DOMESTIC VIOLENCE FROM INTIMATE PARTNER

13

Key Findings

- **Prevalence of domestic violence:** In Sri Lanka, 17 percent of ever-married women age 15-49 have suffered from domestic violence from their intimate partner.

- **Forms of domestic violence:** Two percent of ever-married women who suffered from domestic violence, experiences in any form of domestic violence daily.

- **Differentials of domestic violence:** Prevalence of domestic violence by an intimate partner increases with the age of the women. Urban residents also reported the highest percentage of domestic violence (20 percent). Kilinochchi and Batticaloa districts have the highest level of domestic violence (50 percent). Ever-married women who belong to the lowest wealth quintile and those with primary education reported the highest percentages in domestic violence (28 and, 30 percent respectively).

- **Support for domestic violence:** Among women who suffered from domestic violence, only just over one fourth of women (28 percent) have sought help, with three fourth of them (75 percent) seeking help from their family members, 27 percent from friends or neighbors and only 18 percent seeking help from the police. Half of the ever-married women age 15-49 (50 percent) indicated to know about the Sri Lanka Women Bureau to combat violence, while 26 percent mentioned the midwife and Women Help Line.

There has been an increasing attention to domestic violence against women, in both developed and developing countries, since the 1990s. The United Nations defines domestic violence as "any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (United Nations 1993). An increasing amount of research has highlighted the health and psychological burdens, intergenerational effects, and consequences of such violence (United Nations, 2006). Violence can take many forms, including physical, sexual, emotional, economic, and psychological abuse. It can have devastating consequences on the short- and long-term health and well-being of the women affected as well as their over-all quality of life (Hutchins and Sinha, 2013).

One third of woman all over the world suffers from domestic violence by intimate partner. This is considered as a hidden problem in most of the women do not reveal about their sufferings due to reasons such as culture, fear of reprisal, and concern over children, shame and internalizing the violence. It is also an ever increasing burden to the health care services, social and economy of the country.

Domestic Violence during pregnancy which is a common occurrence leads to many negative pregnancy outcomes including miscarriages, still births and maternal deaths. Also, Domestic Violence in one generation can influence the behaviour of the next generation by a process of learned behaviour. When children are exposed to violence between their parents, boys learn violence as a means of achieving control and eventually have a greater chance of being a perpetrator. On the other hand girls learn to accept violence as an inevitable helplessness and have a higher chance of being survivors in adult life.

The health sector in Sri Lanka has responded favourably by addressing Domestic Violence in the areas of prevention as well as in the response to the survivors, in an effective manner. Gender and Women's Health Unit of the Family Health Bureau (FHB) is the nodal agency at National Level responsible for addressing Domestic Violence in the health sector. The programmes which focus mainly on prevention of Domestic Violence, response and care for survivors of Domestic Violence are implemented by Family Health Bureau.

Affirming the important and specific role that the national health system should play in responding to domestic violence, Family Health Bureau has taken a few significant steps forward in various aspects such as setting up of domestic violence care centres called "Mithuru Piyasa" at hospitals, which are dedicated to provide emotional and medical support to survivors of Domestic Violence. They are operated by the hospital staff working in the out patients' department. The staff at Mithuru Piyasa are given a training conducted by FHB . The location for the centre in the hospital is selected based on several criteria to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the clients while ensuring the easy access and proper referrals. Family Health Bureau provides the logistic support to hospital administration on selecting the venue and with.

Many programmes are implemented for capacity building of health staff such as ,in basic, in-service and postgraduate courses on domestic violence. Inclusion of a module on domestic violence in the curriculum of Medical Undergraduates on the responsibilities of a Medical Officer in responding to Domestic Violence is one such programme.

Also, an action plan for health sector to response on Domestic Violence has been developed by the Ministry of Health Sri Lanka, in order to streamline its' response, inclusive of prevention, responding to survivors and addressing perpetrators on domestic violence in an effective and a responsive manner using a survivor centered approach which is institutionalized within the existing structure of the Ministry of Health and it is sustainable. Coincidentally the Ministry of Women's Affairs developed a national plan to address sexual and domestic violence in Sri Lanka.

To study the level and characteristics of domestic violence or violence perpetrated by an intimate partner, a module with questions on women's experience of domestic violence in the last 12 months was included in the 2016 SLDHS questionnaire for the first time in Sri Lanka. In accordance with the World Health Organization's guidelines for the ethical collection of information on domestic violence, only one eligible woman per household was randomly selected for this module; the module was not implemented if privacy could not be obtained; the respondent was read an additional consent statement at the start of the interview using the domestic violence module, informing her that the questions could be personal and reassuring her of the confidentiality of her responses(WHO 2001).

13.1 LEVEL OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The domestic violence set of questions was administered to 91 percent of the eligible ever-married women age 15-49. For seven percent of them the questionnaire was not implemented due to lack of privacy or because security concerns. Two percent of eligible women rejected to answer the questions of the domestic violence module because of privacy concerns or other reasons (Figure 13.1).

The prevalence of domestic violence by an intimate partner increases with the age of the woman, going from 13 percent among ever-married women age 15-19 to 19 percent among the oldest 45-49 women. A similar pattern is observed by age among those rejected to answer the questions on the module.

Table 13.1 Summary on domestic violence by age

Percentage of women who suffered no violence from intimate partner, experienced any of the violent behaviors mentioned, experienced any type of violence daily, rejected to answer questions on domestic violence and who requested help for domestic violence according to age groups

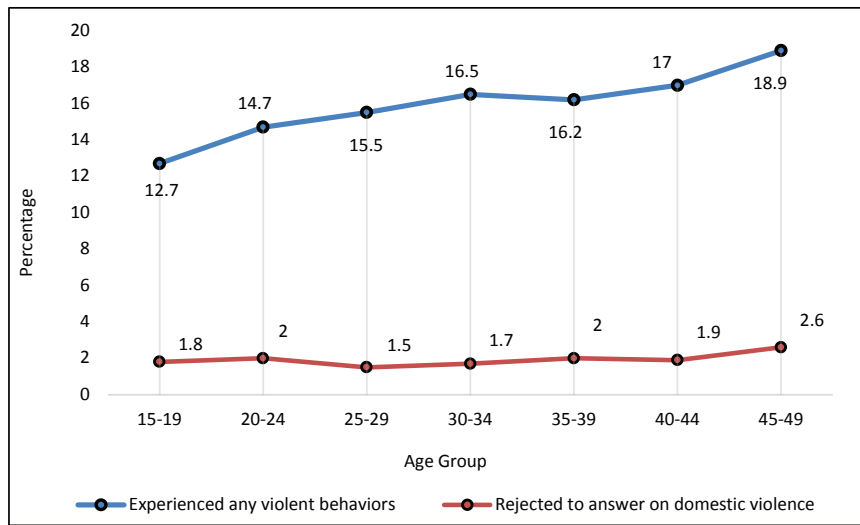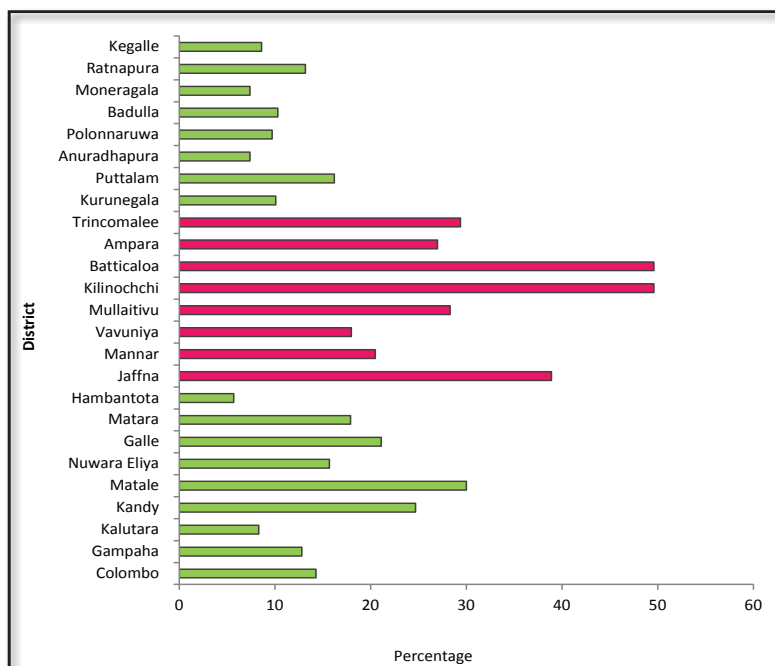| Description	Age							
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Total
No violence from intimate partner	86.7	83.6	83.5	82.4	82.3	81.5	79.4	82.0
Experienced any violent behaviors	12.7	14.7	15.5	16.5	16.2	17.0	18.9	16.6
Experiencing any type of violence daily	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	3.2	2.1
Rejected to answer on domestic violence	1.8	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.6	2.0
Number of women	169	1,130	2,335	3,364	3,720	3,056	2,856	16,629

Figure 13.1 Level of Domestic Violence

Table 13.2 presents the percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 by experience of domestic violence by their intimate partner, experience of daily domestic violence, and percent who requested help for domestic violence according to background characteristics.

Among the eligible ever-married women, 17 percent indicated to have suffered from domestic violence from their intimate partner during the 12 months preceding the survey. Furthermore, 13 percent of all the women who suffered from violence, declared to have suffered violent behaviors by an intimate partner on a daily basis and violence increases with the age of the women. Among all women who have experienced domestic violence, only twenty eight percent (28%) sought help to escape from violence (Table 13.2).

More women from the urban sector have experienced violence (20 percent) compared to women living in the other sectors (16 percent of the rural and 17 percent of estate counterparts). Experience of violence by the intimate partner among ever-married women varies according to the districts of residence: in Batticaloa and Kilinochci, the districts with the highest prevalence, half of the women indicated to be affected by violence from their intimate partner. Figure 13.2 shows clearly the highest domestic violence prevails in Northern and Eastern provinces. In contrast, in Hambantota, Anuradhapura and Monaragala, the districts with the lowest prevalence, less than eight percent indicated to be affected by domestic violence by an intimate partner. Experience of domestic violence declines with the educational level, excluding the educational category "No education". The survey results suggest that there is a negative relationship between the prevalence of physical violence and household wealth (the lowest wealth quintile has a significantly higher prevalence of domestic violence than women in the other four quintiles).

Figure 13.2 Domestic Violence by District

Table 13.2 Summary on occurring domestic violence by background characteristics

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have not experienced any violence from intimate partner, experienced at least one violence, and percentage of women who have experienced in daily violence among women who suffered, from violence and percentage of women who requested help for domestic violence among women who suffered from violence according to background characteristics

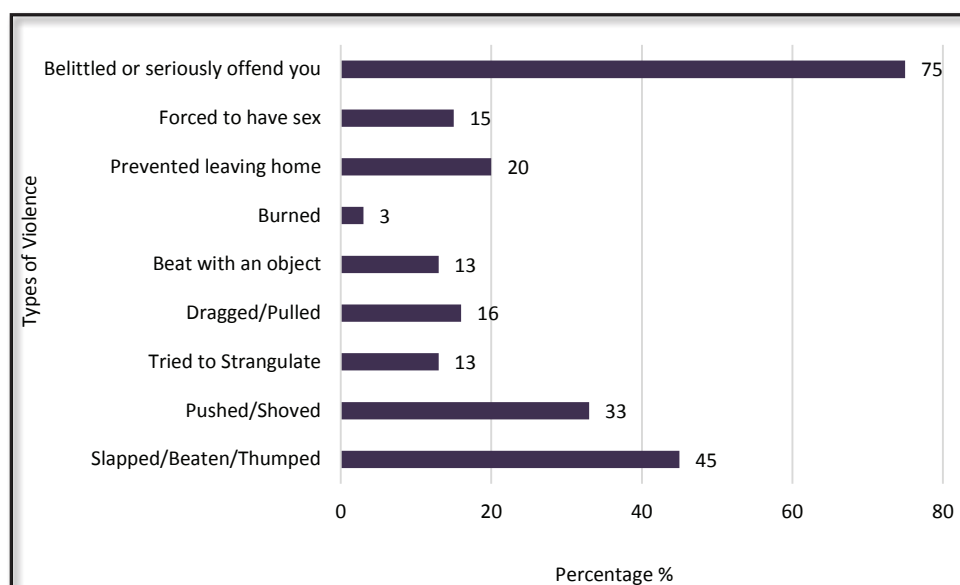| Background characteristic	No any violence from intimate partner	Experienced at least one violence	Number of women	Experienced in domestic violence		Number of women Who suffered from violence
				Experienced any form of violence daily	Requested help for domestic violence	
Age						
15-19	86.7	12.7	169	7.8	*	21
20-24	83.6	14.7	1,130	12.0	30.1	166
25-29	83.5	15.5	2,335	9.0	27	361
30-34	82.4	16.5	3,364	9.0	27.9	553
35-39	82.3	16.2	3,720	12.0	29.1	603
40-44	81.5	17	3,056	15.1	25.4	518
45-49	79.4	18.9	2,856	19.3	28.4	539
Residence						
Urban	79.3	19.8	2,582	8.4	26.8	512
Rural	82.6	16	13,403	13.2	27.8	2,140
Estate	80.5	17	643	18.7	31.3	110
District						
Colombo	85	14.3	1,625	6.0	38	233
Gampaha	86.9	12.8	1,564	7.8	30.3	200
Kalutara	90.9	8.3	968	17.5	38.1	80
Kandy	73.9	24.7	1,117	16.3	20.8	275
Matale	69.7	30	432	27.1	31.8	130
Nuwara Eliya	83.5	15.7	543	22.3	30.8	85
Galle	77.1	21.1	818	10.8	29.3	172
Matara	81.8	17.9	681	13.8	61.6	122
Hambantota	93.5	5.7	519	4.2	-14.9	30
Jaffna	58.9	38.9	443	15.1	11.1	172
Mannar	76.8	20.5	78	6.0	7.9	16
Vavuniya	79.6	18	125	11.4	8.6	23
Mullaitivu	68.3	28.3	76	12.0	6.8	22
Kilinochchi	48.7	49.6	88	28.3	13.5	44
Batticaloa	49.9	49.6	493	25.3	7.3	244
Ampara	72.6	27	669	12.0	12.1	181
Trincomalee	70	29.4	334	34.9	26.3	98
Kurunegala	87.7	10.1	1,481	15.7	31.2	149
Puttalam	82.3	16.2	620	12.0	28.1	101
Anuradhapura	88.2	7.4	907	7.2	82.3	67
Polonnaruwa	90.1	9.7	376	7.2	-32.5	37
Badulla	88.7	10.3	656	10.8	32.2	67
Moneragala	91.3	7.4	436	7.8	-32	32
Ratnapura	84.8	13.2	1,016	9.6	36.8	134
Kegalle	86.7	8.6	564	10.2	30.5	49
Education						
No education	71.4	24.8	248	31.9	33.4	61
Passed Grade 1-5	67.6	29.8	1,121	33.7	24.8	334
Passed Grade 6-10	80.4	18.1	7,351	15.1	26.8	1,334
Passed G.C.E.(O/L) or equivalent	84.1	14.6	3,682	10.2	29	538
Passed G.C.E.(A/L) or equivalent	87.6	11.5	3,438	4.8	30.3	396
Degree and above	86.4	12.5	788	3.0	30.8	99
Wealth quintile						
Lowest	70	28.1	3,062	27.1	24.4	859
Second	80.7	17.8	3,351	16.3	28.9	595
Middle	84.5	13.7	3,501	9.0	30.2	480
Fourth	86.2	12.8	3,473	6.6	22.6	443
Highest	87.3	11.9	3,241	6.0	36.6	385
Total 15-49	**82**	**16.6**	**16,629**	**12.6**	**27.8**	**2,762**

13.2 TYPES OF DOMEESTIC VIOLENCE AND FREQUANCY

Table 13.3 presents the frequency of domestic violence by the types of violence suffered by ever-married women age 15-49 from their intimate partner. The domestic violence module used in the 2016 SLDHS collected detailed information on the types or forms of violence and the frequency with which they occurred during the 12 months before the survey. The most predominant type of violence identified was "belittled or seriously offended you" with three quarter of women who suffered from domestic violence (75 percent), followed by "Slapped, beaten, or thumped you" (45 percent), and "pushed or shoved you" with 33 percent (Fig 13.3). The frequency with which the domestic violence happens varies from 13 percent indicating a daily occurrence to 48 percent among those who indicated "monthly" and to 67% who reported that violence occurred less often.

Table 13.3 Frequency of domestic violence

Percentage of women who suffered from domestic violence according to types and frequency of domestic violence

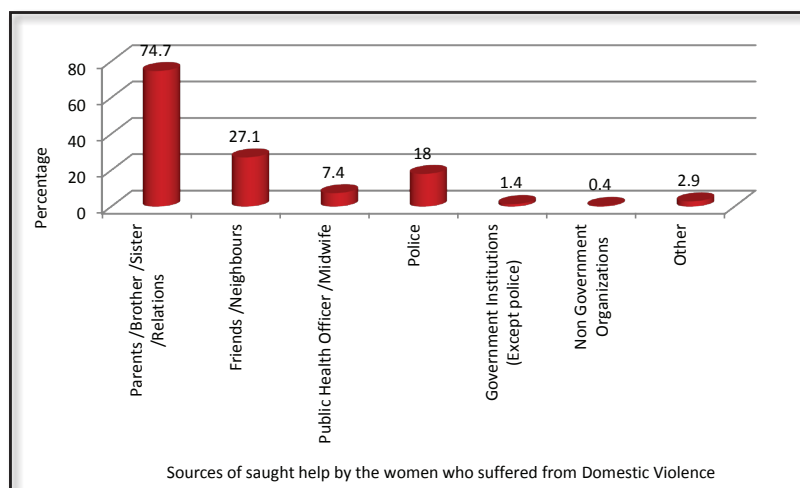| Type of violence	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Less often	Total
Slapped/Beaten/Thumped	3.0	4.8	22.3	15.1	45.2
Pushed/Shoved	2.4	4.2	12.7	12.7	32.5
Tried to Strangulate	1.8	1.8	4.8	4.8	13.3
Dragged/Pulled	1.2	2.4	5.4	7.2	16.3
Beat with an object	1.2	2.4	4.2	6.0	13.3
Burned	-	0.6	0.6	1.8	3.0
Prevented leaving home	1.2	2.4	6.6	9.6	19.9
Forced to have sex	3.0	3.0	3.0	6.0	15.1
Belittled/Seriously offend	10.8	6.6	24.1	33.7	75.3
Any type of violence	**12.7**	**15.1**	**47.6**	**66.9**	**100.0**

Figure 13.3 Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who have experienced various forms of violence in the 12 months preceding the survey, committed by their intimate partner

13.3 Help seeking to stop the violence

Ever-married women who responded to be affected by domestic violence from their intimate partner were asked if they asked for help from anybody and if yes, who provided them with the help or advice. Only 28 percent of the women suffering from domestic violence asked for help, and the majority (75 percent) did that from "Parents/brothers/sisters/relatives". Another 27 percent went to "friends/neighbors", followed by the "Police" with only 18 percent (Fig 13.4).

Figure 13.4 Women Help Seeking from Institute/ Person

Sources of saught help by the women who suffered from Domestic Violence

The person/institution from which help was sought appears to be negatively associated with age of the woman. Thus, the percentage of those seeking help from "parents/brothers/sisters/relatives" is higher among younger women. However, among those who went to the "police", higher percentages are observed among the older women(30-49), rural sector, those with lower levels of education and those from poorer quintiles. These findings are of singular importance to inform the development of policies and programs geared to support women affected by intimate partner violence in the household.

Table 13.4 The person/institute that provided help/advice

Percentage of women age 15-49 who suffered from domestic violence and requested help from a person or an organization according to background characteristics
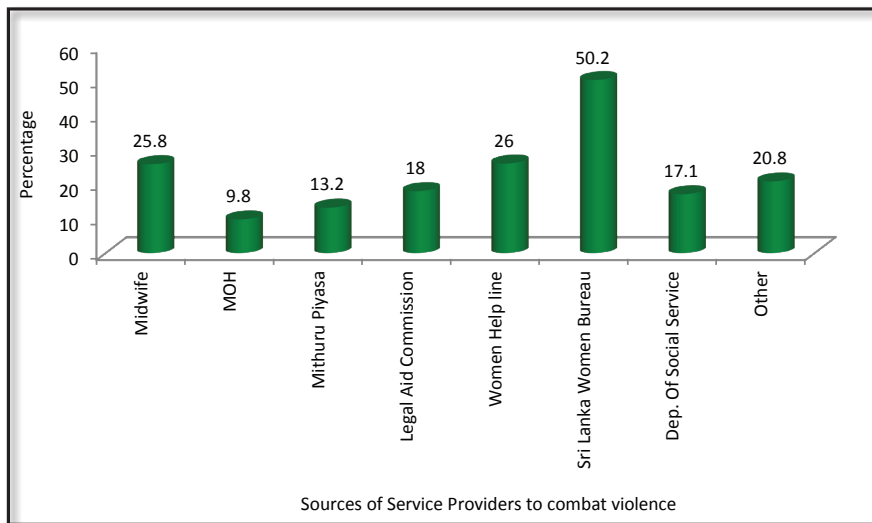
Background characteristic	Parents /Brother /Sister /Relations	Friends /Neighbours	Public Health Officer /Midwife	Police	Government Institutions (Except police)	Non Government Organizations	Other	Number of women who requested help
Age								
15-19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	5
20-24	91.8	22.0	2.3	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	50
25-29	80.4	24.1	9.2	10.6	2.5	0.3	1.4	97
30-34	70.7	24.2	9.0	22.3	0.7	0.6	4.8	154
35-39	72.2	27.0	8.1	19.9	2.3	0.0	2.3	176
40-44	76.6	32.6	6.5	16.9	0.7	1.0	1.9	132
45-49	71.3	28.8	6.8	20.5	1.6	0.6	3.3	153
Residence								
Urban	80.5	16.8	5.1	12.1	2.7	0.0	6.2	137
Rural	74.7	28.8	7.0	19.3	1.2	0.6	2.0	596
Estate	(52.8)	(38.6)	(24.9)	(18.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(4.1)	34
District								
Colombo	71.4	13.2	5.5	11.3	0.0	0.0	13.8	88
Gampaha	(75.2)	(27.2)	(9.2)	(24.9)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	60
Kalutara	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	31
Kandy	79.8	16.9	4.6	7.4	2.3	0.0	3.6	57
Matale	(85.0)	(15.2)	(10.7)	(15.2)	(7.7)	(0.0)	(2.6)	41
Nuwara Eliya	(49.7)	(20.4)	(34.1)	(30.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(6.2)	26
Galle	(80.0)	(37.7)	(10.4)	(2.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(5.5)	50
Matara	81.5	27.2	2.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	1.5	75
Hambantota	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	4
Jaffna	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19
Mannar	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
Vavuniya	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	2
Mullaitivu	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
Kilinochchi	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	6
Batticaloa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	18
Ampara	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	22
Trincomalee	(75.2)	(15.2)	(2.6)	(28.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	26
Kurunegala	(84.6)	(30.1)	(7.8)	(9.3)	(0.0)	(2.1)	(2.5)	46
Puttalam	(80.1)	(21.7)	(13.8)	(35.6)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	28
Anuradhapura	(94.8)	(41.2)	(4.0)	(8.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	55
Polonnaruwa	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	12
Badulla	(71.3)	(24.6)	(5.4)	(15.9)	(1.8)	(0.0)	(0.0)	22
Moneragala	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	10
Ratnapura	(52.2)	(38.2)	(2.5)	(38.3)	(2.3)	(2.5)	(0.0)	50
Kegalle	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	15
Education								
No education	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	20
Passed Grade 1-5	72.8	32.4	12.7	18.8	0.0	0.0	4.0	83
Passed Grade 6-10	74.5	26.9	6.4	22.0	2.4	0.6	1.3	358
Passed G.C.E.(O/L) or equivalent	72.1	26.4	8.0	16.8	1.3	0.8	4.3	156
Passed G.C.E.(A/L) or equivalent	80.4	24.1	7.7	7.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	120
Degree and above	(74.1)	(32.7)	(0.5)	(11.4)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(8.7)	30
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	69.5	32.3	7.6	25.5	1.4	0.4	3.1	210
Second	74.7	21.3	9.4	24.0	2.2	1.5	2.2	172
Middle	80.0	33.7	6.4	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	145
Fourth	70.1	20.7	12.3	8.5	2.0	0.0	4.1	100
Highest	80.4	24.1	2.5	11.9	1.5	0.0	4.8	141
Total 15-49	**74.7**	**27.1**	**7.4**	**18.0**	**1.4**	**0.4**	**2.9**	**767**

13.4 KNOWLEDGE OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

All ever-married women were asked about the organizations they knew which provide services to combat violence against women. From Table 13.5 and Figure 13.5, shows that the "Sri Lanka Women Bureau" was mentioned by half of the women, followed by the "Women help line" and "Midwife" (26 percent each), the "Legal Aid Commission" (18 percent), and the "Department of Social Services" (17 percent). Also mentioned but with lower percentages were the "Mithuru Piyasa" (13 percent), and the "MOH" (10 percent).
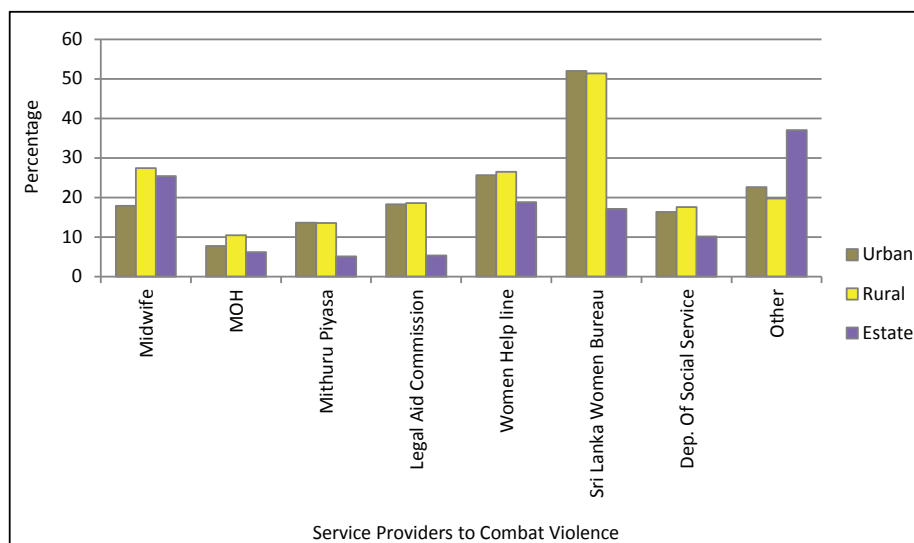
Figure 13.5 Women Knowledge on Service Providers

The "Sri Lanka Women Bureau" was better known by older women, those living in the urban and the rural sector, with higher levels of education and with greater household wealth. The knowledge of the "MOH", as an institution providing services to combat violence against women, follows a flat pattern by background characteristics. The knowledge by district follows distinct patterns for each one of these available institutions and as such deserve a separate analysis. The district with the highest levels of knowledge by organization is as follows:

"Sri Lanka Women Bureau" observed in Matara (72 percent),

"Women help line" observed in Anuradhapura (61 percent),

"Midwife" observed in Kegalle (50 percent),

"Legal Aid Commission" observed in Anuradhapura (53 percent),

"Department of Social Services" observed in Vavuniya (48 percent),

 "Mithuru Piyasa" observed in Galle (25 percent), and

"MOH" observed in Moneragala (25 percent).

Figure 13.6 Women Knowledge on Service Providers by Residence

The figure 13.6 clearly shows that the estate sector people have less knowledge on formal organizations or specific people to stop violence. The category 'Other" has recorded the highest percentage (37%) for estate sector. One fourth of people in the estate sector knows about midwife to stop violence. Half of the people in urban and rural sectors aware about the Sri Lanka Women's Bureau.

Table 13.5 Knowledge on service providers
Percentage of women age 15-49 who know specific people/ organizations that combat violence against women according to background characteristics

Background characteristic	Midwife	MOH	Mithuru Piyasa	Legal Aid Commission	Women Help line	Sri Lanka Women Bureau	Dep. Of Social Service	Other	Number of women
Age									
15-19	29.2	9.7	8.1	12.5	17.3	37.9	12.1	27.8	169
20-24	28.3	9.6	10.8	16.2	26.0	45.1	16.1	22.7	1,130
25-29	27.0	10.1	12.5	17.6	26.3	50.0	17.0	18.8	2,335
30-34	26.4	11.3	13.1	19.1	27.2	51.5	18.1	18.5	3,364
35-39	25.7	9.9	14.4	18.2	27.4	52.6	16.8	20.4	3,720
40-44	24.4	8.6	14.1	17.9	25.4	50.1	17.4	21.0	3,056
45-49	24.7	9.3	12.6	18.1	24.0	48.3	17.0	24.5	2,856
Residence									
Urban	17.9	7.7	13.6	18.3	25.6	52.0	16.3	22.6	2,582
Rural	27.4	10.4	13.5	18.6	26.5	51.4	17.6	19.7	13,403
Estate	25.4	6.2	5.1	5.3	18.8	17.1	10.1	37.0	643
District									
Colombo	15.4	6.4	14.5	13.2	20.8	60.5	8.0	21.2	1,625
Gampaha	23.7	5.3	13.2	10.0	28.8	64.2	7.2	11.7	1,564
Kalutara	36.9	11.1	16.9	12.9	16.4	63.8	23.3	12.1	968
Kandy	25.8	7.7	12.1	10.8	24.2	49.1	13.1	21.4	1,117
Matale	22.1	9.1	3.3	6.3	9.1	50.9	17.9	46.1	432
Nuwara Eliya	17.6	6.6	8.4	14.0	25.1	28.0	12.8	36.1	543
Galle	41.0	17.8	24.7	38.3	42.9	66.3	45.7	23.9	818
Matara	18.4	10.7	17.8	19.7	33.3	71.5	9.9	18.8	681
Hambantota	35.2	13.1	11.6	20.1	23.7	44.4	10.0	25.5	519
Jaffna	19.9	4.6	1.7	35.0	29.3	16.8	16.3	18.7	443
Mannar	41.1	7.7	2.9	27.5	36.8	19.5	10.0	0.9	78
Vavuniya	25.1	10.7	8.1	19.2	31.0	32.7	47.8	1.7	125
Mullaitivu	16.8	6.0	1.7	14.0	23.5	27.1	34.8	39.9	76
Kilinochchi	40.7	13.1	4.3	8.5	18.7	10.1	18.1	19.6	88
Batticaloa	10.1	3.7	11.0	5.9	11.2	22.4	39.9	32.7	493
Ampara	37.3	15.3	6.3	22.6	15.3	32.5	37.3	6.3	669
Trincomalee	5.9	2.7	23.7	23.7	25.8	38.6	13.8	7.1	334
Kurunegala	15.4	9.0	17.4	14.0	26.4	46.8	13.6	29.8	1,481
Puttalam	23.5	13.7	8.1	13.7	23.2	53.5	19.2	5.4	620
Anuradhapura	22.1	14.1	21.8	53.1	60.6	59.8	16.2	4.5	907
Polonnaruwa	38.7	14.1	17.1	13.0	18.3	52.7	16.2	26.9	376
Badulla	24.4	6.9	5.6	4.4	7.7	31.1	8.9	47.1	656
Moneragala	49.4	24.6	13.3	39.3	48.9	60.3	20.6	2.7	436
Ratnapura	28.9	5.7	3.1	5.8	16.8	42.8	16.7	41.8	1,016
Kegalle	50.4	17.5	20.9	28.7	30.8	48.4	13.1	1.1	564
Education									
No education	29.4	6.2	3.7	9.7	9.7	16.2	10.5	39.9	248
Passed Grade 1-5	25.4	6.8	5.4	11.6	14.9	25.5	15.6	33.8	1,121
Passed Grade 6-10	26.2	8.8	9.3	15.2	22.1	44.1	15.4	25.1	7,351
Passed G.C.E.(O/L) or equivalent	26.9	10.4	15.6	21.1	30.2	53.1	16.7	14.7	3,682
Passed G.C.E.(A/L) or equivalent	24.5	11.7	18.8	21.1	32.1	65.8	19.7	15.0	3,438
Degree and above	22.5	14.5	27.7	28.7	37.8	70.6	28.4	10.1	788
Wealth quintile									
Lowest	27.1	8.0	6.9	14.8	17.9	29.7	16.6	27.5	3,062
Second	26.8	9.9	9.8	16.7	23.6	44.1	16.3	25.7	3,351
Middle	27.5	9.5	12.4	18.1	26.5	52.0	16.9	19.5	3,501
Fourth	24.1	10.4	16.4	19.3	30.0	58.9	17.6	16.9	3,473
Highest	23.5	11.2	20.2	20.8	31.5	64.4	18.3	15.2	3,241
Total 15-49	**25.8**	**9.8**	**13.2**	**18.0**	**26.0**	**50.2**	**17.1**	**20.8**	**16,629**