publicly-flogs-three-men-in-northern-afghanistan/>, accessed 20 October 2025

Kabul Now, Teenager Found Dead in Ghazni Amid Rising Violent Crime Across Afghanistan, 17 September 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/09/teenager-found-dead-in-ghazni-as-violent-crime-rises-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Kabul Now, Two Teenagers Killed After Being Abducted in Helmand and Kandahar, 11 September 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/09/two-teenagers-killed-after-being-abducted-in-helmand-and-kandahar/>, accessed 18 November 2025

Kabul Now, UN Says Over 40% of Afghanistan’s Urban Population Lives in Kabul, 13 April 2025, <https://kabulnow.com/2025/04/un-says-over-40-of-afghanistans-urban-population-lives-in-kabul/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Khaama Press, A Generation in Waiting: Four Years After the Fall of the Afghan Republic, 15 august 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/afghan-youth-four-years-after-kabul-collapse/>, accessed 7 November 2025

Khaama Press, Armed Robbers Kill Mother and Daughter in Logar Province, Afghanistan, 9 November 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/armed-robbers-kill-mother-and-daughter-in-logar-province-afghanistan/>, accessed 16 November 2025

Khaama Press, Citizens in Afghanistan Were Not Allowed to Celebrate Valentine's Day, 15 February 2023, <https://www.khaama.com/citizens-in-afghanistan-were-not-allowed-to-celebrate-valentines-day/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Crackdown on TikTok users and influencers in Afghanistan intensified, arrested for activities deemed “Unlawful”, 15 May 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/crackdown-on-tiktok-users-and-influencers-in-afghanistan-intensified-arrested-for-activities-deemed-unlawful/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Explosions Rock Kabul, Residents Report Twin Blasts Across Afghanistan Capital, 15 October 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/explosions-rock-kabul-residents-report-twin-blasts-across-afghanistan-capital/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Explosion rocks Mazar-i-Sharif, Balkh Province, Afghanistan, 14 April 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/explosion-rocks-mazar-i-sharif-balkh-province-afghanistan/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Khaama Press, Family Feuds; Family Conflict in South-Eastern Afghanistan Kills and Injures 9 People, 10 August 2022, <https://www.khaama.com/family-feuds-family-conflict-in-south-eastern-afghanistan-kills-and-injures-9-people-48393/>, accessed 13 November 2025

Khaama Press, Hazaras are Expected to Support Taliban Security Forces: Sirajuddin Haqqani, 10 February 2023, <https://www.khaama.com/hazaras-are-expected-to-support-taliban-security-forces-sirajuddin-haqqani/>, accessed 10 November 2025

Khaama Press, ISIS claims responsibility for assassination of cleric in Baghlan province, 8 January 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/isis-claims-responsibility-for-assassination-of-cleric-in-baghlan-province/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Kabul’s Urban Crisis: 80% Living in Unplanned Settlements, Says UN-Habitat, 13 April 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/kabuls-urban-crisis-80-living-in-unplanned-settlements-says-un-habitat/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Land Commission claims 3.9 million Jeribs of grabbed land reclaimed, 12 May 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/land-commission-claims-3-9-million-jeribs-of-grabbed-land-reclaimed/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Khaama Press, Pakistan Confirms Airstrikes on Kabul and Kandahar, 15 October 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/pakistan-confirms-airstrikes-on-kabul-and-kandahar/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Khaama Press, Pakistan Reopens Spin Boldak Border After Week-Long Closure, 17 October 2025, <https://www.khaama.com/pakistan-reopens-spin-boldak-border-after-week-long-closure/>, accessed 7 January 2026

Kluijver, Robert, Is it time to recognise the Taliban government in Afghanistan?, The Conversation, 29 December 2024, <https://theconversation.com/is-it-time-to-recognise-the-taliban-government-in-afghanistan-245787>, accessed 10 December 2025

Lamberti-Castronuovo, Alessandro, Valente, Martina, Bocchini, Francesca, Trentin, Monica, Paschetto, Michela, Bahdori, Ghulam Ali, Khadem, Jan Agha, Sayed Nadeem, Mirza, Hanif Patmal, Mohammad, Tawooz Alizai, Mohammad, Miccio, Rosella and Ragazzoni, Luca, Exploring barriers to access to care following the 2021 socio-political changes in Afghanistan: a qualitative study, Conflict and Health, 24 April 2024,



<https://conflictandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s13031-024-00595-4>, accessed 10 December 2025

Latifi, Ali, How the Taliban's vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, New Humanitarian (The), 22 October 2024,  
<https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2024/10/22/how-taliban-vice-virtue-law-impact-foreign-aid-engagement>, accessed 10 December 2025

Lombardi, Clark and March, Andrew, Afghan Taliban Views on Legitimate Islamic Governance, USIP (United States Institute of Peace), February 2022,  
[https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/pw\\_182-afghan\\_taliban\\_views\\_on\\_legitimate\\_islamic\\_governance.pdf](https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/pw_182-afghan_taliban_views_on_legitimate_islamic_governance.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Le Monde, Taliban assault on women's rights reaches a new level in Afghanistan, 3 January 2025, [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/01/03/taliban-assault-on-women-s-rights-reaches-a-new-level-in-afghanistan\\_6736656\\_4.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/01/03/taliban-assault-on-women-s-rights-reaches-a-new-level-in-afghanistan_6736656_4.html), accessed 20 October 2025

Le Monde, The risk to women's health in Afghanistan: 'The consequences of this segregation are catastrophic', 31 January 2025,  
[https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/01/31/the-risk-to-women-s-health-in-afghanistan-the-consequences-of-this-segregation-are-catastrophic\\_6737624\\_4.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/01/31/the-risk-to-women-s-health-in-afghanistan-the-consequences-of-this-segregation-are-catastrophic_6737624_4.html),  
accessed 10 December 2025

Le Figaro and AFP (Agence-France Presse), Afghanistan: 14 personnes arrêtées pour avoir joué de la musique, 5 July 2025, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/afghanistan-14-personnes-arretees-pour-avoir-joue-de-la-musique-20250510>, accessed 10 December 2025

Le Figaro, «Un système qui fait penser à celui d'une organisation mafieuse» : l'aile la plus rigoriste des talibans renforce sa mainmise sur l'Afghanistan, 26 August 2025,  
<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/un-systeme-qui-fait-penser-a-celui-d'une-organisation-mafieuse-l-aile-la-plus-rigoriste-des-talibans-renforce-sa-mainmise-sur-l-afghanistan-20250826>, accessed 10 December 2025

Le Figaro, En Afghanistan, élèves et enseignants contraints de porter l'habit taliban, 30 April 2025, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/en-afghanistan-eleves-et-enseignants-contraints-de-porter-l-habit-taliban-20250430>, accessed 10 December 2025

Le Figaro, L'Allemagne signe un accord avec les talibans afghans, pour renvoyer les demandeurs d'asile dans leur pays d'origine, 11 October 2025,  
<https://video.lefigaro.fr/figaro/international/lallemande-signe-un-accord-avec-les-talibans-afghans-pour-rendre-les-demandeurs-dasile-dans-leur-pays-dorigine-20251011>, accessed 10 December 2025

Lighthouse Reports, France's forgotten Afghan spies, 12 Aril 2023,  
<https://www.lighthousereports.com/investigation/frances-forgotten-afghan-spies/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Lighthouse Reports, Hunted by the Taliban, 15 October 2025,  
<https://www.lighthousereports.com/investigation/hunted-by-the-taliban/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Medscape, How Women in Afghanistan Struggle for Life and Health, 10 October 2025, <https://www.medscape.com/viewarticle/how-women-afghanistan-struggle-life-and-health-2025a1000Orbu?form=fpf>, accessed 25 November 2025

MEE (Middle East Monitor), 'Afghanistan's food crisis is one of access, not availability', 29 September 2023, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20230929-afghanistans-food-crisis-is-one-of-access-not-availability/>, accessed 10 December 2025

MEI (Middle East Institute), Taliban Leadership Tracker, 2025, <https://talibantracker.mei.edu/english/taliban/taliban-leadership-tracker?pageNumber=3>, accessed 14 December 2025

MEI (Middle East Institute), Taliban Leadership Tracker: Sheikh Samiullah Farahmand, n.d., <https://talibantracker.mei.edu/english/taliban/leadership-tracker/Sheikh-Samiullah-Farahmand>, accessed 20 November 2025

MEI (Middle East Institute), Taliban Leadership Tracker: Who is in power, last updated September 2025, <https://talibantracker.mei.edu/english/taliban/demographics>, accessed 27 October 2025

Mercy Corps, Kabul's Water Crisis, April 2025, <https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/2025-05/crisis-analysis-team-kabul-water-april-2025.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Moradi, Kobra, "Throwing Dust in Our Eyes": Nomadic-Sedentary Land Conflict in Hazarjat under the Taliban and its Human Rights Impacts, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), 31 May 2025, <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/throwing-dust-our-eyes-nomadic-sedentary-land-conflict-hazarjat-under-taliban-and-its-human-rights-impacts>, accessed 14 December 2025

Mirzada Rama and Shapour Roxanna, The Daily Hustle: A young women's journey home for the summer holidays, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 13 October 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/the-daily-hustle/migration-the-daily-hustle/the-daily-hustle-a-young-womens-journey-home-for-the-summer-holidays/>, accessed 14 December 2025

MMC (Mixed Migration Centre), Afghan returns: experiences, challenges and prospects for reintegration, August 2025, [https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/399\\_Afghan-Returns-Report\\_0809.pdf](https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/399_Afghan-Returns-Report_0809.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Mohammadi, Masuma, Human Rights Conditions for Hazaras in Afghanistan Under the Taliban Regime, 7 February 2023, [https://www.sjsu.edu/hri/docs/SJSU%20HRI%20REPORT\\_%20%20Human%20Rights%20Conditions%20for%20Hazaras%20in%20Afghanistan%20Under%20the%20Taliban%20Regime.pdf](https://www.sjsu.edu/hri/docs/SJSU%20HRI%20REPORT_%20%20Human%20Rights%20Conditions%20for%20Hazaras%20in%20Afghanistan%20Under%20the%20Taliban%20Regime.pdf), accessed 27 November 2025

MPVPV [X], posted on: 26 October 2024, <https://x.com/MOPVPE1/status/1850065214445691021>, accessed 23 October 2025

MRG (Minority Rights Group), MRG alarmed by ongoing and systematic persecution of Hazaras, 19 June 2025, <https://minorityrights.org/hazaras-2025/>, accessed 3 November 2025



MRG (Minority Rights Group International), Tajiks, n.d.,  
<https://minorityrights.org/minorities/tajiks/>, accessed 7 November 2025

MRG (Minority Rights Group International), Uzbeks and Turkmens in Afghanistan, n.d.,  
<https://minorityrights.org/communities/uzbeks-and-turkmens/>, accessed 10 November 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Bringing health care to Afghanistan's remote Bamyan province, 6 June 2025, <https://msf.lu/en/articles/afghanistan-apporter-des-soins-medicaux-dans-les-districts-recules-de-la-province-de>, accessed 14 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Dying to reach health care in Afghanistan, 17 June 2024,  
<https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/latest/dying-reach-health-care-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Earthquake in Afghanistan: MSF's response, 2 September 2025, <https://msf.lu/en/afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Excluding women from medical institutes threatens the future of healthcare in Afghanistan, 6 December 2024, <https://www.msf.org/excluding-women-medical-institutes-threatens-future-healthcare-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), New restrictions limit access to care for women in Herat, 10 November 2025, <https://www.msf.org/new-restrictions-limit-access-care-women-herat>, accessed 10 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Persistent barriers to access healthcare in Afghanistan: An MSF report, 6 February 2023, <https://www.msf.org/persistent-barriers-access-healthcare-afghanistan-msf-report>, accessed 10 December 2025

MSF (Doctors Without Borders), Pressure grows on hospitals in Afghanistan, as paediatric patient numbers rise, 3 July 2025, <https://msf.lu/en/articles/la-pression-s'accroit-sur-les-hopitaux-en-afghanistan-alors-que-le-nombre-de-patients>, accessed 10 December 2025

NAC (Norwegian Afghanistan Committee), Joining forces against the impact of climate change in Afghanistan, 16 September 2024, <https://afghanistankomiteen.no/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Kabul-Oslo-Climate-symposium-report-2024.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Nasari, Amina, Safi, Najibullah and Langer, Ana, Let Afghan women work: maternal health depend on it, The Lancet, 15 October 2025,  
[https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(25\)01975-0/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(25)01975-0/fulltext), accessed 10 December 2025

Nemat, Orzala and Giustozzi, Antonio, Local Governance Under Taliban Rule 2021-2023, 4 November 2024, <https://bunny-wp-pullzone-a3xvm8f2v0.b-cdn.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/updated-local-governance-1.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General country of origin information report Afghanistan, June 2023,

<https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/netherlands/PLib/General+Country+of+Origin+Report+Afghanistan+June+2023.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

New Humanitarian (The), Afghan doctors warn of healthcare crisis as international aid cuts bite, 25 September 2023, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2023/09/25/afghanistan-international-aid-cut-healthcare>, accessed 10 December 2025

New Humanitarian (The), Afghans say they were scapegoated in Iran during Israeli bombardment, 4 August 2025, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2025/08/04/afghans-say-they-were-scapegoated-iran-during-israeli-bombardment>, accessed 10 December 2025

New Humanitarian (The), How the Taliban's vice and virtue law is impacting foreign aid and engagement, 22 October 2024, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/analysis/2024/10/22/how-taliban-vice-virtue-law-impact-foreign-aid-engagement>, accessed 10 December 2025

New Humanitarian (The), In Afghanistan's battered healthcare system, power cuts can prove fatal, 17 January 2023, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2023/01/17/Afghanistan-power-cuts-hospitals-electricity-health>, accessed 10 December 2025

New Humanitarian (The), Three years on, the Taliban's Islamic Emirate is full of contradictions, 15 August 2024, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/editors-take/2024/08/15/three-years-talibans-islamic-emirate-full-contradictions>, accessed 26 November 2025

New York Times (The), Afghan Women Who Once Presided Over Abuse Cases Now Fear for Their Lives, 20 October 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/21/world/asia/afghan-judges-women-taliban.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

New York Times (The), After Afghan Quake, Many Male Rescuers Helped Men but Not Women, 4 September 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/09/04/world/asia/afghanistan-earthquake-rescue-efforts-women.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

New York Times (The), Suicide Bombing in Afghanistan Targets Taliban Heartland, 21 March 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/21/world/asia/afghanistan-suicide-bombing.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan's Universities, 19 September 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/09/19/world/asia/taliban-ban-women-author-books.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

New York Times (The), Taliban Shut Beauty Salons, One of Afghan Women's Last Public Spaces, 25 July 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/25/world/asia/taliban-beauty-salons-afghanistan.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

New York Times (The), The Taliban Promised Them Amnesty. Then They Executed Them [Online video], 12 April 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/12/opinion/taliban-afghanistan-revenge.html>, accessed 10 December 2025



New York Times (The), U.K. Secretly Resettled 4,500 Afghans in Britain After Huge Data Breach, 15 July 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/15/world/europe/uk-data-email-afghans-taliban.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

New York Times (The), With New Taliban Manifesto, Afghan Women Fear the Worst, 4 September 2024, <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/world/asia/women-taliban-prohibitions-afghanistan.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Newswise, It is not just Sharia law: The Taliban, Pashtunwali and Afghan Women, 15 September 2021, <https://www.newswise.com/articles/it-is-not-just-sharia-law-the-taliban-pastunwali-and-afghan-women>, accessed 10 December 2025

Neyazi, Narges, Yaghmaei, Nima, Ahmadzai, Mirwais, Kleipool, Elisabeth, Naumann, Nadine, Wassenaar, Myrte, Omar, Mohammad Haider, Gadik, Fethiye Gülin, Alba, Sandra, Sieleman, Marjolein, Ghani Ibrahimi, Abdul, and AbouZeid, Alaa, Assessing the health workforce in Afghanistan: a situational analysis into the country's capacity for Universal health coverage, April 2025, Conflict and Health, <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC12007245/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Nikkei Asia, Pakistan's trade war with Afghanistan boomerangs on its economy 30 November 2025, <https://asia.nikkei.com/economy/trade-war/pakistan-s-trade-war-with-afghanistan-boomerangs-on-its-economy>, accessed 10 December 2025

Nishat, Zakmai, Shelley, Jamima, Karimi, Shaira, El-Badawy, Emman, Why Do People in Afghanistan Object to Taliban Rule?, Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, 22 September 2022, <https://www.institute.global/insights/geopolitics-and-security/why-do-people-afghanistan-object-taliban-rule>, accessed 10 December 2025

Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Familiemedlemmer til personer med tilknytning til republikke [Family members of individuals affiliated with the Republic], 20 November 2023, <https://landinfo.no/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Afghanistan-respons-Familiemedlemmer-til-personer-med-tilknytning-til-republikken-20112023.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Hazaraer og afgansk opprørsbevegelse [Afghanistan: Hazaras and Afghan insurgency], 3 October 2016, [https://www.landinfo.no/asset/3482/1/3482\\_1.pdf](https://www.landinfo.no/asset/3482/1/3482_1.pdf), accessed 17 November 2025

Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Sikkerhetssituasjonen [Afghanistan: Security Situation], 7 November 2025, <https://landinfo.no/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/Afghanistan-respons-Sikkerhetssituasjonen-07112025.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan: Situasjonen for afganske kvinner etter Talibans maktovertakelse [Afghanistan: The situation of Afghan women after the Taliban takeover of power], 22 June 2022, <https://landinfo.no/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Landinfo-respons-Afghanistan-Situasjonen-for-afganske-kvinner-etter-Talibans-maktovertakelse-22062022.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Norway, Landinfo, Afghanistan, Situasjonen for afganske menn [Afghanistan, The situation of Afghan men], 20 January 2025, <https://landinfo.no/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Afghanistan-temanotat-Situasjonen-for-afganske-menn-20012025.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

NRF (National Resistance Front), Afghanistan's National Resistance Front: Progression and Success, OPI, 14 October 2024, <https://orionpolicy.org/afghanistans-national-resistance-front-progression-and-success/>, accessed 10 December 2025

NPR (National Public Radio), Afghan earthquake triggers contradictory Taliban tactics on rescuing women, 14 October 2025, <https://www.npr.org/sections/goats-and-soda/2025/10/14/g-s1-92863/afghanistan-taliban-earthquake-women-girls-rescue>, accessed 10 December 2025

NPR (National Public Radio), Three years after the U.S. withdrawal, former Afghan forces are hunted by the Taliban, 25 September 2024, <https://www.npr.org/2024/09/25/nx-s1-5099028/former-afghan-army-and-police-hunted-by-the-taliban>, accessed 10 December 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), Afghanistan: Humanitarian response overstretched as more than 1 million Afghans return from Iran, 10 July 2025, <https://www.nrc.no/news/2025/july/afghanistan-returns-from-iran>, accessed 10 December 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), Snowfall in Kabul – What does it mean?, 7 March 2024, <https://afghanistankomiteen.no/en/snowfall-in-kabul-what-does-it-mean/>, accessed 10 December 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), Winter in Afghanistan endangers the lives of the impoverished, 17 February 2025, <https://afghanistankomiteen.no/en/snowfall-in-kabul-what-does-it-mean/>, <https://afghanistankomiteen.no/en/snowfall-in-kabul-what-does-it-mean/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Nutrition Cluster, Action Against Hunger and UNICEF, Afghanistan National SMART Survey Report (April-October 2022), 8 June 2023, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-national-smart-survey-report-april-october-2022>, accessed 9 December 2025

Obaid, Ali, and Ruttig, Thomas, Elections 2014 (22): How disenchantment with General Dostum split the Uzbek vote bank, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 22 May 2014, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/political-landscape/the-split-uzbek-vote-bank-disenchantment-with-general-dostum-spreads-from-his-party-to-the-electorate/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Obaidullah Baheer [X], posted on: 2 February 2024, <https://x.com/ObaidullaBaheer/status/1753211404364984392>, accessed 15 January 2026

OMCT (World Organization Against Torture), CSHRN (Civil Society & Human Rights Network) and Human Rights Defenders Plus, "Every House Felt as long as A Year", Voices of Detainees Held by Afghanistan's de facto General Directorate of Intelligence, 25 June 2025, [https://www.omct.org/site-resources/legacy/Afghanistan\\_DetentionReportFinal\\_2025-07-01-122133\\_mztm.pdf](https://www.omct.org/site-resources/legacy/Afghanistan_DetentionReportFinal_2025-07-01-122133_mztm.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

Open Doors, Afghanistan, 2025, <https://www.opendoors.org/en-US/persecution/countries/afghanistan/>, accessed 9 December 2025



ORF (Observer Research Foundation), Taliban's diplomatic advances in Central Asia, 12 August 2024, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/taliban-s-diplomatic-advances-in-central-asia>, accessed 10 December 2025

Outright International, Country Overview, Afghanistan, [2025], <https://outrightinternational.org/our-work/asia/afghanistan>, accessed 9 December 2025

Pajhwok News, 4 armed robbers detained in Kabul, 6 February 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/02/06/4-armed-robbers-detained-in-kabul/>, accessed 18 November 2025

Pajhwok News, 1 killed, 7 wounded over property dispute in Nangarhar, 25 July 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/07/25/1-killed-7-wounded-in-over-property-dispute-in-nangarhar/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Pajhwok News, 2 killed, as many wounded in Afghanistan last week, 10 August 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/08/10/2-killed-as-many-wounded-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Pajhwok News, 7 killed, 5 wounded in Afghanistan last week, 10 March 2024, <https://pajhwok.com/2024/03/10/7-killed-5-wounded-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Pajhwok News, 10 killed, 22 injured in Afghanistan last week, 27 July 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/07/27/10-people-killed-22-injured-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Pajhwok News, 3 people killed, as many injured in Afghanistan last week, 7 December 2024, <https://pajhwok.com/2024/12/07/3-people-killed-as-many-injured-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Pajhwok News, 6 people killed in Afghanistan last week, 6 July 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/07/06/6-people-killed-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 30 October 2025

Pajhwok News, 6 people killed, 4 injured in Afghanistan last week, 5 April 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/04/05/6-people-killed-4-injured-in-afghanistan-last-week/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Pajhwok News, Afghan Hindus happy with security, seek lands' restitution, 24 August 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/08/24/afghan-hindus-happy-with-security-seek-lands-restitution/>, accessed 19 October 2025

Pajhwok News, Drive to round up beggars kicks off in Laghman, 21 May 2024, <https://pajhwok.com/2024/05/21/drive-to-round-up-beggars-kicks-off-in-laghman/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Pajhwok News, Global support key to reducing Afghanistan mental health crisis, 27 May 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/05/27/global-support-key-to-reducing-afghanistan-mental-health-crisis/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Pajhwok News, Hanif, UN officials discuss expediting aid to quake victims, 3 September 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/09/03/hanif-un-officials-discuss-expediting-aid-to-quake-victims/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Pajhwok News, Hundreds of bloody feuds resolved in past 2 years, 28 February 2024, <https://pajhwok.com/2024/02/28/hundreds-of-bloody-feuds-resolved-in-past-2-years/>, accessed 11 November 2025

Pajhwok News, Kandahar women-only market closed, hundreds lose jobs, 7 January 2023, <https://pajhwok.com/2023/01/07/kandahar-women-only-market-closed-hundreds-lose-jobs/>, accessed 21 November 2025

Pajhwok News, Land dispute claims 2 lives in Nangarhar, 10 September 2025, <https://pajhwok.com/2025/09/10/land-dispute-claims-2-lives-in-nangarhar/>, accessed 31 October 2025

Pakteen, Hamed and Shapour, Rozanna, The Daily Hustle: At Nawruz and Eid al-Fitr, a shopkeeper reflects on high food prices, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 30 March 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/the-daily-hustle/economy-development-environment-the-daily-hustle/the-daily-hustle-at-nawruz-and-eid-al-fitr-a-shopkeeper-reflects-on-high-food-prices/>, accessed 10 December 2025

PassBlue, Four Years After the Taliban's Return, Afghan Women Judges Go Deeper Underground, 7 August 2025, <https://passblue.com/2025/08/07/four-years-after-the-talibans-return-afghan-women-judges-go-deeper-underground/>, accessed 10 December 2025

PBS, 1.1 million Afghan children under 5 could face severe malnutrition this year, U.N. says, 25 May 2022, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/1-1-million-afghan-children-under-5-could-face-severe-malnutrition-this-year-u-n-says>, accessed 10 December 2025

Pen America, Rasul Abdi Parsi, 2025, <https://pen.org/writer-at-risk/rasul-abdi-parsi/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Philips Letty and Mirzada Rama, "The Doors to Separation Are Closed for Women": Women and divorce under the Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 4 May 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/the-doors-to-seperation-are-closed-for-women-women-and-divorce-under-the-emirate/>, accessed 10 October 2025

Philips Letty and Mirzada Rama, Shaking the sky: Women's attempts to claim their inheritance rights under the Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), February 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/02/20250130-women-inheritance-FINAL-.pdf>, accessed 14 November 2025

Print (The), As Taliban declares war on verse, Afghan women lose their only weapon, but say silence won't last, 2 September 2025, <https://theprint.in/world/as-taliban-declares-war-on-verse-afghan-women-lose-their-only-weapon-but-say-silence-wont-last/2734416/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Print (The), Muttaqi in Delhi, assures Sikhs & Hindus of restoration of places of worship, security under Taliban, 13 October 2025, <https://theprint.in/diplomacy/muttaqi-in-delhi->

[assures-sikhs-hindus-of-restoration-of-places-of-worship-security-under-taliban/2763064/](https://www.ctc.usma.edu/ctc-sites/ctc-sites/assures-sikhs-hindus-of-restoration-of-places-of-worship-security-under-taliban/2763064/), accessed 19 October 2025

PRIO (Peace Research Institute Osle), CMI (Chr. Michelsen Institute) and CHS (Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies), Pathways towards Strengthening Girl's Education in Afghanistan, December 2023, <https://cdn.cloud.prio.org/files/0edb828b-cd7d-4f3b-bbf2-f92989b69c5b/Event%20Report%20-Pathways%20towards%20Strengthening%20Girl%20s%20Education%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf?inline=true>, accessed 10 December 2025

Protection Cluster Afghanistan, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends, May 2024, [https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2024-05/pau\\_afghanistan\\_may\\_2024\\_final\\_2105202435.pdf](https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2024-05/pau_afghanistan_may_2024_final_2105202435.pdf), accessed 13 November 2025

Protection Cluster Afghanistan, Afghanistan: Protection Analysis Update, Update on protracted-crisis and climate-related protection risks trends January - December 2024, January 2025, [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2121426/afghanistan\\_pau\\_dec\\_2024\\_final\\_0.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2121426/afghanistan_pau_dec_2024_final_0.pdf), accessed 13 November 2025

Radio Sweden, Konflikt: Dödshoten mot Sveriges medarbetare i Afghanistan [Conflict: The death threats against Sweden's collaborators in Afghanistan], 12 January 2024, <https://sverigesradio.se/avsnitt/dom-hjalpte-sverige-nu-ar-de-strandade-i-talibanernas-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Haroun, What the Taliban may be getting wrong about Islamic governance, Al Jazeera, 24 August 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/8/24/what-the-taliban-may-be-getting-wrong-about-islamic-governance>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Haroun, Remaking of Afghanistan: How the Taliban are Changing Afghanistan's Laws and Legal Institutions, ISAS (Institute of South Asian Studies), 26 July 2022, <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/remaking-of-afghanistan-how-the-taliban-are-changing-afghanistans-laws-and-legal-institutions/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Haroun, How the Taliban are Institutionalizing the Propagation of Virtue and Enjoinment of Vice in Afghanistan, Edinburgh University Press, 9 December 2024, <https://www.euppublishing.com/doi/10.3366/afg.2024.0146>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi Haroun and Muhammad Din Faiza, Female Madrasas & Islamic Agency of Afghan Women, in: MJIILP (Manchester Journal of Transnational Islamic Law & Practice, Vol. 20, Issue 3, 4 November 2024, available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=5009662>, pp. 101-118, accessed 30 October 2025

Rahimi, Haroun and Watkins, Andrew, Taliban Rule at 2.5 Years, CTC Sentinel, January 2024, <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/taliban-rule-at-2-5-years/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Haroun and Watkins, Andrew, The Taliban's Dynamic Efforts to Integrate and Regulate Madrasas And the Motives for Doing So, RWI, May 2025, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Rahimi-and-Watkins-2025.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Lutfi, The Silent Erosion of Afghanistan's Urban Middle Class: A Neglected Crisis, The Diplomat, 24 February 2024, <https://thediplomat.com/2024/02/the-silent-erosion-of-afghanistans-urban-middle-class-a-neglected-crisis/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rahimi, Murtaza, Afghanistan's new Penal Code: Whether or Not to codify Hudud and Qisas, University of Texas School of Law, n.d.,  
<https://law.utexas.edu/humanrights/projects/afghanistans-new-penal-code-whether-or-not-to-codify-hudud-and-qisas/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Ramizpoor, M. Abul Ahrar, Restrictions of Civic Space in Afghanistan Under the Taliban – From Religious Ideas to Actions, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), April 2024, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/M.A.A-Ramizpoor-RWI-Afghanistan-2023.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rana, Sohel and Ganguly, Sumit, Taliban's religious ideology – Deobandi Islam – has roots in colonial India, The Conversation, 25 August 2021, <https://theconversation.com/talibans-religious-ideology-deobandi-islam-has-roots-in-colonial-india-166323>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rasekh, Muhammad Salih, A Study of the Turkmen Dialects of Afghanistan: Phonology – Morphology – Lexicon – Sociolinguistic Aspects, Humboldt-Universität (Germany), PhD Thesis, 7 October 2016, <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/server/api/core/bitstreams/671f1265-bad9-4b55-8f2b-fdd015103d97/content>, accessed 17 December 2025

Rasuli, Humaira, Highlighting Afghan Women's Experiences of Violence and Access to Justice, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), May 2025, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Rasuli-2025-Highlighting.pdf>, accessed 13 November 2025

Rawadari, Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report: January-June 30, 2025, August 2025, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/RW\\_MidYear2025\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Report\\_ENG.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/RW_MidYear2025_Human_Rights_Report_ENG.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Rawadari, Afghanistan, Human Rights Situation Report 2023, March 2024, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/RW\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2023\\_English.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/RW_Annual_Report_2023_English.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

Rawadari, Afghanistan Human Rights Situation Report 2024, 19 March 2025, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/RW\\_Annual\\_Report\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Report\\_2025\\_ENG.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/RW_Annual_Report_Human_Rights_Report_2025_ENG.pdf), accessed 24 October 2025

Rawadari, Excluded and deprived: the educational crisis for women and girls in Afghanistan, 21 November 2024, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/RW\\_AccessToEducation\\_2024\\_Eng-1.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/RW_AccessToEducation_2024_Eng-1.pdf), accessed 22 October 2025

Rawadari, Human Rights Situation In Afghanistan: Mid-year Report 1 January to 30 June 2023, August 2023, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/RW\\_AFGHumanRights2023\\_English.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/RW_AFGHumanRights2023_English.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025



Rawadari, Latest Taliban decree on Attorney General's Office (AGO) further erodes rule of law in Afghanistan, 25 March 2023, [https://rawadari.org/press\\_releases/latest-taliban-decree-on-attorney-generals-office-ago-further-erodes-rule-of-law-in-afghanistan/](https://rawadari.org/press_releases/latest-taliban-decree-on-attorney-generals-office-ago-further-erodes-rule-of-law-in-afghanistan/), accessed 10 December 2025

Rawadari, The Afghanistan Mid-Year Human Rights Situation Report, August 2024, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/RW\\_Annual\\_Report\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Report\\_2025\\_ENG.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/RW_Annual_Report_Human_Rights_Report_2025_ENG.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

Rawadari, Torture and Ill-Treatment: The State of Prisons in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, June 2025, [https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/RW\\_TortureReport\\_English-Final.pdf](https://rawadari.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/RW_TortureReport_English-Final.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

REACH, Afghanistan: Comparative Drought Analysis, September 2024, [https://repository.impact-initiatives.org/document/impact/fbb84f88/REACH\\_AFG\\_Report\\_ComparativeDroughtAnalysis\\_Sept\\_2024.pdf](https://repository.impact-initiatives.org/document/impact/fbb84f88/REACH_AFG_Report_ComparativeDroughtAnalysis_Sept_2024.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

REACH, Quarterly Markets Overview—Spotlight on Affordability, Accessibility and Availability, July 2025, <https://repository.impact-initiatives.org/document/impact/4cd22ca8/JMMI-Quarterly-Situation-Overview-July.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reid Rachel, Manoeuvring Through the Cracks: The Afghan human rights movement under the Islamic Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 15 June 2025, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2025/06/20250619-Human-Rights-FINAL-corr.pdf>, accessed 21 October 2025

Reuters, Afghan girls struggle with poor internet as they turn to online classes, 28 March 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/afghan-girls-struggle-with-poor-internet-they-turn-online-classes-2023-03-27/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Afghan women defy Taliban gym ban with secret fitness clubs, 21 December 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/article/business/feature-afghan-women-defy-taliban-gym-ban-with-secret-fitness-clubs-idUSKBN33809G>, accessed 14 December 2025

Reuters, Austria deports first Afghan since Taliban seized power, says more to come, 21 October 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/austria-deports-first-afghan-since-taliban-seized-power-says-more-come-2025-10-21/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, European Union re-establishes physical presence in Afghanistan -spokesman, 21 January 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/european-union-re-establishes-physical-presence-afghanistan-spokesman-2022-01-21/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Taliban announces makeup of new Afghan government, 7 September 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taliban-announces-makeup-new-afghan-government-2021-09-07/>, accessed 15 November 2025

Reuters, Exclusive: Taliban in talks with Russia, China for trade transactions in local currencies, 23 May 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/business/finance/taliban-talks-with-russia-china-trade-transactions-local-currencies-2025-05-23/>, accessed 15 November 2025

Reuters, Internet and cell phone services resume in Afghanistan, 2 October 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/internet-cut-off-leaves-afghans-stranded-flights-cancelled-2025-10-01/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Pakistan, Afghanistan agree to temporary truce after fresh fighting, airstrikes, 15 October 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/over-12-civilians-killed-attacks-afghanistan-by-pakistani-forces-afghan-taliban-2025-10-15/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Pakistani troops on high alert on Afghan border after fighting, trade halts, 13 October 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/business/aerospace-defense/pakistani-troops-high-alert-afghan-border-after-fighting-trade-halts-2025-10-13/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Protests get harder for Afghan women amid risks and red tape, 4 October 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/protests-get-harder-afghan-women-amid-risks-red-tape-2021-10-04/?rpc=401&>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Taliban ban women in Afghanistan from flying without male chaperone, 27 March 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/afghanistans-taliban-ban-women-flying-without-male-chaperone-sources-2022-03-27/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Taliban-led Afghan administration suspends women from universities, 20 December 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taliban-led-afghan-administration-says-female-students-suspended-universities-2022-12-20/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, Why is Afghanistan so prone to earthquakes?, 2 September 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/business/environment/why-is-afghanistan-so-prone-earthquakes-2025-09-02/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Reuters, In aid-starved Afghanistan, relief workers fight a forgotten hunger crisis, 10 December 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/famine-ngo-afghanistan/>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), 'All Doors Are Closed' For Single And Unaccompanied Afghan Women Under The Taliban, 31 January 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-restrictions-single-women-widows/32799903.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), 'I Feel Suffocated': Taliban Intensifies Clampdown On Music In Afghanistan, 17 August 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/taliban-intensifies-crackdown-music-afghanistan/32551971.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), 'I Have No Choice': Cleared From The Streets, Kabul's Poorest Go Door-To-Door In Search Of Alms, 23 February 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-begging-kabul-economic-crisis/32284304.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), 'Systematic Discrimination': Taliban's Drastic Cut In Salaries Of Female State Employees Triggers Anger, 18 June 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-women-employees-salaries/32998050.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Afghan Survivors Speak Out: What The Taliban Does To Imprisoned Women, 8 March 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-women-prison-rape-torture-protest-silence-work-study-restrictions/33340157.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Afghan Taliban Orders Women To Wear Burqa Coverings In Public, 7 May 2022, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-women-burqa-hijab/31838898.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Afghan Women Banned From Making Trips Unless Escorted, 26 December 2021, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/taliban-woman-banned-travel-chaperone/31626822.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Afghans Fear For Their Rights As Taliban Resurrects Religious Policing, 6 January 2022, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-religious-policing/31642688.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Afghans Increasingly Marrying Off Young Daughters To Avoid Forced Unions With Taliban, 1 December 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-early-marriage-avoid-taliban/32157525.html>, accessed 13 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Banned From Public Parks And Bathhouses, Afghan Women Say Life Under Taliban Is Like A 'Prison', 10 November 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-women-banned-parks-bathhouses-prison/32124374.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Every Two Hours A Woman Dies During Childbirth In Afghanistan, 15 March 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-healthcare-women-childbirth/33348006.html>, accessed 13 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Exiled Afghan Musicians Who Fled The Taliban Fear Deportation From Pakistan, 20 December 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/exiled-afghan-musicians-taliban-deportation-pakistan/32185166.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Exodus Of Doctors Leaves Afghans Scrambling For Treatment, 22 December 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-doctors-healthcare-exodus/33246835.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Four Years On, UN Says Taliban Close To 'Erasing' Afghan Women From Public Life, 14 August 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/un-taliban-erasing-afghan-women-from-public-life/33501215.html>, accessed 13 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Islam Does Not Ban Girls' Education. So Why Does The Taliban?, 13 August 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/taliban-girls-education-islam-takeover-anniversary/32546094.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Public Executions By Taliban Spark Global Outcry, 11 April 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/public-executions-taliban-global-outcry-amnesty-united-nations/33382467.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Secret Schools Offer 'A Ray Of Hope' For Rural Afghan Girls, 20 December 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-secret-schools-girls-education-taliban/32740641.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Senior Clerics Caught In The Crossfire Of The Taliban's Intensifying War With IS-K, 24 August 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-islamic-state-khorasan-clerics/32003122.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Survivors Of Deadly Taliban Raid On Hazara Village In Afghanistan Demand Justice, 20 December 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghan-survivors-taliban-raid-hazara-village-demand-justice/32185190.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Bans Books From Minority Muslim Sects In Private University Libraries, 22 December 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-religious-minorities/32743636.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Bans Political Parties In Afghanistan After Declaring Them Un-Islamic, 17 August 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-bans-political-parties/32552632.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Blames Pakistan For Air Strikes Killing 10, Including 9 Children, 25 November 2025, available at: <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/2133053.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-islamic-clerics-dissent/33434004.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Broadens Crackdown With Detention Of Critical Religious Scholars, 5 June 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-islamic-clerics-dissent/33434004.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Faces Rising Armed Resistance From Former Government Factions, 27 April 2022, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/taliban-resistance-former-government-factions/31823881.html>, accessed 20 January 2026

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty), Taliban Restrictions Blamed For Surge In Suicides Among Afghans, 29 July 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/taliban-restrictions-fueling-suicides-afghans/33486028.html>, accessed 13 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Resurrects Gender Segregation In Public Offices, Transport In Afghanistan, 16 March 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/taliban-gender-segregation-afghanistan/31756292.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban Searches Houses In Kabul After Rocket Attack Claimed By Freedom Front, 22 October 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-kabul-airport-attack/33168412.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban's Arrest Of Ethnic Uzbek Commander Sparks Clashes In Northern Afghanistan, 29 January 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/taliban-arrest-uzbek-commander-clashes/31677178.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban's Closure Of Women's Shelters Leaves Afghan Women Vulnerable To Abuse, 9 July 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-women-shelter-safe-house-taliban/33467619.html>, accessed 12 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban's Drug Ban, Heavy-Handed Tactics Fuel Deadly Protests In Northern Afghanistan, 15 May 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-badakhshan-protests-taliban-drug-ban/32948643.html>, accessed 22 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban's Education Ban On Afghan Girls Fuels Spike In Child Marriages, 13 June 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-education-ban-marriage/32989877.html>, accessed 13 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Taliban's Internet Ban Threatens Afghan Women's Livelihoods And Education, 26 September 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-internet-women/33538742.html>, accessed 29 October 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), The Azadi Briefing: Afghanistan Witnesses A Surge In Violence, 20 September 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-pakistan-isk-nrf-aff-ttp/33127731.html>, accessed 26 November 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), The Azadi Briefing: Taliban Intensifies Efforts To Eradicate Secular Education In Afghanistan, 14 July 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/azadi-afghanistan-taliban-education/32503707.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), The Azadi Briefing: Thousands Of Afghans Detained By Taliban's Morality Police, 23 August 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-morality-police-arrests/33090049.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), The Thrill Is Gone For Valentine's Day In Taliban-Controlled Kabul, 14 February 2023, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-save-the-children-resumes-women/32225931.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), This Is What It's Like To Be A Journalist Under Taliban Rule, 3 May 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-press-freedom-journalists-media/32925395.html>, accessed 7 January 2026

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Unreliable Medical Tests Force Afghans to Seek Treatment Abroad, 13 June 2025, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-medical-diagnosis-healthcare-treatment-abroad/33440145.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), Which Countries Have Relations With The Taliban's Unrecognized Government?, 30 May 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-russia-diplomacy/32972530.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty), With Music Banned, Afghan Musician Now Sells Snacks To Feed His Family, 17 December 2022, <https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-kabul-music-ban-taliban-harmonium-wedding/32178596.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Roy-Chaudhury, Rahul, Will Russia's diplomatic recognition of the Afghan Taliban government have a domino effect?, IISS (The International Institute for Strategic Studies), 8 August 2025, <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/online-analysis/2025/08/will-russias-diplomatic-recognition-of-the-afghan-taliban-government-have-a-domino-effect/>, accessed 3 January 2026

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), Afghan journalism still resisting after two years of Taliban persecution, 10 August 2023, <https://rsf.org/en/afghan-journalism-still-resisting-after-two-years-taliban-persecution>, accessed 10 December 2025

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), Afghanistan, [2024], <https://rsf.org/en/country/afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), Afghanistan: Taliban prohibit journalists from collaborating with Afghanistan Internaitonal news channel, 14 May 2024, <https://rsf.org/en/afghanistan-taliban-prohibit-journalists-collaborating-afghanistan-international-news-channel>, accessed 10 December 2025

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), Afghanistan : the disturbing, escalating censorship suffocating the free press, 27 February 2025, <https://rsf.org/en/afghanistan-disturbing-escalating-censorship-suffocating-free-press>, accessed 10 December 2025

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), Afghanistan: press freedom at its lowest point as Taliban closed 12 media outlets in less than a year, 20 December 2024, <https://rsf.org/en/afghanistan-press-freedom-its-lowest-point-taliban-closed-12-media-outlets-less-year>, accessed 10 December 2025

RSF (Reporters Without Borders), In Afghanistan, new Taliban tactic to humiliate journalists: forced "confessions" broadcast online, 04 November 2025, <https://rsf.org/en/afghanistan-new-taliban-tactic-humiliate-journalists-forced-confessions-broadcast-online%20accessed%2013%20November%202025>, accessed 14 December 2025

Rubin, Barnett R., Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Findings on the Current Situation, Stimson, 20 October 2022, <https://www.stimson.org/2022/afghanistan-under-the-taliban-findings-on-the-current-situation/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Rudabe, Taliban Orders Closure of Hezb-e-Islami Offices and Arrest of Party Staff in Widening Crackdown, 14 April 2025, <https://rudabe.org/archives/25623?>, accessed 10 December 2025

Russia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press release on the meeting of the Moscow Format of Consultations on Afghanistan, 4 October 2024, [https://mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/news/1974295/](https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1974295/), accessed 10 December 2025

Ruttig, Thomas, No Climate Change Deniers: The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan goes to COP29, as an observer, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 24 November 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/international-engagement/no-climate-change-deniers-the-islamic-emirate-of-afghanistan-goes-to-cop29-as-an-observer/>, accessed 10 December 2025

RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), Unprecedented Levels of Poverty – Widows Hardest Hit, 14 May 2024, <https://rwi.lu.se/blog/unprecedented-levels-of-poverty-widows-hardest-hit/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Sabawoon, Ali Mohammad, Land in Afghanistan: This time, retaking instead of grabbing land?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 15 December 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/land-in-afghanistan-this-time-retaking-instead-of-grabbing-land/>, accessed 18 November 2025

Sabawoon, Ali Mohammad, Living in a Collapsed Economy (4): The desperation and guilt of giving a young daughter in marriage, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 20 October 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/living-in-a-collapsed-economy-4-the-desperation-and-guilt-of-giving-a-young-daughter-in-marriage/>, accessed 7 November 2025

Sabawoon, Ali Mohammad, Where Are My Rights? Afghan retirees appeal for their pensions, AAN (Afghan Analysts Network), 22 May 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/where-are-my-rights-afghan-retirees-appeal-for-their-pensions/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Sabawoon, Ali Mohammad and Shapoor, Roxanna, The Daily Hustle: Why one Afghan girl decided to open her own madrasa, AAN (Afghan Analysts Network), 2 June 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/the-daily-hustle/rights-and-freedoms-the-daily-hustle/the-daily-hustle-why-one-afghan-girl-decided-to-open-her-own-madrasa/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Sadat, Sayed Asadullah and Shapour Roxanna, The Daily Hustle: Women take to street peddling to feed their families, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 22 July 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/the-daily-hustle-women-take-to-street-peddling-to-feed-their-families/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Sadat, Sayed Asadullah and Clark, Kate, A Place to Call Home: What is driving up house prices in Kabul and pushing the poorest residents into homelessness?, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 14 December 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/a-place-to-call-home-what-is-driving-up-house-prices-in-kabul-andpushing-the-poorest-residents-into-homelessness/>, accessed 10 December 2025

SAK (Swedish Afghanistan Committee), Emiren stärker kontrollen över hela landet [The Emir strengthens control over the whole country], 17 March 2025, <https://sak.se/aktuellt/emiren-starker-kontrollen-over-hela-landet/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Saleem, Mawlvı Atta ur Rahman and Semple, Michael, Peace Matrix for Afghanistan, PeaceRep, 11 November 2024, <https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/Peace%20Matrix%20for%20Afghanistan%20Strengthening%20Afghans%20pursuit%20/>

[Oof%20democracy,%20freedom%20and%20economic%20recovery.pdf](#), accessed 10

December 2025

Salem, Marwa Rashad, Hegazy, Nelly, Eldeeb, Sherif, Shaguy, Jermoe A., Nassery, Ramesh Mohammad, Khawari, Abdullah, Tanoli, Jamshed and Abouzeid, Alaal, The current situation of health equity in underserved areas of Afghanistan, *Frontiers in Public Health*, 24 September 2024, <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/public-health/articles/10.3389/fpubh.2024.1370500/full>, accessed 10 December 2025

Samim, Sabawoon, Policing Public Morality : Debates on promoting virtue and preventing vice in the Taliban's second Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 15 June 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/policing-public-morality-debates-on-promoting-virtue-and-preventing-vice-in-the-taleban-second-emirate%ef%bf%bc/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Samim, Sabawoon, The Poetry of the Emirate: From insurgent war propaganda to state-sponsored PR, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 20 October 2024, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/context-culture/the-poetry-of-the-emirate-from-insurgent-war-propaganda-to-state-sponsored-pr/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Satarzadeh, Laleh, Tabatabaee, Seyed Saeed, Ghavami, Vahid and Moghri, Javad, Understanding patient perceptions of access to healthcare centers in one of the major cities of Afghanistan, 18 April 2025, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-025-98678-6>, accessed 12 December 2025

Savi, Mariam, Brown, Evie, Kamninga, Tony and Khan, Ayesha, Changing social norms around age of marriage in Afghanistan, Data on repression and resistance under the Taliban, ODI, February 2024, <https://media.odi.org/documents/Afghanistan-full-report-final.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

SCA (Swedish Committee for Afghanistan), The Afghan Population, n.d., <https://solidaritycommittee.org/afghanistan/population/>, accessed 23 November 2025

Shafaqna, Taliban court sentenced a university professor to 16 months in prison, 2 November 2023, <https://india.shafaqna.com/EN/taliban-court-sentenced-a-university-professor-to-16-months-in-prison/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Shapour, Roxanna, Nature's Fury: The Herat earthquakes of 2023, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 10 November 2023, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/economy-development-environment/nautres-fury-the-herat-earthquakes-of-2023/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Shapour Roxanna and Mirzada, Rama, Strangers in Our Own Country: How Afghan women cope with life under the Islamic Emirate, AAN (Afghanistan Analysts Network), 28 December 2022, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/rights-freedom/strangers-in-our-own-country-how-afghan-women-cope-with-life-under-the-islamic-emirate/>, accessed 14 December 2025

Sherzad, Abdul Ghafar, Zafarzai, Imran, Zahirzai, Mohammad Sediqe, Jabarkhil, Abdul Nasir, Azimee, Mohammad Azim, Adil, Ali Jan, Mulavizada, Habibullah, Shinwari, Muhibullah, Zafarzai, Kamran and Zeng, Qingchun, Factors Influencing Decision Making of Afghan Patients



to Seek Medical Treatment in Pakistan: A Cross-Sectional Study, Journal of Multidisciplinary Healthcare, April 2025, <https://PMC11971997/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Shirzay, Maliha, Pioneering Uzbek Women in Educational Process in Afghanistan: An Intersectional Exploration of Uzbek Women's Historical Struggles, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), May 2025, <https://rwi.lu.se/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/Shirzay-2025-Pioneering.pdf>, accessed 3 November 2025

Shirzay, Maliha, Standing in Solidarity: Addressing Challenges Facing Female Education in Afghanistan at the Start of the New Academic Year, RWI (Raoul Wallenberg Institute), 2 April 2024, <https://rwi.lu.se/blog/standing-in-solidarity-addressing-challenges-facing-female-education-in-afghanistan-at-the-start-of-the-new-academic-year/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Sinclair, Stephanie, In the new Afghanistan, it's sell your daughter or starve, 15 January 2024, Washington Post (The), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/01/16/afghanistan-child-brides/>, accessed 13 November 2025

SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), Climate, Peace and Security Fact Sheet: Afghanistan 2023, February 2023, [https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2023%20NUPI\\_FactSheet\\_Afghanistan.pdf](https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2023%20NUPI_FactSheet_Afghanistan.pdf), accessed 14 December 2025

SpecialEurasia, Tajik Taliban Commanders Arrested in Afghanistan Underline the Movement's Internal Frictions, 15 April 2025, <https://www.specialeurasia.com/2025/04/15/tajik-taliban-afghanistan/>, accessed 13 November 2025

Strand, Arne, Refugee Protection Is Being Eroded, PRIO (Peace Research Institute Oslo), 2 February 2024, <https://www.prio.org/comments/1102>, accessed 12 December 2025

Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan, Styre och rättskipning [Afghanistan, governance and justice], 6 July 2023, <https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/sweden/PLib/230706250.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

Sweden, Migrationsverket, Afghanistan: Identitetshandlingar: Utfärdande av handlingar i Afghanistan och vid aghanska utlandsbeskickningar (version 3.0) [Afghanistan. Identity documents. Issuance of documents in Afghanistan and in Afghan missions], 10 October 2025, <https://lifos.migrationsverket.se/dokument?documentSummaryId=49502>, accessed 29 October 2025

Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Afghanistan. Restriktioner och begränsningar av personlig frihet under talibanstyret [Afghanistan. Restrictions and limitations on personal freedoms under Taliban rule], 16 April 2024, <https://lifos.migrationsverket.se/dokument?documentSummaryId=48233>, accessed 12 December 2025

Switzerland, SEM (Staatssekretariat für Migration), Focus Afghanistan, Return from abroad, 14 February 2025, <https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/sem/en/data/internationales/herkunftsstaender/asien->



[nahost/afg/afg-auslandsrueckkehr-e.pdf.download.pdf/afg-auslandsrueckkehr-e.pdf](http://nahost/afg/afg-auslandsrueckkehr-e.pdf.download.pdf/afg-auslandsrueckkehr-e.pdf), accessed 6 January 2026

Switzerland, Swiss Federal Authorities, Switzerland re-establishes presence in Kabul with humanitarian office, 31 March 2024, <https://www.deza.eda.admin.ch/en/afghanistan-humanitarian-office-kabul>, accessed 12 December 2025

Sky News, Crying babies blighted by hunger fill this Afghanistan hospital - where parents fear each day might be the last, 6 October 2025, <https://news.sky.com/story/crying-babies-dimmed-by-hunger-fill-this-afghanistan-hospital-where-parents-fear-each-day-might-be-the-last-13445205>, accessed 14 December 2025

Sky News Australia [YouTube], Taliban sets fire to pile of musical instruments, 1 August 2023, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kh\\_ebITY-VU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kh_ebITY-VU), accessed 10 December 2025

Tagesschau2, Die Show der Taliban [The Taliban's show], 20 July 2025, <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/asien/afghanistan-abschiebungen-taliban-102.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Tagesschau, Regierung führt Gespräche mit Taliban [Government holds talks with Taliban], 14 September 2025, <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/afghanistan-abschiebungen-taliban-104.html>, accessed 10 December 2025

Telegraph (The), Afghanistan's internet blackout is a glimpse of a dark future, 6 October 2025, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2025/10/06/afghanistan-internet-dark-future-outage/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Telegraph (The), Taliban bans political debate in free speech crackdown, 3 July 2025, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2025/07/03/taliban-bans-political-debate-in-free-speech-crackdown/>, accessed 10 December 2025

Telegraph (The), Taliban leader says women will be stoned to death in public, 25 March 2025, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2024/03/25/taliban-leader-akhundzada-women-stoned-death-afghanistan/>, accessed 14 December 2025

The Afghanistan Project Podcast [YouTube], Afghanistan's internet outage with Shabir Kabiri - The Afghanistan Project Podcast Ep 113, 6 October 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yRlb6UZ9eOA>, accessed 10 December 2025

Time, 'I'm Afraid:' What U.S. Aid Cuts Mean for the Women of Afghanistan, 21 August 2025, <https://time.com/7310744/afghanistan-us-aid-cuts-maternal-health/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Times (The), 'Afghanistan has fallen off the agenda and been put on hold', 7 March 2024, <https://www.thetimes.com/uk/law/article/afghanistan-has-fallen-off-the-agenda-and-been-put-on-hold-qq3f2wk6b>, accessed 14 December 2025

Times (The), 'I am going to find you': the plight of Afghanistan's female judges, 16 August 2025, <https://www.thetimes.com/culture/books/article/escape-from-kabul-true-story-sisterhood-defiance-karen-bartlett-review-5lflq2hv9>, accessed 10 December 2025



Times of India (The), Afghan Hindus and Sikhs meet foreign minister Muttaqi; urge restoration, maintenance of gurdwaras, temples, 14 October 2025,  
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/afghan-hindus-and-sikhs-meet-foreign-minister-muttaqi-urge-restoration-maintenance-of-gurdwaras-temples/articleshow/124533731.cms>, accessed 20 October 2025

Times of India (The), Kabul Gurdwara Attacked Again, Blast Near Main Gate, 28 July 2022,  
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chandigarh/kabul-gurdwara-attacked-again-blast-near-main-gate/articleshow/93172741.cms>, accessed 23 October 2025

Times of India (The), Pakistan: Ambush by TTP near Afghanistan border claims lives of 11 soldiers, 9 October 2025, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/pakistan-ambush-by-ttp-near-afghanistan-border-claims-lives-of-11-soldiers/articleshow/124402836.cms>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, 5,000 Complaints Addressed in Just Over Year: MoVV, 20 August 2024,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-190321>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, 20,000 Families Displaced by Pakistani Airstrikes in Kandahar, 18 October 2025,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-190321>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Abdullah Abdullah Leaves Afghanistan, 1 May 2022,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-177827>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, ACB Announces Squad for U19 Asia Qualifiers, 3 May 2025,  
<https://tolonews.com/sport-193837>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Afghan UN Mission Announces It Will Host Gathering, 14 May 2022,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-178009>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Afghan Students Anxious as Schools Remain Closed, 16 September 2021,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-174679>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Afghanistan's Health System in 1403 Reviewed, 21 March 2025,  
<https://tolonews.com/health-193539>, accessed 6 November 2025

TOLOnews, Afghanistan's U17 Futsal Champions Receive Hero's Welcome in Paktia, Khost, 8 November 2025, <https://tolonews.com/index.php/sport-196458>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Afghanistan U-17 Futsal Team Departs for Bahrain, 19 October 2025,  
<https://tolonews.com/index.php/sport-196210>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Anas Haqqani Calls on Unqualified Officials to Step Down, 27 December 2021,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-176065>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, At Hajj Ceremony, Official Calls for Brotherly Intl Relations, 12 June 2022,  
<https://tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan-178443>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Baradar Warns Against Any violation of Afghan Territory, 28 November 2025,  
<https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196793>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Contact Commission Issues Security Cards to Returning Former Officials, 27 July 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195187>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Daily Wage Workers Struggle for Jobs in Kabul, 4 March 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-193309>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Deported Afghans Face Hardship After Returning Empty-Handed from Iran, 9 October 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196060>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Doctors Warn of Critical Shortages in Quake-Affected Eastern Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, <https://tolonews.com/health-195669>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Herat Residents Struggle With Soaring Rents, 25 August 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195543>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Identification of Nine State-Owned Townships in Four Provinces, 2 November 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196401>, accessed 17 November 2025

TOLOnews, Internet, Telecom Services Restored in Afghanistan After 48-Hour Outage, 1 October 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195962>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Abolishes Attorney General's Office, 18 July 2023, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-184251>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Leader Bans 'Unproven Allegations' Against Members, 22 July 2022, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-179059>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Leader Orders Full Implementation of Sharia Law, 14 November 2022, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-180747>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Pledges Safety for Returning Afghans, 21 May 2022, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-178114>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Islamic Emirate Vows Timely Response to Pakistan's Airstrikes, 25 November 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196747>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Kabul Municipality Leads Citywide Development Initiatives, 21 July 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195101>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Kabul Residents Struggle as Rents Soar, 28 August 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195575>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Karzai: Ban on Girls' Education Key to Lack of Intl Recognition, 30 May 2025, <https://tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan-194487>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Karzai's Relatives Confirm Ban On His Travel Abroad, 6 September 2023, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-184983>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Khost Residents Demand Retaliation After Pakistani Attacks, 27 November 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196771>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Lecturer Rips Up His Certificates to Protest Ban on Women's Education, 1 January 2023, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-181431>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Ministry Orders NGOs to Suspend Female Staff, 24 December 2022, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-181332>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Muttaqi Says More Embassies Will Reopen in Kabul, 30 March 2023, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-182746>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Nadim: We Want Youth to Be Professionals, Not 'Talib', 27 May 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-194458>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, No Restrictions Imposed on Former Govt Officials: Mujahid, 28 April 2023, <https://tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan-183147>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Pakistani Airstrike Hits Civilian Home in Kunar, Injures 5, 25 November 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196754>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Pakistan Airstrike Hits Kabul, Civilians and School Damaged, 16 October 2025, <https://tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan-196170>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Poverty and Unemployment Deepen as Afghans Struggle to Afford Basic Needs, 5 October 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-196005>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Security Situation Considered at Three-Year Mark of Islamic Emirate Rule, 15 August 2024, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-194657>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Spokesman: Islamic Emirate Attachés Active in 16 Countries, 23 December 2023, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-186625>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Two People Die Due to Cold Weather in Faryab, 7 January 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-192497>, accessed 10 December 2025

TOLOnews, Unemployment Crisis in the Country; Youth Say They Can't Find Jobs, 15 September 2025, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-195783>, accessed 10 December 2025

TRT World, Taliban urges Afghans to 'return to your country' after new US travel ban, 7 June 2025, <https://www.trtworld.com/article/06c2e3b763f5>, accessed 10 December 2025

Turkmani, Sabera and Currie, Sheena, Afghanistan's fragile health system faces catastrophe without immediate international funding, BMJ, 16 April 2025, <https://www.bmjjournals.org/content/389/bmj.r759.short>, accessed 10 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), About UCDP, n.d., <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), Afghanistan, [2024], <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), data covering the period 1 October 2024–30 November 2025, provided by courtesy of UCDP in an email, 8 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), Department of Peace and Conflict Research – Uppsala University, Sweden, n.d., <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook (Version 21.1), 2021, <https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/ged/ged211.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UCDP (Uppsala Conflict Data Program), UCDP Methodology, n.d.,  
<https://www.uu.se/en/department/peace-and-conflict-research/research/ucdp/ucdp-methodology>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom) Parliament, Refugee Legal Support, Written evidence submitted by Refugee Legal Support, October 2025,  
<https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenEvidence/149931/pdf/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom) Parliament, Written evidence submitted anonymously, October 2025,  
<https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenEvidence/149597/html/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom) Home Office, Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations, 11 July 2025,  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/proscribed-terror-groups-or-organisations--2/proscribed-terror-groups-or-organisations-accessible-version>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom), House of Commons Library, Afghanistan: One year under a Taliban government, 10 October 2022, <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9632/CBP-9632.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom), House of Commons Library, Expulsion of Afghans from Pakistan and Iran, 8 December 2023, <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9905/>, accessed 10 December 2025

UK (United Kingdom), House of Commons Library, Recent developments in Afghanistan, 18 March 2025, <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-10215/CBP-10215.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN (United Nations), Afghanistan, Map No. 3958 Rev. 7, June 2011,  
<https://www.un.org/geospatial/content/afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN (United Nations), Afghanistan's Future Depends on Taliban's Engagement with World, But Restrictions on Women Signal Lack of International Commitments, Briefer Warns Security Council, 27 September 2022, <https://press.un.org/en/2022/sc15038.doc.htm>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN (United Nations), Afghanistan's Taliban responsible for revenge killings, torture of former officials, 22 August 2023, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/08/1139962>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN (United Nations), United Nations Security Council Consolidated List, n.d., <https://main.un.org/securitycouncil/en/content/un-sc-consolidated-list>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Afghanistan, Annual report 2023, 19 April 2024, [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unsdg\\_afghanistan\\_report\\_2023\\_final.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unsdg_afghanistan_report_2023_final.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

UN Afghanistan, Common Country Analysis, December 2024 Update, November 2024, [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi00t\\_mv9qQAxU8nf0HHccadCYQFnoECBqQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fminio.uninfo.org%2Funinfo-production-main%2Fc35f5717-b59f-4d30-bd55-e4f662b75469\\_Afghanistan%2520CCA%25202024%2520update.pdf&usg=AOvVaw2HgHQ9Gmv68akLyhUswlIA&opi=89978449](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwi00t_mv9qQAxU8nf0HHccadCYQFnoECBqQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fminio.uninfo.org%2Funinfo-production-main%2Fc35f5717-b59f-4d30-bd55-e4f662b75469_Afghanistan%2520CCA%25202024%2520update.pdf&usg=AOvVaw2HgHQ9Gmv68akLyhUswlIA&opi=89978449), accessed 14 December 2025

UN CEDAW (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women), Concluding observations on the fourth periodic report of Afghanistan, CEDAW /C/AFG/CO/4, 10 July 2025, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n25/184/19/pdf/n2518419.pdf>, accessed 24 October 2025

UN General Assembly, Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, A/80/266, 25 July 2025, <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/266>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/80/432, 8 October 2025 <https://docs.un.org/en/A/80/432>, accessed 26 November 2025

UN General Assembly, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/78/338, 1 September 2023, <https://docs.un.org/en/a/78/338>, accessed 31 October 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, Children and armed conflict, A/78/842-S/2024/384, 3 June 2024, <https://docs.un.org/en/S/2024/384>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/76/667-S/2022/64, 28 January 2022, <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/situation-afghanistan-and-its-implications-international-peace-and-security-66>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/77/636-S/2022/916, 7 December 2022, [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/221207\\_sg\\_report\\_on\\_afghanistan\\_s.2022.916.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/221207_sg_report_on_afghanistan_s.2022.916.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/77/772-S/2023/151, 27 February 2023, <https://docs.un.org/en/A/77/772>, accessed 6 November 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/78/361-S/2023/678, 18 September 2023, [https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/S\\_2023\\_678.pdf](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/S_2023_678.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 20 June 2023, available at:  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/230620\\_sg\\_report\\_on\\_afghanistan\\_s.2023.453.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/230620_sg_report_on_afghanistan_s.2023.453.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/78/914-S/2024/469, 13 June 2024,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg\\_report\\_june\\_2024.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_june_2024.pdf), accessed 14 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/79/675-S/2024/876, 6 December 2024,  
<https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/675>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/79/797-S/2025/109, 21 February 2025,  
<https://docs.un.org/en/A/79/797>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/79/947-S/2025/372, 11 June 2025,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg\\_report\\_june\\_2025\\_s-2025-372.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_june_2025_s-2025-372.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, A/80/366-S/2025/554, 5 September 2025,  
<https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/n2522699.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 3 December 2025,  
[https://admin.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2025-12/sg\\_report\\_afghanistan\\_s-2025-789.pdf](https://admin.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2025-12/sg_report_afghanistan_s-2025-789.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Advance unedited version), A/HRC/60/23, 5 September 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-09/a-hrc-60-23-auv-1-en.pdf>, accessed 22 October 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, A/80/366-S/2025/554, 16 June 2025, <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/59/25>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Access to justice and protection for women and girls and the impact of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination (Advance unedited version), A/HRC/59/25, 11 June 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/a-hrc-59-25-auv-1-en.pdf>, accessed 7 January 2026

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/49/24, 4 March 2022,  
<https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ohchr.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2F2022->



[03%2FA\\_HRC\\_49\\_24\\_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK](03%2FA_HRC_49_24_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK), accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/51/21, 11 September 2023,

[https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session54/advance-versions/A\\_HRC\\_54\\_21\\_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session54/advance-versions/A_HRC_54_21_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx), accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/51/6, 9 September 2022, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g22/483/43/pdf/g2248343.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/54/21, 11 September 2023,

[https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ecoi.net%2Fen%2Ffile%2Flocal%2F2097200%2FA\\_HRC\\_54\\_21\\_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK](https://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ecoi.net%2Fen%2Ffile%2Flocal%2F2097200%2FA_HRC_54_21_AdvanceUneditedVersion.docx&wdOrigin=BROWSELINK), accessed 12 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/55/80, 29 February 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/ahrc5580-situation-human-rights-afghanistan-report-special-rapporteur>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/58/80, 20 February 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-02/a-hrc-58-80-aev-1-en.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Afghanistan, Advanced unedited version, A/80/432, 8 October 2025, [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-10/a-80-432-aev\\_0.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-10/a-80-432-aev_0.pdf), accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of women and girls in Afghanistan. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls, A/HRC/53/21, 20 June 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/ahrc5321-situation-women-and-girls-afghanistan-report-special-rapporteur>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Study of the so-called law on the promotion of virtue and the prevention of vice, A/HRC/58/74, 12 March 2025, <https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/58/74>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, The phenomenon of an institutionalized system of discrimination, segregation, disrespect for human dignity and exclusion of women and girls, A/HRC/56/25, 13 May 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/ahrc5625-phenomenon-institutionalized-system-discrimination-segregation>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, A/HRC/60/23, 5 September 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2025-09/a-hrc-60-23-aev-1-en.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, 'Absolutely the wrong path,' Türk warns against Afghanistan's ban on women in NGOs, 31 December 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/12/1158651>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, 'The real challenge is still ahead': UN warns on Afghan returnees, 8 August 2025, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/08/1165610>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, Afghanistan economy in 'freefall', threatening to take entire population with it, 19 December 2021, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/12/1108372>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, Afghanistan: Taliban rule has erased women from public life, sparked mental health crisis, 13 August 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/08/1153151>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, Afghanistan: UN condemns Taliban ban on women attending medical classes, 5 December 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/12/1157866>, accessed 14 December 2025

UN News, Excluded from Education, Public Life, Women, Girls Facing 'Gender Apartheid' in Afghanistan, Delegate Tells Security Council, 21 June 2023, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15330.doc.htm>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN News, Four years on, here's what total exclusion of women in Afghanistan looks like, 11 August 2025, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2025/08/1165622>, accessed 13 November 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: Conflict Induced Displacements, 24 November 2025, <https://response.reliefweb.int/afghanistan/internal-displacement-due-conflict>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: Drought - 2021-2024, 2024, <https://reliefweb.int/disaster/dr-2021-000022-afg>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: The alarming effects of climate change, 1 August 2023, <https://www.unocha.org/news/afghanistan-alarming-effects-climate-change>, accessed 14 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2025 (December 2024), 19 December 2024, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-2025-december-2024>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023, 23 January 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-humanitarian-needs-overview-2023-january-2023>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: Humanitarian Update, April 2024, 2 July 2024,

<https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-humanitarian-update-april-2024>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: Overview of Funding Shortfall and Impact on Humanitarian Operations, 14 August 2025, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-overview-funding-shortfall-and-impact-humanitarian-operations-14-august-2025>, accessed 26 November 2025

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Afghanistan: Situation Update #7 - Eastern Region Earthquake Response (25 September 2025, 25 September 2025, <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-situation-update-7-eastern-region-earthquake-response-25-september-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OHCHR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights), Afghanistan: Returns of Afghans creating multi-layered human rights crisis, 18 July 2025, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2025/07/afghanistan-returns-afghans-creating-multi-layered-human-rights-crisis>, Accessed 15 January 2026

UN OHCHR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights), Any party in Afghanistan declaring it follows Islamic Sharia must uphold and protect the rights of women and girls, 24 August 2021, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements-and-speeches/2021/08/any-party-afghanistan-declaring-it-follows-islamic-sharia-must>, accessed 7 January 2026

UN OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Natural Disasters Dashboard, 11 November 2025, <https://response.reliefweb.int/afghanistan/natural-disasters-dashboard>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN OHCHR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights), UN experts: legal professionals in Afghanistan face extreme risks, need urgent international support, 20 January 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/ijudiciary/statements/2023-01-17/202301-stm-sr-ijl-sr-afghanistan-day-endangered-lawyer.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Security Council, Fourteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2665 (2022) concerning the Taliban and other associated individuals and entities constituting a threat to the peace stability and security of Afghanistan, S/2023/370, 1 June 2023, <https://docs.un.org/en/S/2023/370>, accessed 4 November 2025

UN Security Council, Thirteenth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2611 (2021) concerning the Taliban and other associated individuals and entities constituting a threat to the peace stability and security of Afghanistan, S/2022/419, 26 May 2022, <https://docs.un.org/en/S/2022/419>, accessed 4 November 2025

UN Security Council, Thirty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, S/2025/71/Rev.1, 6 February 2025, <https://docs.un.org/en/S/2025/71/Rev.1>, accessed 7 January 2026

UN Security Council, Thirty-sixth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2734 (2024) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, S/2025/482, 24 July 2025,  
<https://docs.un.org/en/S/2025/482>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Women, Afghanistan, Gender Country Profile 2024, June 2024,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2024-06/Gender-country-profile-Afghanistan-en.pdf>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Women, Afghanistan Gender Index 2024, June 2025,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/gender-index-2024-afghanistan-en.pdf>,  
accessed 30 October 2025

UN Women, Afghanistan: Ten facts about the world's most severe women's rights crisis, 14 August 2025, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/press-release/2025/08/afghanistan-ten-facts-about-the-worlds-most-severe-womens-rights-crisis>, accessed 26 November 2025

UN Women, FAQs: Afghan women three years after the Taliban takeover, 12 August 2024,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/articles/faqs/faqs-afghan-women-three-years-after-the-taliban-takeover>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Women, FAQs: What it's like to be a woman in Afghanistan in 2025, 7 August 2025,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/articles/faqs/faqs-afghanistan>, accessed 10 December 2025

UN Women, Four Years of Taliban Rule: Afghan Women Resist as Restrictions Tighten, August 2025, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2025-08/afghanistan-gender-alert-2025-08-en.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Women, Gender alert: Four years of Taliban rule: Afghan women resist as restrictions tighten, 29 August 2025, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2025-08/afghanistan-gender-alert-2025-08-en.pdf>, accessed 10 October 2025

UN Women, Gender Alert: Gendered Needs and Challenges of Afghans Returning from Iran and Pakistan (June 2025), 1 July 2025, available at:  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/gender-alert-gendered-needs-and-challenges-afghans-returning-iran-and-pakistan-june-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Women, Gender Index 2024, 2025, Afghanistan,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/gender-index-2024-afghanistan-en.pdf>,  
accessed 12 December 2025

UN Women, Nearly eight out of 10 young Afghan women are excluded from education, jobs, and training, 17 June 2025, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/press-release/2025/06/nearly-eight-out-of-10-young-afghan-women-are-excluded-from-education-jobs-and-training>, accessed 26 November 2025

UN Women, Photo essay: A glimpse into the lives of Afghan women, 7 March 2024,  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/photo-essay/2024/03/photo-essay-a-glimpse-into-the-lives-of-afghan-women>, accessed 12 December 2025

UN Women, Tracking Impact Report on The Ban and Other Restrictions on Women for NGOs, INGOs and UN - Twelfth snapshot (June 2025), 15 July 2025,  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/tracking-impact-report-ban-and-other-restrictions-women-ngos-ingos-and-un-twelfth-snapshot-june-2025>, accessed 21 November 2025

UN Women Australia, FAQs: What it's like to be a woman in Afghanistan in 2025, 7 August 2025, <https://unwomen.org.au/faqs-what-its-like-to-be-a-woman-in-afghanistan-in-2025/>, accessed 14 November 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), A barrier to securing peace: Human rights violations against former government officials and former armed force members in Afghanistan, 22 August 2023,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/a\\_barrier\\_to\\_securing\\_peace\\_aug\\_2023\\_english\\_.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/a_barrier_to_securing_peace_aug_2023_english_.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Corporal Punishment and the Death Penalty in Afghanistan, 3 May 2023,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/hr\\_brief\\_on\\_cpdp\\_03052023\\_-english\\_0.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/hr_brief_on_cpdp_03052023_-english_0.pdf), accessed 13 January 2026

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), *De Facto Authorities' Moral Oversight in Afghanistan: Impacts on Human Rights*, July 2024,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/moral\\_oversight\\_report\\_english\\_final.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/moral_oversight_report_english_final.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Dignity, freedom and justice must be upheld in Afghanistan, 10 December 2022, <https://unama.unmissions.org/dignity-freedom-and-justice-must-be-upheld-afghanistan%20%93-world-marks-human-rights-day>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Divergence of Practice: The Handling of Complaints of Gender-Based Violence against Women and Girls by Afghanistan's de facto Authorities, December 2023,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/the\\_handling\\_of\\_complaints\\_of\\_gbvawg\\_english\\_141223.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/the_handling_of_complaints_of_gbvawg_english_141223.pdf), accessed 13 November 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Human Rights in Afghanistan 15 August 2021–15 June 2022, July 2022,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama\\_human\\_rights\\_in\\_afghanistan\\_report\\_-june\\_2022\\_english.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama_human_rights_in_afghanistan_report_-june_2022_english.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Human Rights situation in Afghanistan, July – September 2023 Update, 23 October 2023,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human\\_rights\\_situation\\_in\\_afghanistan\\_jul-sep\\_2023.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human_rights_situation_in_afghanistan_jul-sep_2023.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Human rights situation in Afghanistan, October – December 2023 Update, 22 January 2024,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/english\\_hr\\_update\\_22jan\\_2024.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/english_hr_update_22jan_2024.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), International Community Must Act Now, 1 Million Returning Afghans in 2025, 26 June 2025,  
<https://unama.unmissions.org/international-community-must-act-now-1-million-returning-afghans-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Media Freedom in Afghanistan, November 2024,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama\\_report\\_on\\_media\\_freedom\\_in\\_afghanistan.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama_report_on_media_freedom_in_afghanistan.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), No safe haven: Human rights risks faced by persons involuntarily returned to Afghanistan, July 2025,  
<https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/afghanistan/unama-human-rights-risks-and-returns-en.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Out of reach: The impact of telecommunications shutdowns on the Afghan people, 28 October 2025,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2026-01/ENGLISH%20-%20Out%20of%20reach%20-%20October%202025\\_0.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2026-01/ENGLISH%20-%20Out%20of%20reach%20-%20October%202025_0.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Report on the Implementation, Enforcement and Impact of the Law on the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice in Afghanistan, April 2025,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama\\_pvpv\\_report\\_10\\_april\\_2025\\_english.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unama_pvpv_report_10_april_2025_english.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), The treatment of detainees in Afghanistan: Respecting human rights: a factor for trust, 20 September 2023, available at:  
[https://reliefweb.int/attachments/f5f99beb-d2b9-4169-a13f-2de08cf0074b/unama\\_report\\_treatment\\_of\\_detainees\\_200923\\_english.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/attachments/f5f99beb-d2b9-4169-a13f-2de08cf0074b/unama_report_treatment_of_detainees_200923_english.pdf), accessed 7 January 2026

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), UN convenes working group meetings on counter-narcotics, private sector, 1 July 2025, <https://unama.unmissions.org/un-convenes-working-group-meetings-counter-narcotics-private-sector>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan) UNAMA statement on UN day and 80th anniversary of the United Nations, 24 October 2025, available at:  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20251117011447/https://unama.unmissions.org/unama-statement-un-day-and-80th-anniversary-united-nations>, accessed 26 November 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), UNAMA welcomes Afghanistan-Pakistan ceasefire, urges protection of civilians, 16 October 2025,  
<https://unama.unmissions.org/unama-welcomes-afghanistan-pakistan-ceasefire-urges-protection-civilians>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: January–March 2024 Update, 1 May 2024,  
[https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human\\_rights\\_update\\_march\\_2024\\_engf.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human_rights_update_march_2024_engf.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: April - June 2025 Update, 24 July 2025, [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/english\\_-unama\\_hrs\\_update\\_on\\_human\\_rights\\_in\\_afghanistan\\_april-june\\_2025\\_final.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/english_-unama_hrs_update_on_human_rights_in_afghanistan_april-june_2025_final.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: July–September 2025 Update, 28 October 2025, [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2026-01/ENGLISH%20-%20UNAMA%20HRS%20Update%20on%20human%20rights%20in%20Afghanistan%20July-Sept%202025\\_0.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/2026-01/ENGLISH%20-%20UNAMA%20HRS%20Update%20on%20human%20rights%20in%20Afghanistan%20July-Sept%202025_0.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan), Update on the human rights situation in Afghanistan: October - December 2024 Update, 27 January 2025, [https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human\\_rights\\_situation\\_in\\_afghanistan\\_october\\_-december\\_2024\\_-english\\_0.pdf](https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/human_rights_situation_in_afghanistan_october_-december_2024_-english_0.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), Afghanistan Socio-Economic Review, 30 April 2025, <https://www.undp.org/asia-pacific/publications/afghanistan-socio-economic-review>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), Afghanistan, Socio-Economic Outlook 2023, 18 April 2023, <https://www.undp.org/afghanistan/publications/afghanistan-socio-economic-outlook-2023>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), Listening to Women Entrepreneurs in Afghanistan: Their Struggle and Resilience, 16 April 2024, <https://www.undp.org/afghanistan/publications/listening-women-entrepreneurs-afghanistan-their-struggle-and-resilience>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), What is vernacular architecture, and how can it help Afghanistan?, 18 December 2023, <https://www.undp.org/stories/what-vernacular-architecture-and-how-can-it-help-afghanistan>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), What Supporting Women-Led Businesses Really Means in Afghanistan, 13 May 2025, <https://www.undp.org/european-union/stories/what-supporting-women-led-businesses-really-means-afghanistan>, accessed 21 November 2025

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme and OPHI (Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative), Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2024, Poverty Amid Conflict, 2024, [https://ophi.org.uk/sites/default/files/2024-10/Global\\_MPI\\_2024\\_report\\_%28Conflict%29.pdf](https://ophi.org.uk/sites/default/files/2024-10/Global_MPI_2024_report_%28Conflict%29.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNESCO, Afghanistan education situation report 2025, October 2025, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000395990>, accessed 31 October 2025

UNFPA, Mental Health Assessment, 2024, [https://afghanistan.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/2024-11/Mental%20Health%20Assessment\\_%20UNFPA%20Afghanistan%202024.pdf](https://afghanistan.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/2024-11/Mental%20Health%20Assessment_%20UNFPA%20Afghanistan%202024.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UN-Habitat (United Nations Human Settlements Programme), It all starts at home, Strategic Priorities for UN-Habitat Afghanistan 2026–2027, June 2025,  
[https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2025/06/unhabitat\\_afghanistan\\_strategic\\_priorities\\_2026-2027\\_final\\_4.pdf](https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2025/06/unhabitat_afghanistan_strategic_priorities_2026-2027_final_4.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Afghanistan emergency, [2025], <https://www.unhcr.org/emergencies/afghanistan-emergency>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Afghanistan situation, [2025], <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/afghanistan>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Afghanistan Situation: Afghan Returns from Iran and Pakistan Emergency Update #12, 3 October 2025,  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/afghanistan-situation-afghan-returns-iran-and-pakistan-emergency-update-12>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Annual Result Report 2024, 26 May 2025, [https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/afghanistan\\_arr\\_2024.pdf](https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2025-06/afghanistan_arr_2024.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Counselling offers Afghan women a safe space to share their mental health struggles, 10 October 2024,  
<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/counselling-offers-afghan-women-safe-space-share-their-mental-health-struggles>, accessed 26 November 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Forced Displacement and Returns in Afghanistan, 20 December 2025, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/country/afq>, accessed 5 January 2026

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Pakistan - Afghanistan: Returns Emergency Response #42 (as of 4 September 2025), 5 September 2025,  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/pakistan-afghanistan-returns-emergency-response-42-4-september-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Post-Return Monitoring Report, 30 October 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/112147>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Protection Interventions for Afghan Returnees from Pakistan (April 2024 to December 2025), 22 May 2024,  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/protection-interventions-afghan-returnees-pakistan-april-2024-december-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Rebuilding lives: How return duration shapes income generation and reintegration dynamics for Afghan returnees, 26 August 2025, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/118257>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Returns emergency Response, 11 July 2025, <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2025-08/Pakistan->



[Afghanistan%20Returns%20Emergency%20Response%2038%20-%2009%20July%202025.pdf](https://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing-notes/unhcr-urges-pakistan-exempt-afghans-international-protection-needs-involuntary.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), UNHCR urges Pakistan to exempt Afghans with international protection needs from involuntary return, 5 August 2025, <https://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing-notes/unhcr-urges-pakistan-exempt-afghans-international-protection-needs-involuntary.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), Nutrition, n.d.,  
<https://www.unicef.org/afghanistan/nutrition>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), UNICEF Afghanistan Humanitarian Situation Report No. 9, 30 September 2025, 31 October 2025, available at:  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/unicef-afghanistan-humanitarian-situation-report-no-9-30-september-2025>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICEF Afghanistan [X], posted on: 29 October 2024,  
<https://x.com/UNICEFAfg/status/1851157926934983016>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICEF, [X], posted on: 25 November 2022,  
<https://twitter.com/UNICEFAfg/status/1596178934613544960>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), Afghanistan, Humanitarian Situation Report, 31 August 2025,  
<https://www.unicef.org/afghanistan/media/12651/file/UNICEF%20Afghanistan%20Humanitarian%20Situation%20Report%20No.%208,%2031%20August%202025.pdf.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICRI (United National Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute), Afghanistan's Security Landscape under the Taliban, May 2023, <https://unicri.org/sites/default/files/2025-04/Afghanistan-Security-Landscape.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

UNICRI (United National Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute), The Taliban in Afghanistan: Assessing New Threats to the Region and Beyond, October 2022,  
<https://unicri.org/sites/default/files/2022-10/The%20Taliban%20in%20Afghanistan%20-%20Assessing%20New%20Threats%20to%20the%20Region%20and%20Beyond.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

US (United States), SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction), Quarterly report to the United States, 30 January 2025,  
<https://www.sigar.mil/Portals/147/Files/Reports/Quarterly-Reports/2025-01-30qr.pdf>, accessed 20 October 2025

US (United States), SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction), Quarterly Report to the United States Congress, 30 January 2025,  
<https://www.sigar.mil/Portals/147/Files/Reports/Quarterly-Reports/2025-01-30qr.pdf>, accessed 10 October 2025

US (United States), SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction), Testimony of John F. Sopko Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, 14 November 2023, <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/testimony/SIGAR-24-03-TY.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

USCIRF (United States Commission for International Religious Freedom), Afghanistan, April 2022, <https://www.uscif.gov/sites/default/files/2022-04/2022%20Afghanistan.pdf>, accessed 20 November 2025

USCIRF (United States Commission on International Religious Freedom), Four Years after the Taliban’s Takeover, “Morality Law” Imposes Harsh Religious Freedom Restrictions, 15 August 2025, <https://www.uscif.gov/news-room/releases-statements/four-years-after-talibans-takeover-morality-law-imposes-harsh>, accessed 12 December 2025

USCIRF [YouTube], Hearing on Religious Freedom Conditions in Taliban-Controlled Afghanistan, 7 April 2025, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=su6dn8ZC\\_BU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=su6dn8ZC_BU), accessed 12 December 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, 12 April 2022, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/313615\\_AFGHANISTAN-2021-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/313615_AFGHANISTAN-2021-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), accessed 19 November 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Afghanistan, 2 June 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/afghanistan/>, accessed 20 October 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2022 Country Report on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, 20 March 2023, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/415610\\_AFGHANISTAN-2022-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/415610_AFGHANISTAN-2022-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), accessed 20 November 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2023 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Afghanistan, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267\\_AFGHANISTAN-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_AFGHANISTAN-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), accessed 20 November 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2022 Report on International Religious Freedom: Afghanistan, 15 May 2023, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-report-on-international-religious-freedom/afghanistan/>, accessed 12 December 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), 2024 Trafficking in Persons Report: Afghanistan, 24 June 2024, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2024-trafficking-in-persons-report/afghanistan/>, accessed 12 December 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), Foreign Terrorist Organizations, n.d., <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>, accessed 12 December 2025

USIP (United States Institute of Peace), Failure to Protect: The Taliban’s Reversal of Violence Against Women Protections, 22 January 2025, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20250224212913/https://www.usip.org/publications/2025/01/fail-re-protect-talibans-reversal-violence-against-women-protections>, accessed 13 January 2026

USIP (United States Institute of Peace), One Year Later, Taliban Unable to Reverse Afghanistan’s Economic Decline, 8 August 2022, available at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20251018061005/https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/08/one-year-later-taliban-unable-reverse-afghanistans-economic-decline>, accessed 15 January 2026

USIP (United States Institute of Peace), Tracking the Taliban's (Mis)Treatment of Women, [2025], available at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20230630172807/https://www.usip.org/tracking-talibans-mistreatment-women>, accessed 13 January 2026

USIP (United States Institute of Peace), Two Years of the Taliban's 'Gender Apartheid' in Afghanistan, 14 September 2023, available at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20251004223005/https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/09/two-years-talibans-gender-apartheid-afghanistan>, accessed 15 January 2026

Valente, Martina, Lamberti-Castronuovo, Alessandro, Bocchini, Francesca, Shafiq, Yasir, Trentin, Monica, Paschetto, Michela, Ali Bahdori, Ghulam, Khadem, Jan Agha, Nadeem, Mirza Sayed, Patmal, Mohammad Hanif, Alizai, Mohammad Tawoos, Barone-Adesi, Francesco, Miccio, Rossella, and Ragazzoni, Luca, Access to care in Afghanistan after august 2021: a cross-sectional study exploring Afghans' perspectives in 10 provinces, Conflict and Health, 22 April 2024, <https://conflictandhealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s13031-024-00594-5>, accessed 12 December 2025

Vera-Larrucea, C. and Malm Lindberg, H., Return to Afghanistan: The perils of returning to unstable and insecure countries, Migration Policy Practice, Vol. XI, No. 4, December 2021–April 2022, [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/MPP-47\\_0.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/MPP-47_0.pdf), accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Despite Taliban Ban, Secret Schools Educate Afghan Girls, 22 January 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/despite-taliban-ban-secret-schools-educate-afghan-girls-6928776.html>, accessed 14 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Female Afghan Journalists Describe Life Under Taliban Misogyny, 30 August 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/female-afghan-journalists-describe-life-under-taliban-misogyny/7248022.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Men, women experience near daily floggings in Afghanistan, 18 February 2025, <https://www.voanews.com/a/men-women-experience-near-daily-floggings-in-afghanistan/7979256.html>, accessed 14 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Religious education surges under Taliban as secular schooling languishes, 8 October 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/religious-education-surges-under-taliban-as-secular-schooling-languishes/7815283.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban Ban Afghan Political Parties, Citing Sharia Violations, 16 August 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-ban-afghan-political-parties-citing-sharia-violations/7228136.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban continues corporal punishment, flogging 20 Afghans over alleged adultery, 24 February 2025, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-continues-corporal-punishment-flogging-20-afghans-over-alleged-adultery-/7986154.html>, accessed 22 November 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban Edict in Afghanistan Bars Marriages Without Women's Consent, 3 December 2021 <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-edict-in-afghanistan-bars-marriages-without-women-s-consent-/6337996.html>, accessed 20 November 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban order Afghan media to use group's official name, 1 October 2021, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-order-afghan-media-to-use-group-s-official-name/6254019.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban publicly flog 9 Afghan men, women despite UN outcry, 9 October 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-publicly-flog-9-afghan-men-women-despite-un-outcry/7816230.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban publicly flog Afghan woman, 3 men amid UN outcry, 29 October 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-publicly-flog-afghan-woman-3-men-amid-un-outcry/7843308.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Taliban Undertake Speedy Overhaul of Afghanistan's Justice System, 28 September 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/taliban-undertake-speedy-overhaul-afghanistan-justice-system/7289101.html>, accessed 14 December 2025

VOA (Voice of America), UN talks in Doha end; recognition remains distant dream for Taliban, 1 July 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/un-talks-in-doha-end-recognition-remains-distant-dream-for-taliban-/7681320.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

Washington Post (The), Taliban forging religious emirate in Afghanistan with draconian Islamic law, 18 February 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/interactive/2023/afghanistan-taliban-islamic-law-rights/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Washington Institute (The), Turkey Calls for Recognition of the Taliban's Islamic Emirate, 17 March 2022, <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/turkey-calls-recognition-talibans-islamic-emirate>, accessed 12 December 2025

Washington Post (The), Women despair over Taliban rules, but many Afghan returnees don't see it, 28 November 2024, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/11/28/afghanistan-taliban-women-restrictions-returnees/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Watkins, Andrew, What's Next for the U.N.'s Doha Process on Afghanistan?, USIP (United States Institute of Peace), 16 July 2024, <https://web.archive.org/web/20251016225913/https://www.usip.org/publications/2024/07/whats-next-uns-doha-process-afghanistan>, accessed 12 December 2025

Weiss, Sarah, One year into the Taliban's second rule, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 18 August 2022, <https://www.boell.de/en/2022/08/18/one-year-into-the-talibans-second-rule>, accessed 12 December 2025

WFP (World Food Programme), A lifeline at risk: food assistance at a breaking point, September 2025, <https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000168971/download/>, accessed 12 December 2025

WFP (World Food Programme), Q&A: How Afghanistan's hunger and nutrition crisis is affecting families, women and girls, 4 June 2025, <https://www.wfp.org/stories/qa-how-afghanistans-hunger-and-nutrition-crisis-affecting-families-women-and-girls>, accessed 12 December 2025

WFP (World Food Programme), UNICEF and WFP Joint Action Plan to Stop Child Wasting in Afghanistan, 12 August 2025, <https://www.wfp.org/news/unicef-and-wfp-joint-action-plan-stop-child-wasting-afghanistan>, accessed 12 December 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), Afghanistan, Emergency Situation Report, September 2025, <https://www.emro.who.int/images/stories/afghanistan/emergency-situation-report-56September-2025.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), Afghanistan, Who's Health Emergency Appeal 2025, 16 January 2025, [https://cdn.who.int/media/docs/default-source/documents/emergencies/2025-appeals/2025-hea-afghanistan.pdf?sfvrsn=acff6ae5\\_5&download=true](https://cdn.who.int/media/docs/default-source/documents/emergencies/2025-appeals/2025-hea-afghanistan.pdf?sfvrsn=acff6ae5_5&download=true), accessed 12 December 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), Afghanistan's hidden epidemic of noncommunicable diseases and mental health conditions, 21 September 2025, <https://www.emro.who.int/afg/afghanistan-news/afghanistans-hidden-epidemic-of-noncommunicable-diseases-and-mental-health-conditions.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), Noncommunicable diseases, 25 September 2025, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/noncommunicable-diseases>, accessed 12 December 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), Working together for health, 2006, [https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/43432/9241563176\\_eng.pdf?sequence=1](https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/43432/9241563176_eng.pdf?sequence=1), accessed 12 December 2025

Wilson Center, Factors Driving Taliban Madrasafication in Afghanistan & Their Implications, 31 March 2025, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/factors-driving-taliban-madrasafication-afghanistan-their-implications>, accessed 10 October 2025

Winter, Charlie, ISKP: A Primer, CJA (The Center for Justice & Accountability), May 2025, <https://cja.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/Winter.ISKP-Primer.pdf>, 7 January 2026

Women for Afghan Women, Building Health, 17 January 2025, <https://womenforafghanwomen.org/building-health-2/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Women for Women, 5 Ways Women's Lives Have Changed Since the Taliban Takeover, 21 August 2024, <https://www.womenforwomen.org/blogs/5-ways-womens-lives-have-changed-taliban-takeover>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank (The), Afghanistan Development Update, Unlocking Youth Potential for Resilience and Economic Recovery, April 2025, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/71dd45bbb425564ee41e22e1dc2c2f57-0310012025/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-April-2025-Final.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank (The), Afghanistan Economic Monitor, June 2025,  
<https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/06b3f661c6ac0db4644f3bbed90764d7-0310012025/original/Afghanistan-Economic-Monitor-June-2025.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update – Adjusting to the New Realities, October 2022, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/d7d49962c0c44fd6bb9ba3bfe1b6de1f-0310062022/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-October-2022.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update - Navigating Challenges: Confronting Economic Recession and Deflation, April 2024,  
[https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/18a1ccff0457effb0a456c0d4af7cce2-0310012024/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-April-2024.pdf?\\_gl=1\\*7ytcdw\\*\\_gcl\\_au\\*OTAzMjEwMTYwLjE3MjU2MTcwNDM.](https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/18a1ccff0457effb0a456c0d4af7cce2-0310012024/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-April-2024.pdf?_gl=1*7ytcdw*_gcl_au*OTAzMjEwMTYwLjE3MjU2MTcwNDM.), accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Afghanistan Development Update - Uncertainty After Fleeting Stability, 3 October 2023, <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/210d5f24dc33a3460beff3447fceadcf-0310012023/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-20231003-final.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Afghanistan Welfare Monitoring Survey (AWMS), Round 3, October 2023,  
<https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/975d25c52634db31c504a2c6bee44d22-0310012023/original/Afghanistan-Welfare-Monitoring-Survey-3.pdf>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Macro Poverty Outlook, October 2025,  
<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099657510072538603/pdf/IDU-43fa2ab3-d9d7-4d20-b358-2153326a9b90.pdf>, accessed 7 January 2026

World Bank, Prevalence of stunting, height for age (% of children under 5) – Afghanistan, 2023, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.STNT.ZS>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank, Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate), 7 January 2025, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=AF>, accessed 12 December 2025

World Bank Group, Afghanistan Employment Policy Note: A Focus on Youth, Women, and Employment Support Programs, March 2025,  
<https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/235ca6d24cc8d08112064fc153f9bf13-0310012025/original/Afghanistan-Policy-Note-Employment-April-2025.pdf>, accessed 26 November 2025

WSJ (Wall Street Journal), Taliban Commander Who Launched Bombings in Kabul Is Now a Police Chief in Charge of Security, 20 October 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/taliban-commander-who-launched-bombings-in-kabul-is-now-a-police-chief-in-charge-of-security-11634740097>, accessed 12 December 2025

WSJ (Wall Street Journal), Taliban unveil new Afghan government, 7 September 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/taliban-crack-down-on-protest-led-by-women-in-kabul-11631014019>, accessed 12 December 2025

Xinhua, Economic hardship leaves Afghans struggling to heat their homes this winter, 25 October 2025, <https://english.news.cn/20251025/2b81ca042a7148e3b9a97e35430a3b0d/c.html>, accessed 12 December 2025

Yolchi, Jamshid and Wang, Huaiyu, The impact of climate change on household dietary diversity in Afghanistan, Climate Risk Management, 2025, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212096325000014>, accessed 12 December 2025

Zabihullah [X], posted on: 3 December 2021, [https://twitter.com/Zabehulah\\_M33/status/1466663907750256642?s=20&t=OSIB1ZasfMSJXFjMESiE-A.](https://twitter.com/Zabehulah_M33/status/1466663907750256642?s=20&t=OSIB1ZasfMSJXFjMESiE-A.), accessed 12 December 2025

Zaland, Faiz Muhammad, The Conflicting Synthesis of the Taliban's Religious and Cultural Identity, Taylor & Francis Journals, July 2023, <https://ideas.repec.org/a/taf/rfiaxx/v21y2023i3p38-45.html>, accessed 7 January 2026

Zan Times, 'I saw them execute the others': How 14 Hazara men were killed by terrorists , 19 September 2024, <https://zantimes.com/2024/09/19/i-saw-them-execute-the-others-how-14-hazara-men-were-killed-by-terrorists/>, accessed 20 November 2025

Zan Times, 'I was arrested for the crime of being a Hazara and a woman': The Taliban's 'bad hijab' campaign targets Hazara women, 22 January 2024, <https://zantimes.com/2024/01/22/i-was-arrested-for-the-crime-of-being-a-hazara-and-a-woman-the-talibans-bad-hijab-campaign-targets-hazara-women/>, accessed 14 November 2024

Zan Times, 'Where else can we go?' As refugees return, Afghanistan's housing crisis deepens, 30 October 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/10/30/where-else-can-we-go-as-refugees-return-afghanistans-housing-crisis-depends/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Zan Times, Afghanistan's Ismailis face systematic persecution under the Taliban, 8 September 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/09/08/afghanistans-ismailis-face-systematic-persecution-under-the-taliban/>, accessed 23 October 2025

Zan Times, Afghanistan's workers: More oppressed and defenseless than ever, 1 May 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/05/01/afghanistans-workers-more-oppressed-and-defenseless-than-ever/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Zan Times, Banning 700 books and 18 subjects: The Taliban's latest effort at dismantling higher education, 16 September 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/09/16/banning-700-books-and-18-subjects-the-talibans-latest-effort-at-dismantling-higher-education/>, accessed 26 November 2025

Zan Times, Dying to give birth: The tragic impact of international aid cuts in Afghanistan, 2 June 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/06/02/dying-to-give-birth-the-tragic-impact-of-international-aid-cuts-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 19 November 2025



Zan Times, Imprisoned for white shoes: Kabul's women speak of Taliban arrests, 28 August 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/08/28/imprisoned-for-white-shoes-kabuls-women-speak-of-taliban-arrests/>, accessed 12 December 2025

Zan Times, Taliban dismisses hundreds of female professors from public universities in Afghanistan, 14 May 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/05/14/taliban-dismisses-hundreds-of-female-professors-from-public-universities-in-afghanistan/>, accessed 19 November 2025

Zan Times, The radio classrooms defying the Taliban ban, 15 September 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/09/15/the-radio-classrooms-defying-the-taliban-ban/>, accessed 10 October 2025

Zan Times, When working requires a man and a mahram card, 25 June, 2025, <https://zantimes.com/2025/06/25/when-working-requires-a-man-and-a-mahram-card/>, accessed 25 November 2025

Zan Times, Women arrested by Taliban for begging report rape and forced labour, 29 November 2024, <https://zantimes.com/2024/11/29/women-beggars-accuse-taliban-of-rape-and-forced-labour/>, 12 November 2025

Zabihullah [X], posted on: 21 July 2022, [https://twitter.com/Zabehulah\\_M33/status/1550154759209893888?s=20&t=EXNYqe1SBeTjfB29t4JL7w](https://twitter.com/Zabehulah_M33/status/1550154759209893888?s=20&t=EXNYqe1SBeTjfB29t4JL7w), accessed 12 December 2025

Zan Times, Journalism in the Taliban's surveillance state, 13 June 2023, <https://zantimes.com/2023/06/13/journalism-in-the-talibans-surveillance-state/>, accessed 12 December 2025



## Annex 2: Terms of Reference

The reference period should be 1 October 2024–30 November 2025.

The report should cover the general security situation as regards conflict-related violence, violent crime, and the humanitarian situation, and provide data on provincial level where available. The report should also cover treatment by the Taliban and other armed groups of the profiles listed below, as well as provide information on societal treatment where it is relevant.

### Situation of the general population under Taliban rule

- International recognition status of the *de facto* authorities
- Political context and civic space, including the situation of Afghan media, the space for anti-Taliban demonstrations and other criticism of the *de facto* authorities, including on social media
- Religious freedom, general information, and information on *de facto* state and societal reactions to perceived apostasy and blasphemy, and the Taliban's implementation of *sharia*, including pressure to attend congregational prayer, enforcement of dress codes, and other restrictions on personal freedom, and impact on education
- Capital and corporal punishment
- Children serving in Taliban ranks
- Treatment of individuals returning from abroad, in particular individuals returning from Western countries, and reactions to Afghans' behaviour abroad (including on social media)

### Security situation

This part should provide a country-wide overview, highlighting, where relevant, regional and in some cases provincial conflict trends. It should focus on the dynamics concerning armed resistance groups, on the one hand, and ISKP on the other. The report will also include data on security incidents and civilian casualties at a provincial level, as well as, if available, data on population and displacement.

- Presence of different armed actors
- Conflict-data and recent security trends, including a geographical overview of security trends and violence levels
- Impact on the civilian population; casualties, impact on infrastructure, displacement and returns, including a geographical overview of trends and in relation to population data
- Crime trends

## Humanitarian situation

- National economic and financial situation, and poverty rates including provincial differences where relevant
- Basic subsistence and employment, including provincial differences where relevant
- Food security, including provincial differences where relevant
- Housing, including provincial differences where relevant
- Healthcare, including provincial differences where relevant
- The humanitarian situation in Kabul city, including the abovementioned topics

## Treatment of selected profiles and groups of the population

- Persons formerly affiliated with security institutions of the former government (including military units, police units, NDS), and treatment of their family members
- Persons formerly affiliated with international coalition forces, and treatment of their family members
- Public officials and servants of the former government (including judicial workers), and treatment of their family members
- Treatment of individuals with a perceived affiliation to armed groups (such as the NRF and ISKP, and other groups)
- Women and girls, including:
  - Social norms, including dress-codes and behaviour
  - Women's and girls' access to healthcare, education, employment and freedom of movement
  - Women's and girls' freedom of expression and assembly, including Taliban reactions towards women-led demonstrations
  - Violence against women and girls, including forced marriage and child marriage, sexual violence and rape, domestic violence and honour violence
  - Access to justice
- Treatment of LGBTQ+ persons
  - Social norms on gender identity and expression
  - Taliban instructions or comments on LGBTQ+ rights
  - Violence against LGBTQ+ persons
- Treatment of journalists and media workers
- Treatment of human rights defenders and activists
- Treatment of religious and ethnic groups, including:
  - Religious freedom under Taliban rule (including aspects related to forced religious practice)
  - Representation in the *de facto* authorities
  - Land disputes and blood feuds
  - Treatment of Hazaras and Shias
  - Treatment of other ethno-religious groups



## Annex 3: Lists of decrees and instructions

This is a list of national decrees and instructions issued by the Taliban, based on research for this report, and previous reporting by the EUAA. The list aims to provide an overview of national restrictions relevant for this report but is not exhaustive.

### Media and freedom of expression

- Prohibition of indecency and profanity in the media, communications and letters (6 May 2017);<sup>1907</sup>
- prohibition of unauthorised assemblies (8 September 2021);
- media should not address topics in conflict with Islam or ‘insulting national personalities’, reports should be produced in coordination with the Taliban government’s media office (23 September 2021);<sup>1908</sup>
- women news presenters “must” wear headscarves when appearing on screen, and men “must” wear proper clothes (22 November 2021);<sup>1909</sup>
- prohibition of foreign drama series (March 2022);<sup>1910</sup>
- a ban of defamation and unproven criticism of [*de facto*] government officials (21 July 2022);<sup>1911</sup>
- media professionals are not to publish reports that ‘contradict Islamic law and religion’, ‘deride or humiliate Muslims’ or ‘contain pictures of animate object’ (31 July 2024);<sup>1912</sup>
- the ‘wrongful use of tape recorders or radio; making pictures or videos of any animate object on computers or mobile phones, or any other such device’ is a ‘wrongful act’ (31 July 2024).<sup>1913</sup>
- a law on ‘Poetry Regulation’ (30 August 2025),<sup>1914</sup> reportedly restricted poetry gatherings,<sup>1915</sup> romantic poetry addressing relationships between men and women, and poetry criticising the Taliban Supreme Leader. Poets were urged to avoid references to ideological schools including feminism, democracy, communism, and nationalism.<sup>1916</sup>

<sup>1907</sup> AAN, Decrees, Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Amir al-mu'minin, as published in the Official Gazette on 22 May 2023, July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1908</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Country focus, January 2022, [url](#), pp. 34, 48

<sup>1909</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Country focus, January 2022, [url](#), p. 39; CNN, Women banned from Afghan television dramas under new Taliban media rules, 22 November 2021, [url](#)

<sup>1910</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1911</sup> TOLONews, Islamic Emirate Leader Bans ‘Unproven Allegations’ Against Members, 22 July 2022, [url](#); Zabihullah [X], posted on: 21 July 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1912</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 17

<sup>1913</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>1914</sup> Amu TV, Taliban leader bans romantic poetry and his criticism under new law, 31 August 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1915</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 5

<sup>1916</sup> Amu TV, Taliban leader bans romantic poetry and his criticism under new law, 31 August 2025, [url](#); Print (The), As Taliban declares war on verse, Afghan women lose their only weapon, but say silence won’t last, 2 September 2025, [url](#)

- new guidelines for political analysts participating in political debates (July 2025).<sup>1917</sup> They were urged to speak ‘in accordance with sharia’<sup>1918</sup> and obtain an identity card from the *de facto* Ministry of Information and Culture before appearing in media.<sup>1919</sup>

## Women and girls

- Gender segregation at private universities (September 2021). Classes should be divided at least by a curtain, women should be taught by female teachers, or in the lack thereof, elderly men with ‘good character’.<sup>1920</sup>
- secondary education for girls was not reopened (September 2021);
- decree on women’s rights (3 December 2021). Women should not be considered property or being forced into marriage, widows should have a share in their husbands property;<sup>1921</sup>
- women barred from appearing in television dramas, soap operas and entertainment shows (November 2021);
- women news presenters ‘must’ wear headscarves when appearing on screen (November 2021);
- women travelling more than 72 km should not be offered transport unless accompanied by a close male relative (26 December 2021);
- drivers should not pick up female passengers without a hijab covering their hair (26 December 2021);
- the *de facto* Health Ministry should gender-segregate employees by separating male and female offices (16 March 2022);
- secondary education for girls is to remain closed (23 March 2022);
- airlines should not let women board without a male chaperone (27 March 2022);
- female teachers were recommended to wear hijab (15 April 2022);
- women should cover their faces (7 May 2022). Failure to comply may result in the woman’s father or closest male relative facing reprimands, imprisonment or being fired from his employment. Women should not leave their homes unless ‘necessary’;
- all female television presenters ordered to cover their faces while presenting (19 May 2022);<sup>1922</sup>
- women are not allowed to visit recreational parks,<sup>1923</sup> public baths<sup>1924</sup> and gyms;<sup>1925</sup>

<sup>1917</sup> Telegraph (The), Taliban bans political debate in free speech crackdown, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1918</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35; Telegraph (The), Taliban bans political debate in free speech crackdown, 3 July 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1919</sup> UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 35

<sup>1920</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 43

<sup>1921</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Country focus, January 2022, [url](#), pp. 38–39

<sup>1922</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), pp. 43–45, 100

<sup>1923</sup> RFE/RL, Banned From Public Parks And Bathhouses, Afghan Women Say Life Under Taliban Is Like A 'Prison', 10 November 2022, [url](#); BBC News, Afghanistan: Taliban ban women from visiting popular national park, 27 August 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1924</sup> RFE/RL, Banned From Public Parks And Bathhouses, Afghan Women Say Life Under Taliban Is Like A 'Prison', 10 November 2022, [url](#); Guardian (The), Taliban stop Afghan women from using bathhouses in northern provinces, 7 January 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1925</sup> France 24, Taliban bans Afghan women from gyms, public baths, 13 November 2022, [url](#); Reuters, Afghan women defy Taliban gym ban with secret fitness clubs, 21 December 2022, [url](#)



- university education for women was suspended (December 2022);<sup>1926</sup>
- national and international NGOs were instructed to suspend female staff members, or risk losing their licences (24 December 2022);<sup>1927</sup>
- women were prohibited to work for UN organs (5 April 2023);<sup>1928</sup>
- beauty salons were ordered to close within one month (24 June 2023);<sup>1929</sup>
- women should cover their entire body and cover their faces to prevent *fitna* ['social disorder or chaos, which can itself facilitate sin'] (31 July 2024);
- women's clothes 'should not be thin short or tight' (31 July 2024);
- it is the responsibility of women to 'hide their body and their face from men who are not their *mahram*' (31 July 2024);
- Muslim and righteous women are obliged to 'cover themselves in front of non-believing or loose women' to prevent *fitnah* (31 July 2024);
- 'women not covering themselves properly', is a 'wrongful act' (31 July 2024);
- 'women are not allowed to look at strange men' (31 July 2024);
- an adult woman leaving her home 'because of some urgent need' is 'duty-bound to hide her voice, face and body' (31 July 2024);<sup>1930</sup>
- the *de facto* MPVPV shall ensure that staff and drivers of commercial vehicles do not transport uncovered or unaccompanied women, or 'allow women to sit or mingle with an unrelated man' (31 July 2024).<sup>1931</sup>
- women were prohibited to attend medical education (2 December 2024).<sup>1932</sup>
- new constructions are prohibited to include windows overlooking neighbours' private areas where women are often visible, such as courtyards, kitchens and wells (December 2024).<sup>1933</sup>

<sup>1926</sup> TOLOnews, Lecturer Rips Up His Certificates to Protest Ban on Women's Education, 1 January 2023, [url](#); Guardian (The), Taliban ban Afghan women from university education, 20 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1927</sup> TOLOnews, Ministry Orders NGOs to Suspend Female Staff, 24 December 2022, [url](#)

<sup>1928</sup> UN News, Excluded from Education, Public Life, Women, Girls Facing 'Gender Apartheid' in Afghanistan, Delegate Tells Security Council, 21 June 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1929</sup> AP, The Taliban are outlawing women's beauty salons in Afghanistan, 4 July 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1930</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 13, 22

<sup>1931</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 13, 20

<sup>1932</sup> HRW, Afghanistan's Taliban Ban Medical Training for Women, 3 December 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1933</sup> UN Human Rights Council, The situation of human rights in Afghanistan, 5 September 2025, [url](#), para. 21; AFP, Taliban leader bans windows overlooking places 'usually used by women', 29 December 2024, [url](#)

## Men

- Men are forbidden from looking at an unrelated woman's body or face (31 July 2024);
- men should cover their bodies from the waist down to the knees, knees included (31 July 2024);
- when 'pursuing pastimes and exercise, men are obliged to wear clothes that conceal the required parts of the body, and that are not very tight or make certain parts of the body apparent (31 July 2024).

## Prayers and religious conduct

- Prayers in congregation in the mosque shall be observed by 'traders, artisans and farmers, when conducting their affairs and carrying out their functions', at set times (31 July 2024);<sup>1934</sup>
- the *de facto* MPVPV shall ensure that staff and tourists at sightseeing and recreation spots observe congregational prayer (31 July 2024);<sup>1935</sup>
- 'not praying', delaying one's prayers, 'omitting mandatory and obligatory prayers', and 'not praying in congregation', are 'wrongful acts' (31 July 2024);
- neglecting obligatory fasts, is a 'wrongful act' (31 July 2024);
- observing holidays that have 'no Islamic foundation', including *Nawruz*, *Shab-e Yalda*, fireworks night and other festivals, are 'wrongful acts' (31 July 2024);
- befriending non-Muslims and assisting them, imitating them in one's appearance or character, are 'wrongful acts' (31 July 2024);<sup>1936</sup>
- wearing and popularising crucifixes, neckties and other such un-Islamic symbols', are 'wrongful acts' (31 July 2024).<sup>1937</sup>

## Other

- Leadership approval needed for *hudud* and *qisas* punishments (6 May 2017);<sup>1938</sup>
- male students and teachers were called upon not to wear ties (15 April 2022);
- body building athletes should cover 'abdominal muscles and limbs with loose-fitting garments' (17 June 2022);<sup>1939</sup>
- people were called on to avoid celebrating Valentine's Day (14 February 2023);<sup>1940</sup>
- celebrations of *Nowruz* were condemned by some members of the *de facto* authorities (March 2023);<sup>1941</sup>

<sup>1934</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 18

<sup>1935</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 19

<sup>1936</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>1937</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 14, 22

<sup>1938</sup> AAN, Decrees, Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Amir al-mu'minin, as published in the Official Gazette on 22 May 2023, July 2023, [url](#), p. 3

<sup>1939</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Targeting of Individuals, August 2022, [url](#), p. 45

<sup>1940</sup> RFE/RL, The Thrill Is Gone For Valentine's Day In Taliban-Controlled Kabul, 14 February 2023, [url](#); Khaama Press, Citizens in Afghanistan Were Not Allowed to Celebrate Valentine's Day, 15 February 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1941</sup> Hasht-e Subh, Taliban Oppose Nowruz Celebrations, 23 March 2023, [url](#); Kabul Now, Taliban in Herat prohibit people from celebrating Nowruz, 21 March 2023, [url](#)



- a ban of poppy cultivation (5 April 2022);<sup>1942</sup>
- restricted access to the social media platform TikTok and the online game PlayerUnknown's Battleground, closure of channels with 'immoral programs' (21 April 2022);<sup>1943</sup>
- sorcery is prohibited (7 August 2023);<sup>1944</sup>
- 'wrongful acts' include (31 July 2024):
  - adultery ('whether forced or consensual');
  - temporary marriage;
  - fornication;
  - lesbianism;
  - anal sex, ('even if it is with one's own wife');
  - paedophilia;
  - creating 'a platform or circumstances conducive to adultery, fornication, lesbianism, anal sex, paedophilia or gambling'.<sup>1945</sup>
- an instruction to all universities and private education institutions are to remove books considered against Hanafi jurisprudence from their libraries (14 December 2023).<sup>1946</sup>
- a law to prevent begging, which prohibits 'healthy' people that are able to secure one meal a day from begging, as well as the use of children and disabled people for begging (18 May 2024);<sup>1947</sup>
- playing chess was banned (11 May 2025).<sup>1948</sup>
- universities were instructed to remove 680 books 'conflicting with *sharia*' from the curriculum (September 2025). This included many books authored by women.<sup>1949</sup> The committee behind the decision confirmed to BBC News that no books authored by women were allowed to be taught.<sup>1950</sup>
- universities were instructed to stop teaching 18 subjects 'conflicting with *sharia*' (September 2025), including on gender, women,<sup>1951</sup> democracy and human rights.<sup>1952</sup>

<sup>1942</sup> AAN, Decrees, Orders and Instructions of His Excellency, Amir al-mu'minin, as published in the Official Gazette on 22 May 2023, July 2023, [url](#), p. 4

<sup>1943</sup> EASO, Afghanistan – Country focus, January 2022, [url](#), p. 44

<sup>1944</sup> UNAMA, Human Rights situation in Afghanistan, July – September 2023 Update, 23 October 2023, [url](#), p. 7

<sup>1945</sup> Afghanistan, *de facto* authorities, The Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law [unofficial translation by the AAN], August 2024, [url](#), art. 22

<sup>1946</sup> UNAMA, Human rights situation in Afghanistan, October-December 2023 Update, 22 January 2024, [url](#), p. 6; RFE/RL, Taliban Bans Books From Minority Muslim Sects In Private University Libraries, 22 December 2023, [url](#)

<sup>1947</sup> Ariana News, IEA leader approves law on prevention of begging, 19 May 2024, [url](#); Amu TV, Taliban leader approves law to curb begging, 18 May 2024, [url](#)

<sup>1948</sup> France 24, Taliban suspends chess in Afghanistan, cites religious concerns over gambling, 11 May 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1949</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#); New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan's Universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)

<sup>1950</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#);

<sup>1951</sup> BBC News, Taliban ban books written by women from Afghan universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#);

<sup>1952</sup> New York Times (The), Taliban Bans Books by Women in Afghanistan's Universities, 19 September 2025, [url](#)



Publications Office  
of the European Union

