
Data Stewardship and Trauma-Informed Care in Online Professional Development for Afghan Adult Learners: Lessons from Practice

Authors: Janice D'souza and Jeremy Bryan Coats

Source: *Journal on Education in Emergencies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (July 2026), pp. 202-213

Published by: Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies

Stable URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2451/75798>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33682/5c9b-p25u>

REFERENCES:

This is an open-source publication. Distribution is free of charge. All credit must be given to authors as follows:

D'souza, Janice, and Jeremy Bryan Coats. 2026. "Data Stewardship and Trauma-Informed Care in Online Professional Development for Afghan Adult Learners: Lessons from Practice." *Journal on Education in Emergencies* 11 (1): 202-13. <https://doi.org/10.33682/5c9b-p25u>.

The *Journal on Education in Emergencies (JEiE)* publishes groundbreaking and outstanding scholarly and practitioner work on education in emergencies (EiE), defined broadly as quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocation, higher and adult education.

Copyright © 2026, Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies.



The *Journal on Education in Emergencies*, published by the [Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies \(INEE\)](#), is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](#), except where otherwise noted.

DATA STEWARDSHIP AND TRAUMA-INFORMED CARE IN ONLINE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR AFGHAN ADULT LEARNERS: LESSONS FROM PRACTICE

JANICE D'SOUZA AND JEREMY BRYAN COATS

ABSTRACT

As education in emergencies programming relies increasingly on digital and remote modalities, ethical data practices have become a critical but underexamined source of risk. In highly surveilled and politically restrictive contexts, routine educational data collection, such as enrollment records, learning management systems, and monitoring tools, can expose learners to social, legal, or security dangers. In this field note, we reflect on the implementation of an online professional development program for adult learners residing in Afghanistan following the Taliban's return to power in 2021. This context was marked by restricted access to education, heightened surveillance, and gender-based exclusion. Drawing from the experience of practitioners, we argue that ethical data stewardship must be treated as a core dimension of program design, rather than as a downstream compliance activity. Using a trauma-informed lens, we examine how decisions about the minimization of data, including consent, access, and use, have shaped recruitment, instruction, monitoring, and evaluation across the program lifecycle. We highlight practical adaptations made to reduce risk while meeting accountability and learning needs, along with the tensions that emerged between the generation of evidence and protection of participants. By documenting how trauma-informed principles were operationalized through concrete data practices, this field note offers practice-based insights for education in emergencies practitioners designing digital education programs in contexts of chronic surveillance and political repression.

Received December 1, 2025; revised February 9, 2026, and March 6, 2026; accepted March 27, 2026
electronically published July 2026.

Journal on Education in Emergencies, Vol. 11, No. 1.

Copyright © 2026 by the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE).

ISSN 2518-6833

INTRODUCTION

Ethical data practices are a growing concern in education in emergencies (EiE), particularly as education programming increasingly relies on digital and remote modalities. In humanitarian and conflict-affected settings, routine program activities, such as enrollment, online course delivery, and monitoring and evaluation, require collecting and storing learner data. When these practices are poorly aligned with the context, they can unintentionally expose participants to risk (Shanks and Paulson 2022; Mena and Hilhorst 2022).

These risks are especially acute in Afghanistan following the Taliban's return to power in 2021. Access to education, particularly for women, has been sharply restricted, and participation in learning programs has become politically sensitive (Human Rights Watch 2025). Adult learners face limited digital access, mobility constraints, and heightened surveillance, which means that even basic education data, such as names, contact details, or course submissions, can carry social or security consequences. In this environment, ethical failures in handling data are not abstract concerns but potential sources of harm.

In this field note we observe that, in highly restrictive and surveilled environments, ethical data stewardship must be treated as a core dimension of program design rather than as a downstream compliance requirement. Drawing on field experience from an online professional development program for adult learners in Afghanistan, we demonstrate how decisions about data collection, access, and use shaped learners' safety, participation, and trust throughout the program lifecycle.

While the existing EiE literature has addressed trauma-informed education and ethical considerations in distance learning, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic, less attention has been paid to how routine data practices operate as sites of risk in contexts of chronic surveillance and political repression. We offer concrete examples of how data stewardship decisions were integrated into recruitment, instruction, monitoring, and evaluation, and reflect critically on the tensions that emerged between accountability requirements and participant protection.

We proceed by situating this approach within the relevant EiE and distance-learning literature, then describe the program context and design. We conclude with a critical reflection on lessons learned and implications for future EiE programming in similarly high-risk settings.

THE AFGHANISTAN CONTEXT

Since August 2021, following the Taliban's return to power, Afghanistan has undergone significant political and institutional transformation (Khan and Khan 2024). Governance structures have been reconfigured, civic space has narrowed, and regulatory expectations remain fluid and are inconsistently enforced. Activities related to education, particularly those involving international actors, may be socially or politically sensitive (Human Rights Watch 2025). Within this environment that is shaped by uncertainty and potential scrutiny, individuals must assess the visibility and perceived acceptability of their actions, including participation in learning programs.

Access to education in Afghanistan has been profoundly affected. Policy changes and institutional restructuring have disrupted secondary, higher, and professional education systems and narrowed the pathways for learning, credentialing, and employment (UNICEF 2024). These effects have been uneven: women have been formally barred from formal education and excluded from most formal employment (Anonymous Author 1, Anonymous Author 2, and Shayan 2025; UNESCO 2023), while other learners face reduced access to institutions and increased uncertainty around permissible forms of study. Despite this, the demand for continued learning persists, particularly among adults seeking to maintain their skills and professional relevance. Participation is often private, intermittent, and shaped by the perceived risk and need to limit visibility (Azimi, Ebrahemi, and Merzaee 2025).

Infrastructure constraints further complicate engagement. Internet access is uneven and often low bandwidth, electricity outages are frequent, and many learners must share devices (World Bank 2023). These conditions affect access, privacy, and willingness to engage, making digital learning both a critical opportunity and a potential source of exposure. These overlapping structural, social, and technological constraints create a context in which participation in education is fragile, contingent, and shaped by considerations that extend beyond access alone.

TRAUMA-INFORMED CARE AND DATA STEWARDSHIP IN EiE

Trauma-informed care (TIC) has gained increasing attention in the field of education in emergencies (EiE) as a framework for engaging learners in contexts shaped by conflict, displacement, and chronic instability (Elkins et al. 2023; Erickson and Harvey 2023). TIC recognizes that exposure to crisis and prolonged stress can shape how individuals perceive risk, engage with institutions, and participate in learning. Importantly, trauma-informed approaches do not assume clinical trauma or require the provision of mental health services (Edelman 2023; Stone et al. 2025). Rather, they function as a preventive and ethical orientation that centers on safety, trustworthiness, collaboration, empowerment, peer support, and cultural and historical awareness.

Within EiE practice, trauma-informed principles have most often been applied to pedagogy, learner engagement, and staff behavior, with an emphasis on flexible instruction, supportive relationships, and psychologically safe learning environments (Anderson et al. 2022). Less attention has been paid to how trauma-informed principles might shape data practices, even though monitoring, evaluation, and digital data collection are now routine components of education programming in crisis settings.

Ethical guidance for data collection in humanitarian and fragile contexts emphasizes informed consent, confidentiality, data minimization, and secure storage (Shanks and Paulson 2022; Mena and Hilhorst 2022). These principles are designed to protect participants from harm and prevent misuse of information. In practice, however, data ethics are often treated as a technical or compliance-oriented concern, rather than as an experiential issue shaped by power, fear, and uncertainty.

In highly surveilled or politically restrictive environments, participation in education programs and participation in data collection are frequently inseparable (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2019). Enrollment, attendance tracking, learning management systems, and feedback mechanisms all require the creation and storage of personal information. When these processes fail to account for learners' lived realities, data practices can inadvertently reproduce experiences of surveillance, reinforce power imbalances, or expose participants to social or political risk. This suggests a need to connect ethical data stewardship more explicitly with trauma-informed approaches that anticipate harm, rather than responding to it after the fact (Guevara et al. 2021).

This literature suggests an unresolved tension in EiE practice. On the one hand, programs are expected to generate data for accountability, learning, and improvement. On the other hand, data collection itself can create risk in contexts characterized by instability, restricted civic space, and surveillance. Trauma-informed care offers a framework for navigating this tension by extending ethical attention beyond instructional interactions to include how information about learners is requested, interpreted, stored, and shared.

With growing recognition of trauma-informed pedagogy and ethical data practices as distinct areas of inquiry, their intersection remains underdocumented in the EiE practice-based literature (Montero and Al Zouhouri 2022). With this field note, we contribute to closing the gap by examining how trauma-informed principles can be operationalized through ethical data stewardship across program design, delivery, and monitoring in a high-risk context.

DESCRIPTION OF THE APPROACH

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

In 2023, a donor organization funded the implementation of an online professional education program for adults residing in Afghanistan, whose access to formal education and employment had been severely constrained. The program was designed to support professional continuity in a context of educational exclusion by enabling participants to maintain and strengthen their skills, preserve professional networks, and signal their readiness for future employment opportunities when conditions would allow.

The program offered a series of stackable online courses that culminated in a professional certificate in high-demand fields, including business and entrepreneurship, information technology, education, law, and allied health sciences. While the certificate itself was largely symbolic—it represented participants' sustained engagement and completion of coursework—it was intended to support longer-term employability once access to education and work improves.

More than 400 learners participated in the program. They ranged in age from 20 to 42 and represented a mix of early and mid-career professionals. Approximately 60-70 percent of the participants identified as women. All participants resided in Afghanistan, with representation from both urban and rural areas. Eligibility criteria required the completion of at least some postsecondary education and at least one year of relevant professional experience.

At the outset, the program was guided by trauma-informed principles rather than a fully operationalized framework. These principles, which centered on safety, data minimization, participant agency, and harm reduction, were progressively translated into concrete practices as the program unfolded and as changes emerged within the context. This adaptive approach reflected recognition that program risks and participant needs in a fragile and conflict-affected setting could not be fully anticipated in advance.

The program sponsor and other stakeholders raised the possibility that individuals affiliated with the Taliban might apply to and be selected for the program. This concern emerged through formal risk discussions at the governance level, rather than through observed participant behavior. While this risk did not materialize during implementation, to the authors' knowledge, it could have emerged for participants who did not report it to the program team. Either way, anticipation of the risk informed precautionary design decisions related to data minimization, restricted access to personally identifying information, and limits on data sharing across stakeholders. These safeguards were intended to protect participants from unintended exposure rather than to monitor or screen for affiliation.

This section outlines the program activities and concrete actions taken to ensure data safety supported by trauma-informed principles.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

RECRUITMENT, APPLICATION, AND SELECTION

The core program activities reflected those of international scholarship and professional development initiatives typically supported by the implementing partner, including outreach and recruitment, application review by external panels, participant onboarding, and ongoing monitoring and evaluation. However, these activities were continually reviewed and adapted in response to emerging data and contextual risks.

During the recruitment phase, application data were monitored on a rolling basis. Within the first three weeks of the six-week application window, early review of applications revealed a pronounced gender imbalance, with women submitting significantly fewer applications than anticipated. This demographic skew served as a key signal that initial outreach strategies were not adequately reaching or reassuring women applicants. Adaptations improved gender balance without expanding data collection or increasing the visibility of individual learners, thus demonstrating how ethical, real-time data use can inform program decisions without increasing risk.

In response, the implementing partner and contractor adjusted recruitment strategies mid-cycle. Outreach efforts were redirected toward women-focused channels, including women's universities, professional women's associations, and trusted intermediaries embedded in women's networks. Recruitment communications were also revised to explicitly emphasize data minimization, anonymity options, and the absence of requirements for transcripts, letters of recommendation, or other documentation that could pose safety or security risks. Eligibility criteria and review standards were not altered; rather, the adaptation focused on reducing perceived barriers to participation and improving access for women without compromising selection integrity.

To reinforce data security during the recruitment and application phase, outreach materials were disseminated through secure messaging platforms like WhatsApp, and informational webinars were conducted in "webinar mode" to conceal participant identities. Recordings were made available asynchronously to accommodate limited connectivity and mitigate exposure risks. Application forms were intentionally designed to collect only essential information, with evaluation focused primarily on personal statements and work history, rather than requiring applicants to submit college transcripts or letters of reference that might otherwise expose them to risk. External reviewers accessed applications only through a password-protected cloud storage platform and were required to adhere to confidentiality and data-deletion protocols.

During participant onboarding, learners reviewed program terms and conditions through a secure submission portal that, to support use by those in low-bandwidth settings, did not include any graphics. The terms and conditions included clear information about what data would be collected, how it would be used, and which stakeholders would have access at each stage of the program.

INSTRUCTIONAL DESIGN, DELIVERY, AND PARTICIPANT SUPPORT

The program's data-informed approach extended to engagement with a third-party vendor responsible for course delivery and learning management. The vendor stored participant data as part of their standard operations, but they had limited prior experience working in conflict-affected settings. As a result, the implementing partner engaged in a series of capacity-building and negotiation-based discussions to align vendor practices with the program's trauma-informed and ethical data standards.

Specific adaptations included limiting the scope of the data shared with the vendor and restricting the use of participant family names. Learners who wished to have their full name appear on completion certificates were required to request this explicitly; otherwise, certificates were issued without family names. Additional contractual provisions were introduced to formalize data-protection expectations, and targeted training on trauma-informed approaches and participant data protection was conducted with both vendor staff and instructors. These measures were designed to reduce unnecessary data exposure and ensure a shared understanding of risk in the Afghan context.

Courses were delivered fully online and in English by subject-matter experts based outside Afghanistan. All courses were offered in an asynchronous session that was prerecorded by the instructors, with learner activities outlined in the learning management system. Live class discussion sessions were offered as an option. Given bandwidth issues, very few learners participated. Instructors were selected for their disciplinary expertise rather than prior experience working in Afghanistan. All instructors were informed that learners were participating from within Afghanistan and received guidance on trauma-informed and safety-conscious instructional practices.

To support safe participation, instructors were encouraged to allow participant anonymity during live and asynchronous sessions, avoid prompts that might elicit sensitive disclosures, and adapt to predictable challenges such as internet disruptions, power outages, and variation in education backgrounds. Participant onboarding emphasized protective practices, including using initials on online platforms, communicating through encrypted channels such as WhatsApp, and avoiding sharing personal or location-specific information in coursework or group discussions. Facilitators reinforced these practices throughout the program to support engagement while minimizing risk.

MONITORING AND EVALUATION ACTIVITIES

Monitoring and evaluation were embedded in the implementing partner's responsibilities and designed to align with trauma-informed and ethical data stewardship principles. Given the sensitivity of the context, evaluation activities prioritized learner autonomy, informed consent, and risk minimization from the outset. Participants were invited to engage in monitoring activities on a voluntary basis, with clear communication that participation or nonparticipation would not affect program access or standing.

Monitoring tools were intentionally limited in scope to reduce exposure, while still supporting learning and accountability. A brief application-stage survey was introduced to collect minimal demographic information and assess whether the program was reaching its intended audience, particularly women.

All survey instruments and feedback mechanisms were designed using trauma-informed and culturally responsive principles. Participation was optional, and learners could respond in text, audio, or video formats. Participants were explicitly informed that they could skip questions or withdraw at any time. Survey instructions included practical digital safety guidance, such as clearing browser cache and cookies, in recognition that many learners relied on shared household devices or operated in monitored environments.

To further reduce risk, the implementing partner provided guidance to help participants safeguard their identities during both coursework and evaluation activities. This was particularly important for learners residing in Afghanistan after the Taliban takeover, where visible participation in educational programming could result in harassment—or worse. Safeguarding practices included using initials and encrypted communication channels such as WhatsApp, and exercising discretion when publicly disclosing involvement in the program. For some participants, these strategies formalized precautions they were already taking in daily life. For others, especially those less familiar with digital security practices, the guidance provided concrete steps to reduce their visibility and exposure. Participant feedback suggested that explicitly discussing safety protocols increased their confidence in engaging with coursework and evaluation activities, even when underlying risks remained. In this way, data protection functioned not only as a compliance measure but as a relational practice that acknowledged shared vulnerability and distributed responsibility for safety.

Data custody and storage protocols were intentionally centralized and access restricted. Personally identifiable information was stored separately from survey responses, with unique identifiers used to enable limited linkage when necessary. Data were housed on encrypted, password-protected platforms, with two-factor authentication enabled, and access was restricted to a small number of designated staff within the implementing organization. Raw data were not shared externally; reporting to donors and partners

relied exclusively on aggregate or de-identified summaries. Data retention timelines were predefined, and identifying information was deleted once it was no longer operationally required.

The monitoring data were reviewed iteratively and shared only in aggregate or de-identified form. Instructors and program staff used this feedback to adjust course pacing, materials, and engagement strategies in response to learners' needs. Patterns of irregular attendance or temporary disengagement were interpreted through a trauma-informed lens that recognized security concerns, caregiving responsibilities, and connectivity disruptions, rather than treating participation variability as a deficit. Monitoring thus functioned as both an accountability tool and a protective and adaptive practice.

CRITICAL REFLECTION

This program illustrates how principles of ethical data stewardship can be operationalized in EiE settings through a trauma-informed approach across the program lifecycle. Key practices included minimizing the collection of personally identifiable information, ensuring informed consent for monitoring activities, and encrypting all data transfers. In a context marked by surveillance, political volatility, and gender-based restrictions, these measures were not ancillary safeguards but core program features necessary to protect learners, particularly women, whose participation carried elevated risk.

These precautions, however, introduced tradeoffs. Efforts to limit data collection and protect anonymity reduced the ability to track individual learning trajectories, measure longer-term outcomes, and conduct follow-up with participants. In some cases, reduced visibility also constrained opportunities for peer connection and network building. These limitations highlight a central tradeoff: protecting participant safety can limit both what programs are able to measure and what they are able to offer.

Despite these efforts, limitations to the program's success remained. Although more than 400 participants enrolled, only slightly more than half completed the full series of courses required to earn a certificate. Persistent technological constraints shaped participation, including intermittent or low-bandwidth internet, sharing household devices, and restrictions on using technology. Some learners reduced their engagement due to security concerns, caregiving and household responsibilities, or fear of visibility. While trauma-informed flexibility helped mitigate these barriers, it also complicated conventional definitions of success and required ongoing negotiation between accountability, learner safety, and program expectations.

Equitable recruitment proved especially challenging. Despite mid-course adjustments, structural barriers limited the program's reach, particularly among women with restricted mobility and access to information. In retrospect, earlier engagement with program partners may have strengthened outreach while preserving data protection. At the same time, data minimization constrained follow-up, which highlighted a persistent tension in crisis settings between learning objectives and ethical limits on data collection.

Several practical lessons emerged. First, data-informed decisionmaking must be integrated throughout recruitment, delivery, and evaluation, and must always be bounded by explicit risk assessments and participant consent. Second, learners benefit from concrete guidance on the secure use of technology, especially when operating in shared or monitored digital environments. Third, instructors and staff members require preparation, not only in trauma-informed pedagogy but also in trauma-informed data interpretation, including how to read irregular participation without pathologizing learners. Finally, programs should define evidence broadly by incorporating engagement patterns, learner reflections, and indicators of autonomy and perceived safety along with completion metrics.

Although this program was specific to Afghanistan, the lessons apply to other crisis-affected settings where distance learning intersects with surveillance, restricted civic space, or political risk. In this field note, we demonstrate how trauma-informed care can be operationalized through concrete data stewardship practices, which shows when and how programs must deliberately limit what they collect, analyze, and report to reduce harm. By foregrounding learner safety, agency, and context-sensitive practices, education initiatives can sustain meaningful learning opportunities when under extreme constraints, which demonstrates that ethical data restraint is not a weakness of evaluation but a necessary condition for responsible programming in EiE contexts. Programs facing similar challenges can apply these principles by systematically assessing which data are essential, embedding protective measures into every stage of engagement, and continually adapting practices in response to participants' real-time experiences.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This reflection is written from the perspective of the program's project director and evaluation lead, whose roles required balancing participant safety, instructional design, and responsible data management.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Kim M., Jasmine D. Haynes, Itunu Ilesanmi, and Norma E. Conner. 2022. "Teacher Professional Development on Trauma-Informed Care: Tapping into Students' Inner Emotional Worlds." *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk* 27 (1): 59-79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10824669.2021.1977132>.
- Anonymous Author 1, Anonymous Authors 2, and Nasar Ahmad Shayan. 2025. "Challenges and Prospects: Women's Education in Contemporary Afghanistan." *Frontiers in Global Women's Health* 6: 1477145. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fgwh.2025.1477145>.
- Azimi, Irfanullah, Mosa Ebrahemi, and Mohammad Jawad Merzaee. 2024. "Exploring the Impact of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) on Higher Education in Afghanistan: Opportunities, Challenges, and Policy Implications." *Journal of Education Research* 5 (1): 957-68. <https://doi.org/10.37985/jer.v5i1.993>.
- Dryden-Peterson, Sarah, Elizabeth Adelman, Michelle J. Bellino, and Vidur Chopra. 2019. "The Purposes of Refugee Education: Policy and Practice of Including Refugees in National Education Systems." *Sociology of Education* 92 (4): 346-66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040719863054>.
- Edelman, Natalie. "Doing Trauma-Informed Work in a Trauma-Informed Way: Understanding Difficulties and Finding Solutions." *Health Services Insights* 16: 1-5. <https://doi.org/10.1177/11786329231215037>.
- Elkins, Kelly M., Samuel Gerald Collins, Teresa Valais, and Patricia Westerman. 2023. "Unlocking Barriers to Learning: Trauma-Informed Faculty Professional Development." *The Journal of Faculty Development* 37 (2): 90-94.
- Erickson, Melissa, and Trish Harvey. 2023. "A Framework for a Structured Approach for Formulating a Trauma-Informed Environment." *Journal of Education* 203 (3): 666-77. <http://doi.org/10.1177/00220574211046811>.
- Meléndez, Guevara Ana Maria, Sarah Lindstrom Johnson, Kit Elam, Tristyn Rivas, Hannah Berendzen, and Diana E. Gal-Szabo. 2021. "What Does It Mean to Be Trauma-Informed? A Multi-System Perspective from Practitioners Serving the Community." *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 30 (11): 2860-76. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-021-02094-z>.

- Human Rights Watch. 2025. "Afghanistan: Events of 2024." Accessed December 1, 2025. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/afghanistan>.
- Khan, Mansoor Ahmad, and Muhammad Tahir Khan. 2024. "Taliban Retaking of Afghanistan: The Challenges Ahead." In *The Uncertain Future of Afghanistan: Terrorism, Reconstruction, and Great-Power Rivalry*, edited by Nian Peng and Khalid Rahman, 33-61. Springer Nature Singapore.
- Mena, Rodrigo, and Dorothea Hilhorst. 2022. "Ethical Considerations of Disaster Research in Conflict-Affected Areas." *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 31 (3): 304-18. <https://doi.org/10.1108/DPM-03-2021-0075>.
- Montero, M. Kristiina, and Aphrodite Al Zouhour. 2022. "Fear Not the Trauma Story: A Trauma-Informed Perspective to Supporting War-Affected Refugees in Schools and Classrooms." In *English and Students with Limited or Interrupted Formal Education: Global Perspectives on Teacher Preparation and Classroom Practices*, edited by Luis Javier Pentón Herrera, 83-100. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86963-2_6.
- Shanks, Kelsey, and Julia Paulson. 2022. "Ethical Research Landscapes in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Contexts: Understanding the Challenges." *Research Ethics* 18 (3): 169-92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17470161221109>.
- Stone, Tracey, Emily Eyles, Thomas Traub, Jason Burrowes, Rebecca Halsley, S. J. M., Joanna Gillam et al. 2025. "Trauma-Informed Principles in Practice: A Mixed-Method Study of Co-Producing Systems Change with People Who Have Experienced Multiple Disadvantage." *Health Expectations* 28 (6): e70472. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hex.70472>.
- World Bank. 2023. *Afghanistan Development Update: Uncertainty after Fleeting Stability*. World Bank and Afghanistan Futures. <https://thedocs.worldbank.org/en/doc/210d5f24dc33a3460beff3447fceadcf-0310012023/original/Afghanistan-Development-Update-20231003-final.pdf>.