



## 1.2.4. Policy implementation

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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>

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>

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