

Statistics about domestic violence

Incidence and prevalence of domestic violence: General

- There are **no reliable national data** on the general incidence of domestic violence in the UK¹.
- In 2011/12, 7.3% women (1.2 million) and 5% men (800,000) report having experienced domestic abuse².
- 31% women and 18% men have experienced domestic abuse since the age of 16 years. This amounts to **5 million women** and 2.9 million men³.
- Domestic violence has repeatedly been identified as a major factor leading to **death** in or related to **pregnancy and childbirth**: see below.
- In 2011/12, the police reported nearly **800,000 incidents** of domestic violence⁴.
- Domestic violence accounts for **10% of emergency calls**⁵.
- Domestic violence has consistently accounted for between **16% and one quarter** of all recorded violent crime⁶.
- There has been a **65% increase** in number of domestic violence **prosecutions** between 2005/6 and 2010/11 and a corresponding 99% increase in number of defendants convicted⁷.
- Despite this, domestic violence **conviction rates** in the five years to 2011 stood at just **6.5% of incidents reported to police** – though a much higher proportion of around **70% of those charged**⁸.
- **Women** are much more likely than men to be the victim of **multiple incidents of abuse**, of different types of domestic abuse (partner abuse, family abuse, sexual assault and stalking) and in particular of **sexual violence**⁹.

¹ Hester, 2008.

² Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2013.

³ This is a smaller proportion of the population than identified by Sylvia Walby and Jonathan Allen in their analysis of the BCS 2011. (Walby and Allen, 2004) They concluded that 45% women and 26% men had experienced at least one incident of inter-personal violence in their lifetimes, and that women were much more likely than men to be the victim of multiple incidents of abuse. This discrepancy could be due, at least in part, to methodological and definitional differences.

⁴ ONS, 2013. The police record domestic abuse incidents in accordance with the National Standard for Incident Recording (NSIR) but they are not accredited national statistics and hence not subject to the same level of quality assurance as in the main recorded crime collection. In the year reported on here, the police did not record incidents of domestic violence where the victim was 16 or 17 years.

⁵ From Labour party under Freedom of Information requests February 2013.

⁶ Home Office, 2004; Dodd et al., 2004; BCS, 1998; Dobash and Dobash, 1980.

⁷ CPS, 2011.

⁸ Watson, 2010; CPS, 2011; CPS 2012.

⁹ Walby and Allen, 2004.

- On average **2 women a week are killed** by a male partner or former partner: this constitutes around one-third of all female homicide victims¹⁰.
- The prevalence of domestic violence is greater among young women (under 24 years), and those who have a long-term illness of disability¹¹.

Sexual violence

- 1 in 5 women (20%) have been victim of sexual abuse since the age of 16¹².
- There are around **500,000 victims of sexual assault** each year, 85%-90% of whom are women.
- 1 in 20 women report being victim of a serious sexual offence (i.e, rape or assault involving penetration) since the age of 16, and 0.5% in the past year.
- **90%** of the victims of the most serious offences knew their perpetrator, and **56% were partners/ex-partners**¹³.
- Only 15% of victims said they had reported offences to the police.
- The police recorded a total of 53,700 sexual offences across England and Wales, 71% of which were rape of serious sexual assault.
- In 2011, 2,873 men were prosecuted for rape and 40% (1153) were convicted¹⁴.
- While the majority of adults questioned did not think victims were ever responsible for someone sexually assaulting them, 1 in 12 thought the victim was “completely” or “mostly” responsible if she was under the influence of drugs, 6% thought this if she was drunk, and 7% if she had been flirting heavily beforehand.

¹⁰ Coleman and Osborne, 2010; Povey, ed. 2004, 2005; Home Office, 1999; Department of Health, 2005.

¹¹ ONS, 2013.

¹² Figures in this section are taken primarily from Ministry of Justice, Home Office and Office for National Statistics (January 2013) *An overview of sexual offending in England and Wales* (London: MoJ, Home Office and ONS)

<http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/statistics/criminal-justice-stats/sexual-offending/sexual-offending-overview-jan-2013.pdf>

¹³ See also Walby and Allen (2004) who found that 54% of UK rapes are committed by a woman's current or former partner.

¹⁴ CPS (2012) *Violence against women and girls crime report 2011/12* (London: CPS)

Gender differences

- Research consistently shows that **more women than men** are or have been victims of violence and abuse from an intimate partner/former partner. However, due to different definitions and different methodologies, the degree of difference varies considerably.
- The difference between men's and women's experiences of domestic violence are greater when asked about their **lifetime experiences** than for experiences of violence and abuse during the last year¹⁵.
- Female victims of intimate partner violence experienced **more severe violence** and control, with **more serious psychological consequences**, than did male victims; and women were much more likely to be **fearful** of their partners¹⁶.
- 32% of women who had ever experienced domestic violence did so four or more times, compared with 11% of the (smaller number) of men who had ever experienced domestic violence; and women constituted 89% of all those who had experienced 4 or more incidents of domestic violence¹⁷.
- Men are significantly more likely than women to be **repeat perpetrators** of violence.
- Intensity and severity of violence used by men was more extreme, men being more likely to use physical violence, threats, and harassment¹⁸.
- Men's violence creates a context a **fear and control** – this is not usually so for women's violence.
- It is important to distinguish between the different types of intimate partner violence in order to understand, intervene effectively in individual cases, or make useful policy recommendations: **"intimate terrorism"**, **"violent resistance"**, **"situational couple violence"**, and **"mutual violent control"** have "different causes, different patterns of development, different consequences, and require different forms of intervention"¹⁹.
- Population surveys (e.g. BCS/CSEW) are likely to be dominated by reports of "situational couple violence", and include fewer examples of "intimate terrorism" and/or "coercive control"²⁰, due to their focus on **incidents** and on "crime".

¹⁵ Hester, M., 2010.

¹⁶ Ansara, *et al.*, 2010, 2011.

¹⁷ Walby and Allen, 2004; see also Coleman *et al.*, 2007.

¹⁸ Hester, M., 2009. These figures do not include sexual violence, which is also much more likely to be part of male violence to female partners.

¹⁹ Johnson, M.P., 2006.

²⁰ Stark, 2007.

- With (heterosexual) men, there is evidence that **the distinction between “victim” and “perpetrator” is often blurred**: of 171 men referred to one project for male victims, more than one-third had a history of perpetrating domestic violence²¹. And follow-up interviews with men reporting abuse in the Scottish Crime Survey also indicated that a significant proportion were either primary perpetrators, or engaged in mutual violence with their partners²².
- A study specifically seeking male victims found that only a minority of men abused within heterosexual relationships were apparently the primary perpetrator (8 out of 22 cases) and none of them had experienced sexual abuse from their partners²³.
- A study based on reports to police, (taking account of context and consequences, and reflecting the view that domestic violence is a pattern of behaviour over time) found that in only **5% of cases** were female perpetrators in heterosexual relationships²⁴.

Calls to the National Domestic Violence Helpline

- The Freephone 24-Hour National Domestic Violence Helpline (run in partnership between Women’s Aid and Refuge) received just over a quarter of million calls during its first 12 months.
- During 2011-12, the National Helpline received an average of 445 calls per day, 78% were answered.

Forced marriage

- Statistics from the Forced Marriage Unit show that between January and December **2011**, the unit dealt with **1,468 cases**, a significant increase since 2007, when 400 cases were undertaken.
- **86 applications under the Forced Marriage Act** were brought nationally during 2009, and this number also seems to be rising²⁵.
- In one study of south Asian women who had accessed specialist BAMER domestic violence services, **21%** of women had experienced forced marriage – though only one of these had applied for a Forced Marriage Protection Order under the Act²⁶.

²¹ Robinson and Rowlands, 2006.

²² Gadd, *et al.*, 2003; Gadd, *et al.*, 2002) See also Carnell, 2008.

²³ Hester, *et al.*, 2012.

²⁴ Hester, 2009.

²⁵ Chokowry, *et al.*, 2011.

²⁶ Thiara and Roy, 2010.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

- Estimates from FORWARD show that around 66,000 women resident in England and Wales had been subjected to **female genital mutilation**²⁷.

Types of violence

- Since the age of 16, partner abuse (non-sexual) was the most commonly experienced type of intimate violence among both men and women. 28% of women and 17% of men reported having experienced such abuse²⁸.
- In the last 12 months stalking was the most commonly experienced type of intimate violence with 9% of women and 7% of men reported having experienced it in the last year²⁹.
- Nearly half of women (48%) who had experienced intimate partner violence since the age of 16 had experienced **more than one type of intimate violence**. Men were less likely to have experienced multiple forms of intimate violence (33%)³⁰.
- Serious sexual assault was most likely to be committed by someone known to the victim (89% of female and 83% of male victims). Just over half (54%) of female victims reported that a partner or ex-partner had been the offender³¹.
- Just under a quarter of women (23%) reported having experienced stalking since the age of 16. Obscene or threatening phone calls or letters were the most common types of stalking behaviour experienced³².
- Around one in ten women (12%) had been victims of non-sexual family abuse³³.
- 16% of women who had been a victim of any type of partner abuse had experienced **sexual assault** and 26% had experienced **stalking** by a partner³⁴.
- Many victims of partner abuse had experienced more than one type of intimate violence by a partner³⁵.
- In one study of South Asian women using specialist BAMER domestic violence services, over 40% had been in the violent relationship for 5 years

²⁷ Foundation for Women's Health, Research and Development - FORWARD.

²⁸ Coleman, *et al.*, 2007.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

or more, and for most of these, the abuse was a regular and frequent occurrence. The majority had experienced a **wide variety of kinds of abuse**, often from **multiple perpetrators** and various family members³⁶.

Nature and Impact

- A study of 200 women's experiences of domestic violence commissioned by Women's Aid, found that 60% of the women had left because they feared that they or their children would be killed by the perpetrator³⁷.
- In the same study, 76% of separated women suffered post-separation violence. Of these women:
 - 76% were subjected to continued verbal and emotional abuse;
 - 41% were subjected to serious threats towards themselves or their children;
 - 23% were subjected to physical violence;
 - 6% were subjected to sexual violence;
 - 36% stated that this violence was ongoing.In addition to this, more than half of those with post-separation child contact arrangements with an abusive ex-partner continued to have serious, ongoing problems with this contact³⁸.
- Women are at greatest risk of homicide at the point of separation or after leaving a violent partner³⁹.
- 42% of all female homicide victims, compared with 4% of male homicide victims, were killed by current or former partners in England and Wales in the year 2000/01. This equates to 102 women, an average of 2 women each week⁴⁰.
- In a study by Shelter, 40% of all homeless women stated that domestic violence was a contributor to their homelessness. Domestic violence was found to be "the single most quoted reason for becoming homeless"⁴¹.
- **Repeat victimisation** is common. **44%** are victimised more than once, and almost one in five (18%) are victimised three or more times⁴². An earlier British Crime Survey found even higher rates of repeat victimisation: 57%⁴³.
- Men are less likely to have been repeat victims of domestic assault, less likely to be seriously injured and less likely to report feeling fearful in their own homes⁴⁴.

³⁶ Thiara and Roy, 2010.

³⁷ Humphreys & Thiara, 2002.

³⁸ Humphreys & Thiara, 2002.

³⁹ Lees, 2000.

⁴⁰ Home Office, 2001.

⁴¹ Cramer and Carter, 2002.

⁴² Dodd, *et al.*, 2004.

⁴³ Home Office, July 2002.

⁴⁴ Scottish Executive Central Research Unit, 2002.

- Nearly 1 in 5 counselling sessions held in Relate Centres in England on 28/9/00 mentioned domestic violence as an issue in the marriage⁴⁵.

Health consequences of domestic violence

- Violence against women has serious consequences for their physical and mental health, and women who have experienced abuse from her partner may suffer from or chronic health problems of various kinds⁴⁶.
- Abused women are more likely to suffer from depression, anxiety, psychosomatic systems, eating problems and sexual dysfunction. Violence may also affect their reproductive health⁴⁷.
- **70%** of incidents of domestic violence result in **injury**, (compared with 50% of incidents of acquaintance violence, 48% of stranger violence and 29% of mugging.)⁴⁸
- **75%** of cases of domestic violence result in physical injury or mental health consequences to women⁴⁹.
- The cost of treating **physical health** of victims of domestic violence, (including hospital, GP, ambulance, prescriptions) is £1,220,247,000, i.e. 3% of total NHS budget⁵⁰.
- The cost of treating **mental disorder** due to domestic violence is £176,000,000⁵¹.
- Between 50% and 60% of women mental health service users have experienced domestic violence, and up to 20% will be experiencing current abuse⁵².
- Domestic violence and other abuse is the most prevalent cause of depression and other mental health difficulties in women⁵³.
- 70% women psychiatric in-patients and 80% of those in secure settings have histories of physical or sexual abuse⁵⁴.
- Domestic violence commonly results in self-harm and attempted suicide: one-third of women attending emergency departments for self-harm were

⁴⁵ Stanko, 2000.

⁴⁶ Stark and Flitcraft, 1996; Williamson, 2000; British Medical Association, 1998; Crisp and Stanko, 2001.

⁴⁷ World Health Organisation, 2000.

⁴⁸ Dodd, *et al.*, 2004.

⁴⁹ Home Office, 2001.

⁵⁰ Walby, 2004.

⁵¹ Walby, 2004.

⁵² Department of Health, 2003; Bowstead, J., 2000; ReSisters, 2002.

⁵³ Astbury, 1999; O'Keane, 2000; Humphreys, 2003; Humphreys and Thiara, 2003; Vidgeon, 2003.

⁵⁴ Phillips, 2000; Department of Health, 2002.

domestic violence survivors; abused women are five times more likely to attempt suicide; and one third of all female suicide attempts can be attributed to current or past experience of domestic violence⁵⁵.

Pregnancy and childbirth

- **30%** of domestic violence **starts** in pregnancy⁵⁶.
- Domestic violence has been identified as a **prime cause of miscarriage or still-birth**⁵⁷.
- Domestic violence is also a major factor leading to **death in or related to pregnancy** and childbirth: during the three years 2006-08, 34 of the 261 women who died around the time of giving birth showed signs of domestic abuse (13%) – eleven of these having been murdered by partners or family members⁵⁸- and previous reports indicate an even higher proportion of deaths in childbirth being related to domestic abuse⁵⁹.
- Between **4 and 9 women in every 100** are abused during their pregnancies and/or after the birth⁶⁰.
- Legally, if a miscarriage is caused by abuse, the assailant can be charged under S.58 of the Offences against the Person Act, “using an instrument with intent to cause a miscarriage⁶¹.”
- If a baby is born prematurely as a result of an assault, and then dies, the assailant may be charged with manslaughter⁶².
- One study in the USA found a significant relationship between pregnancy, domestic violence, and suicide: pregnant women who attempt suicide are very likely to have been abused⁶³.
- In one study, 23% of women receiving care on antenatal and postnatal wards had a lifetime experience of domestic violence, and 3% had experienced violence in the current pregnancy⁶⁴.

⁵⁵ Stark and Flitcraft, 1996; Mullender, 1996.

⁵⁶ Lewis and Drife, 2001, 2005; McWilliams and McKiernan, 1993.

⁵⁷ Mezey, 1997.

⁵⁸ CMACE, 2011. See also Lewis and Drife, 2001, 2005.

⁵⁹ 14% of the women whose deaths were investigated by the 2002-4 Confidential Enquiry were known to have experienced domestic violence – and this was likely to be an underestimate (CEMACH, 2006). 11 of these were murdered by their partners. And the 2003-2005 Confidential Enquiry into Maternal and Child Health (CEMACH, 2007) reported that 19 pregnant or recently delivered women were murdered by their partners, and 70 out of 295 women who died from all causes (24%) had information consistent with experience of domestic violence documented in their maternity records.

⁶⁰ Taft, 2002.

⁶¹ See *Bristol Evening Post* 18th December 2004, report on Nycoma Edwards whose assault on his girlfriend led to miscarrying at 4 and half months.

⁶² See report from July 2000 of a Carlyle case where assault resulted in birth of baby (born at 8 and a half months by caesarean section).

⁶³ Stark and Flitcraft, 1996.

- Routine enquiry about domestic violence in maternity settings is **accepted by women**, provided it is conducted in a safe confidential environment. A pilot project in Leeds found that 92% of women questioned were in favour of routine enquiry. (Price 2004; Leeds Inter-agency Project, 2005).

Impact of Domestic Violence on Children

- At least **750,000 children a year** witness domestic violence⁶⁵.
- Children who live with domestic violence are at increased risk of behavioural problems and emotional trauma, and mental health difficulties in adult life⁶⁶.
- Nearly three quarters of children on the 'at risk' register live in households where domestic violence occurs and 52% of child protection cases involving domestic violence⁶⁷.
- In 75% to 90% of incidents of domestic violence, **children** are in the same or the next room⁶⁸.
- The link between child physical abuse and domestic violence is high, with estimates ranging between 30% to 66% depending upon the study⁶⁹.
- **70%** of children living in UK refuges have been abused by their father⁷⁰.
- A survey of 130 abused parents found that **76%** of the 148 children ordered by the courts to have contact with their estranged parent were said to have been abused during visits: 10% were sexually abused; 15% were physically assaulted; 26% were abducted or involved in an abduction attempt; 36% were neglected during contact, and 62% suffered emotional harm. Most of these children were under the age of 5⁷¹.
- Information received from local Family Court Welfare Services suggests that **domestic violence is present in almost 50% of cases**, where a welfare report is ordered⁷².
- 30% of all Children Act cases involve domestic violence and between 50% and 60% of CAFCASS caseload is domestic violence – and these figures increase each year, as domestic violence is better identified⁷³.

⁶⁴ Bacchus, 2004.

⁶⁵ Department of Health, 2002.

⁶⁶ Kolbo, *et al.*, 1996; Morley and Mullender, 1994; Hester *et al.*, 2000, 2007.

⁶⁷ Department of Health, 2002; Farmer and Owen, 1995.

⁶⁸ Hughes, 1992; Abrahams, 1994.

⁶⁹ Hester *et al.*, 2000, 2007; Edleson, 1999; Humphreys & Thiara, 2002.

⁷⁰ Bowker *et al.*, 1998.

⁷¹ Radford, Sayer & AMICA, 1999.

⁷² Association of Chief Officers of Probation, 1999.

⁷³ From evidence given to the Home Affairs S.lect Committee, January 2008, as reported in *Family aw* March 2008, Vol. 38, p.270

- In a survey of domestic violence service providers, Women’s Aid found that **48%** stated that adequate safety measures are **not** being taken to ensure the safety of the child and the resident parent before, during and after contact⁷⁴. Two years later, **only 3%** said they believed that appropriate measures were now being taken to ensure safety⁷⁵.
- Respondents to the same survey (May 2003) reported cases since April 2001 in which a total of **18 children** were ordered to have contact with a parent who had committed offences against children (Schedule 1 offenders); **64** children were ordered to have contact with a parent whose behaviour had previously caused that child to be put on the Child Protection Register; and **21** of these children were ordered to have **unsupervised contact** with the perpetrator⁷⁶.
- **46%** of respondents knew of cases where a violent parent had used contact proceedings to track down his partner⁷⁷.
- **29 children** in 13 families were **killed** between 1994 and 2004 as a result of contact arrangements in England and Wales, 10 of them since 2002. In five of these families contact was ordered by the court⁷⁸.
- In the year 2001, there were 55,743 applications for contact orders under the Children Act 1989. Of those, only 713 (1.3%) were refused. (Lord Chancellor’s Department, 2002).

Police

- Every minute in the UK, the police receive a call from the public for assistance for domestic violence. This leads to police receiving an estimated **1,300 calls each day** or over 570,000 each year⁷⁹.
- However, only a minority of incidents of domestic violence are reported to the police, varying between 23%⁸⁰ and 35%⁸¹.

Attitudes to violence (young people)

- Many young people view violence as a normal aspect of intimate relationships⁸².

⁷⁴ Saunders, 2001

⁷⁵ Saunders with Barron, 2003.

⁷⁶ Saunders with Barron, 2003.

⁷⁷ Saunders with Barron, 2003.

⁷⁸ Saunders, 2004.

⁷⁹ Stanko, 2000.

⁸⁰ Walby and Allen, 2004.

⁸¹ Home Office, 2002; see also ONS, 2013; British Crime Survey, 1998; Dodd, et al., 2004.

⁸² Wood, et al., 2011.

- Nearly a quarter of young people in one study in Wiltshire believed that ‘sometimes’ abuse or violence was OK, with a small proportion, 1.4%, stating it was ‘always’ OK⁸³.
- This is consistent with an earlier study which found that 1 in 5 young men and 1 in 10 young women think that abuse or violence against women is acceptable⁸⁴.

Cost of domestic violence

- The cost of **physical healthcare** treatment resulting from domestic violence, (including hospital, GP, ambulance, prescriptions) is £1,220,247,000, i.e. 3% of total NHS budget⁸⁵.
- The cost of treating **mental disorder** due to domestic violence is £176,000,000⁸⁶.
- The **overall costs** of domestic violence are estimated to be £15,730,000,000.p.a⁸⁷.

International statistics

- International comparisons are difficult due to the **lack of internationally agreed statistical standards**, and the use of different approaches, definitions, sample designs, and questions.
- Violence against women has become an issue of international concern and human rights, and domestic violence (or intimate partner violence) is mostly seen within this context⁸⁸.
- Domestic violence occurs in all countries, and the “overwhelming burden of partner violence is borne by women at the hands of men.”⁸⁹
- Abuse by a partner is much more common than physical or sexual violence from a stranger: in most countries, over 75% of women who had ever experienced physical or sexual abuse (since age 15) reported abuse by a partner⁹⁰.

⁸³ Wiltshire Assembly Community Safety Partnership, 2009.

⁸⁴ Burton, S. *et al.*, 1998. See also Kinsella, 2006.

⁸⁵ Walby, 2004, p.53.

⁸⁶ Walby, 2004.

⁸⁷ Walby, 2009.

⁸⁸ See for example, Amnesty International, 2004.

⁸⁹ Krug, et al., (ed.) 2002, p.89; see also Garcia-Moreno, et al., 2005.

⁹⁰ Garcia-Moreno, *et al.*, 2005.

- Across Europe, domestic violence is the major cause of death and disability for women aged 16 to 44 and accounts for more death and ill-health than cancer or traffic accidents⁹¹.
- An analysis of 10 separate domestic violence prevalence studies by the Council of Europe showed consistent findings: **1 in 4 women** experience domestic violence over their lifetimes, and between 6-10% of women suffer domestic violence in a given year⁹².
- In one study by the World Health Organisation, domestic violence was found to be widespread in all 10 countries studied, though there was considerable variation between countries, and between cities and rural areas⁹³.
- UN figures also show considerable variation between countries, from 6% of women in China experiencing physical violence from an intimate partner over their lifetimes, to 48% or more of women in Zambia, Ethiopia and Peru⁹⁴.
- In almost all countries, younger women (24 years or under) were most likely to experience physical abuse from an intimate partner⁹⁵.
- Partner violence accounts for a high proportion of homicides of women internationally: between 40% - 70% of female murder victims (depending on the country) were killed by their partners/former partners, whereas the comparable figure for men is 4% - 8%⁹⁶.
- Domestic violence is internationally acknowledged to be one of the health inequalities affecting women particularly, and forms a significant obstacle to their receiving effective health care⁹⁷.
- Higher rates of violence against women are found in countries where women's status is lowest⁹⁸ - i.e. where there are marked inequalities between men and women, rigid gender roles, cultural norms that support a man's right to sex regardless of a woman's feelings, and weak sanctions against such behaviour; e.g. in Peru, 70% of all crimes reported to the police involve women beaten by their husbands.
- Although violence against women and girls is prevalent everywhere, there is considerable variation between countries, and between cities and rural areas within countries⁹⁹. Higher rates of violence against women are

⁹¹ Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, 2002.

⁹² Council of Europe, 2002.

⁹³ Garcia-Moreno, C., *et al.*, 2005.

⁹⁴ United Nations, 2010.

⁹⁵ United Nations, 2010.

⁹⁶ Krug *et al.* 2002.

⁹⁷ World Health Organisation, 1997; United Nations, 1993.

⁹⁸ Harvey *et al.*, 2007; Krug, *et al.*, ed., 2002.

⁹⁹ See Garcia-Moreno *et al.*, (2005) *op.cit.*

found in countries where women's status is lowest¹⁰⁰; e.g. in Peru, 70% of all crimes reported to the police involve women beaten by their husbands.

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¹⁰⁰ Harvey et al. (2007) *Primary prevention of intimate partner violence and sexual violence: Background paper for WHO expert meeting* (Geneva: World Health Organisation)

¹⁰¹ Krug, et al., *ibid.*

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