

Media Freedom and Censorship: A Comparative Study of Media Freedom under First and Second (2.0) Taliban Regime

Naveedullah Alokozay

Faculty of Social Science, Indonesian International Islamic University, Depok, Indonesia
Email: navid.alokozy789@gmail.com

Amanullah Zarawar

Faculty of Social Science, Indonesian International Islamic University, Depok, Indonesia
Email: aman.ullah@uiii.ac.id

DOI: 10.47760/cognizance.2024.v04i08.016

Abstract:

This study compares media freedom and censorship under the rule of the current Taliban 2.0 regime in Afghanistan with that of the previous Taliban rule (1996–2001). It examines how changes in media laws and regulations by both regimes have impacted journalists and media organizations. The research questions focus on variations in media freedom, specific forms of censorship, and the influence of technological advancements on media freedom. A comparative case study methodology is employed to analyze the legal framework, media regulation, and public access to media coverage in both periods of the Taliban. Data collection involves gathering information from academic research, human rights reports, media observers, and news articles. The study's significance lies in providing policymakers, human rights organizations, and media professionals with insights into how Taliban control has affected media freedom, aiding efforts to support press freedom and advocate for journalists' rights in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Taliban, media, Freedom, censorship

1. Introduction

Since the Taliban took power in Afghanistan, media freedom has declined. The National Radio and Television of Kabul, which was tightly regulated, was the only media outlet permitted during their prior regime. This period in Afghan media history is frequently referred to as a bleak one. Approximately 600 print and electronic media outlets have closed since the Taliban government returned to power, despite claims to the contrary. Numerous acts of violence have been committed against journalists. The Afghanistan Journalists' Center has witnesses to physical assault, threats, and even journalistic murders on record. Additionally, some publications have been pressured to alter their editorial strategy or publish articles less frequently.

Understanding the causes of these variations in media censorship between the former and present Taliban rulers. Any changes in the Taliban's policies toward the media may be better understood with the help of research in this field. There are further limitations on possibilities for education and work, and the international world does not recognize the Taliban's administration. Although the Taliban claims Freedom of the press, reports from the ground indicate that there have been many challenges for journalists, including violence, censorship, and threats. The empirical challenge thus investigates whether the Taliban's stated dedication to press freedom is consistent with their actual policies and practices toward media freedom.

By contrasting the Taliban's former and present regimes, the study seeks to identify any changes in the Taliban's policies and practices regarding media freedom. Policymakers, human rights organizations, and media professionals who want to support media freedom and defend the rights of journalists in Afghanistan may find the study's conclusions helpful. Media and expression freedom was banned under the former Taliban administration. The new Taliban administration, however, asserts that it is committed to the press and Freedom of speech. However, since the establishment of the new administration, there have been progressively more restrictions on the media in Afghanistan, with observable changes in how journalists are treated. Examining the media environment under the former Taliban rule and contrasting it with the current one, where the Taliban claims to defend free speech and the media, is crucial.

Given the above discussion, we can evaluate media freedom in these two periods of Taliban rule. How this media freedom has been affected, a comparative study requires historical and contemporary sources of information. The study will assess aspects including the legislative framework for the media, the degree of media control, and the level of media access and coverage to compare and contrast the media policies and practices of the two regimes.

According to the above discussion during this research, the researcher tried to answer the following questions: 1) What is the difference in media freedom and censorship between the former Taliban government and the current Taliban government in Afghanistan? 2) What specific forms of censorship or restrictions on media freedom were prevalent during the previous Taliban government, and have they been modified or replaced in the current Taliban government?

This study aims 1) to compare media freedom and censorship under the present Taliban regime in Afghanistan to that under the previous Taliban rule (1996–2001). 2) to enrich our comprehension of media's essential role in societies undergoing radical political shifts through a comparative study. 3) To examine the paradoxical relationship between media freedom and

editorship in the context of different Taliban governments. This study's significance lies in its contribution to the understanding of media freedom under Taliban rule, enabling a broader perspective on the challenges and opportunities faced by media practitioners and advocates for free expression in such contexts.

2. Literature Review

Given the recent changes in the country's political landscape, media freedom in Afghanistan is a crucial area of study. The Taliban's return to power in August 2021 has raised concerns about Afghanistan's media and press Freedom future. In this literature review, we will examine existing research on media freedom and censorship in Afghanistan, particularly during the previous Taliban government (1996-2001) and the current Taliban government.

2.1 Previous Taliban Government (1996-2001):

Afghanistan had no press freedom from 1996 and 2001 when the Taliban ruled. Newspapers, radio, and television were all subject to restricted censorship by the Taliban. They controlled the release of all news and information to everyone and forbade any independent media outlets from operating (Thomas, 2021). The Ministry of Information and Culture of the Taliban supervised the media and carefully regulated what was permitted to be written or transmitted. They outlawed the representation of human beings in the media and all music, including traditional Afghan music.

However, the Taliban also treated journalists and other media professionals stringently. For covering stories that were considered to be detrimental to the Taliban, journalists were frequently threatened, assaulted, or arrested. For example, Iranian journalist Seyed Musa Sadr was imprisoned and killed in 1998 while covering the Taliban's assault against the Hazara ethnic group. The Taliban also executed journalists and media professionals. (Murtazashvili, 2000)

Several cases of violations of human rights, censorship, and suppression of Freedom of speech and the media during the Taliban's prior rule have been documented by an investigation by human rights organizations and media watchdogs. For instance, according to Human Rights Watch, the Taliban government "closed down most print media, restricted television and video, and severely restricted radio stations' ability to broadcast prayers and other religious programs." (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Additionally, according to a report by Reporters Without Borders, the Taliban banned all forms of entertainment and the press. They implemented a harsh censorship regime, flogging and imprisoning journalists who disobeyed their rules (Reporters without Borders, 2001).

2.2 Current Taliban Government and media freedom:

Since August 2021 Taliban seized power; Afghanistan's media faced censorship, violence, and economic hardship, with women's voices primarily silenced. At the same time, The New York-based CPJ separately found Afghan journalists are "struggling to survive" under censorship, arrests, attacks, and restrictions on women. (Voice of America, 2022).

Since the Taliban took power in Afghanistan in August 2021, the media and violence directed at journalists have decreased. Hundreds of media outlets have been shut down by the Taliban government, which has led to the loss of employment or profession for an estimated 80% of women journalists in Afghanistan. The Directorate of Intelligence of the Taliban has a history

of intimidating, killing, and threatening journalists and other media professionals. Afghan Taliban.

The Islamic Emirate government of the Taliban also banned media outlets in Afghanistan from broadcasting international news programs, such as the Voice of America and BBC, in Dari, Pashto, and Uzbek languages. Journalists covering women's rights protests have been subject to particular abuse, and the Taliban has shut down the websites of two media outlets. (Human Rights Watch, 2023)

Some scholars found that the Taliban of 2021 is different from the Taliban of 1996, at least in terms of their media messaging, propaganda, and political maneuvering. However, even with this evolution, the situation for gender and media rights presents a grim future. (Jabarkhail, 2022). The Taliban may be putting limits in place to prevent opposition to their authority, according to the Afghan media environment. They keep an eye on both traditional media outlets and social media because they are wary of propaganda and social media. Although the Taliban assert that they follow Islamic laws that permit media freedom, their actions seem to indicate otherwise. Because of the tighter controls on the media and the threat of sanctions from the Taliban regime, journalists are now forced to practice self-censorship. (Saragih, 2021).

Moreover, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported that the Taliban has pressured media outlets to change their content or reduce publication frequency. According to CPJ, the Taliban's spokesperson Zabiullah Mujahid "has publicly stated that media outlets should produce 'Islamic' content." (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2021).

According to the information that is currently accessible, the policies of the former and present Taliban governments respecting media freedom are very different. In all official statements and meetings, the Taliban's current administration declares its commitment to media and speech freedom. They try to demonstrate their commitment to media and speech freedom nationally and worldwide. Currently, the official government of the Taliban tries to fully value their government's commitment to media and media freedom. Still, this time, they are attempting to give the world a positive impression of the government. According to International Media Support, free press and information access are human rights that support a culture of responsibility and transparency in society. In the case of Afghanistan, it has been reported that the Taliban has closed down half of the media inside the country (Afghanistan Human Rights and Democracy 2022).

This shows that there has been a change in the Taliban's policy regarding media freedom which was previously a total shutdown of the media networks during their first regime. Reports indicate that media freedoms were limited during the previous Taliban rule. Still, the current Taliban government is trying to present a more favorable image by claiming to support Freedom of speech and media. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the Taliban's ideology and leadership have evolved, leading to changes in their media freedom and censorship policies.

According to (Voice of America, 2021), in a news conference, "Zabihullah Mujahid, the Taliban's top spokesman and deputy minister of information and culture, stated. "Reporters can write and publish anything factual and not a mere accusation. We don't have any problem with them." The Islamic Emirate, on the other hand, is confident that all media organizations must be founded on Islamic values. The Islamic Emirate attempts to project a favorable image of the media to the outside world while occasionally forcibly suppressing the once-vibrant media.

Taliban officials have imposed limitations that are so extensive that many stations have little choice but to omit critical programming and practice self-censorship, even if they have refrained from closing down privately held news organizations or enacting open censorship.

According to the United States institute of Peace, (2021), While one and a half years have passed since the new government of the Taliban, during this period, the Taliban have made many unsuccessful attempts to be recognized by the international community. The embassies of foreign countries have encouraged them to come to Kabul. The group has maintained a steady stream of high-level diplomacy with neighboring and regional states, including Russia, China, and India.

Haibatullah Akhundzadeh, the leader of the Islamic Emirate in Kabul, requested that the international community recognize its authority on May 10, 2022. We appeal to the nations in the area and worldwide, particularly the Islamic nations, to recognize the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, lift all economic and financial sanctions, and support Afghanistan's growth. A collective designation for their unofficially recognized government by any nation. According to (Reuters, 2022), A Taliban-run gathering of thousands of male religious and ethnic leaders ended on Saturday by asking foreign governments to recognize them formally. Still, it did not signal changes in international demands, such as the opening of girls' high schools. Meanwhile, The Taliban has restricted the Freedom of the press, women's employment, and education in the nation while also attempting to acknowledge the Islamic Emirate's existence. According to the (Reuters, 2022) reports, by doing such actions, the Taliban wants to put pressure on the international community to be recognized by the world community.

2.3 Comparison of Media Policies and Practices:

Comparing the two Taliban governments' media policies and practices could illuminate potential shifts in the Taliban's perspective on the media. However, current research indicates that the two Taliban governments have very different media freedom and censorship policies. While the current Taliban administration claims to be committed to free speech and the media, the previous Taliban administration explicitly banned both. However, reports from the ground indicate that under the current Taliban administration, media restrictions have been steadily increasing.

In conclusion, media freedom and censorship in Afghanistan are crucial areas of study, particularly during the previous Taliban government (1996-2001) and the current Taliban government. The previous Taliban government prohibited media and expression Freedom, during the current Taliban government.

3. Methodology

3.1 Method: I used a qualitative research approach with library research (literature studies) to investigate media freedom and Censorship and compare the of media freedom under Previous and Current Taliban Governments. To compare the media freedom and censorship practices of the present Taliban regime in Afghanistan with those of the former Taliban government (1996–2001), this research paper uses a comparative case study technique. Understanding the differences in media control between these two periods will help reveal changes in Taliban media freedom policy and practices.

The researcher tried to use historical and modern sources of knowledge while doing my comparative case study. To compare and contrast the media policies and practices of the two

Taliban regimes, the study will assess various aspects of media freedom in the two Taliban regimes, including the legal framework for media, the level of media control, and the level of media access and coverage.

3.2 Data collection: I collected reliable information for this research from various sources, including academic studies, reports from human rights organizations, media observers, and news stories. These sources will provide light on the media landscape, methods of censorship, and instances of violence committed against journalists under both the former and present Taliban regimes.

It is critical to recognize this study's limitations. I based my research questions and literature review on media stories and other pertinent publications since there weren't enough scientific studies on this issue. Although these sources provide insightful information, it is important to consider any inherent biases and limits. The study's results will aid in understanding Afghanistan's media control and Freedom policies under Taliban rule. The study's results may help policymakers, human rights groups, and media professionals interested in promoting media freedom and preserving journalists' rights in Afghanistan.

3.3 Data analysis: for this study, the researcher used the Comparative Analysis method. According to Schmitz (2022) as we know, this kind of analysis method has two types, and the researcher used two of them. (Becker, 1992)

a. Cross-Case Analysis: Compare and contrast media policies, practices, and incidents of censorship under the former and current Taliban governments. Identify similarities, differences, and patterns that emerge across cases. (Becker, 1992)

b. Historical Analysis: Examine changes over time by analyzing historical data and sources. This can involve identifying key events or policy shifts influencing media freedom during the two periods. See Figure 1 (Becker, 1992)

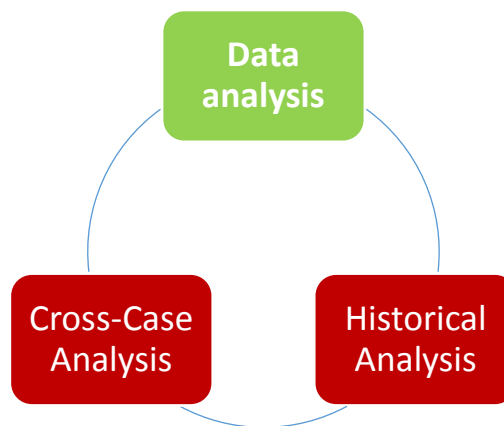


Figure 1: Data analysis method for this research

4: Result and Desiccation

4.1 Do the Taliban fear the press?

After seizing control, the Taliban progressively increased their influence over the media and started to meddle in its operations. They meddle with everything from the topics being addressed to the guests invited and how the program is covered. The Taliban see media freedom as a severe threat to their sovereignty and fear it. The Taliban engage in such activities that even criticism of one of their deeds is enough to undermine the institutions of their authority and change public opinion. The Taliban need a society with no voice for the opposition and everything is handled equally to increase their dominance. (Masomy,2022)

After the BUN conference, when the republican system was debated, the first ideas that sprang to mind were the Freedom of speech and the establishment and operation of various and different media. The media contributed to the formation of culture and the raising of public consciousness at this time. At that time, regional media independence in Afghanistan was distinctive and a source of pride. Numerous media outlets were active in Afghanistan's capital and districts, including written, visual, and audio. One of the positive effects of the country's media's intense activity during this time was the development of a generation of journalists with strong journalistic skills. Because of this, notable journalists and journalists from Afghanistan have arisen during the last 20 years. (Ahadi, 2017).

Academic personnel and skilled journalists were confronted with a new and reasonably sophisticated media system when the Taliban took control for a second time. They also worry that the media and the right to Freedom of speech would cause issues for the Taliban government. Because of this, the Taliban focused on the media after gaining control. Although it wasn't shut down, it placed limits and requirements on them, which caused numerous media outlets to cease operations (VOA. Pashto, 2022).

Afghanistan's media was not just heavily suppressed when the Taliban seized control again in August of last year but also under intense pressure from this organization. As of last year, male and female journalists in Afghanistan are subject to severe censorship (VOA. Pashto, 2022).

The Committee to Protect Journalists in New York has emphasized by publishing a report that brave journalistic activities are going on in this country despite all this. The authors of this report have criticized arresting journalists and threatening the media. This report states that many journalists have left the country due to the harassment of journalists. In addition, due to the bad economic situation, newspapers, radio, and television have decreased unprecedentedly. (VOA, 2021) This report also indicated that the Taliban's position on the Internet media has softened compared to their first rule. The Taliban said in their first rule that they should not use the Internet because they believed Immoral and anti-Islamic materials are being published online. But now, this group uses the Internet and social networks for its propaganda. According to this report, the media is resisting the imposition of restrictions, which is also different from the rule of the first period of Taliban rule. (VOA, 2021)

The lack of laws for the legal activities of the media is another problem that different media and journalists are currently facing in Afghanistan. They show concern that the free press will disappear if the media law is not implemented. In this regard, Hojatullah Mujaddi, head of the Association of Independent Journalists of Afghanistan, says that after the fall of the

republican government, until now, the Afghan media has been a legal gap, and this is a big challenge to the work of independent media. Hojatullah Mujadidi said in a conversation with D.W.: "The Ministry of Information and Culture has repeatedly said that the media law is practical, but it is not enforceable in practice, and it is said that it is necessary to amend it (Radio Free Europe, 2022)" It has been sent to the Council of Ministers, but unfortunately, a lot of time has passed, and it has not been finalized yet. The lack of laws for the legal activities of the media is another problem that different media and journalists are currently facing in Afghanistan. (Saragih,2021) They show concern that the free press will disappear if the media law is not implemented.

In this regard, Hojatullah Mujaddi, head of the Association of Independent Journalists of Afghanistan, says that after the fall of the republican government, until now the Afghan media, there is a legal gap, and this is a big challenge to the work of independent media. Hojatullah Mujadidi said in a conversation with D.W.: "The Ministry of Information and Culture has repeatedly said that the media law is practical, but it is not enforceable in practice, and it is said that it is necessary to amend it." It has been sent to the Council of Ministers, but unfortunately, a lot of time has passed, and it has not been finalized yet. (Schmitz, 2022)

At the same time, in addition to the challenges to the Freedom of the media and its unclear status in the laws, the law on access to information is not implemented because journalists do not have access to information and are subject to many restrictions. The social media law of Afghanistan has been established and created according to the order of the fourteenth article of the constitution of the former republic government, which guarantees the Freedom of expression. (Brossel,2002)

After the fall of the previous government, almost all other laws, including the Constitution of Afghanistan, are considered to have been abolished. Still, at the beginning of the caretaker government of the Taliban, Taliban spokespersons said that the social media law is enforceable. Still, on the 15th of the year, the spokesman of the Taliban, Zubihullah Mujahid, announced that they had sent the media law to the leadership of their government for approval after revision and changes. (Radio Free Europe, 2022)

Taliban spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid mentioned in this press conference that changes in the said law would become enforceable after approval. The ministry has not disclosed the exact details of the new changes in the law. Still, journalists and media managers hope that the impartiality of the independent media will be protected.

A journalist in the east of Afghanistan, who does not want to be named, says: "I hope that the social media law will be implemented, but one concern is that new restrictions and articles will not be added to it, which will undermine the independence of the media and journalists. Limit it."

In addition to the social media law, the access to information law is not fully enforceable in Afghanistan.

4.2 Media Offenses Commission

After the collapse of the republican system, the Media Violations Commission was destroyed in Afghanistan. Still, in the second month of the same year, the Ministry of Information and Culture announced that the commission was reactivated. (Armajani, 2021)

The commission was established again in August this year with 11 members, five of whom are independent and six of whom are current government representatives.

Hojatullah Mujadadi, head of the Independent Journalist Association of Afghanistan, says: "If a strong commission acts as defined in the media law, it will prevent many of the problems that exist now. We hope that this commission will get the same strength. (BBC.Pashto, 2022)

4.3 The measure of support for the new Taliban government from the media:

While many independent media have stopped their activities after the Taliban came to power, the Taliban claim that they support the Freedom and free activity of the media. They claim that the media can continue to operate as before. But whatever they publish should not be against the Islamic Sharia and rules. To support the media, the officials of the information and culture departments of the Taliban held meetings with the editors and reporters in several provinces to discuss their problems and challenges. The media has been listening for a solution, but looking at the journalists' current situation; there is little hope that these promises will be implemented. (Weigand, 2022)

At the same time, the Acting Director of the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Taliban, Mullah Khairullah Khairkhwa, during his visit to Ghazni Province on May 10, 2023, in a meeting with journalists and media officials, said that if the media and journalists are concerned about the economic and when faced with financial problems, they help and cooperate with them. He said that the Ministry of Information and Culture has already waived the tax fines to the media and told the media officials to pay the remaining taxes to the government agencies within three years. (Participant,

This news has been met with positive and negative reactions from the media and journalists. Some media officials say that they are facing financial and economic problems. But they say that the financial support of the Taliban limits them, and they cannot operate freely. After the Taliban came to power on August 15, 2021, almost half of the television, audio, and print media suspended their activities due to financial and economic problems and restrictions imposed by the Taliban.

In response to the claim of financial support for the media of the Taliban, the Free Media Support Agency of Afghanistan (NAI) issued a statement and supported the action of the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Taliban but said that privileges should be given fairly. Type to be considered. But expressing his concern, he added that the media should not be limited or censored.

Ni has said: "The purpose of granting privileges to the media should be the development of the media, the strengthening of Freedom of expression and access to information, not that the purpose is to limit and censor the content produced in the media. (D.W., 2022)."

At the same time, the spokesman of the Taliban's Nahi-in-al-Munker ministry said in an interview with a media outlet that they have arrested only those media outlets that spread negative propaganda against the Taliban during the previous republican system and from foreigners. He took money in exchange for it. He says that they are committed to providing a free media environment within the Islamic Sharia framework (BBC. Pashto, 2021).

4.4 The Taliban government's first restrictions on the media:

On November 21, 2021, the eight principles prepared by the Taliban government's Ministry of Law and Prohibition, which were presented to them in a meeting with representatives

of the media and journalists, are based on these principles. Television should not broadcast such dramas and drama programs where the actresses or actors are women. Comedy and entertainment programs should not be prepared in such a way that anyone is insulted (VOA. Pashto, 2021)

According to the restrictions of the Ministry of Prohibition and Prohibition, T.V. stations should not broadcast "drama" that "insults religious rituals or human dignity." In addition, the television stations were told not to broadcast anything against the principles of Sharia and Afghan values and not to broadcast such foreign and domestic films that introduce foreign culture into Afghan society or, according to them, cause immorality. (VOA. Pashto, 2021)

Another article states that T.V. stations should not broadcast films and videos that show male private parts. In addition, female television presenters have been asked to observe the hijab and refrain from broadcasting serials that portray prophets and companions. (BBC, 2021)

This eight-point list of media sanctions included the following items. See Figure 2.



Figure 2: Eight-point list of media sanctions from Taliban regime

Looking at the above eight principles imposed for media broadcasts and a restricted environment for their broadcasts, it seems that these restrictions have caused the media to self-censor because when there is no clarification of the rules, the media censors itself. Although the above eight-fold rule is not a law for the media, nor have these sanctions been imposed through any legal procedure, the imposition of these sanctions by a high-ranking institution of the Taliban government will cause many problems for the media.

4.5 Differences between the current government and the first government of the Taliban in terms of sanctions:

In the first period of the Taliban, there was a ban on watching television. In their first period, the Taliban imprisoned people who watched movies in their homes. They completely banned television, but now various television media are operating. The Taliban, The government has only imposed some rules on television broadcasts, which clearly shows the difference between the policies of the former Taliban government and the current government in the media sector.

Also, there was a complete ban on publishing pictures through the media during the Taliban's last tour. Still, the official websites of the Taliban publish pictures of all their activities on social media and websites during the last tour of the Taliban. No Taliban official was present for the media to appear and the people to respond through the media. Still, with the arrival of this Taliban government, they are communicating their programs and programs to the people through the media, a fundamental difference from the Taliban's aggression. The current issue with the government is that there was no social media at that time, but now all the Taliban officials are using social media to a large extent.

5: Conclusion

In conclusion, this comparative case study looked at how the Afghan Taliban administrations of the past and present differed in terms of media freedom and censorship. The research sought to comprehend the differences between the two regimes' media laws and practices and the effect of technology development on press freedom. The former Taliban administration (1996–2001) completely outlawed media freedom and implemented harsh control. The Ministry of Information and Culture strictly monitored the broadcast of news and information and outlawed independent media outlets. Journalists who covered topics considered harmful to the Taliban were subject to threats, assaults, and even jail. Media watchdogs and human rights groups have reported numerous instances of censorship, restriction of free expression, and human rights breaches. In contrast, the present Taliban administration asserts that it supports press and speech freedom. They have made public remarks and meetings expressing their support for media freedom. However, following its return to power in August 2021, there have been further limitations on the media. Journalists have lost their jobs due to the closure of several media enterprises. The Taliban have outlawed international news broadcasts, and journalists have been attacked, detained, and intimidated. According to reports, self-censorship has become more common because people fear punishment. Under both Taliban administrations, technological developments like social media and digital platforms have influenced media freedom and censorship procedures. The present Taliban administration is more conscious of the

influence of social media and regularly monitors both conventional and online media, while the previous Taliban rule only sometimes encountered problems from digital platforms. As a result, there are now fewer opportunities for independent media and free speech in Afghanistan. This research indicates that the censorship and media freedom policies of the past and present Taliban administrations vary significantly. While the current administration strives to present a more positive picture while placing limitations on the media, the prior administration outright outlawed media freedom. Because they have not received formal recognition from any government, the Taliban's shifting position on media freedom may be impacted by their desire for recognition from the international community. This study clarifies the difficulties experienced by Afghan media professionals and others who support free speech by shedding light on media freedom under the Taliban administration. Policymakers, human rights groups, and media professionals who want to encourage media freedom and safeguard the rights of journalists in the nation might learn important lessons from it. It is crucial to watch Afghanistan's media environment and fight to preserve journalists' Freedom of speech. Press freedom and journalists' ability to perform their jobs without fear of violence or repression may be protected with the help of international pressure and support from independent media outlets. Future studies might dive deeply into the precise techniques used by the Taliban to regulate and manage the media and examine how journalists and media organizations fared under both regimes. We can strive to encourage a more open and inclusive media environment in Afghanistan by continuing to research and record the situation of media freedom there.

References

1. Yousaf, F., & Jabarkhail, M. (2022). Afghanistan's future under the Taliban regime: engagement or isolation?. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 17(1), 117-134.
2. Masomy, M. J. (2022). Afghanistan's Media Developments and Challenges in the Past Two Decades: A Short Glance at Media Freedom. *Reality of Politics. Estimates-Comments-Forecasts*, 19(1), 64-77.
3. Ahadi, A. (2017). The Impact of Media on Society in Post 9/11 Afghanistan. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 5(1), 397-402.
4. Saragih, M. Y. (2021). Women Journalist in the Middle of Taliban Power. *Konfrontasi: Jurnal Kultural, Ekonomi dan Perubahan Sosial*, 8(3), 142-151.
5. Brossel, V. (2002). Press freedom one year after the fall of the Taliban. *Reporters Sans Frontières*. Retrieved August, 5, 2003.
6. Maley, W. (2000). The Foreign Policy of the Taliban. Council on Foreign Relations. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05667>
7. Armajani, J. (2021). The Taliban. In M. A. Upal & C. M. Cusack (Eds.), *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements* (pp. 348-378). Brill. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1v7zbv8.22>
8. Condra, L., Isaqzadeh, M., & Linardi, S. (2019). Clerics and Scriptures: Experimentally Disentangling the Influence of Religious Authority in Afghanistan. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 401-419. doi:10.1017/S0007123416000569
9. Murtazashvili, J. . (2022). The Collapse of Afghanistan. *Journal of Democracy*, 33(1), 40-54.
10. Laub, Z. (2014). The Taliban in Afghanistan. Council on Foreign Relations, 4(7), 1-9.
11. Zaef, M. A. S. (2011). *My life with the Taliban*. Hurst & Company Limited.
12. Zarawar, A., Alokozay, N., & Numan, M. (2024). A Comparative Analysis of Pakistan Relations with Afghan Taliban and with the Previous Afghan Government (2014-2021): Security Dilemma Perspectives. *Research Journal of Social Sciences and Economics Review*, 5(3), 11-22. <https://ojs.rjsser.org.pk/index.php/rjsser/article/view/696>
13. Lynch, M. (2015). Obama and the Middle East. *Foreign Aff.*, 94, 18.
14. Baczko, A. (2017). Legal rule and tribal politics: The U.S. Army and the Taliban in Afghanistan (2001-13). *Rule and Rupture: State Formation through The Production of Property and Citizenship*, 213-233.
15. Weigand, F. (2022). Why did the Taliban win (again) in Afghanistan?. *fghanistan*, 87.



-
16. Miller, N. (2003). Media assistance post the Taliban regime and the implications for transforming the Afghan social system. Unpublished Dissertation, London School of Economics, London.
 17. Schmitz, A. (2022). Central Asia's Muslims and the Taliban (No. 17/2022). SWP Comment.
 18. Yin, R. K. (2017). Case study research and applications: Design and methods. Oaks.
 19. Ragin, C. C., & Becker, H. S. (Eds.). (1992). What is a case?: exploring the foundations of social inquiry. Cambridge university press.
 20. Ahmed, M., Zarawar, A., & Shoukat, H. (2023). THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PROTESTS IN SHAPING TERTIARY-LEVEL STUDENTS' POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN ACADEMIA. Pakistan Journal of Educational Research, 6(4).