Women for Women International and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

"WHERE I AM GOING AND WHERE I AM"

The personal and professional opportunities and challenges facing Afghan women human rights defenders outside Afghanistan: **Research Report**







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ISBN: 978-0-000000-0 (Paperback) ISBN: 978-0-000000-0 (Hardcover)

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First printing edition 2022.

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How to cite this report:

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women for Women International. (2022).

"Where I Am Going and Where I Am": The personal and professional opportunities and challenges facing Afghan women human rights defenders outside Afghanistan: Research Report. https://www.womenforwomen.org/where-i-am-going-afghan-whrds

Abbreviations

AWPFO	Afghan Women Peace & Freedom Organisation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
FCAS	Fragile and Conflict-Affected States
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HRD	Human Rights Defenders
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
WFWI	Women for Women International
WHRD	Women Human Rights Defender
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WRA	Women's Rights Activist
WRO	Women's Rights Organisation

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, we would like to acknowledge the tireless efforts and dedication of all Afghan women human rights defenders inside and outside Afghanistan who continue to fight for their fundamental rights and freedoms. We would also like to acknowledge all the Afghan women human rights defenders and women's rights activists who described and shared their experiences for inclusion in this report and who inspire us through their work and commitment to defending human rights.

This research was collectively supported by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), WILPF Afghanistan, and Women for Women International (WFWI). We thank our colleagues from WILPF International, WILPF Afghanistan, and WFWI for their insight and expertise that greatly assisted the research project.

We thank Hosai Qasmi, PhD, Research Director of Hosa Counselling and Research Inc., for leading the research project and contributing to the development of actionable outcomes of the study. We also thank the regional focal points and their teams for their commitment during the challenging process of mapping and data collection. Their hard work was an essential element in the success of the project.







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Executive Summary

This research addresses the need for an in-depth understanding - based on a community-driven and participatory process - of the needs, challenges, and opportunities of Afghan women's rights defenders who have left Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover. The outcome of this report seeks to fill the information gap in understanding their experiences and also provides actionable recommendations to the international community and other stakeholders with the aim of supporting Afghan women in their efforts to defend their human rights and to sustain their feminist movements.

The study focuses on five regions where Afghan WHRDs currently reside: South Asia, Central Asia, Middle East, Europe, and North America. This mapping study indicates that Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan face personal and professional challenges that significantly impact their activism and ability to support and sustain women's movements inside Afghanistan.

A thematic analysis of the data – collected from a highly reliable sample of 53 individuals across all five regions through a mix of focus group discussions and individual interviews – shows that Afghan WHRDs are impacted personally and professionally by financial, resettlement, and mental health challenges.

Analysis of the data also shows a direct link between the professional and personal needs and challenges faced by Afghan WHRDs. This report also shares some country- and region-specific challenges reported by the focal points of the study and sheds light on the discriminatory treatment and lack of transparency in the immigration processes experienced by Afghan WHRDs across all five regions.

Based on evidence and analysis, this report highlights opportunities for change and puts forward actionable recommendations for the international community, women's rights organisations (WROs) and global feminist movements to support Afghan WHRDs in sustaining their movements inside and outside Afghanistan. These recommendations can serve to inform policy and practice to address financial, resettlement, security and mental health challenges faced by Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan and provide direction for all duty-bearers and stakeholders to avoid duplication of efforts and take a community-driven approach to responding to the needs of Afghan WHRDs.





Organisation Overview

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom - Afghanistan

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is one of the oldest women's peace organisations, formed in 1915, and the oldest women's peacemaking organisation in the world. WILPF's history starts in 1915, when 1,136 women from diverse cultures and languages came together in The Hague during the First World War to study, make known, and eliminate the causes of war. WILPF identifies and develops feminist perspectives to challenge the inter-related issues of patriarchy, militarism, racism, colonialism, neoliberalism, and their consequences, which WILPF views as the fundamental long-term causes of conflict.

WILPF Afghanistan, which is WILPF's national section in Afghanistan, joined the movement in 2015, intending to unite Afghan girls and women from diverse groups of Afghan society and attain sustainable peace through feminist approaches with a group of 10 women. Today it covers the 34 provinces of Afghanistan with 10,000 volunteer members, 70% of which are women and 30% male and youth. Since 2015, they have been working together to attain peace through non-violent measures while promoting political, economic, environmental, and social justice for all. WILPF Afghanistan was formally registered with the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Economy, in 2020 with registration number 4990, under the name Afghan Women Peace & Freedom Organisation (AWPFO).

WILPF Afghanistan conducts a variety of programmes and activities in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan. WILPF Afghanistan's projects include support to WROs and women-led businesses, including through flexible grants, as well as support to WHRDs, through emergency assistance, the provision of psychosocial support, and support to engage directly in formal peace processes.







As a non-political and non-profit organisation, WILPF Afghanistan is committed to:





Building male alliances,



Advocating for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and for women and girls' human rights,



Capacity building and solidarity dialogues on women's rights with Ulema



Evacuation and survival support for Afghan WHRDs



Advocacy for promoting women's rights inside Afghanistan and working closely with WHRDs outside and inside Afghanistan to sustain their feminist movements through the Solidarity Coalition of Afghan Women Leaders in the diaspora.







Women for Women International

Women for Women International is an organisation with a vision to create a world where all women determine the course of their lives and reach their full potential. Since 1993, Women for Women International has reached more than 500,000 marginalised women across countries affected by war and conflict.

Through a tested and transformative year-long programme, Women for Women International equips individual women living with the daily realities of poverty and violence with skills, knowledge, and resources to build livelihoods and savings, awareness of their rights, family wellbeing, and support networks.

Women for Women International also contributes to a more supportive environment for women's rights by working with male leaders and community members, promoting women's leadership and community advocacy, and amplifying the voices of marginalised women in national and global decision-making spaces.

Since 2002, Women for Women International – Afghanistan has served more than 120,000 women through the year-long programme. Women for Women International -Afghanistan supports women to build a sustainable future for themselves and their families by teaching them practical skills and connecting them with each other.

Despite a temporary suspension of programming in August 2021, Women for Women International – Afghanistan has resumed operations and provides cash, kitchen garden and poultry kits to all programme participants on top of a regular monthly training stipend. Women for Women International – Afghanistan has also been providing mental health and psychosocial first aid support for women through mobile phones to women in their language.

In early 2022, Women for Women International – Afghanistan conducted a series of surveys and interviews with women and WROs across several provinces to better understand Afghan women's current experiences and primary challenges and make evidence-based recommendations to decision-makers.ⁱ







¹ "No One Hears Our Voices | Women for Women International." www.womenforwomen.org. Accessed June 22, 2022. https://www.womenforwomen.org/no-one-hears-our-voices.

Project Overview

Since the Taliban takeover, women's rights organisations (WROs) and activists have been facing extreme challenges due to the imposition of unjustified rules by the current de facto authorities, reflecting the unchanged behaviour and attitude of the Taliban towards women's rights and human rights. Most women-led NGOs and WROs have shut down or have limited their activities to safeguard their staff's safety and security and avoid encounters with the de facto authorities.

While some Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan are currently active in advocacy and the media, the fact that the movement is scattered geographically, the emergency response mode they are operating in, and the lack of funds have impacted their work in many ways. These impacts are yet to be fully understood.



The study is an initial step to understanding the changing nature of the Afghan women's rights movements that are now outside Afghanistan and identifying the needs, challenges and opportunities in sustaining them.

This research is an integral part of a multiphase initiative to address the information gap created in the wake of the sudden relocation of many WHRDs outside Afghanistan. This report dives deep into the needs and challenges faced by Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan. It identifies opportunities and actionable recommendations for the international community, policymakers, and other key stakeholders to support the sustenance of Afghan women's rights movements outside Afghanistan.

The research will feed into efforts by the organisations coordinating this research to sustain and strengthen the movement for feminist peace inside and outside Afghanistan, bridging the gap between different groups, including those that are marginalised.









Contextual and Historical Overview of the Afghan Women's Rights Movement

The struggle for gender equality in Afghanistan, as elsewhere, plays a central role in attempts to define national, cultural and social identities. Historically, women's rights movements and interventions directed toward changing the status of women and girls in Afghanistan were delivered through a top-down and centralised approach. Such an approach has yielded some results but has also been a significant point of contention. Gender debate in Afghanistan is predominantly linked to modernity and progress or to preserving culture and identity.²

By the early 20th century, Afghanistan was undergoing a modernisation process with many examples of transformative social change, such as the spread of education and progressive changes in the status of women and girls across the country. However, the challenges women and girls face shift over time, and there have always been sharp differences in the status of women and girls in rural and urban areas. Challenges for women and girls have also been different depending on their ethnicity, education, socio-economic class, and other factors. Nevertheless, it is essential to note that Afghanistan has had a far more liberal past regarding women's rights than often demonstrated in western discourses.³

More than three decades of conflict have cultivated a unique culture of violence and impunity, linked to the growth of fanatical misogynist conservatism in the name of religion and culture. The politics of the Cold War and the War on Terror are deeply entwined in the foundations of this phenomenon.⁴

The beginning of the 'gender war' in Afghanistan can be marked by the Soviet invasion in 1979, and the CIA clandestinely funding and arming the most conservative elements of the Afghan population, including forerunners of the Taliban. Under the Taliban regime (1996-2001), international feminist and women's rights organisations focused on Afghan women and girls' rights and status; however, it took the events of 9/11 and the War on Terror for Afghan women and girls' rights to gain the mainstream Western media and international community's attention.







Women's Rights Movements in Afghanistan

Afghan women, like women of any other country, cannot be grouped into a homogenous unit. Their aspirations, commitments and future visions are impacted by their social identities, religious affiliations (or lack thereof), geographic location, and ethnic identities, among other factors. Women's rights movements and organisations in Afghanistan are likewise far from homogeneous.

Historically women's rights movements have ranged from communist to secular and from moderate to conservative in their religious beliefs. Afghanistan underwent a series of liberal reforms initiated by the government and social welfare programmes in the 1960s and 1970s that dramatically boosted women's active participation in arts, culture and politics. However, the reforms dominantly remained in the capital city of Kabul and other major cities across the country.⁵

The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment Act in the Afghan Constitution in 1964 bolstered women's activities^{6,7}; Afghan women began to demand more rights at that time. Shortly after, women began to demonstrate against the socially-imposed veiling.⁸ Afghan women also campaigned and demonstrated during the Soviet-Afghan War from 1979 to 1989. They carried out their activism despite being targeted, assaulted or killed.⁹

Afghan women and girls faced several restrictions, such as denying their rights to education and employment during the Taliban regime from 1996 to 2001. However, contrary to the dominant and problematic representation of Afghan women in the Western media, women resisted their oppression, including through the running of underground schools. Many female school teachers and university professors worked in their communities teaching girls, young women, and some boys. Some women taught 10 to 60 students at a time, offering them various courses based on their abilities. Several of them taught as many as a hundred to eight hundred learners at different times. These women's homes were transformed into community homes – primarily for women and girls but also for boys – that were primarily financed and managed by women. ^{10, 11}

Following the events of 9/11, the United States' and allied forces' military intervention was accompanied by development assistance to revitalise Afghan society, especially in relation to women's empowerment. Although the status and agency of Afghan women were hugely misrepresented in the Western media, many women took part in new educational and professional efforts as well as in the arts, the media, and athletics development projects.

The Constitutional Loya Jirga, conducted post-Taliban in 2003, reserved 25% of seats in the Parliament for women and set to expand their political representation to hold roles as heads of ministries and governorships. However, increased corruption harmed the effectiveness of development projects and compromised previous accomplishments. The lives of some women in metropolitan areas improved, for example in Kabul, but according to media accounts the lives of women in other regions of the country became intolerable as many women in rural areas were constantly subjected to drone surveillance, night raids and aerial bombings. 13, 14

ii "A Loya Jirga, or "grand council" in Pashto, is a national gathering that brings together representatives from the various ethnic, religious, and tribal communities in Afghanistan. The Loya Jirga is a centuries-old institution that has been convened at times of national crisis or to settle national issues. Historically, it has been used to approve a new constitution, declare war, choose a new king, or make sweeping social or political reforms." (Bezhan, "Loya Jirga -- An Afghan Tradition Explained").







Role of the Diaspora in the Women's Rights Movements in Afghanistan

Many years of war since the early 1980s have created an Afghan diaspora and refugee community, based mainly in neighbouring countries of Afghanistan but also Western countries. Women in the diaspora led dual political, economic, and social lives. They could move between different cultures, maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political, and cultural interests across Afghan and the host country's cultures. A sizable number of professional women remained in Afghanistan or returned to the country regularly under the Taliban regime between 1996 to 2001.

Afghan diaspora organisations in neighbouring countries and worldwide primarily provided social services to refugees, assisted Afghan women with their integration into host countries, and supported them with language classes and funding. They also promoted educational and health projects and women and girls' broader empowerment in Afghanistan.¹⁷

The Afghan diaspora was a vocal supporter of the international appeal for women to participate in the peace talks of 2020.¹⁸ They held panel discussions on the role of women in the peace talks and advertised and promoted women's participation.¹⁹

The Afghan diaspora's support for Afghan civil society contributed to elevating grassroots women's voices, bringing their demands for peace and the denunciation of attacks on and killings of Afghan activists to the forefront. Advocacy campaigns either led by or involving the Afghan diaspora became more visible during the spring of 2021 with increased media attention to the situation in the country.

Afghan women in the diaspora also stressed to the international community and engaged within the diaspora to ensure that the gains for women's rights over the last 20 years were not contingent upon a potential agreement with the Taliban.²⁰

Despite this critical contribution, it is also important to note that residency and immigration status in host countries pose significant limitations and challenges for the Afghan diaspora, especially for members of the diaspora with fewer than five years of residency in host countries. Challenges include restrictive laws for immigrants and newcomers in host countries (e.g., the right to work) and the difficulties that such laws may create for the diaspora in their conducting advocacy efforts.²¹

Methodology

This study provides a mapping of the situation of Afghan WHRDs who fled Afghanistan after August 2021 due to risks and threats from the de facto authorities. It draws on field and desk research conducted between April 25th, 2022, and May 15th, 2022, through qualitative thematic analysis of interviews and focus group discussions with WHRDs across five regions: Central Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North America.







A total of 53 Afghan WHRDs across all five regions discussed needs, challenges, and opportunities to sustain and continue their work.

This is a qualitative study that makes sense of and recognises patterns and points of convergence between the testimonies/interviews and focus group discussions to build a meaningful picture without compromising richness and multi-dimensionality.

This research contributes to filling the current information gap and provides direction for designing and implementing projects to sustain Afghan women's rights movements outside Afghanistan, which can in turn support women's movements inside Afghanistan.

In addition, the study paves the way for donors and policymakers to support Afghan women's rights movements through diplomatic efforts, funding provision and future programming.

The study provides a clearer picture of the location of WHRDs and their immediate, mediumand long-term support needs in the transit and host countries where they reside. The study further draws on Afghan women's areas of expertise, experience, ideas and capacities to identify opportunities for sustaining the movement jointly, despite being apart geographically.

Research Objectives:

The research is centred around three main areas of exploration:

Mapping Afghan Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs) who fled Afghanistan in the wake of the Taliban takeover. Identifying the needs of, challenges, and opportunities for Afghan WHRDs to sustain Afghan women's rights movements outside Afghanistan, which can in turn support women's movements inside Afghanistan.

Identifying the needs of, challenges, and opportunities for Afghan WHRDs to sustain Afghan women's rights movements outside Afghanistan, which can in turn support women's movements inside Afghanistan.







Research Design:

The study was conducted in three phases as shown in Figure 1:



Figure 1: Stages of the study

Phase one included the development of a mapping tool, its dissemination to WHRDs, and defining the scope of the research and development of the research methodology.

Mapping of WHRDs:

Phase one started with mapping Afghan WHRDs who fled Afghanistan in the wake of the Taliban take-over both in transit sites^{22, 23} and host countries.^{24, 25, 26} Five regions were selected for mapping. This selection was based on WILPF teams' access to available information about the whereabouts of WHRDs.

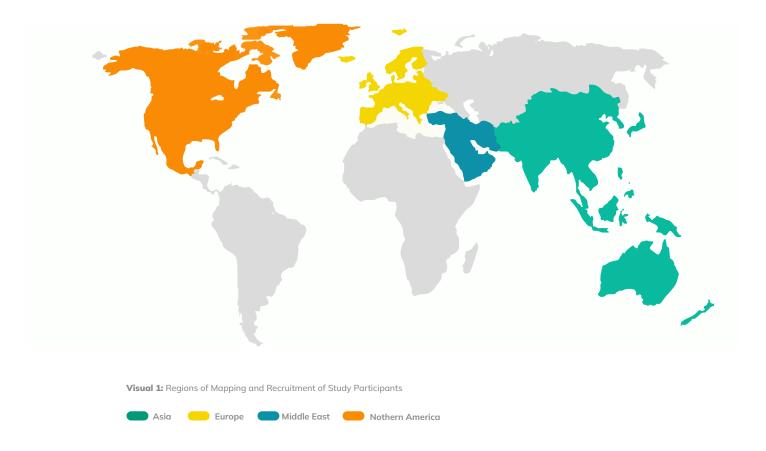


An online mapping tool²⁷ was developed to securely collect²⁸ the contact information, whereabouts, and experiences of Afghan WHRDs. To maintain confidentiality of sensitive information, access to the mapping tool was limited to the research team during the data collection process. Custody of the tool and all related documents and collected information about Afghan WHRDs was transferred to WILPF International at the end of research analysis and reporting. Detailed mapping analysis is discussed in this report's analysis and discussion section.





Study Regions



Research Method:

The research team used qualitative research to understand the experiences of Afghan WHRDs. The qualitative thematic analysis approach enabled the research team to focus on language characteristics and attend to the content and context of the data collected from participants.²⁹ The qualitative thematic analysis also goes beyond reading words to examining language intensely to classify data with similar meanings.³⁰ These categories represent both direct communication and inferred communication.

Through a thematic analysis approach, this study provides in-depth knowledge and understanding of the needs of, challenges and opportunities for sustaining feminist movements in the wake of the Taliban takeover Afghanistan, as reflected by key WHRDs.

Sampling Strategy:

A non-probability sampling methodⁱⁱⁱ was used to recruit participants for the study due to the diversity of geographical locations.³¹ The study recruited its sample through goal-oriented judgement^{iv} from all five regions where Afghan WHRDs were mapped. Snowballing techniques^v allowed for the recruitment of key informants to the study with extensive experience in women's rights activism.

v Snowball sampling is a recruitment technique in which research participants are asked to assist researchers in identifying other potential subjects.





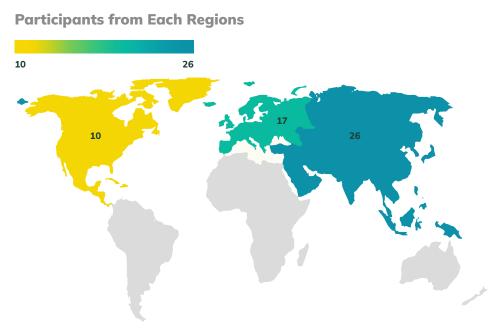


Non-probability sampling is defined as a sampling technique in which the sample is selected based on the subjective judgment of the researcher or research team rather than random selection. This sampling method depends heavily on the expertise of the researchers or research team. It is carried out by observation and is widely used for qualitative research.

iv Goal-oriented or Judgment sampling, also referred to as judgmental sampling or authoritative sampling, is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher selects units to be sampled based on their existing knowledge, or professional judgment.

Participants across regions:

Sufficient data saturation^{vi} was achieved through a sample size of 53 participants.³² A total of 33 WHRDs participated from all five regions through focus group discussions. To further saturate the qualitative data, 20 individual interviews were conducted with WHRDs based in countries within all five regions.



Visual 2: Participants Across Multiple Regions

All participants of the study fell under the definition of WHRDs³³ and included representatives of civil society organisations, journalists, advocates, former politicians, lawyers, academics, and local/grassroots leaders. Participants also met at least one of the following criteria:

Fled Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan and/or due to high security risks

Aimed to continue activism and engagement with other WRAs and WHRDs outside Afghanistan

Had at least 3-10 years of activism work in Afghanistan

Data Collection:

Data was collected through individual semi-structured interviews with key informants and focus group discussions with prominent WHRDs across the five regions.

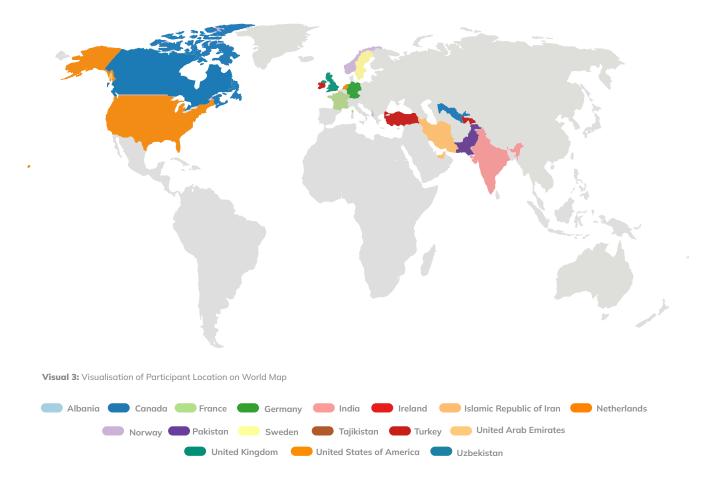
Semi-structured interviews provided participants with some guidance on the focus of the study and enabled them to elaborate on their experiences and perspectives about the focus of the study.

vi Saturation is the condition that occurs when no new themes or perspectives are obtained from interviewing additional participants. Data saturation is needed to gain detailed and non-superficial understanding of the phenomenon.









Focus group discussions used guided discussions to generate information on collective views on the needs of, challenges, and opportunities for WHRDs across the five regions.³⁴

The following breakdown shows the number of individual semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions across geographic regions predefined for the study:

Region	Method	Countries	Participants	Method	Countries	Participants
Europe	sions	Albania, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, UK	7	Ma	Albania, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, UK	10
Central Asia	Focus Group Discussions	India, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan	6	Individual Interview	Tajikistan	1
Middle East	. Gro	UAE	6	Þi <u>×i</u>	UAE	3
South Asia	Focus	India, Iran, Pakistan	7	oul	India, Iran, Pakistan	3
North America		USA & Canada	7		USA & Canada	3
	Total number of FGD participants		33	Total number of KII participants		20

Table 1: Breakdown of based on region and data collection approach







The next phase of the study was initiated by engaging with WHRDs to collect information and data for thematic analysis.

Initial engagement depended on the research team's contacts and access to information about WHRDs. Further participants were recruited using snowballing techniques.

Virtual individual interviews and focus group discussions were conducted via Zoom with WHRDs residing in different geographical locations. In-person individual interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in selected regions where internet access was challenging, and where technologies like Zoom were restricted.

Data was collected in English, Dari and Pashto depending on the preference of participants. Interviews and focus groups discussions were digitally recorded, transcribed, and translated into English before coding and thematic analysis. The thematic analysis started with predetermined themes from existing literature, and data coding led to multiple reiterations of thematising to integrate a more contextualised understanding of Afghan WRAs and WHRDs' needs, challenges, and opportunities.

The themes identified during the research were then synthesised to identify actionable recommendations for continuing, strengthening, and sustaining feminist movements outside and inside Afghanistan.

Recommendations informed by the study's findings were then drawn in consultation with key project stakeholders, including the WILPF and WFWI teams.

Limitations:

The study has four main limitations:

- **1. Generalisation of findings:** The research method used for this study is qualitative in nature and has a smaller sample to explore the depth of case-oriented analysis. ³⁵ Therefore, the study findings are generalisable on relational rather than individual levels.
- **2. Participant recruitment challenges:** Due to the uncertain situations that the sample population of the study face, many potential participants did not want to participate in the study due to risk of exposure and fear of experiencing delays in their asylum case processing. It was also challenging to locate potential participants as Afghan WHRDs have fled to various locations across the world after the takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban.
- **3. Internet access:** Access to the internet was a challenge for some participants in camps and those with limited access to the internet due to host countries' restrictions on the use of the internet and related applications, such as Iran, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.
- **4. Safety and security issues:** The data collection process was impacted by data collectors' safety and security issues. Local authorities questioned some data collectors about their motives and the organisations they represented, particularly in the Middle East region. As data collectors in affected regions were Afghan asylum seekers, being questioned by authorities created a sense of insecurity for them and impacted the data collection process.







Analysis and Discussion of Findings

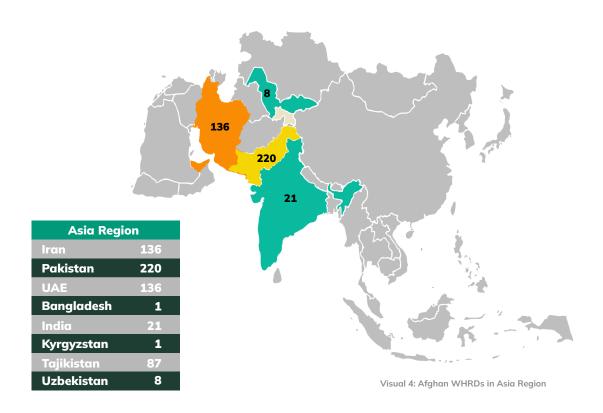
Mapping of WHRDs

This research project adopted an asset mapping method to map WHRDs outside Afghanistan across multiple regions of the world following the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021.³⁶ The significance of the asset mapping approach lies in its grounding in the community.³⁷ It is considered an effective research tool and an essential first step for community-based initiatives for its emphasis on relying on the perspectives, opinions and experiences of the community and allows for the development of solutions to specific issues within the community.³⁸

A mapping questionnaire was disseminated across all five regions of the study to gather information about Afghan WHRDs who fled Afghanistan in the wake of the Taliban takeover of the Afghan government. The questionnaire was filled out by 1160 Afghan WHRD respondents currently residing outside Afghanistan.

The mapping exercise gathered important information for the study, including: geographic location (country and city), contact information, years of experience and current employment status. It allowed the data collection process and thematic analysis to be rooted within the community of Afghan WHRDs who reside outside Afghanistan. The following charts show findings as of May 31st, 2022.

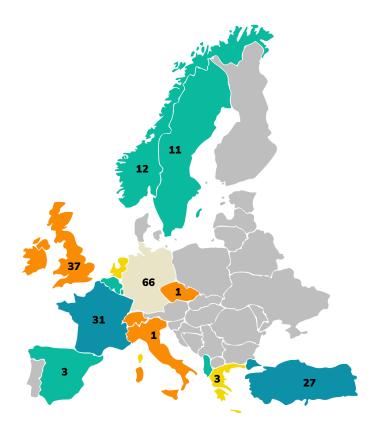
Visuals 4, 5 and 6 show the number of WHRDs currently residing in Asia, Europe, and North America.



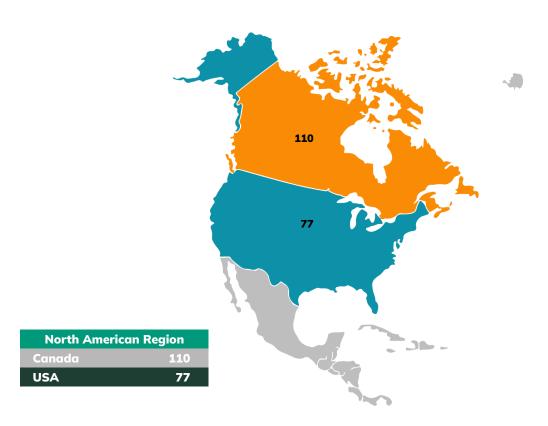




Europe Region					
Albania	109				
Belgium	1				
Czech Republic	1				
France	31				
Germany	66				
Greece	3				
Ireland	19				
Italy	1				
Netherlands	40				
Norway	12				
Spain					
Sweden	11				
Switzerland	1				
United Kingdom	37				
Turkey	27				



Visual 5: Afghan WHRDs in Europe Region



Visual 6: Afghan WHRDs in North America Region

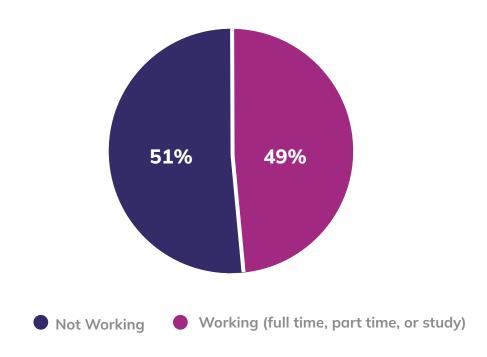




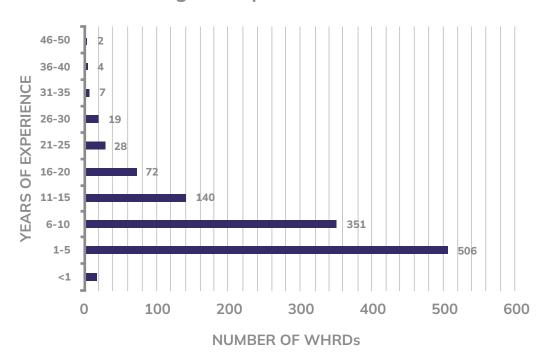


Charts 1, 2, 3, and 4 show the range of experience, age groups, contact information availability, and current employment status of WHRDs outside Afghanistan.

Employment Status of WHRDs



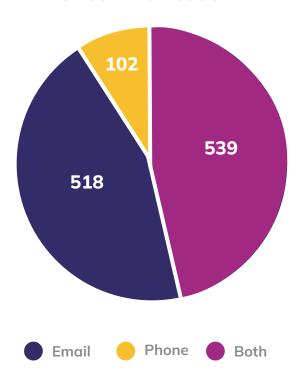
Range of Experience of WHRDs



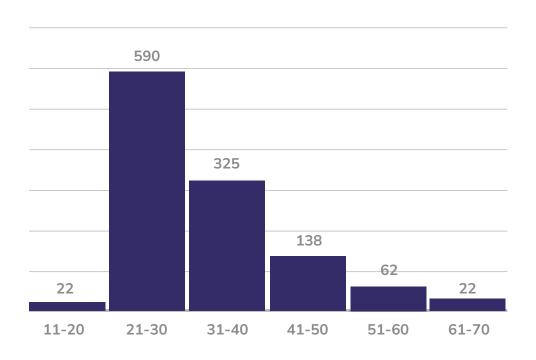




WHRDs Preferred Mode of Communication



WHRDs by Age Group









Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data

Data collected through focus group discussions and individual semi-structured interviews were analysed using a thematic analysis approach. The thematic analysis approach is suitable for exploring patterns across qualitative data from participants, and the themes in this approach are the overarching categories of shared data across multiple participants.

Data contained in each theme informs the reader about the theme and represents different dimensions of the phenomenon. The thematic analysis approach allows the researcher to focus on the frequency and the depth of the discussions on a particular topic.

Data were systematically categorised through a comprehensive coding process that was guided by the research questions before being organised into overarching categories with similarities. Synthesising codes into larger categories led to a hierarchical structure of codes, subthemes, and main themes.

The following three main themes with subthemes emerged from the data:

- **1. CHALLENGES** faced by Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan in sustaining women's rights movements and feminist movements both inside and outside the country
 - **a.** Personal challenges faced by Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan
 - **b.** Professional challenges faced by Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan
- **2. NEEDS** of WHRDs outside Afghanistan to sustain women's rights movements and feminist movements outside and inside Afghanistan
 - a. Personal, immediate needs of Afghan WHRDs
 - **b.** Professional needs for the sustenance of feminist movements from outside Afghanistan







- **3. OPPORTUNITIES** for Afghan WHRDs, the international community, and global feminist movements to support Afghan women's rights movements and feminist movements
 - **a.** Opportunities for Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan
 - **b.** Opportunities for the international community, global women's rights organisations, and feminist movements worldwide to sustain women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

Each theme and its corresponding subthemes are discussed below, with supporting excerpts from the data to familiarise readers with the core concepts behind themes. Themes are further supported by academic literature and media reports to ease conceptualisation and provide readers with external contextual information. Themes and their interconnectedness are further explored in visual diagrams and tables.

Challenges:

Participants discussed challenges in two subcategories of personal challenges and professional challenges.

Personal Challenges:

Personal challenges refer to challenges participants struggle with within their personal lives that significantly impact their work as women's rights activists and WHRDs.

Immigration Status

Since most of the WHRD participants of the study left Afghanistan in the wake of the Taliban takeover, their challenges mainly focus on their immigration status and resettlement-related issues. One respondent noted the following regarding the impact of **uncertain immigration status:**



The main issue here is uncertain and unknown status because of visa or permanent residency. Most of the [sic] defenders and activist evacuees do not have [the] proper visa. Even though there are lots of opportunities but because of visa issues, they can't use the opportunities, and this problem stops them from raising their voice and working harder for Afghanistan."

(Interviewee based in the USA)









Another participant highlighted the impact of **lengthy processes immigrants** need to go through to utilise opportunities:



The obstacles and challenges outside are that those who have just arrived have to go through a long process. For example, I am 43 years old, and if I have to wait 10 years for the process and finding opportunity of my activities, my working age will pass, so in this section, solutions should be provided so that women's rights activists can work easily and for Afghan women to study and work."

(Interviewee based in Sweden)

Participants also noted challenges of **provisional temporary identity documents** for refugees and asylum seekers: ³⁹



A big challenge I had was my travel document. The travel document we are holding after several months of struggle is not same as a passport so usually for traveling to other countries for advocacy purposes it's very much time consuming as I need to go and visit the Embassies and I need to stamp visa on my passport, so all those online mechanisms are not possible on the travel document we have – the refugee travel document. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)

The issue of **unclear immigration status** as a challenge was discussed more among participants in the in-transit phase, particularly in Asia and the Middle East. One participant noted the following:









It's my need to know where I'm going, I have to figure out where I are [sic] going to go, its climate, its culture, its work environment and its education. It is clear that one of the consequences and benefits of immigration is that you get to know different cultures... as a human being I have to understand where I am going and I have to be able to choose where I am."

(Interviewee based in UAE)

Afghan WHRDs face a **lack of transparency** with their immigration process, including the progress of their asylum claims, final destination for resettlement, and steps and requirements for different processes in host countries and UNHCR.

The following highlights what two participants note about **lack of clarity** on their immigration processes:



The need is not only mine, in the case of most women in third countries. The first is that their original destiny is not clear. Their destination list, which is their main place, must be identified. They are worried about what will happen to the countries they will go to finally, their children's education, who are halfway through, and the countries that have not accepted them yet. They have not heard anything yet."

(FGD participant based in Central Asia)

Another participant highlighted the lack of clarity she experienced while she was in a camp and similar experiences of others she is in contact with:



This is very important for those women who are in the camp, I think it's so shame for international community that still after 8 months those women are in the camps, without any clue of their final destination and some of the women activists who are very famous their visas are being rejected many times. It's so shame [sic] on international community that those women who are in the camps and they were famous women, still they are not provided with visas."

(Interviewee based in Norway)

One participant highlighted the **lack of transparency and sharing of information by UNHCR**, while noting that UNHCR in her region is the only organisation she can go to:









The challenges and problems we are facing right now outside Afghanistan are we don't have any agency where we can go and share our issues and problems which should be heard. We have only UNHCR Office active here when we want to visit the UNHCR office to share our concerns they were not allowing us to enter their building due to COVID-19, and the doorkeeper of the UNHCR office guided us to go and register ourselves online, when I have registered myself online it took two months to reply to my message, they have conducted a very brief interview with me and they have been [sic] informed me that they would conduct a detailed interview but seven months has been passed I have not contacted by them."

(FGD participant based in South Asia)

Participants from Central Asia highlighted multiple challenges she and her family face due to lack of responsive action by host countries and UNHCR. One participant highlighted her challenges in the following terms:



As an asylum seeker, I currently need a shelter and facing challenges [sic] of paying high rent. My children are far from school. I do not have school fees and transportation money for my children. Likewise, if my children get sick, they need treatment, they need education, food and clothing, these are all our basic needs that we do not have access to."

(Interviewee based in Tajikistan)

Another participant noted not being able to extend visas for herself and her family due to the high **cost of visa extensions** in Pakistan:



Every two months I have to cross the [Pakistan-Afghanistan] border to renew my visa, unfortunately, because I am the guardian of three children and my husband was a former soldier and about three years ago he was killed in the war with the Taliban. I cannot go to the Torkham border [between Afghanistan and Pakistan] and extend my visa. Everywhere needs visa information. If I extend my visa, the fine for my children and my visa is about 2500 USD. And I have no source of income and no support from any organisation or institution. Where I work, they only gave me until September to renew my visa."

(FGD participant based in South Asia)







There are also regional differences in immigration policies and related restrictions that impact WHRDs. Participants based in Asia reported more **restrictions on the use of social media** and other media platforms.

One participant highlighted how she has **lost the relative freedom of expression** she had in Afghanistan after migrating to Iran:



"I have lost my freedom of expression in Iran. What we had in Afghanistan during the past 20 years, does not exist here. I used to report and criticise, but unfortunately now I cannot do that and I cannot have activities in media."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Another participant highlighted **not being able to continue her activism** in Tajikistan:



There are also many problems abroad, including restrictions on social and civic activities and raising the voice to defend women in Afghanistan."

(FGD participant based in Central Asia)

Afghan WHRDs who have reached their host country and are going through their resettlement process also face significant challenges regarding their immigration status:



During these eight months, the US government provided only small rent assistance, which was only three months. What they promised in the camps was a complete lie, and the immigrants still do not know about their future, whether they will return to their country or how they can obtain their citizenship documents. I do not know anything, and I am worried about my future. Because my visa is coming to an end, I am currently living with a friend."

(Interviewee based in the USA)

Participants, both in transit and those undergoing resettlement, also reported **challenges in using services in host countries**, including difficulties in using local hospitals and financial institutions due to a lack of required paperwork (i.e., local identification documents, asylum status documents, immigration status) and the **inability to travel** due to a lack of visas and other travel documentation.⁴⁰







A participant highlighted the **challenge of using financial institutions** due to lack of documentation as an asylum seeker:



We have to receive some money either from Afghanistan or other countries. If we do not have visa, we cannot receive the money through Western Union or banks. And through hawala system, the money must go to Afghanistan first and then it comes here, we get almost half the money, and this is a big challenge."

(FGD participant based in Central Asia)

A participant in her resettlement phase in a host country **highlighted not being able to travel** without clarity on her immigration status:



Everyone who has entered the US cannot travel out of the US and their legal statutes are not clear. "

(Interviewee based in the USA)

A participant talked about **not being able to withdraw money from banks** when their visas are expired and without clarity about a visa extension:



After three or four months, we receive a call stating that our visa has not been extended and that the form is given to us by them, when we go to the bank, we cannot withdraw the money and they tell us that it has no legal value; it is another problem. When our visa expires, we cannot withdraw money from the bank."

(Interviewee based in Iran)

Challenges noted above are reported across all five regions for those who are in transit as well as those who are in host countries and going through resettlement.⁴¹

Financial Hardships

All participants discussed financial hardship, including those in transit and those who have reached their final destinations.

Participants in Europe and North America mentioned that they receive some **financial support from host countries** but not enough since they must also support their families left in Afghanistan.

One participant highlighted the need for financial support in terms of her resettlement needs as well as the need to support others inside Afghanistan:









We are also suggesting financial support for people inside Afghanistan, outside Afghanistan. Because those who are outside Afghanistan, they are starting a new life from zero so it's very difficult until they are getting properly settled down and for those who are living inside Afghanistan, they are facing so many challenges they have lost their jobs, they have lost their identity, they need also financial support. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)

A participant who is resettling in the United States pointed out the following specifics:



The resettlement agencies rented the apartments to Afghan refugees with no furniture, mattress, blankets, dishes, or other daily living needs and those agencies do not even take responsibility for it. For a family with nine members, they provided one mattress and a small pot for cooking which is just for three people. "

(Interviewee based in the USA)

However, participants in Asia noted that they do not receive any financial support while they must provide for themselves as well as for their families in Afghanistan.^{42, 43, 44, 45, 46} Participants noted that they are **unable to get a job** because local organisations do not recognise their identification documents as legitimate:



The documents they [UNHCR] have provided to me has no value and it is not acceptable for other agency where to go and to find any job. As I don't have any valuable documents this would be extremely difficult for me to go and get any job. If I don't have any job how I can accommodate my daily basic necessities such as shelter and food?"

(Interviewee based in India)

One participant highlighted how she is **impacted by financial hardship** as an asylum seeker:



As a refugee in India, having no financial support from no one [sic] has put me under severer [sic] emotional pressure, and economically I am not stable, most of the time I am thinking that [sic] how to protect and support myself to pay rent, purchase food and other utilities cost. "

(FGD participant based in South Asia)







A participant from Tajikistan highlighted not being able to find a job because of **short-term validity of identification documents:**



I wasn't able to find suitable work based on my experience and talent in Tajikistan. I applied for more than ten places and could not find work due to my ID card which was for 3 months. Everywhere I went, they said that your immigration card is valid for 3 months and that we could not hire an employee whose fate would not be unknown after three months."

(FGD participant based in Central Asia)

In line with what is reported by Afghan WHRDs, media reports also suggest that some countries in Asia are recruiting Afghan immigrants and asylum seekers to work on jobs that locals of the region refuse due to the intensity of workload and inadequacy of remuneration in return.^{47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52}

Discrimination

Participants raised other challenges, including discrimination in host countries or while in transit. Participants in Pakistan and Iran, for instance, noted that they were denied renting a home based on their Afghan nationality.^{53, 54, 55}

Analysis of interviews and focus group discussions demonstrates that Afghan immigrants in host countries and in transit face **attitudinal and systemic discrimination**. One participant highlighted in the following terms that her experience and knowledge is not valued:



We are in the countries where we immigrated, we have to start everything from scratch, because our experiences, our knowledge and the jobs we had in the past in Afghanistan are not valued here and devalue [sic] means that no one wants to pay any attention to it. We are mostly seen as immigrants, immigrants from a war-torn country, and that is why I feel that we have lost everything, both our personal and our professional life."

(Interviewee based in the Netherlands)

Participants in Europe, whether they were there in transit or at their final destination, further highlighted that they felt they are **not treated equally to other immigrants and newcomers.** A participant talked about the difference in treatment by authorities:











Unfortunately, as an immigrant, I speak with you on behalf of other immigrants. The situation of [Afghan] immigrants after the war in Ukraine and the arrival of Ukrainian immigrants in Germany has become very difficult than before [sic]. We understand, however, that with the massive influx of migrants to neighbouring countries and the West, especially Germany, the United States, and the most accepting countries, it is not possible to have all the amenities as they had in Afghanistan or as such. But the fact that [the German administration] have a double standard towards Afghans and compared to Ukrainians, and to the extent that they are pulling the Afghans out of their places to place the Ukrainians, I think it is a very important issue that I like very much to work on.

(Interviewee based in Germany)

A participant highlighted her frustration with the **discriminatory behaviour of the host and transit countries** as follows:



They [people of the host/transit country] think they [Afghan refugees] have come from a war zone maybe they don't have anything or maybe they don't have a [sic] good knowledge [of] work ... I think everyone should have a chance for starting something and no one [should] think a refugee do[es] not have the right to study, or the right to work which is a big challenge for them [refugees]."

(FGD participant based in Europe)

Another participant highlighted the limitations that **discriminatory policies** create for refugees in her host country:



In Afghanistan, the Taliban forcefully not allow you to go to work and education [sic] but here somehow it is again the same they say our policy don't give you this permission to go and study until you have completed your three years. So, the policies can be change it should be change because these refugees are asset to the country. "

(Interviewee based in Ireland)









Another participant provided more details on the issue in the following terms:



The challenges that I am facing right now in Ireland is that we had lack of access to education because as refugee when we first came here so we were provided a letter by the Government of Ireland that you are accepted refugees and you have all those rights that an Irish has but when it comes to work they tell us that you are refugees, and you are not suitable for this job. As well as when it comes to education again, they say that you are a refugee, and you cannot study for free here like maybe for three or four years. "

(Interviewee based in Ireland)

Professional Uncertainty

Participants from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East shared concerns related to professional uncertainty.⁵⁷ According to those living in countries like Pakistan and Iran, they **cannot find jobs based on their qualifications, expertise and experience** due to discrimination against Afghans.^{58, 58, 60}

At the same time, others in transit mentioned that they are **not sure if their education and experience will be valued and recognised** in the hiring processes in their final destinations.

Some participants in focus group discussions were **uncertain about their professional future.** One participant noted the following:



I have studied for 20 years and worked for more than 10, I don't want to work as a waitress, or a babysitter. I want to work in my own field."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Another participant expressed the need for finding a job relevant to her experience:



Relevant employment is much of a need for us. We expect to be employed based on our working background and field."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)









Participants also noted that **education in Afghanistan as a war-torn country is not considered and valued** in most countries. They are now required to learn the language of the host country and then be able to find a job and start their integration into society:



[Newly arrived Afghan refugees/immigrants] are all an asset they are with different knowledge, and they have a very good idea so they all should be given a chance I think this is the main problem with everyone that no one give these refugees a chance. Because they think they have come from a war zone maybe they don't have anything or maybe they don't have a good knowledge."

(FGD participant based in Europe)

The participants' reports remain consistent with studies and reports on discriminatory treatment of professional background, education and qualifications of refugees and newcomers worldwide, particularly in the European and North American regions. ^{61, 62}

Mental Health and Wellbeing and Concern for Family members inside Afghanistan

The impact of forced migration on the mental health and wellbeing of Afghan WHRDs is a significant challenge that all participants reported and discussed during the data collection process.

A participant highlighted the immediate **impact of leaving Afghanistan** on her mental health in the present as well as a concern for her wellbeing in the future:



There is no possibility of returning at the moment. These problems are also psychologically debatable because it was a situation that we faced subconsciously. It was terrible. We may seem to be able to control ourselves, but the effects may manifest themselves in the next few months. Because mental health problems do not manifest themselves all at once."

(Interviewee based in Sweden)







Participants further talked about mental health challenges that **children and youth** are facing and noted the need to pay attention to their mental health as well:



People are not here just to eat and sleep because somehow everyone are [sic] in the shock and everyone is struggling and mentally no one is doing well. So, there should be some psychological courses, healing courses for these people [youth] not only for the [youth but,] for children as well. "

(FGD participant based in Europe)

Participants who are in camps in transit highlight the need for **access to mental health** services:



For me, the basic need right now is the emotional and mental peace and stability. I am a young woman who lives alone in this camp and is away from family. My family was torn, and we turned into refugees in other countries."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Media reports of the situation in refugee camps set up for Afghan refugees in the Middle East, particularly in UAE, highlight the **lack of access to mental health services.**

Some reports further suggest that **Afghan refugees with mental health issues are being deported to Afghanistan.** ^{63, 64, 65, 66}

Highlighting the **impact of escaping Afghanistan under dire circumstances**, a participant noted the following while describing her emotional state:



I was left and [sic] alone and ended up somewhere that I never imagined to be for such a long time, without my family. Therefore, emotional and mental peace is my first need. "

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Reports on the mental health of Afghan refugees in transit and at the resettlement stage suggest that they are **dealing with significant mental health issues** which deteriorate their wellbeing on an ongoing basis.^{67, 68}





Professional Challenges:

Participants also discussed a second subset of professional challenges they face in their work as WHRDs outside Afghanistan.

Professional challenges include the impact of regressive policies of the Taliban on women's rights movements and other feminist movements, the risk of persecution of WHRDs inside Afghanistan, changes in the funding status of ongoing projects, discontinuation of funding for women's rights movements in Afghanistan, and legal and operational challenges that WHRDs face in host countries due to legal limitations on activism and more broadly on the right to work of asylum-seekers and refugees. Each of these challenges is explored in detail below.

Regressive Policies of the Taliban De Facto Authorities and Persecution of WHRDs

A participant noted the **impact of regressive policies on activists inside Afghanistan** and highlighted how their inability to raise their voice makes it difficult for WHRDs outside to support movements:



Due to severe pressure from the Taliban, women protesters [inside Afghanistan] were tortured and videotaped and unable to share their problems with others [outside Afghanistan]. The Taliban have put a lot of pressure on women protesters, and psychological torture has increased, and the lack of serious support is one of the issues that needs to be addressed."

(FGD participant based in South Asia)

Media reports and analysis of the regressive policies that the de facto government is imposing on women and women's rights activists inside Afghanistan indicate that they are severely changing the landscape, making it harder for WHRDs inside Afghanistan to sustain their movements and activism. ^{69,70} Media and other organisations report a steady increase in the use of arbitrary detention and enforced disappearances, in particular targeting women activists and other critics. ^{71,72,73,74}

A participant discussed the impact of raising their voice as an activist on their **family members** who live in Afghanistan and the lack of support she experienced:



Not only are [women's rights activists] life is [sic] at extreme risk but their family members' life is also at risk, so they are silent, and they really don't want to raise their voices because there is no support for them both nationally and internationally."

(FGD participant based in North America)







One of the participants noted how she has **stopped writing on legal matters and speaking out about challenges to make sure her family is not targeted** by the de facto government:



I always used to write articles in scope of legislative matters. I used to boldly point out the challenges I faced. However, now I cannot do so to maintain the security of my family members who are left stranded in Afghanistan. I either must censor myself or not write at all. "

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

A participant from the United States highlighted her **fear for her family** if she raises her voice through online means:



I am worried about my family situation, and what will happen after each of my tweets and media reports. I am afraid of my family being imprisoned and tortured. I cannot sleep well at night."

(Interviewee based in the USA)

Another participant highlighted the **direct security impact** of continuing activism on colleagues and family members still inside the country:



It [remaining active as WHRD] is like putting your life in the palm of your hand and coming to the battlefield. It has its risks. Even those who fled the country, in a way, are at risk because they still have their families there [in Afghanistan]. And those who [colleagues and family members] are in Afghanistan, they are also threatened. We have seen those outside who actively advocate, their families are somehow threatened, imprisoned and under a lot of pressure. "

(Interviewee based in the Netherlands)

One of the participants articulated her **security concerns** and need to be able to speak with protection as a direct request:



I request the international community to initiate a way for us to speak freely of our pain without any fears. We cannot even write with anonyms or under pen names because the intelligence of such male dominant and dictator groups are very strong that could risk the lives of my family members."

(FGD participant based in Europe)







Although many WHRDs remain resilient, their concern for the safety of colleagues and family members inside Afghanistan limits their ability to undertake professional work with confidence. A participant highlighted the following:



Human rights and women rights activists, although they have left Afghanistan, cannot to actively raise their voice, because their family members are still in Afghanistan. For example, I am still active on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, and I will definitely appear and speak in the media, but I really cannot take a more practical or serious step on this issue, because each of our family members in Afghanistan is [sic] at risk because of our activities. "

(Interviewee based in Germany)

Change of Project Status to "On-Hold" and Discontinuation of Funding

A participant noted the impact of the **discontinuation of funding for ongoing projects**, which has halted efforts to defend women's human rights:



The biggest challenge of the moment [that] we are facing is...[the] economic burden ... most of the donor [supported projects] are on hold condition, and they are not providing financial support. Even during the previous government, we were running our activities by funding of international community. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)

With most internationally-funded projects for women's rights being closed or put on hold,⁷⁵ WHRDs inside Afghanistan are **unable to sustain their movements:**



The funding are stop and we have lost our employees. Until we can't [sic; do not] have much funding to do money of our activities, everything is on hold."

(FGD participant based in Europe)

Another participant highlighted not being able to **retain employees inside Afghanistan**, which impacts operations inside Afghanistan:









Now the funding has stopped, and we have lost our employees [inside Afghanistan], until we do not find funding to do many of our activities [inside Afghanistan], everything is on hold. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)

Legal Limitations and Challenges in Host Countries:

Participants highlighted facing legal issues and challenges to sustaining their movements in host countries while in transit and during resettlement in their final destination.

While reports in the media indicate that women's rights activists who have resettled in their host countries are raising their voices, WHRDs who have recently fled Afghanistan face challenges in raising their voices due to the **restrictive policies of host countries** on immigrants and asylumseekers' rights. These policies include limits on their ability to work, on their freedom of movement, and in some countries on their right to freedom of expression and assembly. One participant elaborated on these limitations:



Abroad, active women also face many problems. We alone cannot raise our voices in diaspora unless we have official permission from the government of the host country. In many cases, the host government does not allow us to gather and advocate. We are not even allowed to create a cultural office to unite women, and we cannot gather women under one roof to raise their voices. Nothing can be done empty-handed."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Another participant highlighted not being issued proper documentation accepted by institutions in Pakistan:



After three or four months, we receive a call stating that our visa has not been extended and a form is given to us by them, when we go to the bank, we cannot withdraw the money and they tell us that [the form] has no legal value. When our visa expires, we cannot withdraw money from the bank."

(FGD participant based in South Asia region)







Needs:

Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan expressed needs to sustain women's rights and feminist movements both outside and inside Afghanistan. This theme elaborates on the personal and professional needs of Afghan WHRDs who fled the country in 2021.

Personal Immediate Needs

Personal needs include the ability to integrate into the host counties' financial and economic systems, the need for transparency in immigration processes in host countries as well as in transit countries, and physical and mental health support for WHRDs outside Afghanistan.

A participant elaborated on the **importance of addressing personal needs before they can resume their advocacy** to change the situation of women in Afghanistan:



First, we [need to] have access to basic resources that can exist for a normal life of an ordinary citizen. In a country where we are immigrant or refugee right now, and in fact, we don't know how to say "immigrant" in their language. The fact that we need to learn the language, [...] enter society in the fields in which we have experience or education, to have a home, and in a way to integrate into the society and be able to support ourselves through our previous experiences only then we can help the people of Afghanistan. Until our basic needs in these countries are met – the basic needs that every citizen should have – we certainly cannot be effective neither for the host society nor for our country of origin. And we definitely cannot advocate for those who are in Afghanistan and need us to be their voice."

(FGD participant based in Europe)

Another participant highlighted the impacts of her migration journey while in transit on her mental health:



When it comes to my needs, right now in this camp, I don't have inner and mind peace. I lost my father because of this bad situation before coming here. My brother is a victim because of me and had to flee to Pakistan. My mother is left alone and stranded in Afghanistan."

(FGD participant based in South Asia)

Another participant expressed concerns about her mental and physical health in relation to her work in Afghanistan:









[The immigration process] is impacting my [...] physical health, my psychological health and working back to Kabul office to see our staffs and colleagues it's really difficult to manage the daily works through [the] online system and in many cases you need to be physically present there. "

(FGD participant based in Europe)

Professional Needs to Sustain Women's Movements

While personal needs and the lack of opportunities to meet those needs significantly impact the abilities of WHRDs to sustain their activism, they also face another subset of professional needsrelated specifically to sustaining women's rights and feminist movements outside Afghanistan.

Many participants highlighted a need to **rebuild alliances and networks with international women's rights movements** and organisations. One participant noted the following:



Outside the country I have no connections because as refugee a person who recently arrived to Ireland, I have no connections and no network. We are like not inside the key people. The place that we are right now is like a comp, they call it accommodation centre which is very far from the city. So, one cannot get involve with the people to know them and to build network and connections. So, I think not having any network and connection is my main problem that I cannot do anything from outside of the country."

(Interviewee based in Ireland)

Another theme that emerged from the focus group discussions was the importance of **lobbying** to allocate funds for new projects inside and outside Afghanistan. One participant shared the following perspective:



The international community to enhance the number of programs and projects in Afghanistan due to poverty, and that the projects be handed to people who are experts in those fields. International communities and civic communities also can focus, that increasing women's business is another strategy that can help them financially and professionally."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)









Another participant spoke about needing **political and financial support from the international community** for Afghan women to continue their work:



In my opinion, without political and financial support, we can do nothing inside and outside Afghanistan to strengthen women's rights movements."

(Interviewee based in Tajikistan)

A similar perspective was shared by other participants in focus group discussions:



The international community can promote and support these movements if they support active and knowledgeable women, including civil society activists, human rights activists, journalists, prosecutors, and several other women who are currently living outside Afghanistan."

(FGD participant based in Central Asia)

Almost all participants noted the need for **resuming projects currently on-hold and allocating funding to new projects inside Afghanistan, including with the possibility for remote project coordination.** One participant highlighted how women's rights movements may be impacted if they do not get financial support:



I still see opportunities to support sustaining and strengthening the Afghan women's rights movement in Afghanistan, those who supported women's rights movements in Afghanistan are still there and they still want to work for women's basic rights, so the international community could support them financially. So, from one side the Taliban is not allowing them to work, from the other side if they could not be supported financially [by the international community] then we can lose them, and we will be having no one to work for women's rights in Afghanistan."

(Interviewee based in India)







Creating **opportunities to reconnect and engage with WHRDs inside Afghanistan** to sustain and revive feminist movements inside Afghanistan was also a major theme discussed by participants:



Solidarity with each other and raising the voice of women currently living under Taliban rule can be the only way we can regulate our activities. As women who have left Afghanistan, we can raise our voices more to reflect the voices of our ladies and compatriots who are currently trapped by the Taliban. "

(Interviewee based in UAE)

Another participant highlighted the following:



In terms of continuing activities, including liaising with civil society and women's rights activists inside Afghanistan, we need a network, an institution, and a management where women have clear needs and a clear line. We want a general mobilisation and cohesion."

(Interviewee based in UAE)

Furthermore, drawing the attention of the international community and of global women's rights and feminist movements to the realities on the ground in Afghanistan, based on the analysis of WHRDs inside Afghanistan, was discussed widely as a major need for sustaining Afghan women's rights movements. A participant noted the following:



Raise awareness about the situation of Afghanistan because we know friends in Afghanistan who can help us and send us information, but they want to hide their identity but those who are outside the country they don't have to hide their identity they can help them by raising their voice and do the advocacy for the women who are still struggling in Afghanistan, who had not got the chance to leave the country behind. "

(Interviewee based in Ireland)

Participants also emphasised the need for a coherent structure and an umbrella entity that can bring WHRDs together, channel their energies and efforts, manage their work, and provide direction. One participant highlighted the need in the following terms:









In terms of continuing activities, including liaising with civil society and women's rights activists inside Afghanistan, we need a network, an institution and management where women have clear needs and a clear line and there should be management. We want general mobilization and cohesion."

(Interviewee based in UAE)

Another participant shared the following perspective:



It is important to have contacts with active women, both outside and inside. Those who are outside can interact with the institutions that are currently active in Afghanistan, and because of this we need a place. We need a center, for example, countries that are close to each other, we can have a main center in one of the countries, we need transportation facilities and financial support provided for these trips. With the help of the international community, we can develop plans that can solve our challenges. "

(Interviewee based in Sweden)

A participant from Pakistan highlighted the **need for support from the international community to create an umbrella entity:**



If the international community can build a specific institution, they can adapt a system and include all [Afghan WHRDs] women in the system. With their material and moral support, they can strengthen and boost women's activities so that if [Afghan] women raise their voices, they will know that they have international communities' support."

(Interviewee based in Pakistan)

Since most WHRDs do not have permanent legal status in their host country, their immigration status does not allow them to register an association or agency to structure their work cohesively. To support the movement, Afghan WHRDs who currently reside outside Afghanistan suggest the need for a registered umbrella organisation to bring together WHRDs and provide them with a formal platform to continue their activism and to their work in a legally compliant manner.

Exploring such options could enable WHRDs to have an alternative to registering new organisations in host countries where their immigration status does not allow them to do so. It would also strengthen their visibility and facilitate their access to officials, members of parliaments, senates, and other decision-makers in the host countries to garner attention on the situation in Afghanistan.







Opportunities:

Being outside Afghanistan also brings opportunities for Afghan WHRDs to continue and sustain women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

According to most participants, there is a **lack of opportunities** now due to the uncertainty related to immigration processes, status of asylum applications, restrictions on refugees, immigrants, activities in the host countries, and a lack of financial stability to continue activism:



Unfortunately, in this state of emergency, there is still a state of emergency. People are still slowly making plans, and international community organisations, including women activists, are working to keep these movements alive outside of Afghanistan. "

(FGD participant based in Europe)

However, some participants noted that **Afghan WHRDs** residing outside **Afghanistan** have opportunity as they are highly experienced individuals who still have contacts and understand the reality and situation on the ground. One participant noted:



Unfortunately, there are no opportunities for women inside Afghanistan. Everyone is closed. But for women outside Afghanistan, there are opportunities that need to be supported. Provide offices for them so that they can do their work in a coherent and uniform manner and raise their voices."

(Interviewee based in Tajikistan)

According to some participants, since most of these WHRDs have been fighting for women's rights for the last two decades and have numerous achievements, their engagement with other international feminist and women organisations can be an opportunity to strengthen the movement:



One thing is positive I would like to mention about that and that is our accessibility to international community we are member of international platform ... with European commission with USA different partners we are working, and I hope this advocacy creating a platform for us to have louder voice to simplify women who are inside Afghanistan. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)







The **continuing efforts of WHRDs inside Afghanistan** can also be considered an opportunity, but their works needs more international coverage. Some participants saw social media as an opportunity to voice their opinions and to bring issues to the international community's attention:



When you do not have media, it means that you do not have a voice, and when you do not have a voice, it means that her rights are being violated, and women who write on social media will be the greatest tool for strengthening women's movements both inside and outside Afghanistan."

(Interviewee based in Canada)

Some participants also emphasised **putting pressure on the Taliban** to create opportunities. They suggested that the international community and Western countries should pressure the Taliban on their regressive and strict policies towards women and girls:



We saw that Afghan women and girls who were human rights defenders were imprisoned, tortured and many were killed, but still the voice of women has not been silenced and this shows that women are not looking for opportunities, women create opportunities for themselves even if it is a risk to their lives and many things are lost. Therefore, the struggles have not always been easy. Despite the problems that exist, these movements are still promising. And as we witness that the existence of these movements has changed the world's view about the current situation in Afghanistan. It is an opportunity that needs to be further invested in and efforts made to support these activisms more broadly so that they can spread.

(Interviewee based in the Netherlands)

The participants discussed the importance of **international attention on Afghanistan**, particularly with regard to women's rights and support for the newly arrived Afghan immigrants and their immigration processes:



The international institutions that design and plan programmes should follow and engage the Afghan society. They can use the capacities and talents that have come from Afghanistan in their plans and programmes, and most of them still have organisations that are operative inside Afghanistan and are helping and assisting Afghanistan. International organisations can prioritise these women and human rights organisations to work and help."

(Interviewee based in Canada)







Participants also emphasised the need for **financial and moral support from the international community.** They focused on developing allyships:



The first thing that I really emphasise this is the advocacy work that the international communities do. The feminist organisations, the human rights organisations. They can easily a connect a network with many other organisations in different parts of the world."

(Interviewee based in Sweden)

Almost all participants said that the international community should not recognise the de facto authorities and that it should put conditions in place when providing aid to Afghanistan:



The international communities should bring more pressure on the Taliban to fulfil what had been promised during the peace talk in Doha."

(Interviewee based in USA)

Another participant noted:



Political and diplomatic pressure from the international communities, civic communities and the legal communities can influence the Taliban to modify their stance toward women's rights in Afghanistan."

(FGD participant based in the Middle East)

Some participants also emphasised the need to release certain assets held by the US Government ⁷⁶ to avoid a more acute humanitarian crisis in the country. Furthermore, participants suggested that releasing these assets should come with some conditions related to the respect and protection of women and girls' rights:



From the political point of view, it is so important to pressure the Taliban and have strict strategies with them to fulfil the promises they had. I do not see any strict talk or pressure in the international communities on the Taliban. They have double-faced regarding Afghanistan. Another important thing, the funds for people should not be used to purchase weapons. There should be an audit from the international community and the people to make the Taliban responsible. "

(Interviewee based in Norway)







Some participants also discussed the importance of representing Afghans through Afghan voices and raised the concern of focusing only on a particular group of women for funding and aiding through third-party/donor organisations that do not provide women due service. One participant noted the following:



The international community can make a different connection to those who are in Afghanistan and [are] active not [with those] who received millions of dollars in projects under the name of Afghan women, the result of which [may] will never reach Afghan women."

(Interviewee based in UAE)

Table 2 VII summarises the findings of the thematic analysis and denotes the themes, subthemes, and focus areas.

Thematic analysis of reflections of regional focal points further highlights the challenges WHRDs face in each region and falls in line with the theme of "challenges" in the study. Based on these reflections, challenges in the Asia region centre around processes and discriminatory treatment of Afghan asylum seekers by governments of host countries and countries where Afghan asylum seekers are residing to undergo their refugee claims with UNHCR. The following table shows some of the major challenges faced by WHRDs in their respective countries and regions.

Table 3 $^{\text{VIII}}$ summarises the findings of the thematic analysis of data collected from regional focal points.

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Discussion of Findings

Thematic analysis of the extensive data demonstrates a hierarchical and symbiotic relationship between major themes and subthemes. The thematic analysis also highlights the relationship between different themes and how each theme may respond to the research question. Understating the relationship between themes and subthemes paves the path for drawing actionable recommendations from the data and analysis based on the lived needs,

challenges and opportunities faced by Afghan WHRDs. In turn, these recommendations can be used by multiple stakeholders, including the international community, global feminist movements, women's rights activists, and WHRDs both inside and outside Afghanistan, to take meaningful action to address the needs of WHRDs in sustaining their movements.

The impact of the first two themes – the challenges and needs of WRHDs – can be understood through their relationship with the personal and professional lives of the WHRDs. As highlighted in **diagram 1**, participants' personal challenges can be alleviated by addressing the personal needs of participants. Thus, it can be inferred from the data that challenges can be addressed by addressing subcategories and subsequent areas of focus of needs on personal levels.







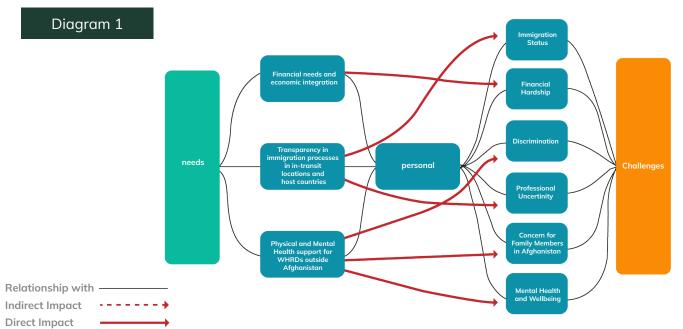


Diagram 1: The relationship between personal challenges and needs

On the other hand, professional needs of WHRDs were directly related to their to professional challenges, as shown in **diagram 2**. However, some challenges highlighted by participants cannot be fully addressed by merely addressing their professional needs. This gap between needs and challenges allows for the theme of opportunities to emerge, as illustrated in **diagram 3**.

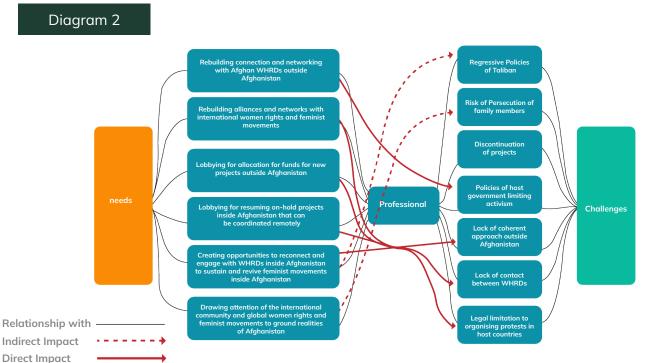


Diagram 2: The relationship between professional challenges and needs

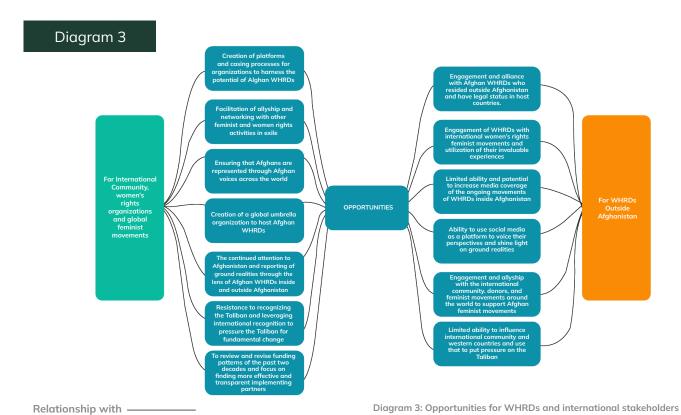
Thematic analysis shows that in addition to addressing the needs of WHRDs (both personal and professional), the international community, women's rights organisations and feminist movements worldwide must use opportunities to respond to the challenges WHRDs are facing in sustaining their feminist movements and movements for defending women's human rights.

Furthermore, thematic analysis suggests that the international community, women's rights organisations, and feminist movements worldwide must take into account the actionable recommendations drawn out from the extensive data to sustain Afghan women's rights movements effectively and defend the human rights of Afghan women both inside and outside Afghanistan.









Additionally, analysis of reflections of regional focal points of the study shows similar patterns of challenges and needs to the outcome of the data collected from study participants. Analysis of reflections shared by regional focal points shows that Afghan WHRDs face significant challenges in their immigration journeys while in transit and during the resettlement phase. The challenges for those in transit and in Asia seem to significantly impact their personal and professional lives. **Diagram 4** shows significant challenges as reported by regional focal points.

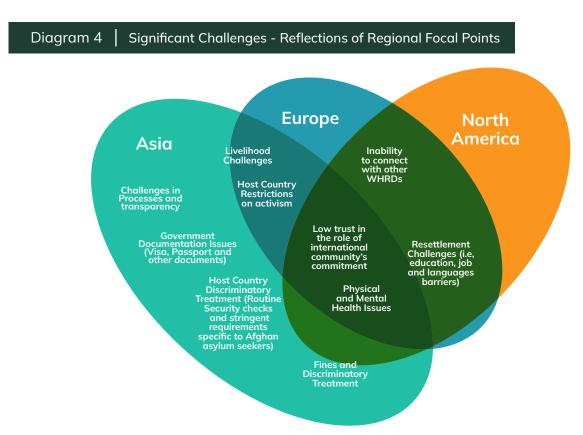


Diagram 4: Overview of challenges reported by Focal Points







Recommendations for Sustaining the Afghan Women's Rights Movement Outside of Afghanistan

Overarching Principles and Themes for Recommendations:

To sustain the Afghan women's rights movement and achieve its objectives, decision-makers must actively seek and act upon input and leadership from Afghan women and WHRDs inside and outside of Afghanistan.

Donors and international organisations must avoid duplication of efforts and instead support the coordination and solidarity of Afghan women and WHRDs amongst themselves.

The personal and professional challenges facing Afghan WHRDs are intimately related. Therefore, to sustain the Afghan women's rights movement, personal challenges must be addressed to support the mental health and personal capacity of Afghan WHRDs outside of Afghanistan.

Recommendations for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs outside Afghanistan:

Recommendation 1.1: Utilise engagement opportunities with international women's rights organisations and feminist movements through mapping and networking projects.

Recommendation 1.2: Utilise social media and access to media to amplify Afghan women's voices from the grassroots level.

Recommendation 1.3: Establish, sustain, and participate in alliances with the international community, donors, and feminist movements around the world to enable and advance Afghan-led women's rights movements and Afghan feminist movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

Recommendation 1.4: Establish and lead a global coordination mechanism to demonstrate and cultivate Afghan WRA/WHRD movement solidarity, solicit and manage funding for advocacy and programming for Afghan women's rights movement, and to lead strategy among INGOs, stakeholders and feminist/human rights organisations.







Recommendations to states, INGOs and other donors:

2) Avoiding duplication and compartmentalisation:

Recommendation 2.1: While centering diversity and intersectionality in their support to Afghan WHRDs, States, INGOs and other donors should avoid duplication of efforts (including regarding funding, the creation of new platforms with Afghan activists, etc.), should ensure regular communication with Afghan activists and between themselves to avoid such duplication and instead support and prioritise Afghan WHRD-led coordination mechanisms and platforms for engagement.

Recommendation 2.2: States, INGOs and other donors should ensure that Afghan WHRDs and other local actors lead the (re)design of coordination structures from the start. New initiatives should complement local efforts rather than create parallel processes, which traditionally keep power in the hands of UN entities and INGOs

Recommendation 2.3: INGOs, donors, states, and multilateral institutions and agencies should provide flexible, long-term funding and technical support toward the establishment of an Afghan WHRD-led umbrella mechanism.

Recommendation 2.4: Host countries should ensure that their immigration and asylum laws, policies and practices – including regarding the rights of asylum-seekers and refugees to work, to social security, to child-care, to the right to health, to freedom of movement (e.g. for travelling) are gender-responsive, do not hinder and actually support Afghan WRAs and WHRDs' capacity to continue their activism in a safe and enabling environment. Host countries of Afghan WRAs and WHRDs should ensure that they are fully able to exercise their right to freedom of association for instance regarding their ability to directly receive funding from donors, to create and register new civil society structures led by Afghan WRAs and WHRDs themselves and to travel without restrictions to continue their civil society work.

3) Financial challenges:

Recommendation 3.1: Donors should resume funding of human rights, women's rights and/or empowerment projects to Afghan women-led organisations that have been put on hold and which can be coordinated remotely and ensure that funding is long-term (multi-year), unrestricted, and flexible so as to support payment of staff that may still be operating inside Afghanistan as well as staff, WRAs, and WHRDs that may be coordinating and/or participating in work outside of Afghanistan.

Recommendation 3.2: Host countries should ensure that their immigration policies and services enable and support Afghan refugees and asylum seekers to seek and hold work within the country and in international roles, including reducing the bureaucratic barriers to work such as personal documentation and identification requirements and untenable costs and paperwork to re-register their organisations within the host country.

Recommendation 3.3: Host countries and respective financial and banking institutions should review policies and services around economic integration, financial inclusion and banking to ensure that Afghan WHRD refugees and asylum seekers are able to open new accounts and fully access their existing personal accounts, for example by lifting restrictive withdrawal limits, providing financial services and technical assistance on country-specific financial literacy, and enabling transfers to and from Afghanistan including through online banking, cash transfer, and flexible accounts.







Recommendation 3.4: Where sanctions and de-risking are directly or indirectly causing barriers to enacting economic integration and banking access policies and practices for Afghan refugees and asylum seekers, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and Western countries should undertake measures that reduce the blanket effect of Taliban sanctions (UNSCR 1988), better provide guidance to and support banks in identifying where humanitarian exemptions (UNSCR 2615) may support certain transfers and activities, and prioritise a solution to the liquidity crisis in Afghanistan which includes unfreezing Afghan private assets currently being held outside of the country (approximately USD 1 billion).

Recommendation 3.5: UNHCR, states, and private entities should explore partnerships and alternative banking tools and platforms to enable mobile and digital solutions to banking and financial service access challenges and trainings in regional and national financial literacy and related trainings for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs who often don't have national identification, documentation, or residency details.

Recommendation 3.6: States, donors, and INGOs should continue to make flexible, expedited emergency funds available and accessible to individual Afghan WRAs and WHRDs within or outside Afghanistan to support a broad scope of their individual needs including their visa and resettlement processes, basic livelihood needs, connectivity devices and internet, and advocacy activities.

4) Resettlement processes and policies:

Recommendation 4.1: Host countries should advance policies and actions that advance transparency and expedition of refugee and asylum seeker settlement and family reunification processes for Afghans in transit and in host locations.

Recommendation 4.2: Host countries should take all necessary measures to eliminate discrimination in law and practice against Afghan asylum seekers and refugees including by ensuring equity in resettlement processes for instance through equity in rates of Afghan refugees and asylum seekers being accepted and welcomed into the host country and equality in fees for visa applications for Afghans.

Recommendation 4.3: To address the high costs of visas and processing in some host countries and regions, host countries should offer waivers for fees for refugees and asylum seekers.

Recommendation 4.4: Host countries and global refugee, resettlement, and asylum networks and agencies should leverage and allocate resources to Afghan-led diaspora organisations based within host countries who can act as resources to ease the resettlement experience and support in providing culturally-sensitive and gender-responsive support and services for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs.

Recommendation 4.5: International resettlement and women's rights organisations should expand their immigration and resettlement advisory and support services or initiate new projects to raise awareness and provide guidance to Afghan refugees and asylum seekers on how Afghan WRAs and WHRDs can continue their advocacy and activism activities safely and legally within the parameters of their immigration and/or refugee status in their transit and host countries including around right to work and travel quidelines.

Recommendation 4.6: International resettlement and human rights organisations should advocate for and provide accessible and low-barrier cash support to refugees and asylum seekers to pursue and navigate visa applications and documentation throughout their resettlement journey.







Recommendation 4.7: International resettlement and international women's rights and feminist organisations should engage with host countries including through the UN, other multilateral institutions and agencies, the EU, national governments and their competent authorities, to advocate for the support of policies and actions that advance transparency and expedition of refugee settlement and family reunification processes for Afghans in transit and in host locations.

Recommendation 4.8: International resettlement and women's rights organisations should expand their immigration and resettlement services or initiate new projects to raise awareness and provide guidance to Afghan refugees and asylum seekers on legal guidelines for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs to continue safe and legal engagement in advocacy and activism within their transit and host countries.

5) Security:

Recommendation 5.1: The international community and entities engaging with Afghanistan's de facto authorities should sustain political and diplomatic pressure on them regarding the respect and protection of human rights particularly of women's and girls' rights, with specific scrutiny on security for civil society and women's rights organisations in Afghanistan and for the protection of women's right to work in the humanitarian, development and human rights sectors. This can include ensuring that diplomatic, UN, and INGO delegations continue meeting with women's rights organisations, WRAs, and WHRDs within Afghanistan and allocating funding to civil society groups focused on this work to shift power, recognition, and resources to these actors.

Recommendation 5.2: Host countries and private sector stakeholders should provide safe, secure, and accessible internet access for refugees and asylum seekers so that Afghan WRAs and WHRDs can maintain their connection with families and colleagues still in Afghanistan and connect with other advocates and activists without fear of tracking and retribution by Afghanistan's de facto authorities or host country authorities.

Recommendation 5.3: States, INGOs, and private sector stakeholders should provide funding to support safe, secure, and accessible internet access for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs, including those in refugee camps or detention centers, including funding for training on digital security and funding for communication devices such as laptops and phones.

6) Mental health and psychosocial support:

Recommendation 6.1: Host countries and international funders should fund and/or expand mental health and psychosocial services and projects to address the ongoing mental health issues of Afghan WRAs and WHRDs, including through direct remote and in-person, non-discriminatory, trauma-informed, gender- and culturally responsive service delivery that is accessible both remotely and inperson- including within camps.

Recommendation 6.2: Refugee camp management and camp service providers should create safe, and particularly safe-for-women and children, spaces for recreation and community within camp spaces for Afghan WRAs and WHRDs to connect with others and to boost their mental health during their stays in camp settings.







APPENDICES

In Order of Appearance

1	Table 2: Summary of Thematic Analysis
2	Table 3: Summary of Reflections of Regional Focal Points
3	Afghan WHRDs Mapping Questionnaire
4	Focus Group Discussion Protocol
5	Individual Semi-Structured Interview Protocol
6	Guidelines for Focal Points and Data Collectors
7	Focus Group Discussion Participants Consent Form
8	Individual Interviews Participants Consent Form
9	Focus Group Discussion Questions in Pashto
10	Focus Group Discussion Questions in Dari
11	Individual Semi-Structured Interview Questions in Pashto
12	Individual Semi-Structured Interview Questions in Dari

Annex 1: Summary of Thematic Analysis

Table 2 - Summary of Thematic Analysis						
Themes	Subthemes	Focus Areas				
Challenges	Personal Challenges for WHRDs Outside Afghanistan	Immigration status Financial hardships Discrimination Professional uncertainty Concern for family members inside Afghanistan Mental health and wellbeing				
	Professional Challenges for WHRDs Outside Afghanistan	 Impact of regressive policies of the Taliban de facto authorities on movements Risk of persecution of local WHRDs Change of status of projects from active to on-hold and its impact on local WHRDs Discontinuation of funding to women's rights movements inside Afghanistan Policies of Governments of the host country as a challenge to remain active Lack of a coherent approach outside Afghanistan to support movements inside Afghanistan Lack of contact between WHRDs due to displacement and residence in transiting camps Lack of financial support for sustaining movements Legal limitations to organising efforts i.e., registering organisations, organising protests in host countries. 				
Needs	Personal Needs of WHRDs outside Afghanistan	 Financial needs and economic integration in host countries The need for transparency in immigration processes in transit and host countries Physical and mental health support for WHRDs outside Afghanistan 				
	Professional Needs for sustaining feminist movements outside Afghanistan	 Rebuilding connections and networks with other Afghan WHRDs outside Afghanistan Rebuilding alliances and networks with international women's rights movements and organisations Lobbying for allocation of funds for new projects outside Afghanistan Lobbying for resuming on-hold projects inside Afghanistan that can be coordinated remotely Creating opportunities to reconnect and engage with WHRDs inside Afghanistan to sustain and revive feminist movements inside Afghanistan Drawing attention of the international community and global women rights and feminist movements to realities of Afghanistan on the ground as reflected by WHRDs inside Afghanistan 				

Table 2 - Summary of Thematic Analysis - Continued							
Themes	Subthemes	Areas of Focus					
Opportunities	For WHRDs Outside Afghanistan	 Engagement and alliance with Afghan WHRDs who resided outside Afghanistan and have legal status in host countries Engagement of WHRDs who have recently fled Afghanistan with international women's rights organisations and feminist movement and utilisation of their invaluable experience Limited ability and potential to increase media coverage of the ongoing movements of WHRDs inside Afghanistan Ability to use social media as a platform to voice their perspectives and shine light on realities on the ground Engagement and allyship with the international community, donors and feminist movements around the world to sustain of Afghan women's rights movements and Afghan feminist movements inside and outside Afghanistan Limited ability to influence international community and Western countries and use that to put pressure on the Taliban 					
	For International Community, women's rights organisations, and feminist movements worldwide	 Creation of platforms and easing processes for organisations to harness the potential of Afghan WHRDs who reside outside Afghanistan in sustaining women's rights and feminist movements Facilitation of allyship and networking with other feminist and women's rights activities outside Afghanistan Creation of a global umbrella organisation to host Afghan WHRDs who have recently fled Afghanistan and do not have a platform to channel their work and continue to be active The continued attention of the international community and global women's rights and feminist movements to Afghanistan and reporting of realities on the ground through the lens of Afghan WHRDs inside and outside Afghanistan Resistance to recognising the de facto authorities as a legitimate government by the international community and leveraging international recognition to pressure the de facto authorities for fundamental change in policies towards Afghan women and girls Ensuring that Afghans are represented through Afghan voices across the world To review and revise funding patterns of the past two decades and focus on more effective funding strategies including finding more effective and transparent implementing partner organisations 					



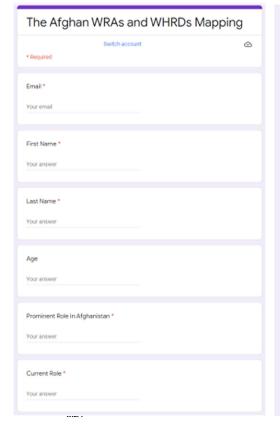


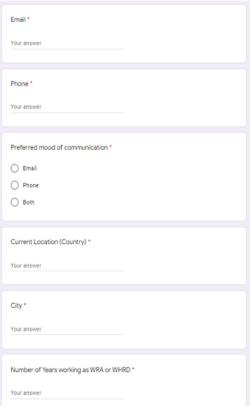


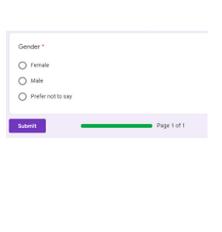
Annex 2: Summary of Reflections of Regional Focal Points

Table 3: Summary of Reflections of Regional Focal Points					
Themes	Challenges	Countries/Regions			
Processes and	 Lengthy processes for Afghan asylum seekers to process their asylum cases with the host government and UNHCR 	India, Pakistan, Tajikistan, UAE			
Transparency	Lack of support in obtaining a visa for Afghan asylum seekers in the host country and lack of support from Afghan embassies in host countries to receive consular services	India, Iran, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, UAE			
	Inability to travel back to Afghanistan due to lack of flights and funds	India			
Discriminatory	Imposition of fines and discriminatory treatment of Afghan asylum seekers by host governments, including the imposition of fines for rejection of refugee claims	India, Uzbekistan			
Treatment	Stringent security requirements of governments for Afghan immigrants compared to other nationals	India, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, UAE			
	Routine extensive security checks of the homes of Afghan asylum seekers	Uzbekistan			
Livelihood Challenges	Livelihood challenges in host countries include difficulty finding housing, work, and using financial institutions.	India, Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, UAE			
	Inadequate financial support from host countries and the UNHCR				
Physical and Mental Health Issues	Significant rise in mental health issues of Afghan asylum seekers in host countries (including depression, PTSD and suicidal attempts – some successful as well)	India, Tajikistan, Pakistan, UAE			
ricalti issues	Lack of health insurance for asylum seekers and limited access to medical coverage	Iran, UAE			
Resettlement	Lack of educational opportunities for children in camps in transit	Iran, Tajikistan, UAE			
Challenges	Resettlement challenges include accreditation of education documents, finding jobs and language barriers	Europe Region, USA, Canada			
Direct and in direct	Host Country Restrictions on activism	India, Iran, Uzbekistan, UAE			
Direct and indirect restrictions on activism	Fear of participation in activism, including sharing opinions in a research project due to unparalleled security checks and policing in host countries	Iran, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, UAE			
Low trust in the international community	Low trust in the role of the international community's commitment and low levels of trust in the effectiveness and impact of research projects reportedly based on experience	Iran, Uzbekistan, Europe region, UAE, Canada, USA			
Inability to connect with other WHRDs	Inability to connect to WHRDS in Afghanistan, in their respective host countries and around the world	Canada, USA, Europe region			

Annex 3: Afghan WHRDs Mapping Questionnaire







Annex 4: Focus Group Discussion Protocol

Focus Group Discussion:

Using a holistic structural view with input from Afghan WRAs and WHRDs residing outside Afghanistan is vital to understanding their needs, challenges, and opportunities to strengthen and sustain women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

Focus Groups (FG) are a valuable research method that promotes sharing experiences and perspectives among individuals with similar roles and relationships. FGs facilitate access to diverse research populations and encourage understanding and exchange in divergent and shared experiences.

Five focus groups (one in each region) with 5 to 7 participants will be conducted for this research. This is a recommended number of participants to facilitate ease of discussion and allow some depth in the content.

Individual participants are invited to participate in their designated focus groups. Participants are identified by WILPF teams' contacts and access to information about the whereabouts of WHRDs. Once a preliminary contact list of stakeholders is identified, potential participants for focus groups will be contacted following the criteria set forth below for inclusion in focus group discussions.

Note that all individuals identified and contacted for the preliminary list may not be able to participate in a focus group. However, they may be able to refer others who may fit the inclusion criteria. It is essential to follow the inclusion criteria as those participants will be able to provide helpful input for the research.

Focus Group Composition

Each focus group will consist of:



Afghan Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs)

Focus group participants' inclusion criteria

Participants for inclusion in the focus group are selected based on the following inclusion criteria:

The participants must fall under the definition of HRDs

according to the HR conventions from CSO, journalists, advocates, and local/grassroots leaders.

Have fled Afghanistan in 2021 due to the political changes

Have fled Afghanistan due to high insecurity risk

Aims to continue activism and engagement with other HRAs outside Afghanistan

Have at least 3-10 years of activism work in Afghanistan







Focus Group Script

The following draft script should be used to facilitate focus groups. It is crucial to make sure that everyone feels safe, comfortable and included to share their thoughts, experiences, and perspectives. The facilitation of the FGs must allow everyone to contribute to a roundtable-style discussion in a balanced manner, and participants shall be allowed to contribute freely.

Opening and Welcome:

Hello everyone, my name is _______, and I am a here on behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). WILPF, in partnership with Women for Women International, is conducting mapping and needs assessment of Afghan Women's Rights Activists and Women Human Rights Defenders who fled Afghanistan due to political changes to identify their needs, challenges, and opportunities in strengthening and sustaining Afghan women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

In this focus group discussion, we would like you to reflect on the experiences, needs, and challenges you are currently facing in your work towards strengthening and sustaining women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

This focus group discussion will inform actionable recommendations on advocacy activities and better inform the international community on funding, designing, implementing, and monitoring responsive, meaningful, and practical strategies and programs that sustain the Afghan women's rights movement.

Participation in this focus group discussion is voluntary. If you feel you do not want to continue at any point of the discussion, you can withdraw. However, the information collected to that point may be used for the research.

Identifying information shared in this focus group discussion will remain confidential, and the research will not identify you or reveal any identifying information about you without your express consent. Similarly, to respect everyone's anonymity, you are all expected to keep everything discussed here confidential and refrain from disclosing any information about fellow participants outside this discussion. You are not obliged to respond to every question; however, your inputs will support the research in understanding the topic more profoundly.

It is crucial to remember that we all bring our own experiences and realities to this group throughout our discussion. We all will respect each other's experiences to keep the space safe and comfortable for everyone to share their thoughts and experiences. You are invited to be respectful to the time of others and allow all participants to have time to share their perspectives.

Does anyone have any questions?

Let us get started...

Focus Group Questions:

- Please share your experience working as a women's rights activist and women human rights defender in Afghanistan and now outside?
- Considering the political changes in Afghanistan due to which you had to flee the country, can you please talk about your needs and requirements currently?

Some areas to guide participants through are:

- i. Immigration and resettlement
- ii. Staying in contact with Civil Society and women's rights activists inside Afghanistan, etc.







How are you continuing your activities for Afghan women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan?

Please discuss the challenges and obstacles you may face in strengthening and sustaining women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

Do you see any opportunities to support sustaining and strengthening Afghan women's rights movements in Afghanistan?

If yes, please discuss. If not, please elaborate.

According to you, what support and assistance are needed to support the women's rights movement inside and outside Afghanistan?

How can the international community promote women's rights movements in Afghanistan?

Closing (after the discussion is over):

- These are all the questions I have for us to discuss today.
- Is there anything regarding the topic we should have talked about today during the focus group but did not?
- Please feel free to add anything you think is important for the project to know and include.
- Thank you for your time and participation in today's focus group.

Annex 5: Individual Interview Protocol

Individual Interview:

Individual interviews are a valuable research method to gain insight into study participants' experiences, views, and perceptions of the research topic. Interviews are widely used in qualitative research as a data collection method.

15 individual interviews (3 in each region) are conducted with key informants for this research. Individual interview participants will be invited to participate in an interview session to share their experiences, perspectives, challenges, and opportunities to strengthen and sustain women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

Interview participants will be identified by WILPF teams' contacts and access to information about the whereabouts of WHRDs. Once a preliminary contact list of stakeholders is identified, potential participants for focus groups will be contacted following the criteria set forth below for inclusion in focus group discussions. Note that all individuals identified and contacted for the preliminary list may not be able to participate in a focus group. However, they may be able to refer others who may fit the inclusion criteria. It is essential to follow the inclusion criteria as those participants will be able to provide helpful input for the research.







Individual Interviews Composition:

Individual interviews will be conducted with:

Afghan Women's Rights
Activists (WRAs) in multiple
roles (for example leadership,
programme implementation
and other roles)

Afghan Women Human Rights
Defenders (WHRDs)
(for example leadership,
programme implementation
and other roles)

Individual interviews participants' inclusion criteria:

Participants will be selected based on the following inclusion criteria:

- The participants must fall under the definition of HRDs² according to the HR conventions from CSO, journalists, advocates, and local/grass-root leaders.
- Individuals with 5-10 years of activism in Afghanistan
- Individuals in key leadership roles
- Have fled Afghanistan in August 2021 due to the political changes
- Have fled Afghanistan due to high insecurity risk
- Aims to continue activism and engagement with other HRAs outside Afghanistan
- Individuals identified as key informants by regional focal points and WILPF.

Individual Interview Script

The following draft script should be used to facilitate FGs. It is essential to make sure that everyone feels safe, comfortable, and included to share their thoughts, experiences, and perspectives.

The interviewer and interviewee relationship is critical in conducting a successful and safe interview. Therefore, the interviewer must have a calm demeanour and establish rapport through a welcoming attitude and openness.

² "Human rights defender" is a term used to describe people who, individually or with others, act to promote or protect human rights in a peaceful manner (OHCHR, 2022).







Opening and Welcome:

Hello everyone, my name is ______, and I am here on behalf of the Women International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). WILPF, in partnership with Women for Women International, is conducting a mapping of Afghan Women's Rights Activists and Women Human Rights Defenders who fled Afghanistan due to political changes, and to identify their needs, challenges, and opportunities in strengthening and sustaining Afghan women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

In this interview, we would like you to reflect on your experiences, needs, and challenges that you are currently facing in your work towards sustaining and strengthening women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan.

This interview will inform actionable recommendations on advocacy activities and better inform the international community on how they can fund, design, implement and monitor responsive, meaningful, and practical strategies and programs that sustain the Afghan women's rights movement.

Participating in the interview is voluntary. If you feel you do not want to continue at any point of the discussion, you can withdraw. However, the information collected will still be used for the research. Identifying information shared in this interview will remain confidential, and the research will not identify you or reveal any identifying information about you without your express consent.

You are not obliged to respond to every question; however, your inputs will support the research in understanding the topic more profoundly.

Does anyone have any questions?

Let us get started...

Individual Interview Questions:

Please share your experience working as a Women's rights activist and Women's Human rights defender in Afghanistan and now outside.

- 1 How has your life and work been affected since the political changes in Afghanistan?
 - a. Personally
 - b. Professionally
- Considering the political changes in Afghanistan due to which you had to flee the country, can you please talk about your needs and requirements currently?

 Some areas to explore:
 - i. Immigration and resettlement
 - ii. Staying in contact with Civil Society and women's rights activists inside Afghanistan, etc.
- How are you continuing your activities for Afghan women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan?
- Can you please share some challenges you currently face in strengthening and sustaining the women's rights movement inside Afghanistan?
- Do you see any opportunities to support sustaining and strengthening Afghan women's rights movements in Afghanistan?

If yes, please discuss. If not, please elaborate.







- You talked about the challenges and obstacles you are facing in sustaining and strengthening the Afghan women's rights movement inside and outside Afghanistan; what support and assistance are needed to support the women's rights movement inside and outside Afghanistan in your opinion?
- What can the international community do to promote women's rights movements in Afghanistan?

Individual Interview Questions:

These are all the questions I have for us to discuss today.

Is there anything regarding the topic we should have talked about today during the interviews but did not?

Please feel free to add anything you think is important for the project to know and include.

Thank you for your time and participation in today's interview.

Annex 6: Guidelines for Focal Points and Data Collectors

Guidelines for Focal Points and Data Collectors

To carry out the data collection process, you will have to engage with the target population. When approaching WHRDs with interview and FGD requests, it is essential to be aware of ethical considerations.

Informed Consent:

Focal Points or data collectors must ensure that participants have read the consent form and understand the information provided. Focal points and data collectors shall seek verbal consent before starting the recording of individual interviews/FGD.

Confidentiality:

All individuals conducting research involving human participants must keep their participants' information is confidential throughout all stages of the research process, including:

Recruitment

The initial collection of information/data

The storage and retention of information

- Focal points and data collectors must ensure the following:
 - Any information about participants must be kept confidential by focal points and data collectors. Communication of confidential information about the research and research participants must strictly remain within the research team.
- Focal points and data collectors must inform participants that:
 - A. their information will be kept confidential, and they will not be identified in any public document at any point in the research
 - B. they must respect the privacy of other participants and refrain from discussing confidential information outside the focus group to respect everyone's anonymity.







Communication:

Verbal communication complements written communication. Verbal communication is also an integral part of the data collection process through individual interviews and FGDs. Therefore, focal points and data collectors must prepare themselves ahead of the interview and FGD. The interview and FGD protocol can be a helpful tool in the preparation and understanding the flow of critical questions. Make sure you read the protocol before starting the interview or FGD.

Additionally, keep the following points in mind at the interview or FGD:

- Build rapport with participants by introducing yourself at each session in a friendly, patient, and professional manner
- Become knowledgeable about the research topic to be prepared to answer any questions participants may have
- Be reliable and pay attention to the verbal and non-verbal cues of participants. This will encourage participants to take the interview seriously.
- Demonstrate your commitment by arriving on time (preferably a few minutes ahead of time) and greet all participants individually at the beginning of the session.
- Have your notetaking and reflection form handy either in hard or soft copy.
- 6 Make sure you have the consent form signed before the FG or interview sessions.
- If any participant has not signed the consent form, get their oral consent and record it.
- 8 Familiarize yourself with the technology. Set up recording to record the session
- 9 Address all the questions in the interview/FG guide
- When needed, ask follow-up questions (some scripted in the interview guide).
- 11 Allow participants to reflect and share their perspectives freely.
- Make sure everyone has a chance to participate, and one or two participants do not dominate the FG session.
- Keep check of the time to be respectful of everyone's time.
- Write your reflection as soon as possible after each interview/FG session while the memory is still fresh.

Data Storage and Sharing:

Virtual interviews and FGDs will be conducted via zoom, and the sessions will be recorded using the zoom recording option.

Detailed instruction to be provided in pre-data collection workshops

After the interview or FGD, keep the following in mind:

- Make sure the recording is saved.
- Make sure you have added the location of the recording to the participant form
- Make sure you have notified your supervisor about the completion of the process







Annex 7: Focus Group Discussion Participants Consent Form

Afghan WHRDs Mapping Consent Form Focus Group Discussion

Study Name: Afghan Women's Rights Activists & Women's Human Rights Defenders Mapping

Researchers: Hosai Qasmi, Ph.D.

Organisations: Women International League for Peace and Freedom and Women for Women

International

You are invited to participate in research conducted in partnership with Women International League for Peace and Freedom and Women for Women International. This research aims to identify Afghan Women's Rights Activists and Women's Human Rights Defenders through mapping and understanding their needs, challenges, and opportunities to strengthen and sustain women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan. The information collected through this research will be used to inform actionable recommendations on advocacy activities and better inform the international community on how they can fund, design, implement, and monitor responsive, meaningful, and effective strategies and programs that sustain Afghan women's rights movement.

As an Afghan Women's rights activist, you are invited to take part in a focus group discussion. The focus group will include 5 to 7 other participants engaged in Afghan women's rights movements.

The discussion is expected to be 60 to 90 minutes long.

Participating in this focus group discussion is voluntary. If you feel you do not want to continue at any point of the discussion, you can withdraw without consequences. However, the information collected will still be used for the research.

Your personal information and the data collected through focus groups will be kept confidential. You will not be named in any reports, publications, or presentations that may come from this research. The collected data will be safely stored in a password-protected folder, and only research staff will have access to this information.

As a focus group participant, you must keep other participants' information confidential and not share it with anyone.

This research includes collecting demographic data, which will be used for mapping.

The session will be recorded for accuracy and to avoid missing any data.

Please read this consent form carefully and feel free to ask any questions that you might have about the study.

If you have any questions, please contact the principal researcher.

Consent:

I have read the consent form and understand the study being described. I freely consent to participate in the focus group discussion, understanding that I may discontinue participation without any consequences.

Print Name Date







Annex 8: Individual Interviews Participants Consent Form

Afghan WHRDs Mapping Consent Form

Individual Interview

Study Name: Afghan Women's Rights Activists & Women's Human Rights Defenders Mapping

Researchers: Hosai Qasmi, Ph.D.

Organisations: Women International League for Peace and Freedom and Women for Women

International

You are invited to participate in research conducted in partnership with Women International League for Peace and Freedom and Women for Women International. This research aims to identify Afghan Women's Rights Activists and Women's Human Rights Defenders through a mapping and understanding of their needs, challenges, and opportunities in strengthening and sustaining women's rights movements inside and outside Afghanistan. The information collected through this research will be used to inform actionable recommendations on advocacy activities and better inform the international community on how they can fund, design, implement, and monitor responsive, meaningful, and effective strategies and programs that sustain Afghan women's rights movement.

As an Afghan Women's rights activist, you are invited to participate in an individual interview. The interview is being conducted with participants engaged in Afghan women's rights movements.

The discussion is expected to be 60 minutes long.

Participating in this interview is voluntary. If you feel you do not want to continue at any point of the discussion, you can withdraw. However, the information collected will still be used for the research.

Your personal information and the data collected through this interview will be kept confidential. You will not be named in any reports, publications, or presentations that may come from this research. The collected data will be safely stored in a password-protected folder, and I only research staff will have access to this information.

This research includes collecting demographic data, which will be used for mapping. The session will be audio recorded for accuracy and avoid missing any data. Please read this consent form carefully and feel free to ask any questions that you might have about the study.

If you have any questions, please contact the principal researcher.

Consent:

I have read the consent form and understand the study being described. I freely consent to participate in the interview, understanding that I may discontinue participation without any consequences.

Print Name	Date
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Annex 9: Focus Group Discussion Questions in Pashto

: ىنتښوپ وكرم يپورك د

- ير شب د وځښ د وا ېلاعف د ونوقح د وځښ د ېک رهب سوا وا ناتسناغفا هپ ځړکو ينابرهم ؟ ځېښ د يې کېړک یکېرش ېبرجت ېلپخ هګوت هپ عفادم د ونوقح
- هداوېه دل ېي دلما دل ېچ درس ولوين ېک ماپ دپ ونونولدب يسايس د ېک ناتسناغفا دپ داوې د د يک تخو ينسوا دپ ، عنوش يا دت يتښېت

د. ه. د وکنووک نوډګ د. ه. نیځ ولوکیرش د رظن د وکنووک نوډګ د. د نوډې نیدېک یاځ رپ یاځ ایب وا تر جامه اند وک هخرب ېندېک یاځ رپ یاځ ایب وا تر جامه اند و نووق د د وځښ د وا ېنلوټ یندم د یک ناتسناغفا هپ) یک هخرب موادت د وتیلاعف ولپخ د اند ونوق د وځښ د وا ېنلوټ یندم د یک ناتسناغفا هپ هرس ونالاعف (لدیک یتاب یک سامت می مرس ونالاعف

ماود هګنڅ مت ونوت یلاعف ولپخ دراپل ونوقح د وځښ ناغفا د رهب وا دنند ېک ناتسناغفا هپ

A. مپ مرسرو وسات γ چ ئړکو څحب مړا مپ ونوډنخ وا ونوګنن وغه د ئړکو ينابرمم خماخم γ مخرب مپ ماود وا ایتړوای د ونوتښځوخ د ونوقح د وځښ د رمب وا منند γ ناتسناغفا . تسای

- موک هراپل ای تړوای پ وا ماود د ونوتښځوخ د ونوقح د وځښ ناغفا د ېک ناتسناغفا هپ وسات ای آ کنی و تصرف
 - ؟هنو تصرف موک ،وه هک A.
 - B. کرک حیرشت عرک بین ابر مه ،هن هک
- د وڼوتښځوخ د وڼوقح د وځښ د رهب هن ناتسناغفا د وا هنند ېک ناتسناغفا هپ دن اهپ وساتس ؟هد ایت اهت وتسرم وموک مراپل پتالم





Annex 10: Focus Group Discussion Questions in Dari

یه ورگ یاه هبحاصم یارب اهلاوس

- رد نونکا و ناتسناغفا رد نز یرشب عفادم و نز قوقح ناعف ناونع مب ار دوخ مبرجت و راک افطل قوقح دیامن کیرش ناتسناغفا زا جراخ

رد نانز قوق حیاه شبنج موادت و تیوقت یارب تسا نکم هکی عناوم و اه شل چدروم رد افطل. در نانز قوق حیاه شبنج موادت و تینک تبحص دیوش وربور نآ اب ناتسن غفا زا جراخ و لخاد .

یم ناتسناغفا رد ناغفا نانز قوق ح یاه شبنج تیوقت و ظفح زا تی امح یارب یتصرف ای آ ۹ دینیب بدین کی با ای آ

A.آ. اگاب رگاب رگاب رگاب رگاب رگاب دی دد حیضوت افطل ، ریخن رگاب دی دد حیضوت افعال ، ریخن رگاب دی دد دی دو درگاب داد درگاب داد درگاب داد درگاب داد درگاب درگ

و تی امح عون ه چن اتسن اغف از اجراخ و لخاد ردن ان قوق حی اه شبن جموادت ی ارب ،امش رظن هب این امکان او کیمک کیمک

؟ دنک تی امح و جیورت ناتسن اغف رد ار نانز قوق حی اه شبن جدن اوت عم منوگج عن اهج معماج ۸





Annex 11: Individual Semi-Structured Interview Questions in Pashto

: ىنتسوپ وكرم عدارفنا د

- يرشب د وځښ د وا ېلاعف د ونوقح د وځښ د ېک رهب سوا وا ناتسناغفا هپ غړکو ينابرهم عورشب د وځښ د وځوق عفادم د ونوقح
- ؟ىد ىوش نمزېغا هرموڅ راك وا دنوژ وساتس ېسىهار ونونولدب *يساىس د ې*ك ناتسناغ**ف**ا هپ

ەخرب يىصخش. ەخرب يىكىلىسە.B

هداوېه هل ېي هلما هل ېچ هرس ولوين ېک ماپ هپ وڼوڼولدب يسايس د ېک ناتسناغفا هپ مداوېه هل ېي د تخو ينسوا هپ ، څوش پرا هټ يتښېت

اونوډګ د. اونوډګ د. اونوډګ د. اونوډګ د. نوند نونډ د نونډ

- ماود هګنڅ هت وڼوتیلاعف ولپخ هراپل وڼوقح د وځښ ڼاغفا د رهب وا هنند ېک ناتسناغفا هپ عاود هګنڅ هت وڼوکرو
- د وځښ د ېک ناتسناغف هپ لاهم سوا وسات ې چ ئړک ېکىرش ېنوګنن هغه ئش ىلوک وسات اى ؟ تساى خماخم هرسرو ېک هخرب هپ ماود وا اىتړواىپ د ګنځروغ د وڼوقح
- موک هراپل ای تړوای پ وا ماود د ونوت ښځوخ د ونوقح د وځښ ناغفا د ېک ناتس ناغفا هپ وسات ای آ کننی و تصرف

٩٥ من موک موک ، و ه مک. ٩٥ من مک. ۹۵ من مک. ۹۵

- ؟يړكو ړتالم هنوتښځوخ د ونوقح د وځښ د ېك ناتسناغفا هپ يش عالوك هكن څهنلوټ هلاويړن **8**







Annex 12: Individual Semi-Structured Interview Questions in Dari

: عدرف مبحاصم تالاوس

- و ناتسن اغفا رد نز یرشب قوقح عفادم و نز قوقح لاعف ناونع هب ار دوخ هبرجت و راک ًافطل دون اتسن اغفا زا جراخ رد نونکا دی امن کی رش ناتسن اغفا زا جراخ رد نونکا
- ایس اهدش رشاتم هنوگچ ناتسناغفا رد یسایس تارییغت رشا زا امش راک و یگدنز A.کدنزش یگدنز. B.

A. دنناوتیم مدرک رظن رامظا نآ رد ناگدننک کارتشا مک یاه منیمز.
 نادناوتیم مدرک رظن رامظا نآ رد ناگدننک کارتشا مک یاه منیمسق رد.
 نادم معماج اب طابترا یرارقرب لومش مب) نات یاه تیلاعف موادت تمسق رد نانز قوق ناداد رد نانز

- رد نانز قوق حیاه شبنج موادت و تیوقت یارب تسا نکم هک یعناوم و اه شلاچ دروم رد افطل دیوش و باین ناتسن اغفا زا جراخ و لخاد دیوش و باین ناتسن اغفا زا جراخ و لخاد
- یم ناتسناغفا رد ناغفا نانز قوقح یاه شبنج تیوقت و ظفح زا تیامح یارب یتصرف ای آ دینیب ۴دینیب

A. آ. اگاب رگاب رگاب رگاب آ. A. آ. اگاب رگاب رگاب یا دی مد حیضوت افطل (2.5)

- و لخاد رد ناغفا نانز قوق حیاه شبنج تیوقت و ظفح یارب هک یعناوم و اه شلاچ دروم رد امش یارب یکمک و تیام ه ه امش رظن هب دیدرک تبحص دیتسه وربور ن آ اب ناتسن اغفا زا جراخ ؟تسا مزال ناتسن اغفا زا جراخ و لخاد رد نانز قوق حیاه شبنج هیوقت
- ؟ دنک تی امح و جی ورت ناتس ناغف ارد ار نانز قوق حی اه شبنج دن اوت یم هن وگی ین اه ج ه عماج









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