

# Singing as a special form of *ius resistendi* – Afghan women’s protest against the banning of their voices

Adrienn Kanyar<sup>ORCID</sup>

Doctoral School of the Faculty of Law, University of Pécs, Pécs, Hungary  
E-mail: kanyaradri@gmail.com

Received: 8 August 2025; accepted: 9 December 2025

## Summary

The holy book of Islam, the Quran, is not a code of law. Nevertheless, Islamic law primarily bases its principles on the Quran and fills in its shortcomings with the help of the Sunnah, among other things. Thus, individual verses of the Quran are given legal content through free interpretation and form. However, groups that profess extremist ideas, such as the Taliban, bend the verses of the Quran to their liking, thus supporting their views, while distorting the true message of Islam. Their strongly purist views prohibit the emotional world outside of religion, so in addition to classical mysticism, art, including music, has been banned. The terror against musicians and the strict regulations have brought silence to the entire territory of the country, which has not only erased music, but also Afghan culture itself. The only legal form of musical expression is henceforth exclusively Orthodox material, such as Quran recitations, calls to prayer, and other forms related to religious practice. Radio stations and other news and media platforms may also broadcast exclusively Orthodox material.

Women have not been spared the strict regulations that reduce the female individual to the role of providing for the family and procreating children necessary for the maintenance of Islam. Since the Taliban’s return in 2021, they have continuously deprived Afghan women of their rights. Initially, they made education and employment impossible, but after a few years, the entire range of basic rights was taken away. In 2024, the Taliban imposed the strictest ever regulation on women, requiring them to cover their bodies and remain completely silent, thus acting against music and the female gender. However, women and singing were revived hand in hand when masses of women, armed with music, defied the law and shared their videos on various platforms, often singing while removing their headscarves. In my article, I explain this moment with the Islamic legal roots and present this specific case of the *ius resistendi*, thus presenting the Islamic legal position of music and women, which, however, appear in a distorted form, far removed from real Islam, under the Taliban.

**Keywords:** Islam, *ius resistendi*, Taliban, Afghanistan, music

## Az éneklés mint a *ius resistendi* különös formája – Afgán nők tiltakozása a hangjuk betiltása ellen

Kanyar Adrienn

Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar Doktori Iskola, Pécs, Magyarország

## Összefoglaló

Bár nem törvénykönyv, az iszlám jog mégis elsődlegesen a Koránra támaszkodva alapozza meg tételeit, s hiányosságait többek között a Sunnah segítségével pótolja. A Korán egyes versei így az értelmezés és szabad kitöltés által kapnak jogi tartalmat. Az olyan szélsőséges eszméket valló csoportok, mint a Talibán, kedvükre hajlítgatják a Korán verseit, így alátámasztva nézeteiket.

2024-ben a Talibán az eddigi legszigorúbb nőket érintő szabályozásával testük teljes eltakarása mellett teljes némaságot rendelt el. A nők és az ének azonban karöltve éledt újjá, amikor a zene fegyverével nők tömegei szegültek ellen a törvénynek. Írásomban ezen momentum iszlám jogi gyökereivel magyarázva ismertetem a *ius resistendi* ezen specifikus esetét.

**Kulcsszavak:** Iszlám, *ius resistendi*, Talibán, Afganisztán, zene

## Introduction

When the US withdrew its forces from Afghanistan in 2021, people left the country in droves. Everyone became aware that if the Taliban returned, they would bring with them a deeply radical view of Islam and a political government, one that through its regulation of every aspect of daily life excludes the right to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The most critical point of the Taliban's state organization is the discrimination against women, which violates not only their citizenship, but also their humanity, freedom, and dignity.

Nonetheless, Afghan women bravely confronted the Taliban and used music as a means of protest. However, the uniqueness of this case lies in the details, so it is necessary to examine the Islamic legal position of women and music.

## The status of women in Islam

We have countless stereotypes about the situation of Muslim women. However, most of these are distorted, as simple generalizations often only represent the customs of certain groups. The media is no help either, as it deals with the most extreme cases. Yet, when it comes to women, we most often think of traditional Muslim clothing, veiled hair, perhaps the burqa or chador, or arranged marriages, or honour killings (Bullock 2010).

The situation of women, their social status, and thus their rights, are also addressed by the primary sources of Islamic law, the Quran and the Sunnah. Women are mentioned several times in the Quran, thus their social role, more precisely within the ummah, is already outlined here. One of the best examples of this is verse 35 of Surah 33, which places men and women on the same level within Islam:

*“Surely ‘for’ Muslim men and women, believing men and women,<sup>1</sup> devout men and women, truthful men and women, patient men and women, humble men and women, charitable men and women, fasting men and women, men and women who guard their chastity, and men and women who remember Allah often—for ‘all of’ them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward.” (Quran 33:35)*

The deliberate repetitions reinforce that men and women have the same responsibilities in Islam, that they must perform the same good deeds – emphasizing the pillars of Islam – for the believer to live a life pleasing to Allah and then enter to Paradise. However, this equality

is one-sided. Believers, men and women who submit to Islam, are equal in the eyes of Allah in their spirituality, not in their physicality (*Subendar n.d.*). Of course, one could easily deduce true equality from this, but let us not forget that the Quran was written in the 7th century, so it reflects, organizes, and summarizes the conditions in Arabia at that time. It should also be noted that Muslim religious and legal scholars were mostly men who served their own gender and their patriarchal society in deriving legal principles and laws or *fiqh* (Hillenbrand 2016).

One of the most interesting examples of this spiritual-physical duality is the institution of marriage. While the Quran shows a kind of equality between men and women in relation to Paradise, thus through spirituality, the actual regulation found in Islamic law, i.e. positive law, favours men. For example, we can read the following regarding marriage in relation to Paradise:

*“Enter Paradise, you and your spouses, rejoicing.” (Quran 43:70)*

*“They and their spouses will be in ‘cool’ shade, reclining on ‘canopied’ couches.” (Quran 36:56)*

We can see, then, that the value of marriage is emphasized, which is also reflected in Paradise, where man and woman enter as companions. However, the Quran makes another statement regarding Paradise:

*“And ‘they will have’ maidens with gorgeous eyes, like pristine pearls...” (Quran 56:22-23)*

Which we have encountered before also:

*“So it will be. And We will pair them to maidens with gorgeous eyes.” (Quran 44:54)*

So, believing men – whether married or not – receive a reward, that, in my opinion, greatly undermines the sanctity of marriage.

However, the regulation of the institution of marriage was still in order in its time. The reason for this is that marriage was not regulated at all in pre-Islamic Arabia, so Muslim marriage was a step forward for women. Polygamy was a common practice in the societies described in the Old Testament (Davidson 2015). Muhammad could not completely deny the diverse customs of the tribes, so polygamy remained in the regulation of the institution, which already sets out the basic principles of detailed regulation in the Quran. The Quran states that in Muslim marriage the man is above the woman (Hillenbrand 2016). So, the above Quranic passages can certainly only be interpreted in the field of spiritual “salvation” while in earthly life, according to Islamic law, men and women are not equal partners. This is explained at several points in the Quran. The caring Muslim husband

disciplines his wife (*Quran 4:34*), but at the same time he is also her caretaker – so here we find an obligation to care that extends beyond the wife’s financial support to her spiritual care, which is achieved through discipline.

The Cow – Surah 2 – verse 223 says that the husband should regard his wife as his farmland and approach her (sexually) as he wishes. There is an addition in the English translation and later interpretation that this is based on consensus, but the original Quranic text does not contain such a thing (*Quran 2:223*). So, the Quran describes the disposition of a woman as the disposition of property. In my opinion, this is one of the most serious Quranic verses regarding male–female relations, which is naturally mitigated by the addition of the concept of consensus, but its acceptance is always chosen by the given Muslim community, which will always be based on the original Arabic text.

However, the basic regulation of polygamous marriage is also reflected in the regulation of the number of wives.

*“If you fear you might fail to give orphan women their ‘due’ rights ‘if you were to marry them’, then marry other women of your choice—two, three, or four. But if you are afraid you will fail to maintain justice, then ‘content yourselves with’ one<sup>1</sup> or those ‘bondwomen’ in your possession.” (Quran 4:3)*

According to this verse, Islam allows a maximum of four wives, but the interpretation suggests that this is only if the husband can be just among them, that is, to ensure equal treatment. However, the Quran also sets out the characteristics of an ideal marriage, which is peaceful, harmonious, and based on mutual care. This leads to a strong contradiction:

*“You will never be able to maintain ‘emotional’ justice between your wives—no matter how keen you are.” (Quran 4:129)*

Thus, the Quran establishes the ideal of polygamous marriage, but at the same time, by detailing the foundations of the marital relationship, it also destroys it, as it recognizes that the ideal male–female relationship based on peace, mutual care, and justice can be realized in monogamous marriage.

The idea of the Quran 4:3, which stated that the number of wives was maximized in four, has become customary to associate with the conditions after the Battle of Ohod in 625. The revelation of the surah is placed after the battle, and its content is thus explained by the fact that Muhammad wanted to resolve the situation of Muslim women who were widowed after the defeat at Ohod by encouraging male members of the umma to marry widows and take care of them (*Hillenbrand 2016*). In my opinion, the historical basis of this – even if accurate – cannot resolve the contradiction, since the ideas described in Surah Al-Baqarah (The Cow), which view women as property, in themselves go against the idea of marriage based on justice.

The Quran also makes numerous references to women, defining their existence within Islamic society. This includes regulations on divorce, dress, and social behaviour. However, in terms of their legal status, it is their place in marriage that most strongly articulates that women are not equal to men.

## Women in the Taliban regime

Since the Taliban’s return in August 2021, women have been at the centre of their envisioned Islamic legal regime. Their situation has worsened since then. The restrictions that affect women’s place in society and every aspect of their lives have been increasing year by year (*Leclerc–Shreeves 2024*). However, the regulations have already deeply restricted women’s freedoms from the beginning. It is important to emphasize, though, that the Taliban’s position does not correspond to the traditional Islamic legal approach, and we can only speak of a conscious twisting and distortion of legal sources. Following the UN Human Rights Council meeting (*OHCHR 2024*), the UN Human Rights Office issued a statement summarizing the anti-women legislation in Afghanistan, detailing the Taliban’s oppressive legal policies against women. Meanwhile, the world press was flooded with news about Taliban measures that violated women’s rights and their effects. To illustrate this, in addition to the aforementioned UN statement, this study will also take a look at press releases.

Women and girls are not allowed to travel without male relatives, primary school education is limited to six grades, and they are banned from most public places. In terms of occupation, women are restricted to teaching and healthcare. In 2022, the range of occupations available to women was further reduced, and they were also excluded from higher education. In 2023, foreign female citizens working in Afghanistan – including UN staff – were banned from working (*Leclerc–Shreeves 2024*).

The right to education of female workers, who were to be expelled from the healthcare sector, was also restricted. The individual professions available offered women the opportunity to receive real education through certain careers, and to interact with each other and form a community through healthcare training. However, in December 2024, Haibatullah Akhundzada, the Taliban’s top leader, officially banned women from attending medical education in Afghanistan. Compounding the problem, the Taliban has banned men from treating women in need of medical care in some provinces, so the lack of female professionals will leave masses of women without medical care (*Fetrat 2024*).

The total elimination of jobs available to women creates unemployment. Since the Taliban banned women from most paid work in 2021, the level of deprivation has increased across the country in the three years since then (*UN Women 2023*). The labour shortage, which is

the result of the turn away from women's employment, is destroying the economy on a national level, pushing masses of women and families into deep poverty. Men are unable to provide for their families with their earnings, and single women – including mothers – are put in a financial situation that forces them to beg (Amini 2024).

In May 2024, the Taliban passed new laws that prohibit healthy people from begging if they have enough money to buy a day's food. They also set up a committee to register "professional". The numbers are already staggering, as 60,000 people have been registered in Kabul alone, from whom biometric data and fingerprints have been collected (Amini 2024).

Under the law, several Afghan citizens, including women, were arrested for begging "illegally". It is worth noting, however, that several of the arrested Afghans reported that they were unaware of the law, as there was no platform where they could learn about it. And the imprisoned women represented many things that are contrary to human dignity. They reported physical violence not only in prison but also during arrest and registration. Since this violence also affects children, some mothers reported that their children were beaten to death by the Taliban in front of them. Several women were victims of sexual violence during detention, and to make matters worse, these incidents often result in the dissolution of their marriages, which further worsens the economic and social situation of the women (Amini 2024).

However, the strictest legal regulations for women, introduced by the Taliban in 2024, have already led to strong protests. Therefore, before examining this, it is worth briefly discussing the Islamic legal status of music and the Taliban's legal regulation of musical activities.

## Basics of Islamic legal regulation of music

The perception of music in the Islamic world is very diverse, even though there is no real basis for the prohibition of music in the Quran, as the primary source of law. However, three different, vaguely worded Quranic verses are used by legal scholars who cast their vote in favour of the harmfulness and haram nature of music (Shaikh Muhammad 2016). These are, in the order of the Quran: Al-Isra (Quran 17:64)<sup>1</sup>, Luqmān (Quran 40:31), and An-Najm (Quran 41:53). None of these contain the terminology of music. The justification for the prohibitions in the surahs is based on distant reasoning regarding musical instruments used in battle (Wright-Poché-Shiloah 2001), vocal music known from legends (Simon 1987),

<sup>1</sup> The referenced Quranic verses and their interpretations were adapted from the works of Róbert Simon (Quran (Korán 1987); The World of the Quran (Simon 1987)) and from the website <https://quran.com/>.

and possible prostitution during entertainment activities (Shaikh Muhammad 2016).

There are complications with the hadiths, because even though the real basis for the prohibitions comes from them (Kárpáti 1981), we can also find stories that explicitly support and appreciate music, among which the figure who idealized music or any form of its manifestation is the Prophet Muhammad. For example, the musical traditions that are fully accepted at weddings can be traced back to just such a story (Shaikh Muhammad 2016).

## Limits in regulation

In theoretical and practical regulation, different, often contradictory, boundaries are drawn between vocal and instrumental practice, and the instrumental subgroups of the latter. These appear in different ways and take on different degrees in Islamic denominations, sects and different legal schools (madhhabs), and although consensus (Ijma) has not been reached regarding the Islamic legal assessment of music and the way it is regulated, it can still be said that every Muslim grouping and thinker has a position on music, and these are mostly negative (Shaikh Muhammad 2016). A real exception to this is perhaps the Sufi orders based on mysticism (Hillenbrand 2016), where the role of music is precisely to be sought in the intoxicating effect that the purist view of Islam so despises.

However, the Islamic world is full of "music". Let us think of the melodies sung during the call to prayer, the adhan, which show different stylistic features depending on the region (Kárpáti 1981); but we can also hear the melody of the Quranic recitation (Kárpáti 1981), which must always be performed with recitative singing (Kárpáti 1981); or of the countless genres associated with Islamic festivals, one of the most beautiful of which is the Shiite Ta'ziye commemorating the martyrdom of Huasayn (Neubauer 2001). In light of this, the question arises as to how the assessment of Orthodox musical practice differs from that of secular music?

The jurists had to find a way to protect the musical tradition within Islam from attacks on music, and they did so in a very simple way. They took the term *mūsīqī* – which, as a foreign loanword, proved to be perfectly suitable – and drew a line between music and non-music, in this case *mūsīqī*–non *mūsīqī*, on the basis of which they simply excluded orthodox genres from the terminology of music. Of course, there are semi-secular genres that are nevertheless organically related to Islam, such as the aforementioned wedding music and the military music associated with the concept of jihad. This is perfectly summarized in the work of the Palestinian American religious philosopher al-Farūqī, written in 1985, which lists the musical genres of orthodox practice in a hierarchy of legitimacy in relation to ecclesiastical and secular genres (Neubauer 2001).

Table 1 | The status of music in the Islamic world

Non Mūsīqā	Qur'anic Chant – <i>Qirā'ah</i>	Legitimate – <i>Halāl</i>
	Call to Prayer – <i>Adhān</i>	
	Pilgrimage Chants – <i>Tahlīl</i>	
	Eulogy Chants – <i>Madīh, Na'ī, Tahmīd</i>	
	Chanted Poetry with Noble Themes – <i>Shi'r</i>	
Mūsīqā	Family and Celebration Music (lullabies, wedding songs)	Invisible Barrier
	“Occupational” Music (caravan chants, Shepherd's tunes, work songs)	
	Military Band Music – <i>Tabl Khānah</i>	
	Vocal/Instrumental Improvisations – <i>Taqāsīm, Layālī, Qaṣīdah, Āwāz</i>	Controversial – <i>Halāl, Mubāh, Makrūh, Harām</i>
	Serious Metered Songs – <i>Muwashshah, Dawr, Taṣnīf, Batāyihī</i>	
	Music Related to Pre-Islamic or Non-Islamic Origins	
		Impenetrable Barrier
	Sensuous Music	Illegitimate – <i>Harām</i>

Source: Al-Farūqī, 1985

We can therefore see that the assessment of music depends on the views of the given Muslim group, or Islamic sect if you like, since even orthodoxy uses music in its rituals. Yet it can be said that radical trends do not take this into account, and so – as we can see, for example, in al-Farūqī's division (*Table 1*) – they cling to theoretical constructs between which the boundaries are so thin and at the same time permeable that they cannot give real legal basis to prohibitive views.

## The silence of terror

As the Taliban edged closer to regaining power in 2021, Afghan social media was flooded with strange advertisements as musicians began selling their instruments. The reason for this was that the Taliban equate music – and therefore instruments – with moral corruption. Afghans who owned instruments therefore tried to quickly get rid of their instruments, lest they anger the Taliban. Many broke, buried, or burned their musical instruments, while others tried to flee the country, leaving those behind (*Kumar 2023*).

The fear was not unfounded. From the mid-1990s until 2001, the Taliban had laws in place that prohibited all forms of music – including the practice of and listening to it, or the possession, making, and selling of musical instruments (*Pascale 2014*).

In July 2021, the Taliban – in a move to further the moral cleansing of the country's society – burned confis-

cated musical instruments at a bonfire and flooded the media with images of the events, bringing fear to Afghan society. Afghan artists called it an attack on their culture and music and an act of hatred. After the incident, Aziz Rahman Muhajir, the vice president of Herat, explained that the possession and sale of musical instruments is a crime (*Kumar 2023*).

Music, which was not officially banned at first, fell silent (*Amnesty International 2025*). Music schools and art performances were shut down. Despite this, music remained in some areas. Such were weddings, which were still held as musical events in 2021, and which are among the accepted genres in the al-Farūqī system I presented. However, the Taliban is characterized by the most extreme orthodoxy, so the recommendations published by legal scholars and theologians naturally cut for their social values along their own, simple and radical ideas. One terrifying manifestation of this was when gunmen killed two people and wounded ten others at a wedding in 2021. The attackers claimed to be Taliban, but the Taliban distanced themselves from this (*Lister-Popalzai 2021*).

However, in 2023, the official ban was announced, so music can no longer be played at weddings. The Taliban also notified event centre operators of this, so everyone could prepare for quiet celebrations. However, music fell silent elsewhere this year as well. The radios were also shut down, so from now on – as the Taliban's moral worldview deems right – only melodies praising Allah, interpreted by orthodox vocal practice, will be played in Afghanistan (*Al-Jazeera 2023*).

And what was the symbol of establishing silence? The watershed between the Taliban's music and its actions against the musician community was the murder committed in 2021, the victim of which was Afghan folk singer Fawad Andarabi, who was abducted from his home by the Taliban and then killed in the mountains north of Kabul. Andarabi was shot in the head on his own family farm. The former interior minister commented on the events as follows: “*Taliban's brutality continues in Andarab. Today they brutally killed folkloric singer, Fawad Andarabi, who simply was bringing joy to this valley and its people.*” (*Ritchie 2021*)

## Singing, as a tool of the *ius resistendi*

In August 2024, the Taliban passed a law that imposed the strictest restrictions on women ever. (The Decree of the Amir Al-Mu'minin, May Allah Preserve Him, Regarding the Implementation of the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice Law – Injunctions related to women covering themselves – Article 13) Women must completely cover their faces, their entire bodies, and even their voices in public. The law completely oppresses Afghan women to invisibility and muteness or silence, stripping them of their human rights and freedoms. The

law segregates women in a way that banishes them not only from society but from existence (*Mukhtar 2024*).

In response, however, women have started something that the Taliban can now fear doubly. Human Rights Watch reports on the incident faithfully (*Abbasi, 2024*). To express their protest, they have chosen a means that the Taliban has been trying to curb with increasingly detailed regulations since taking power in 2021. Not only are women not afraid of the Taliban's law and have started to protest, but they are also expressing their resistance through music, or more precisely, singing (*Mukhtar 2024*).

Afghan women have chosen singing as a means of protest, making videos, often in the open streets, in which they send messages to the Taliban leadership and sing (*Abbasi, 2024*). These videos are then uploaded to various popular online platforms – many openly revealing their faces – such as TikTok. One protesting woman stated:

*“The Taliban are scared of women. They are afraid of women’s voices. They know how powerful Afghan women are, and our voices will destroy them. That is why they want to silence half of society with their women-hating laws.”*

Singing, and thus music, as an amplifier of women's voices and freedom, has become a symbol and tool of resistance. Several civil society organizations and individuals from around the world have joined the movement, thus declaring war on Taliban oppression (*Mukhtar 2024*).

## Conclusion

We can see that women and music appear as tools serving religion in the moral order imagined by the Taliban. However, these ideas are far from true Islam, and their legal foundation is only possible through the deliberate distortion of legal sources. A woman is a tool, a possession that ensures the survival of the family by giving birth to and raising children, and by running the household. Music is also just a tool for the propagation of the noble Quran and its teachings, which – like a woman – becomes worthless and empty in itself.

Given the distorted situation of women and music, it is understandable why it is so special that Afghan women chose music, or more precisely singing, as a means of protest. The ban on music, the ban on Afghan musical culture, and the trampling of women's rights are acts that can only be measured by the standards of terrorism. However, the Afghans are persistent, and now, with the tool of music, women have declared war on the Taliban. The connection between women's clinging to dignity and the protection of Afghan culture shows that even in the face of the greatest terror, this situation can only be interpreted as a pause, not as silence.

## Bibliography

- Abbasi, F. (2024) For Afghan women, singing is resistance. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/08/28/afghan-women-singing-resistance> [downloaded: 04 Dec 2025].
- Al-Faruqi, L.L. (1985) Islam and Art. National Hijra Council, Islamabad, Pakistan
- Al-Jazeera (2023) ‘Wedding or a funeral?’ Taliban bans music at Kabul wedding halls. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/12/wedding-or-a-funeral-taliban-bans-music-at-kabul-wedding-halls> [downloaded: 03 Dec 2023].
- Amini, Y. (2024) Women arrested by Taliban for begging report rape and killings in Afghan jails. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2024/nov/29/afghanistan-taliban-women-children-arrested-begging-rape-torture-killings-jails-destitution-work-ban> [downloaded: 04 Dec 2024].
- Amnesty International UK (2025) Afghanistan: 4 years of Taliban rule leaves Afghans in legal darkness. <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/afghanistan-4-years-taliban-rule-leaves-afghans-legal-darkness> [04 Dec 2025].
- Bullock, K. (2010) Rethinking Muslim women and the evil veil. Hurdon, USA, International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Davidson, R. M. (2015) Condemnation and grace: Polygamy and concubinage in the Old Testament. Christian Research Journal, Vol. 38. No. 5. pp. 32–37. <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/pubs/69/> [downloaded: 03 Dec 2025].
- Fetrat, S. (2024) Afghanistan's Taliban ban medical training for women - Closing one of the last loopholes for female education. HumanRightsWatch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/03/afghanistans-taliban-ban-medical-training-women> [downloaded: 04 Dec 2024].
- Hillenbrand, C. (2016) Az iszlám. Új történeti bevezetés. Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó.
- Kárpáti J. (1981) Kelet zenéje. Budapest, Zeneműkiadó.
- Korán (1987) translated & ed. Simon, R. Budapest, Helikon Kiadó.
- Kumar, R. (2023) When the music stops: How the Taliban's fear of art is killing Afghan culture. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/aug/15/when-the-music-stops-how-the-talibans-fear-of-art-is-killing-afghan-culture> [downloaded: 06 Dec 2024].
- Leclerc, G., & Shreeves, R. (2024) Women's rights in Afghanistan – An ongoing battle. European Parliamentary Research Service. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/747084/EPRS\\_BRI\(2023\)747084\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2023/747084/EPRS_BRI(2023)747084_EN.pdf) [downloaded: 03 Dec 2024].
- Lister, T., & Popalzai, E. (2021) Three wedding guests reportedly shot dead in Afghanistan for playing music at reception. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/10/31/asia/afghanistan-taliban-shooting-music-wedding-intl> [downloaded: 05. Jul 2025].
- Mukhtar, A. (2024) Afghan women raise their voices in song in online protests against Taliban's bid to silence them. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/afghanistan-women-protest-taliban-law-silence-singing-online/> [downloaded: 03 Dec 2024].
- Neubauer, E. (2001) Islamic religious music. Grove Music Online. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000052787?rskey=UnQzOt&result=4> [downloaded: 21 Feb 2023].
- OHCHR (2024) UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner: Human Rights Council hears that the severity of violations against women and girls in Afghanistan might amount to crimes against humanity, and that nearly 18 million individuals face acute hunger in Sudan amidst looming famine. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/meeting-summaries/2024/06/human-rights-council-hears>

- severity-violations-against-women-and-girls [downloaded: 05 Dec 2025].
- Pascale, L. (2014) Can you stop the birds from singing: The cultural impact of music censorship in Afghanistan. Lesley University, Massachusetts, USA. [https://www.academia.edu/65975153/Can\\_You\\_Stop\\_the\\_Birds\\_from\\_Singing\\_The\\_Cultural\\_Impact\\_of\\_Music\\_Censorship\\_in\\_Afghanistan](https://www.academia.edu/65975153/Can_You_Stop_the_Birds_from_Singing_The_Cultural_Impact_of_Music_Censorship_in_Afghanistan) [downloaded: 05 Dec 2025].
- Ritchie, H. (2021) Afghan folk singer taken from his house and killed by the Taliban. CNN World. <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/08/30/asia/fawad-andarabi-afghan-folk-singer-killed-intl/index.html> [downloaded: 05 Dec 2024].
- Shaikh Muhammad Salih Al-Munajjid (2016) Das Urteil über die Musik, den Gesang und das Tanzen. Der Islam – Frage und Antwort. <https://islamqa.info/ge/answers/5000/das-urteil-uber-die-musik-den-gesang-und-das-tanzen> [downloaded: 25 Nov 2022].
- Simon, R. (1987) A Korán világa. Budapest, Helikon Kiadó.
- Suhendar, A. (n.d.) Women in the public sphere: Gender equality in Islamic theology. *Pharos Journal of Theology*, Vol. 105. No. 1. [https://www.academia.edu/129118611/Women\\_in\\_the\\_Public\\_Sphere\\_Gender\\_Equality\\_in\\_Islamic\\_Theology](https://www.academia.edu/129118611/Women_in_the_Public_Sphere_Gender_Equality_in_Islamic_Theology). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46222/PHAROSJOT.10518> [downloaded: 03 Dec 2025]
- The Decree of the Amir Al-Mu'minin, may Allah preserve him, regarding the implementation of the propagation of virtue and prevention of vice law - Injunctions related to women covering themselves - Article 13. <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2024/08/Law-on-Virtue-and-Vice-Basic.pdf> [downloaded: 05 Dec 2025].
- The Noble Quran. Quran.com. <https://quran.com/> [downloaded: 07 Jul 2025].
- UN Women (2023) Gender alert no. 3: Out of jobs, into poverty: The impact of the ban on Afghan women working in NGOs. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/01/gender-alert-no-3-out-of-jobs-into-poverty-the-impact-of-the-ban-on-afghan-women-working-in-ngos> [downloaded: 04 Dec 2025].
- Wright, O., Poché, Ch., & Shiloah, A. (2001) Arab music. Grove Music Online. <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001139?rskey=UnQzOt> [downloaded: 27 Feb 2023].

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited, a link to the CC License is provided, and changes – if any – are indicated. (SID\_1)