

UDC 316

DOI [https://doi.org/10.20535/2308-5053.2020.1\(45\).226352](https://doi.org/10.20535/2308-5053.2020.1(45).226352)

A CROSS CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA AND SOCIAL WORK INTERVENTION

Tracy B.E. Omorogiuwa,

PhD

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8675-7180

Sarah Amas,

Department of Social Work

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Benin

The issue of violence phenomenon is noticeable within our environments, and has leans strongly on the foundations of gender bias, customary cum as well as traditional stance, which are deeply aligned with the orthodoxly patriarchal template that rules in many communities and societies, such as Nigeria. Utilizing the quantitative approach and adopting the survey research design, this study examines the public a cross cultural analysis of intimate partner violence and the social work intervention measures as panacea in addressing the menace. The population of the study consists of both dating and married couples and social workers. Employing the simple random sampling method, a sample of 80 couples and 20 social workers, giving a total of 100 participants were selected from Edo and Delta States of Nigeria. Two test score were correlated and their responses were subjected to Pearson moment correlation formula to obtain the reliability co-efficient of 0.86. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistic; mean and standard deviation at 2.5 criterion mean in order to determine a cross cultural analysis of intimate partner violence and the social work intervention. Findings reveal that intimate partner violence has deep cultural influences of family background, religious beliefs; up-bringing and negative cultural opinions about females, widespread social cultural impacts of physical injuries, mental, emotionally or psychologically influences on victims and their children. In addition, much need to be done, as social workers can help in early intervention for sufferers of IPV with a wide range of services including legal intervention, cultural supportive services; awareness campaign and counselling services to put an end to the scourge of intimate partner violence.

Key words: cross cultural, intervention, intimate partner, violence, social work.

Introduction. The problem of violence is in no way a recent occurrence in the life and reality of humans. Violence appears to be a sort of norm as there is hardly a day that goes without a reported incidence of violence or attack. This even becomes more glaring when you consider the World Health Organization [17], which declares violence a leading public health problem. Considering the various colorations that violence takes, it becomes understandable the reason why some forms of violence is labelled religious, ethnic or culturally influenced [11]. However, a cursory look at studies on violence would reveal that there are different typologies of violence ranging from physical violence; sexual violence; emotional violence; psychological violence; spiritual violence; cultural violence; verbal abuse; financial abuse; and neglect [13]. This phenomenon is noticeable within our environments and has always been a part of human history. Thus, this problem leans strongly on the foundations of gender bias, religious doctrines, customary cum traditional stance. All these foundations are deeply aligned with the orthodoxly patriarchal template that rules in many communities in developing countries, of which Nigeria is part. Thus, the stance of sharia law, and other groups, which may subtly endorse a man applying force on his wife, just to get a desired result may be permitted. Thus, the surveys provided by researchers point to a cultural acceptance or seeming endorsement of abuse [12, p. 1411]. This is a backdrop of a study on rural Egyptian women which showed that 81% of them approved of a husband using violence against his wife if she refused to have sex with him.

Many have myopically reduced the definition and understanding of violence to harm done physically or somatically to a person. A deeper look at the concept of violence will however reveal violence as much more

than that. So broadly speaking, violence can be described as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community that either results in or has high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation [16]. Furthermore, violence is perceived as the use of physical force, accompanied by fury, violence or outrage [3]. Thus, any threat or indecent assault, personal or economic intimidation, undue curtailment of freedom, any expression that reduces a person's dignity, any physical assaults, sexual abuse of any kind, etc., constitute manifestations of violence within the home, household or family etc. Most studies of domestic violence have been centred on men as perpetrators of violence; however, this is not to say that cases of men being victims of domestic violence does not exist [11]. It has been argued that domestic violence against men is most often unreported because of social norms and pressure against such reporting; those that do report often face 'social stigma' regarding their perceived lack of machismo and other denigrations of their masculinity [7].

Adewale [1] points out that although wife battering is worldwide phenomenon, it seems to be backed and accepted as part of our culture. This is reinforced by the sex role socialization of women, which encourages and emphasizes submissiveness. The victim of wife battering remains in the abusive environment because of lack of family and community support. Divorce is not always a viable alternative due to the stigma attached to it [13; 12]. Partner violence disclosure remained a difficult decision for many women because of the fear of retribution by the partners in form of more physical abuse and abandonment [6] habitually; there are some socio-cultural factors that promote gender-based violence as sex role socialization, political marginalization, lack of economic empowerment etc. For instance, the focus on male superiority, which was expressed, emphasized and sanctioned by a number of religious, culture and political organizations [1]. As a child, the female is taught to be passive, inconspicuous and emotionally dependent, whereas, the male child, very early in life is socialized to show less emotion and to be active and to demonstrate independence [1]. According to Oladepo, Yusuf and Arulogun [9] a woman might remain in an abusive relationship purely for economic reasons. She may be unskilled or unemployed as in the case of fulltime housewife. Also, fear of hunger, fear of raising children by herself, her self-esteem and confidence might have been crippled due to many years of battering.

Violence affects millions of women worldwide and it cut across all geographical, regional, national, religious and socio-economic barriers, impeding the woman's right to participate fully in the society [10]. The phenomenon of violence against women goes beyond racial or national borders; this is clearly proven by a survey conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [4], which estimated that an average of 22% of women have been victims of physical and/or sexual violence and 33% of women had experienced physical and/or sexual violence across countries, since age 15. It is also imperative to note that though as a global phenomenon, violence against women has eaten deep into the fabric of the family and society as a whole, to the extent that it is sometimes not seen as a societal ill, but rather accepted as a normal occurrence [13]. Socio-Ecological Model is adopted for this study, and it states that individual development and behaviours are the result of the interaction between social systems in which the person is engaged [7]. It thus, suggests that individual attitudes toward IPV are shaped by the interactions among individual, relationship, community, and societal factors. At the individual level, individuals possess a set of biological and personality traits and a personal history (e. g., religiosity) that shape his or her behaviours and interactions with other individuals, the broader community, and society [15]. At the relationship level, interactions occur between the individual and people close to him or her, such as their partner, peers, and relatives. Several characteristics of these interactions, such as parent's interactions, influence attitudes about violence [5]. Neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces are placed at the community level.

Statement of problem. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a serious and persistent life-threatening criminal and public health problem and it is prevalent in every socioeconomic, cultural group, regardless of race or ethnicity. Because of the pervasiveness of IPV, especially with women as the primary victim, it is not only a criminal justice and public health and cross-cultural crisis, but also has enormous child welfare implications [11]. Moreover, the emotional toll that the trauma of physical, sexual and psychological abuse takes on its survivors can last for a lifetime [8]. The harm done or committed by partners against their companions in intimate partner unions is often ignored as isolated incidences that should best be left within the confines of the home, or addressed as a private matters. In fact, cultural perception at time seems not really border to pay attention to the gory implications arising from this reality. This work seeks to showcase the inherent cultural realities and implications that this portrays for the individuals at the receiving end in such unions. Also, this work seeks to enquire the form of intervention that social work can proffer to salvage this situation of such victims, while attempting to correct the wrong impression of this issue. Therefore, this work seeks to fill an existing gap arising from not paying adequate attention to the implications arising from such situations.

Objective of the study. The cardinal objective of this study is to examine the cross-cultural analysis of intimate partner violence, as well as the social work interventions and measures to address the phenomenon. Thus, the specific objectives below are what this research would like to achieve:

- to determine the cross-cultural perceptions of intimate partner violence;

- to explore the cultural influences of intimate partner violence;
- to examine the impact of intimate partner violence;
- to explore the social work interventions in response to intimate partner violence.

Research questions. This study will attempt to answer the following questions;

1. What are the cross-cultural perceptions of intimate partner violence?
2. What are the cultural influences of intimate partner violence?
3. What is the impact of intimate partner violence?
4. The possible social work interventions in response to intimate partner violence.

Methods. This study adopts the descriptive survey research design. The population of this study consists of social workers, dating and married couples, who reside and works in Ovia North-East and Eti-osa Local Government Areas of Edo and Lagos States respectively. Using simple random sampling technique, a sample of 50 participants was selected from each State, giving the total of 100 participants. The instrument used for data collection is questionnaire, adopting the four-point Likert format. The questionnaire was content validated by three experts in social work involved with domestic violence issues and their comments and suggestions were adapted in the final copy of the instrument. In other to determine the reliability of instrument, it was administered to a separate group, after an interval of two weeks; the same test was administered to the same group who responded to the test previously. Two test score were correlated and their responses were subjected to Pearson moment correlation formula and the reliability co-efficient of 0.86 was obtained. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistic; mean and standard deviation at 2.5 criterion mean in order to determine cross cultural perception of intimate partner violence and the social work interventions.

Presentation and discussion of findings. The result of the analysis on the variables is presented in this section. Analysis is based on quantitative tools and variable distributions are assessed using frequency counts, percentage and standard deviation. Table 3 presents the socio demographic data of participants.

Table 1

The Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Age distribution of the respondents	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 30 years	89	89.0	89.0	89.0
31–40 years	9	9.0	9.0	98.0
41–50 years	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
50–60 years	1	1.0	1.0	100.0

Sex distribution of the respondents	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	41	41.0	41.0	41.0
Female	59	59.0	59.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single	45	45.0	45.0	45.0
Married	55	55.0	55.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Educational Level of the respondents	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Secondary school	9	9.0	9.0	9.0
Tertiary institution	91	91.0	91.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Religion	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Christianity	87	87.0	87.0	87.0
Islam	13	13.0	13.0	100.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Research, 2020

Table 1 reveals that the majority of the respondents are between 30–40 years. This age range is significant because it allows for matured adults and married couples who have relevant experience and are knowledgeable and competent in giving information about intimate partner violence. Table 1 also account for more Participants with secondary school qualification. The level of education is a good measure of income level in the household. This is because it indicates the socio-economic background of participants. The table also shows that majority of the participants are Christians. This could be because the study area is a Christian dominated area.

The result of the analysis on the variables is presented and in this section. Analysis is based on quantitative tools and variable distributions are assessed using standard deviations. In this section four, research questions were formulated for testing this study.

Table 2

Descriptive of the Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence?

S/N	Item	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Decision
1	Since men are stronger, it is believed that physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict in a relationship in some communities	100	1.46	0.54	Rejected
2	I was brought up to know that leaving an abusive relationship is a very long and difficult process	100	2.18	0.95	Accepted
3	My religion permits that intimate partners should tolerate violence in order to keep their family or relationship together	100	1.62	0.55	Rejected
4	Culturally, it is believed that women are always the victims of intimate partner violence	100	1.47	0.50	Rejected
Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence		100	1.68	0.64	Rejected

Source: Field Research, 2020 N=100 Criterion mean=2.5 Aggregate Mean=1.68 (Reject)

Table 2 shows that a grand mean of 1.68 was obtained for all the four items, which are below the criterion mean of 2.5. From this analysis, the mean value is lower than the test value, this means that the respondents rejected that physical violence is an acceptable way of resolving conflict in a relationship and that their perceptions about leaving an abusive relationship is that it is a long and difficult process this findings is in agreement with Arenella [2], according to her, women who report abuse have higher potentials for escalated violence against them by their abusers. More women are killed in the process of trying to leave than at any other point. Common negative results of leaving an abusive partner include isolation financial hardship, children's distress, losing a home, loss of contacts and loss of a support system. Many women stay due to fear. This fear includes that for their life, their children's lives and for their financial situation. Many victims feel that their children need their other parent. There are major practical issues with leaving. As a result of leaving people are vulnerable to experiencing problems with their jobs and school as well as experience negative impact on their children's lives.

Table 3

Descriptive of the Cultural Influences of Intimate Partner Violence

S/N	Item	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Deci-sion
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Based on most peoples' background, poor women are more affected by intimate partner violence, compared to women from rich homes	100	2.54	1.44	Accepted
2	Acceptance of violence (e.g. Feeling it is acceptable for a man to beat his partner) in most cultures is a one of the reason women stay in abusive relationships	100	3.66	0.74	Accepted
3	Religious beliefs or dogmas regarding the superiority of males over females are some of the major influences of intimate partner violence	100	2.85	1.36	Accepted

Continuation of Table 1					
1	2	3	4	5	6
4	Weak legal and community sanctions against IPV leads to the problem of IPV	100	3.30	1.05	Accepted
	Cultural Influences of Intimate Partner Violence	100	3.08	1.15	Accepted

Source: Field Research, 2020 N=100 Criterion mean=2.5 Aggregate Mean=3.08 (Accept)

Table 3 shows that a grand mean of 3.08 was obtained for all the four items, which are above the criterion mean of 2.5, indicative that respondents accepted that weak legal and community sanctions is one of the causes of intimate partner violence. The result also indicated that respondents indicated that acceptance of violence is one of the reasons women stay in abusive relationships, and that religious beliefs and dogmas are some of the major causes of intimate partner violence this finding is in agreement with the findings of [11; 12], the norms, that celebrate women that keep their home irrespective of the problems are held in high esteem. Furthermore, women keep living in an abusive relationship because of religious belief that preaches unity. This finding also supports the findings of Oladepo et al. [9] that women are likely to suffer from financial hardship and economic abuse if they do not have access to monetary resources or receive only a meager amount from their partners, especially when the women are not otherwise economically independent.

Table 4

Descriptive of the Impact of Intimate Partner Violence

S/N	Item	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Decision
1	Both men and women are affected by intimate partner violence	103	3.61	0.85	Accepted
2	Female survivors of IPV are more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol	110	3.50	0.94	Accepted
3	IPV has a wide variety of mental health consequences	109	3.25	1.17	Accepted
4	IPV always have a severe psychological effect on the children	100	2.92	1.20	Accepted
	Impact of Intimate Partner Violence	100	3.32	1.04	Accepted

Source: Field Research, 2020 N=100, Criterion mean=2.5 Aggregate Mean=3.32 (Accept)

Table 4 shows that a grand mean of 3.32 was obtained for all the four items which are above the criterion mean of 2.5. This indicates that majority of the participants agreed that intimate partner violence has a wide range of mental health issues, and most participants also agreed that intimate partner violence has a severe psychological effect on the children. This corresponds with the findings of Oladepo et al. [9] and Omorogiuwa [11] that children constitute what are known as "secondary victims". They may suffer the repercussions of domestic violence even before they are born. Women battered during pregnancy have more than twice the rate of miscarriages and give birth to more babies with more birth defects than women who may suffer from any immunizable illness or disease. Children who grow up in violent homes are more likely to be abused as children and become perpetrators, victims, or abusive parents when adults.

Table 5

Descriptive of Social Work Interventions

S/N	Item	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Decision
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Social workers can lend their voices to help to reshape cultural believes and mold public policies that will greatly reduce issues of IPV	100	2.48	1.15	Accepted
2	Social workers can help in reuniting families who experience IPV	100	2.84	1.19	Accepted

1	2	3	4	5	6
3	The counselling services provided by social workers helps in early-intervention services to families at risk	100	3.41	1.06	Accepted
4	Social workers are responsible for the social cultural rehabilitation of sufferers of intimate partner violence	100	3.18	1.24	Accepted
Social Work Interventions		100	2.88	1.16	Accepted

Source: Field Research, 2020 N=100, Criterion mean=2.5 Aggregate Mean=2.88 (Accept)

Table 6 shows that a grand mean of 2.88 was obtained for all the four items, which are above the criterion mean of 2.5, indication that the participants agreed that social workers can help shape legislation and mold public policies that will greatly reduce the cases of intimate partner violence. The table also shows that social workers are responsible for the rehabilitation of sufferers of intimate partner violence. This finding is, in agreement with the findings of Omorogiuwa and Ukponahiusi [13] and Omorogiuwa [12], that counselling services provided by social workers assist in resolving abusive relationship. Social workers play major role in the rehabilitation and reformation of women who have been abused in an intimate partner relationship. Their role in the resolution of marital dispute among partners is germane to a functional system hence the need to constantly play host to the social work professionals.

Table 6

Descriptive of the other Possible Solutions to Intimate Partner Violence

S/N	Item	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Decision
1	Men and boys should be sensitized on the impact of intimate partner violence	100	3.65	0.79	Accepted
2	Women should be empowered to be economically and financially independent	100	2.54	1.19	Accepted
3	Advocacy, campaigns and public awareness about the problem of IPV should be a priority	100	3.25	1.19	Accepted
4	The mass media can help in reducing the problem of IPV	100	2.82	1.29	Accepted
Other Possible Solutions for Intimate Partner Violence		100	3.31	1.12	Accepted

Source: Field Research, 2020 N=100, Criterion mean=2.5 Aggregate Mean=3.31 (Accept)

Table 5 shows that a grand mean of 3.31 was obtained for all the four items, which are above the criterion mean of 2.5. This indicates that majority of the participants agreed that women should be empowered to be economically and financially independent and most of the participants agreed that the mass media can help in reducing the problem of intimate partner violence. This findings supports the findings of the WHO [16] and Omorogiuwa and Ukponahiusi [13] that awareness campaigns convey messages about healthy behaviour to broad populations via television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, other printed materials and meetings. They increase the amount of information available on a topic and may reduce undesirable behaviour. Sensitization, thus involves the use of different strategies to change cultural and social norms. For instance, they can provide information to correct misperceptions about social norms or attach a social stigma to unwanted behaviour or violence.

Conclusion and recommendations. Intimate partner violence has a deep and widespread impact, much need to be done to stop it if not it will damage families, children and society as a whole. Intimate partner violence causes the victims to suffer from practically all ends. Along with the physical injuries, partners and their children suffer emotionally and psychologically, also the mental health of the individual could also be affected. Social workers can help in early intervention for sufferers of intimate partner violence by offering a wide range of services including legal intervention, supportive services, awareness campaign, counselling services and also help in putting an end to the scourge of intimate partner violence.

Having established the various effects of domestic violence on family, it is in light of this study, that proper emphasis should be laid down to reduce or eliminate the possible effects of domestic violence on the family in the following ways:

1. Social workers should be employed at all levels to provide counselling for sufferers of intimate partner violence.
2. Advocacy, campaigns & public awareness about the problem of IPV should be a priority. There should be enough educational programs in all societies and cultures, both for women and men at the same levels.
3. The mass media should be properly utilized as this can help in reducing the problem of IPV.
4. There should be enough opportunities of employments and participation in political parties along with security and safety for women, more women and girls should be empowered to increase their level of independence.
5. The government should make provision for counseling centres and create more employment for social workers in the country to better serve victims of intimate partner violence.
6. Religious organizations, NGOs should take a stance in the prevention and enforcement of law made by the government to punish perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

Оморюгува Трейсi, Амас Сара. Крос-культурний аналіз насильства з боку інтимного партнера в Нігерії та втручання соціальних працівників

Проблема явища насильства значна для нашого оточення, вона має підґрунтя у вигляді ґендерних упереджень та традицій, які глибоко узгоджуються з патріархальним шаблоном, що панує у багатьох громадах і країнах, таких як Нігерія. У дослідженні проводиться крос-культурний аналіз насильства з боку інтимного партнера та заходів, що вживаються соціальними працівниками як панацеї у вирішенні біди. Досліджувалися дані про пари, що зустрічаються, подружжя та соціальних працівників. З використанням методу простої випадкової вибірки до дослідження було залучено 80 пар та 20 соціальних працівників, усього 100 учасників зі штатів Едо та Дельта, Нігерія. Два тестові бали корелювали, вони були використані для вирахування коефіцієнта кореляції Пірсона. У результаті коефіцієнт становив 0,86. Зібрані дані аналізували за допомогою описової статистики; середнє та стандартне відхилення за середнім критерієм 2,5 використовувалося для проведення крос-культурного аналізу насильства з боку інтимного партнера та втручання соціальних працівників. Висновки показують, що насильство з боку інтимних партнерів здійснює глибокий культурний вплив на сімейне походження, релігійні вірування, виховні й негативні культурні погляди щодо жінок, широкомасштабний соціальний культурний вплив фізичних травм, психічний, емоційний чи психологічний вплив на жертв та їхніх дітей. Ще багато чого варто зробити для припинення такого лихого явища, як насильство з боку інтимного партнера, оскільки соціальні працівники можуть допомагати постраждалим раннім втручанням та наданням широкого спектра послуг включно з юридичним втручанням, культурною підтримкою, інформаційно-просвітницькою кампанією та консультаціями.

Ключові слова: крос-культурний, втручання, інтимний партнер, соціальна робота.

References:

1. Adewale R. Violence in the family: A preliminary investigation and overview of wife battering in Africa. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2007. No. 9(1), pp. 234–252. URL: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jjws/vol9/iss1/13/>
2. Arenella K.M. Perception of domestic violence: Leaving vs staying in abusive relationships. Theses. Paper 408. 2014. URL: http://scholarship.claremont.edu/scripps_theses/408Arinze-.
3. Arinze-Umobi C. Domestic violence against women in Nigeria: A legal anatomy. Onitsha : Folmech Printing and Pub. Coy Ltd. 2008.
4. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights *Violence against women: An EU-wide Survey*. Luxembourg : Publications Office of the European Union. 2014.
5. Flake D.F. Individual, family, and community risk markers for domestic violence in Peru. *Violence Against Women*, 2005. No. 11(3), pp. 353–373.
6. Knapp M.S., & Plecki M.L. Investing in the renewal of urban science teaching. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 2001. No. 38(10), pp. 1089–1100.
7. Migliaccio T.A. Marginalizing the battered male. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 2001. No. 9(2). Pp. 205–226.
8. National Association of Social Workers, NASW. *Social Justice Brief*. 2018. URL: <https://www.socialworkers.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=WTrDbQ6CHxI%3D&portalid=0>.

9. Oladepo O., Yusuf O.B. & Arulogun O.S. Factors influencing gender-based violence among men and women in selected states in Nigeria. *Africa Journal Reproductive Health*. 2011. No. 15(4). Pp. 78–86. PubMed PMID: 22571109.
10. Omorogiuwa T.B.E. The public perception of the impacts of domestic violence against women. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2017. No. 8(1). Pp. 293–298.
11. Omorogiuwa T.B.E. *Introduction to cross cultural social work practice*. Benin City : Mase-Perfect Printing Press. 2019.
12. Omorogiuwa T.B.E. Social work practice in strengthening household economic empowerment and support: Building sustainable livelihoods for working children's parents. *Social Work and Education*, 2020. No. 7(1). Pp. 46–55.
13. Omorogiuwa T.B.E. & Ukponahiusi O. (2019). Poverty and the prevalence of intimate partner violence: A social work intervention perspective. *Osun Sociological Review*. 2019. No. 5(1). Pp. 102–111.
14. Stephen C. & Morris M.D. The causes of violence and the effects of violence on community and individual health. Yale School of Medicine. 2007. URL: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.674.4439&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
15. Ursula K. Theories of intimate partner violence: From blaming the victim to acting against injustice intersectionality as an analytic framework. *ANS. Advances in nursing science*. 2011. No. 34. Pp. 29–51.
16. World Health Organization, WHO. *World report on violence and health*. Geneva; WHO. 2002.
17. World Health Organization, WHO. *Prevention of violence: A public health priority* Geneva : WHO. 1996.