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African-born Slaves in the São Paulo Economy, 1804-1850

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It is well known that the economy of 18th and 19th century Brazil was sustained by both slave and free labor. It has also been shown that slaves in most regions represented about a third of the total population and in turn approximately a third of the free population owned slaves. Thus Brazil in many ways looked like the United States in terms of the relative importance of slaves and slave owners. But what is not well known is the unusual distribution of slaves within the Brazilian economy. To an extent unknown in other American slave societies, slaves in Brazil were found in every productive enterprise, including commercial activity geared to the internal market. Whereas large concentrations of rural slaves in the rest of America were almost totally dedicated to the production of agricultural products which were exported to European markets, a very high ratio of rural Brazilian slaves produced for the national and local markets. So efficient was this system, that in fact regions which were still not major exporters to the world market, could still sustain major imports of African slave labor to add to their population of native born slaves.

Nowhere else is this pattern so well revealed as in the region of São Paulo, which did not become a major exporter to the world market until the middle of the 19th century. Yet well before coffee became a major product of this region, São Paulo was importing Africans on a steady basis. It is the aim of our essay, to examine the role of the African born slaves within the Paulista economy using unpublished censuses (or *mappas*) grouped around six central years from 1804 until 1850. These *mappas* are for some 25 municípios in the province in this period and cover the major socio-economic and geographical regions of the province at this time. These were the Paraíba Valley, the first zone to experience coffee production; the West Paulista Plains which was a frontier region of sugar and general agricultural production; the region of the Capital with its mixed farming and artisan production; the Caminho do Sul which was an important cattle region, and the Litoral with its fishing villages and mixed farming production. Using these censuses we will examine both the native-born and African-born slaves in terms of their age and sex, and their distribution by region, type of economic activity and types of owners. What we will argue is that the province, even before it became a significant world producer of coffee, was able to import even larger numbers of African slaves and use them to produce sugar and other commercial crops which only circulated within the imperial economy.

Rough estimates suggest that the slave population of the province stood at 44,000 in 1804, almost doubled to 87,000 by 1836, and reached 118,000 by 1854 [Joaquim Norberto do Souza e Silva, *Investigações sobre os recenseamentos da população geral do império, Documentos Censitários*, ser. B, no. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Nacional de Recenseamento, 1951). This is a reprint of a work originally published by the government in 1870.] Our own detailed calculations from the 25 selected municípios show that the slave population of São Paulo grew by an incredible 2.2% per annum between 1777 and 1829 (Luna 97, p.8) . Given the relatively low reproduction rates of most Brazilian slaves which have been shown in previous studies (Klein & Paiva and Bergad) - which suggest at best a modest growth rate of no more than 0.5% per annum - such a high rate of growth could only be maintained by the introduction of Africans. Our data show that this rate of growth continued until 1850 and in fact that the relative importance of Africans among the resident slaves in these municípios grew over time, from about a third of the slave population to close to half by the early 1840s (the 1850s had a drop to 37%). This increasing and very high participation of Africans within the resident slave population, moreover, would have the effect

of producing a negative natural growth of the entire resident slave population within the province.

This negative impact on growth, and the need for steady African imports to maintain and increase the slave population, can be clearly seen in the age and sex pyramids of the African population, compared to those for the native-born creole slaves. To give a concrete example of these differences we have selected the census of 1829 - our most complete census for any year, and one in which the Africans represented 56% of the total slave population. The patterns revealed in this census for the age and sexual breakdown of the creole and African slave populations is the norm for all years studied (as can be seen in table 1).

The age and sex pyramid for African slaves in this selected year shows a male adult dominance and a low ratio of children, whereas the creole population clearly looks like a normal pre-modern age pyramid with a probably positive rate of natural reproduction. But putting the two together, shows how the African migrants profoundly influenced overall patterns and probably generated an overall negative natural growth rate in the total resident slave population. Using the ratio of children under 10 years of age to women in their fertile years - a proxy for a fertility estimate in the lack of vital statistics registers, it can be seen that these ratios were below reproduction for all the resident slave population (see graph 3 - which includes those unknown as to their origin). In São Paulo in 1829, the creole born slaves had 1,387 children under 10 years of age per 1000 women aged 15 to 49. But the Africans had a rate half that number - or just 75 children per 1000 fertile women. The result was that the entire resident population had a ratio of just 690 children - clearly not a reproductive rate.

This was a pattern common to the rest of early 19th century Brazil. Thus in six major municípios in Minas Gerais in 1831, this children/women ratio shows that there were an estimated 791 children under the age of 10 per 1000 women between the ages of 15 and 49 for the resident slave population, with the African children/women ratio being 70 children per 1000 adult women, and the native-born ratio being a positive 1,340 children. Thus in Minas in 1831, as in São Paulo in 1829, the negative impact of the biased age and sex ratio of the arriving African born slaves had a negative impact on the growth of the resident slave population, which overwhelmed the probably positive growth rate exhibited by the native-born population. Thus actual growth of the resident population, at least until the end of the slave trade in 1850, could only occur with the importation of new African slaves. In contrast, the entire slave population of the United States in 1830, where native-born slaves predominated well before the closing of the North American slave trade in 1808, the overall rate for the resident population was 1,484 children below the age of ten to 1000 women aged 15-49 (Paiva & Klein, Campanha article, table 7; Richard H. Steckel, "The Fertility of American Slaves," *Research in Economic History* (Greenwich, Ct.), VII (1982), p.241].

If the growth of the São Paulo population could only be maintained by importing slaves from Africa, which industries and groups had the funds to sustain these imports ? This is the basic question which we will examine in the following section. It might be suggested that since the cost of purchasing new slaves was high, it was inevitable that these Africans would be applied to the most advanced agricultural activities - that is those crops which were most commercialized. In the case of São Paulo this would be sugar, cane alcohol (*aguardente*), coffee and tobacco. Almost all food crops (milho, arroz, feijão, and mandioca) would be primarily consumed by producers and only a small excess would be placed on the local or regional market for sale. The assumption would be that Africans were less likely to appear in these less commercialized farms than in those sending most of their production to the market.

When we examine the distribution of Africans by agricultural production, this is what we find . That is that Africans are biased in their distribution toward the commercial crops, above all sugar , and at the end of our period toward coffee. In every census the participation of Africans in sugar production, refining and aguardente production was above their participation in the total slave population. Conversely in every census we examined in detail, their ratio of participation in subsistence and food crops is below their ratio in the total population .

Table 1
Distribution of Slaves by Origin and Type of Crop, 1804-1836

I - Subsistence Crops

| YEAR | Africans | Creolos | Sub-tot | % - African in crop | % African among slaves |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1804 | 2279 | 6197 | 8476 | 26.9% | 33.6% |
| 1816 | 1135 | 1671 | 2806 | 40.4% | 50.6% |
| 1823 | 914 | 1416 | 2330 | 39.2% | 56.9% |
| 1829 | 3777 | 6384 | 10161 | 37.2% | 54.3% |
| 1836 | 903 | 1652 | 2555 | 35.3% | 54.5% |

II - Commercial Crops

| YEAR | Africans | Creolos | Sub-tot | % - African in crop | % African among slaves |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1804 | 2972 | 4158 | 7130 | 41.7% | 33.6% |
| 1816 | 2784 | 2161 | 4945 | 56.3% | 50.6% |
| 1823 | 4086 | 2379 | 6465 | 63.2% | 56.9% |
| 1829 | 12927 | 7650 | 20577 | 62.8% | 54.3% |
| 1836 | 5779 | 3933 | 9712 | 59.5% | 54.5% |

The census of 1850 provides few data on origins and occupation and has therefore been excluded.

This pattern of concentration in the more commercially viable crops and agricultural products suggests that it was the wealthier farmers, planters and ranchers who were able to purchase slaves. This is born out when we examine the distribution of Africans by size of slave holdings of individual slave owners. The ratio of Africans held in slave groups (or *plante*) of 20 or more slaves per owner, was consistently higher than for creole slaves (see table 2), and the concentration in these large slave groupings increased greatly over time (see table 3).

Table 2
Ratio of African Slaves in Each Size of Slave Holdings, 1804-1850

| PLANTEL | 1804 | 1816 | 1823 | 1829 | 1836 | 1850 |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1-5 | 35.8% | 44.7% | 53.8% | 45.7% | 45.3% | 33.1% |
| 6 -10 | 29.4% | 46.0% | 49.8% | 45.6% | 42.4% | 31.3% |
| 11-15 | 30.2% | 45.1% | 54.0% | 47.5% | 42.8% | 30.1% |
| 16 - 20 | 33.4% | 47.1% | 51.6% | 50.5% | 53.2% | 36.9% |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 21 40 | 36.9% | 53.0% | 52.2% | 57.0% | 54.1% | 45.1% |
| 41++ | 40.9% | 62.1% | 70.2% | 63.4% | 69.3% | 46.5% |
| Total | 33.9% | 49.5% | 55.7% | 52.5% | 53.0% | 37.4% |

Table 3
Distribution of Slaves by Origin and Size of Slave Holdings, 1804-1850

I - % Distribution of all African-born slaves

| PLANTEL | 1804 | 1816 | 1823 | 1829 | 1836 | 1850 |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1 - 5 | 32.0% | 21.8% | 20.0% | 16.9% | 16.1% | 19.9% |
| 6 - 10 | 19.2% | 19.7% | 18.2% | 15.2% | 12.0% | 16.4% |
| 11 -15 | 14.0% | 10.4% | 12.0% | 11.1% | 10.4% | 10.0% |
| 16 - 20 | 9.1% | 8.3% | 8.0% | 8.4% | 11.1% | 8.7% |
| 21 40 | 14.8% | 21.0% | 17.5% | 20.7% | 17.6% | 22.4% |
| 41++ | 10.8% | 18.8% | 24.2% | 27.7% | 32.9% | 22.7% |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

II - % Distribution of all Creole or Native-born slaves

| PLANTEL | 1804 | 1816 | 1823 | 1829 | 1836 | 1850 |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1-5 | 29.4% | 26.5% | 21.6% | 22.3% | 21.8% | 24.0% |
| 6 -10 | 23.7% | 22.6% | 23.1% | 20.1% | 18.4% | 21.4% |
| 11 -15 | 16.6% | 12.4% | 12.9% | 13.6% | 15.6% | 13.8% |
| 16 - 20 | 9.3% | 9.1% | 9.4% | 9.1% | 11.0% | 8.9% |
| 21 40 | 13.0% | 18.2% | 20.2% | 17.3% | 16.8% | 16.3% |
| 41++ | 8.0% | 11.2% | 12.9% | 17.6% | 16.4% | 15.6% |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Thus Africans were primarily being drawn to the larger farms producing sugar and other major commercial crops and were held in the largest slave groupings within a society in which the average slave holding was just four slaves per owner. Though Africans could be found everywhere, they clearly weighed most heavily in the commercial part of the Paulista economy. They were even slightly more likely to be held by free male owners than female owners, an expected finding given the distribution of property and wealth by sex in 19th century Brazil. Though women owning sugar properties differed little from men, most female slave owners were in artisan production, and there the average holding was smaller. Although our occupational information is limited in terms of manufacturing, it is evident that all other contemporary studies from Minas and São Paulo suggest a very high ratio of slaves participating in these activities in the rural areas. São Paulo, like many other regions in Brazil in the 19th century, was a major producer of crude cloth and other finished or semi-finished products. This artisan activity also absorbed a large share of slaves, often in mixed farming situations. Given the sale of these products off the farm, then we would also expect Africans to be present as well, though our data is insufficient to analyze fully this phenomenon by time and space in terms of the origins of the slaves themselves.

But some interesting results are revealed by examining the three census years of 1804, 1829 and 1836. Though Africans were relatively equitably distributed throughout the province in relation to the total resident slave population in 1804, in the census which followed they increasingly became concentrated in a few areas. They quickly became the dominant group within the frontier Oeste Paulista zone, which was a prime area of new sugar

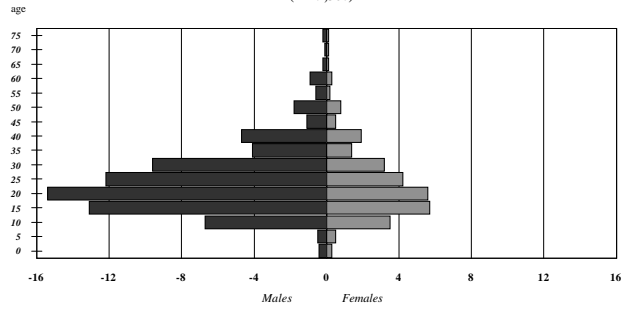
production. By 1829 and 1836 over 60% of the slaves in this region were African born. Though the Valley of Paraíba, which was both a traditional sugar producer and the zone which would start the coffee boom in the province, took the majority of all Africans, nevertheless Africans were not represented there in ratios greater than their total influence on the slave labor force. But together these two zones now absorbed 90% of all Africans, whereas they had taken but 49% of them in 1804.

Table 4
Distribution of Slave Population by Origin and Region , 1804-1836

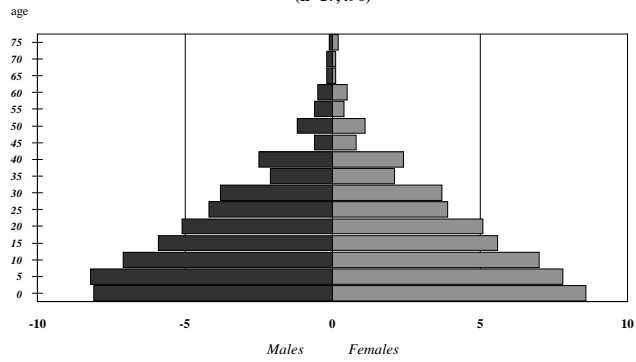
| 1804 | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| REGION | Africans | Creoles | Sub-tot | % African | % dist of Africans | Tot-incl unknown | %-dist of all slaves |
| Vale do Paraíba | 2244 | 4355 | 6599 | 34.0% | 31.5% | 6979 | 21.1% |
| Capital | 1975 | 3858 | 5833 | 33.9% | 27.8% | 8405 | 25.4% |
| Oeste Paulista | 1251 | 2118 | 3369 | 37.1% | 17.6% | 8373 | 25.3% |
| Caminho do Sul | 349 | 1130 | 1479 | 23.6% | 4.9% | 3759 | 11.4% |
| Litoral | 1295 | 2418 | 3713 | 34.9% | 18.2% | 5525 | 16.7% |
| Total | 7114 | 13879 | 20993 | 33.9% | 100.0% | 33041 | 100.0% |
| 1829 | | | | | | | |
| Vale do Paraíba | 9111 | 6921 | 16032 | 56.8% | 47.1% | 16593 | 30.5% |
| Capital | 1263 | 2829 | 4092 | 30.9% | 6.5% | 8150 | 15.0% |
| Oeste Paulista | 7404 | 4613 | 12017 | 61.6% | 38.2% | 18885 | 34.7% |
| Caminho do Sul | 284 | 708 | 992 | 28.6% | 1.5% | 5044 | 9.3% |
| Litoral | 1301 | 2422 | 3723 | 34.9% | 6.7% | 5783 | 10.6% |
| Total | 19363 | 17493 | 36856 | 52.5% | 100.0% | 54455 | 100.0% |
| 1836 | | | | | | | |
| Vale do Paraíba | 4411 | 4484 | 8895 | 49.6% | 54.2% | 9167 | 58.2% |
| Oeste Paulista | 2927 | 1608 | 4535 | 64.5% | 36.0% | 4572 | 29.0% |
| Caminho do Sul | 794 | 1123 | 1917 | 41.4% | 9.8% | 2025 | 12.8% |
| Total | 8132 | 7215 | 15347 | 53.0% | 100.0% | 15764 | 100.0% |

In conclusion, it can be argued that São Paulo even before it entered the world market, was a major importer of African slaves. From our sample municípios, it is evident that half of the resident slaves were African born well before the great boom in coffee. Yet such a weight of Africans in the resident slave population meant a negative natural growth rate for the Paulista slave population. That this population continued to grow at above 2% per annum can only be explained by ever expanding African purchases. Yet this all occurred before the advent of coffee as a major exportable crop and when São Paulo was only a modest exporter of sugar on the world market. Rather it was a primary producer of sugar for the regional and local markets and a major exporter of cane alcohol (*aguardente*). But this relatively modest agricultural economy was still rich enough to make São Paulo a major importer of slaves, Moreover this level of importation was based on a very traditional agricultural and manufacturing economy with no prior boom in importation based on a major exportable product. São Paulo, unlike Minas Gerais, had never been a significant mining economy in the 18th century and had to import its slaves only with the sale of traditional regional and nationally consumed products.

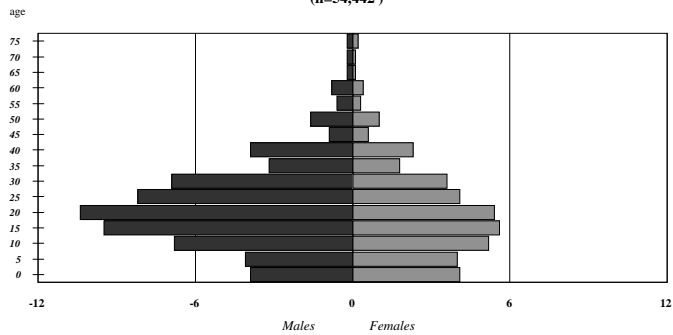
**Graph 1: AGE PYRAMID
OF AFRICAN SLAVES IN SÃO PAULO PROVINCE, 1829
(n=19,360)**



**Graph 2: AGE PYRAMID
OF CREOLE SLAVES IN SÃO PAULO PROVINCE, 1829
(n=17,490)**



**Graph 3: AGE PYRAMID
OF ALL RESIDENT SLAVES IN SÃO PAULO PROVINCE, 1829
(n=54,442)**



**APPENDIX TABLE 1 :
AGE OF SLAVES BY ORIGIN, 1804 - 1850**

| Year = 1804 AFRICANS | | | Year = 1816 AFRICANS | | Year = 1823 AFRICANS | | Year = 1836 AFRICANS | | Year = 1850 AFRICANS | |
|---------------------------------|-------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|
| Age | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 0 – 4 | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.4% | 0.6% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.2% |
| 5 – 9 | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.7% | 0.4% | 0.6% | 0.5% | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| 10 – 14 | 3.6% | 2.4% | 5.6% | 2.4% | 7.6% | 3.3% | 2.4% | 1.3% | 2.6% | 1.3% |
| 15 – 19 | 8.9% | 5.3% | 12.6% | 5.0% | 14.7% | 5.5% | 9.3% | 3.9% | 4.6% | 2.7% |
| 20 – 24 | 12.1% | 6.6% | 15.9% | 6.2% | 18.4% | 5.9% | 15.2% | 6.7% | 9.4% | 4.3% |
| 25 – 29 | 9.4% | 4.5% | 11.2% | 4.4% | 10.9% | 3.4% | 13.6% | 4.3% | 10.0% | 3.4% |
| 30 – 34 | 8.6% | 4.3% | 8.4% | 3.7% | 7.8% | 3.3% | 13.2% | 4.5% | 14.4% | 6.0% |
| 35 – 39 | 4.7% | 2.2% | 4.3% | 2.1% | 3.7% | 1.2% | 4.6% | 1.4% | 7.4% | 2.6% |
| 40 – 44 | 7.2% | 3.0% | 4.5% | 2.0% | 5.1% | 1.3% | 7.2% | 2.5% | 13.8% | 4.5% |
| 45 – 49 | 2.0% | 1.0% | 1.6% | 0.6% | 1.0% | 0.3% | 1.0% | 0.2% | 1.6% | 0.7% |
| 50 – 54 | 4.2% | 1.4% | 2.3% | 0.7% | 1.7% | 0.7% | 2.9% | 0.9% | 4.1% | 1.4% |
| 55 – 59 | 1.7% | 0.7% | 1.3% | 0.3% | 0.6% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.8% | 0.4% |
| 60 – 64 | 1.9% | 0.4% | 0.9% | 0.4% | 0.7% | 0.3% | 1.3% | 0.4% | 1.3% | 0.5% |
| 65 – 69 | 0.8% | 0.2% | 0.4% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| 70 – 74 | 0.6% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.7% | 0.0% |
| 75 ++ | 0.8% | 0.3% | 0.5% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.6% | 0.3% | 0.4% | 0.1% |
| Total | 67.0% | 33.0% | 70.9% | 29.1% | 73.7% | 26.3% | 72.8% | 27.2% | 71.6% | 28.4% |

| CREOLES | | | CREOLES | | CREOLES | | CREOLES | | CREOLES | |
|----------------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| 0 – 4 | 7.3% | 7.7% | 8.3% | 8.4% | 8.1% | 7.8% | 9.5% | 9.9% | 8.1% | 7.8% |
| 5 – 9 | 8.1% | 7.7% | 7.4% | 6.9% | 7.0% | 7.5% | 8.1% | 8.2% | 7.9% | 8.5% |
| 10 – 14 | 6.8% | 6.7% | 6.5% | 6.6% | 7.4% | 6.3% | 7.7% | 7.2% | 9.4% | 8.6% |
| 15 – 19 | 5.5% | 5.6% | 6.7% | 6.7% | 6.2% | 5.5% | 5.6% | 5.4% | 6.4% | 6.1% |
| 20 – 24 | 5.4% | 5.8% | 6.3% | 5.3% | 6.1% | 5.3% | 5.2% | 5.3% | 5.6% | 5.4% |
| 25 – 29 | 3.8% | 4.2% | 4.6% | 4.6% | 4.1% | 4.4% | 3.9% | 3.4% | 3.7% | 3.5% |
| 30 – 34 | 3.5% | 4.1% | 3.3% | 3.6% | 4.5% | 3.9% | 3.8% | 3.7% | 3.6% | 3.6% |
| 35 – 39 | 2.0% | 2.1% | 2.2% | 1.9% | 2.3% | 2.1% | 1.4% | 1.1% | 1.5% | 1.3% |
| 40 – 44 | 2.5% | 2.7% | 2.4% | 2.4% | 2.8% | 2.6% | 2.6% | 2.2% | 2.2% | 1.7% |
| 45 – 49 | 0.8% | 1.0% | 0.9% | 0.7% | 0.7% | 0.8% | 0.6% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.4% |
| 50 – 54 | 1.3% | 1.2% | 0.8% | 0.9% | 0.9% | 1.1% | 1.5% | 1.0% | 1.6% | 0.9% |
| 55 – 59 | 0.6% | 0.6% | 0.5% | 0.5% | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.3% |
| 60 – 64 | 0.6% | 0.7% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.5% | 0.7% | 0.4% | 0.5% | 0.4% |
| 65 – 69 | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| 70 – 74 | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| 75 ++ | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Total | 49.0% | 51.0% | 50.6% | 49.4% | 51.5% | 48.5% | 51.3% | 48.7% | 51.3% | 48.7% |

| ALL RESIDENT SLAVES | | | ALL SLAVES | | ALL SLAVES | | ALL SLAVES | | ALL SLAVES | |
|----------------------------|------|------|-------------------|------|-------------------|------|-------------------|------|-------------------|------|
| 0 – 4 | 5.0% | 5.1% | 4.3% | 4.4% | 3.8% | 3.5% | 4.6% | 4.8% | 5.3% | 5.0% |
| 5 – 9 | 5.4% | 5.2% | 3.9% | 3.8% | 3.4% | 3.4% | 4.0% | 4.0% | 5.0% | 5.4% |
| 10 – 14 | 5.7% | 5.2% | 6.1% | 4.4% | 6.9% | 4.3% | 4.8% | 4.1% | 6.9% | 5.9% |
| 15 – 19 | 6.4% | 5.5% | 9.8% | 5.9% | 10.8% | 5.2% | 7.6% | 4.7% | 5.7% | 4.8% |
| 20 – 24 | 7.4% | 5.9% | 10.5% | 5.6% | 13.2% | 5.6% | 10.6% | 6.0% | 7.0% | 5.0% |
| 25 – 29 | 5.8% | 4.3% | 7.6% | 4.2% | 8.7% | 3.8% | 9.1% | 3.8% | 6.0% | 3.5% |
| 30 – 34 | 5.4% | 4.2% | 6.1% | 3.8% | 6.9% | 3.5% | 8.7% | 4.1% | 7.7% | 4.5% |
| 35 – 39 | 2.9% | 2.2% | 3.3% | 2.1% | 3.1% | 1.5% | 3.0% | 1.3% | 3.7% | 1.8% |
| 40 – 44 | 4.1% | 3.0% | 3.6% | 2.2% | 4.1% | 2.0% | 5.0% | 2.3% | 6.5% | 2.8% |
| 45 – 49 | 1.3% | 1.0% | 1.2% | 0.6% | 0.8% | 0.5% | 0.8% | 0.3% | 0.8% | 0.5% |
| 50 – 54 | 2.2% | 1.4% | 1.6% | 0.9% | 1.4% | 0.9% | 2.2% | 1.0% | 2.5% | 1.1% |
| 55 – 59 | 1.0% | 0.7% | 0.9% | 0.4% | 0.5% | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.4% | 0.3% |
| 60 – 64 | 1.1% | 0.7% | 0.8% | 0.5% | 0.7% | 0.3% | 1.0% | 0.4% | 0.8% | 0.4% |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 65 – 69 | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| 70 – 74 | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.0% |
| 75 ++ | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.5% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.5% | 0.4% | 0.2% | 0.1% |
| Total | 54.8% | 45.2% | 60.4% | 39.6% | 64.9% | 35.1% | 62.6% | 37.4% | 58.9% | 41.1% |