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The Aragalaya and democracy have widespread support amongst the public, but Sri Lankans are souring on capitalism

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About the IHP Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey

The IHP Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS) was launched to track public experience and opinion during the recovery from COVID-19. It is run by the Institute for Health Policy (IHP), which is an independent, non-partisan research centre based in Colombo, Sri Lanka, on behalf of the Sri Lanka Health and Ageing Study (SLHAS) consortium of Sri Lankan academic and research institutions. The SLOTS lead investigator is Dr Ravi Rannan-Eliya of IHP, who was trained in public opinion polling at Harvard University, and who has conducted numerous opinion surveys over three decades.

SLOTS interviews representative samples of Sri Lankan adults every day by telephone to gather their current views and situation. All interviews include a core set of common questions, with additional rotating sets of other questions that examine issues of topical importance. The survey has been funded by the Neelan Tiruchelvam Trust, the UK National Institute for Health and Care Research (NIHR), the Asia Foundation, and others. The survey has an omnibus design, and the Institute welcomes sponsorship to continue the survey, to add new questions, or to undertake tailored analyses of the data. Potential sponsors should contact the Institute for further details.

SLOTS respondents consist of a mix of respondents reached by random digit dialling of mobile numbers, and others coming from a national panel of respondents who have agreed to be re-interviewed, and who were previously recruited using random selection. As with any survey, bias can arise from the sampling design and non-response, which means that respondents are not representative of the underlying population. To adjust for this, unless otherwise noted, all reported estimates and analyses use data that have been weighted to ensure that they are representative of the national adult population. This weighting process uses propensity weighting and iterative proportional fitting (raking) to match the national population according to age, gender, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic ranking, education, sector, and geographical location, and where appropriate by voting history.

The Aragalaya and democracy have widespread support amongst the public, but Sri Lankans are souring on capitalism

Sri Lankans regard the Aragalaya favourably and increasingly so, six months after the collapse of the Gotabaya Rajapaksa presidency. Six in ten (55%) had a favourable view of it according to SLOTS polling from Oct. 2022 to Mar. 2023, and only one in five Sri Lankans (18%) viewed it negatively.

Most Sri Lankans (52%) retain a favourable view of democracy, and positive views have increased in recent months, but they have contrasting views of socialism and capitalism. A net 32% of the public have a favourable view of socialism versus a net 23% who have an unfavourable view of capitalism.

Most Sri Lankans have favourable views of the Aragalaya, democracy, and socialism, but negative views of capitalism

% who say they have a favourable or unfavourable view of ____
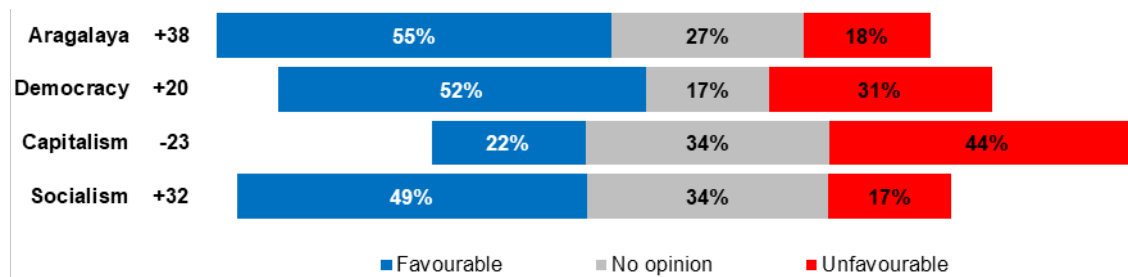
Institute for Health Policy Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS)
Survey of 2,720 adults during 4 Oct. 2022–01 Mar. 2023, with favourability items randomized between respondents. Refusals and respondents who had not heard of the relevant item, which averaged 4–6% across questions, are excluded. All estimates weighted to match the national population.

Sri Lankans have increasingly positive views of the Aragalaya, democracy and socialism, but views of capitalism are worsening

Between late 2022 and the start of 2023, net favourability of the Aragalaya, democracy, and socialism improved by 16[1], 14[4] and 14[3] points respectively. In contrast, there was a decrease in favourability towards capitalism, although this was not statistically significant.[5]

Sri Lankans becoming more favourable to the Aragalaya, democracy and socialism, but not to capitalism

Net favourability rating (%) of ____

Institute for Health Policy Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS)
Comparison of 1,581 adults surveyed during 4 Oct.–31 Dec. 2022 and 1,139 adults surveyed during 1 Jan.–01 Mar. 2023, with favourability items randomized between respondents. All estimates weighted to match the national population.

Differences in views between Sri Lankans

Within the public, there are some significant differences between Sri Lankans in their views, particularly about the Aragalaya and capitalism.

Young Sri Lankans are the most supportive of the Aragalaya, which is consistent with the public impression that most Aragalaya activists were young. Net favourability is higher (54%) in younger adults (18–39 years) than in older adults (25%)[1] and is highest (64%) in the youth (18–29 years). Positive views towards democracy decline with age in those under 50 years of age but remain positive overall even in the youth (net favourability 2%). In contrast, whilst attitudes towards socialism vary less by age, the youth have much more negative views about capitalism (-44% net favourability) than other age groups (-17%)[1].

The youth, the most educated, and upper income Sri Lankans have the most favourable views of the Aragalaya and the most negative views about capitalism

% who say they have a favourable or unfavourable view of ____

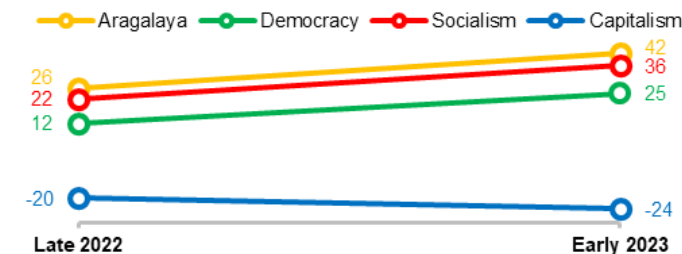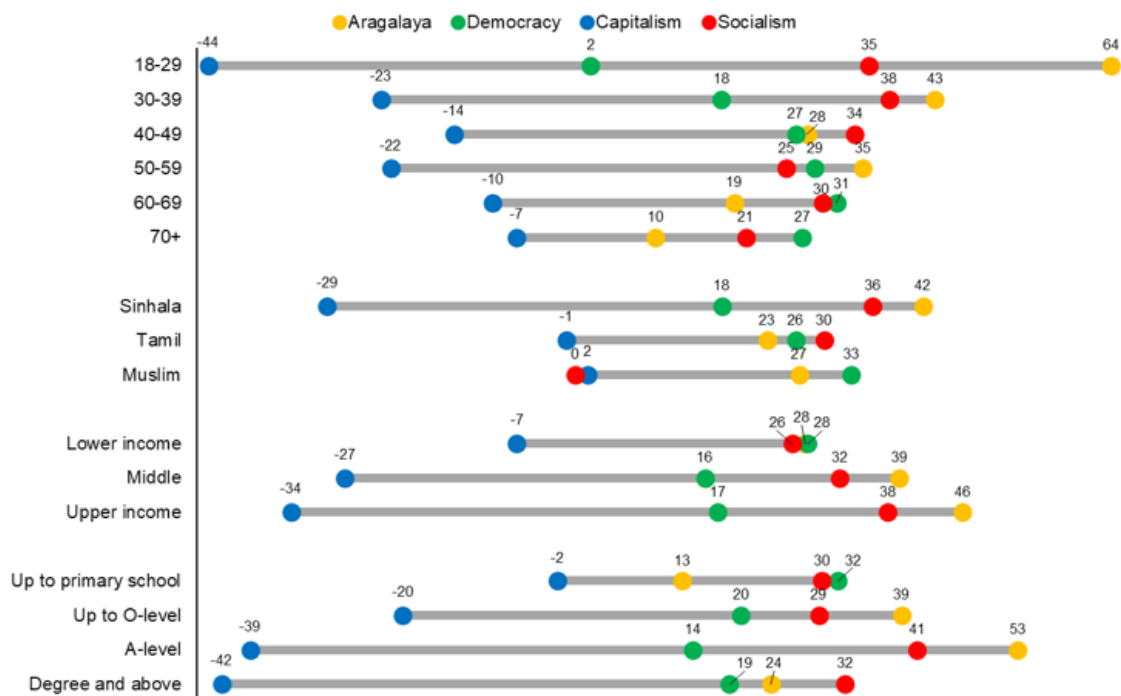Institute for Health Policy Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS)
Survey of 2,720 adults during 4 Oct. 2022–01 Mar. 2023, with favourability items randomized between respondents. Refusals and respondents who had not heard of the relevant item, which averaged 4–6% across questions, are excluded. All estimates weighted to match the national population.

SLOTS polling reveals little difference in views about the Aragalaya between urban and rural adults, and the favourability of the Aragalaya is similar across provinces. Views of the Aragalaya differ little also between major ethnic groups. These findings indicate that the Aragalaya enjoys broad-based support across society, and they run counter to suggestions that it enjoyed little support outside the Western Province or outside the Sinhala community.

There is a clearer difference between ethnic groups in their views about capitalism and socialism. Sinhala adults have a more favourable view of socialism (36%)[2] and a more negative view of capitalism (-29%)[1] than other ethnic groups. Surprisingly perhaps, the most socially advantaged Sri

Lankans have the most positive views about the Aragalaya and the most negative views of capitalism. Capitalism has a net favourability of -42% in Sri Lankans with a university education, and -34% in upper income Sri Lankans.

It is unclear whether this represents long-standing patterns in beliefs or is the outcome of the impact of the current economic crisis on formal sector workers, as we don't have similar survey data from before the crisis. However, many Sri Lankans do perceive that the dominant economic policy paradigm in the past three decades has been "capitalist", and so the negative views of "capitalism" and the positive views of "socialism" may be driven by public perceptions that this dominant policy paradigm has fundamentally failed.

Differences in views between supporters of different parties

Party supporters (defined on basis of current voting intention) have quite different views about the Aragalaya. Notably, SLPP supporters differ from most Sri Lankans in having a strongly negative view of the Aragalaya (-33%),[3] whilst UNP supporters have mixed views with a net favourability of 11%. This probably reflects the fact that SLPP supporters reacted negatively to the agitation by the Aragalaya for the government to resign, whilst much of the current support for the UNP consists of former SLPP voters.

Supporters of the SJB, NPP/JVP and ITAK have the most negative views about capitalism, and the NPP/JVP supporters have the most favourable views of socialism.

Only SLPP supporters have a negative view of the Aragalaya, whilst UNP supporters have mixed views

% who say they have a favourable or unfavourable view of ____
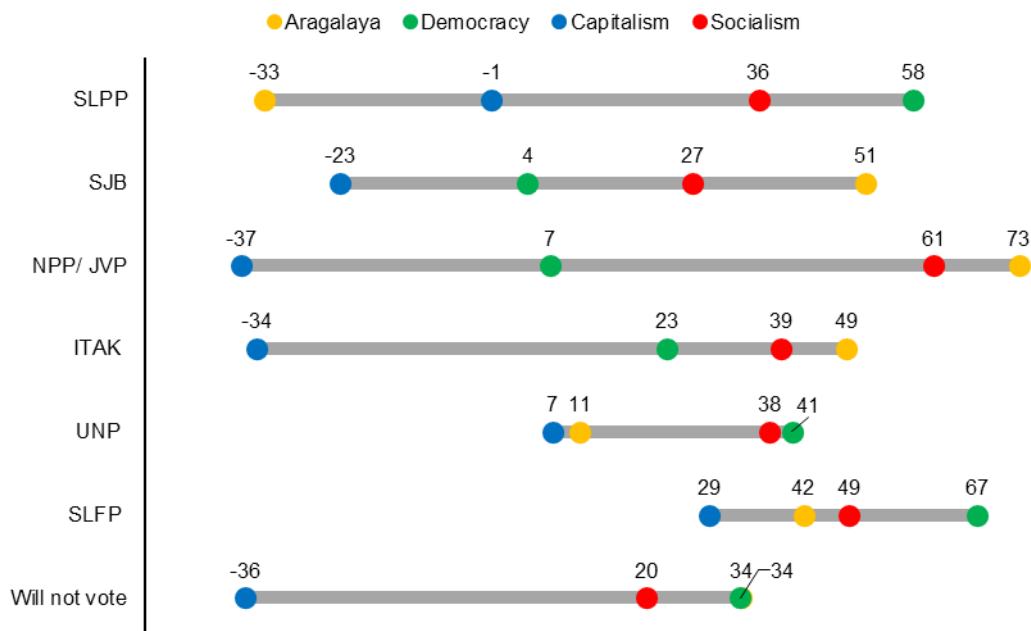
Institute for Health Policy Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS)
Survey of 2,720 adults during 4 Oct. 2022–01 Mar. 2023, with favourability items randomized between respondents. Refusals and respondents who had not heard of the relevant item are excluded, and party identification is based on current general election voting intention. All estimates weighted to match the national population.

Notes

[1] Statistically significant at $p < 0.001$.

[2] Statistically significant at $p < 0.01$.

[3] Statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

[4] Statistically significant at $p < 0.10$.

[5] $p = 0.11$.

How we did this

This analysis uses data collected by the Sri Lanka Opinion Tracker Survey (SLOTS) between October 4, 2022 and March 1, 2023. SLOTS is a national phone survey that has been tracking public opinion every day since August 2021, interviewing people across the country. Respondents are drawn from a mixed sample of a national representative panel of respondents previously recruited in 2019 through face-to-face interviews from all parts of the country, and others reached by randomly dialling mobile numbers.

Respondents are interviewed in their language of choice: Sinhala, Tamil, or English. The specific question about favourability is worded as follows: "Can you tell me whether you have a favourable or unfavourable view of _____ — or that you are unsure or have no view of [it], or that you have not heard of [it]." When interviewers read out the possible responses, the ordering of "favourable" and "unfavourable" is randomized between respondents to minimize bias. The specific items respondents are asked their opinion about are randomized between respondents, so no respondent is asked about all items.

All reported results are weighted to be representative of all Sri Lankan adults by age, gender, ethnicity, religion, household income, education, and province. Weights are trimmed at the 2nd and 99.5th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. F-tests were used to assess statistical significance of differences between groups. Point estimates, sampling errors and tests of statistical significance account for the effect of weighting.

The SLOTS survey cannot reach adults living in households without phones, but the weighting adjustment by household income and province substantially compensates for this.

The income categorization of respondents is based on a wealth index computed from ownership of household assets, which is calibrated to match the overall national distribution of assets including households without phones.

Party support is categorized according to who respondents say they would vote for if there was an election held today. A substantial number of respondents do not answer this question and these respondents are excluded from the relevant analyses.

Acknowledgements

Statistical Appendix

Favourability of the Aragalaya – Composition of samples

		Late 2022			Early 2023			All		
		N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%
Total		616	616	100.0	1,090	1,090	100.0	1,706	1,706	100.0
Sex	Male	304	298	48.4	529	516	47.4	833	806	47.3
	Female	312	318	51.6	561	574	52.6	873	900	52.7
Age (years)	18–29	52	119	19.3	182	250	23.0	234	377	22.1
	30–39	82	141	22.8	144	227	20.8	226	360	21.1
	40–49	141	113	18.3	212	204	18.7	353	325	19.0
	50–59	112	111	18.0	192	183	16.8	304	290	17.0
	60–69	122	76	12.3	171	133	12.2	293	209	12.3
	70–79	91	41	6.7	137	69	6.3	228	109	6.4
	80+	16	16	2.6	52	24	2.2	68	37	2.2
Ethnicity	Sinhala	465	455	73.9	782	825	75.7	1,247	1,296	76.0
	SL Tamil	97	85	13.8	191	123	11.3	288	188	11.0
	Estate Tamil	11	14	2.2	22	42	3.9	33	63	3.7
	Muslim	37	60	9.7	83	94	8.6	120	154	9.0
	Other	6	2	0.3	12	5	0.5	18	4	0.3
Province	WP	141	157	25.5	231	294	27.0	372	461	27.0
	CP	65	86	14.0	161	145	13.3	226	228	13.4
	SP	88	70	11.4	132	133	12.2	220	208	12.2
	NP	64	37	6.1	117	63	5.8	181	96	5.6
	EP	46	63	10.2	101	95	8.7	147	148	8.7
	NWP	54	66	10.7	95	120	11.0	149	188	11.0
	NCP	42	40	6.5	80	73	6.7	122	116	6.8
	Uva	45	38	6.2	75	67	6.1	120	108	6.3
	Sab	71	58	9.4	98	100	9.2	169	153	9.0
Sector	Urban	205	106	17.2	346	207	19.0	551	320	18.7
	Rural	411	510	82.8	744	883	81.0	1,155	1,386	81.3
SES Quintile	Poorest	103	130	21.1	199	218	20.0	302	345	20.2
	Lower middle	116	123	19.9	223	224	20.5	339	348	20.4
	Middle	126	124	20.1	202	214	19.6	328	332	19.5
	Upper middle	138	112	18.2	226	215	19.7	364	337	19.8
	Richest	133	128	20.7	240	220	20.2	373	344	20.2

Note: N = Unweighted number of respondents; *Nw* = Weighted number of respondents.

Favourability of Democracy – Composition of samples

		Late 2022			Early 2023			All		
		N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%
Total		632	632	100.0	1,057	1,057	100.0	1,689	1,689	100.0
Sex	Male	310	304	48.1	527	502	47.5	837	799	47.3
	Female	322	328	51.9	530	555	52.5	852	890	52.7
Age (years)	18–29	58	128	20.3	181	241	22.8	239	370	21.9
	30–39	86	141	22.4	140	222	21.0	226	357	21.1
	40–49	136	118	18.7	211	198	18.7	347	322	19.1
	50–59	117	111	17.6	188	178	16.8	305	287	17.0
	60–69	125	77	12.1	163	129	12.2	288	208	12.3
	70–79	92	43	6.8	126	67	6.3	218	108	6.4
	80+	18	14	2.1	48	23	2.2	66	37	2.2
Ethnicity	Sinhala	466	462	73.0	745	802	75.9	1,211	1,288	76.3
	SL Tamil	105	86	13.6	191	117	11.1	296	185	11.0
	Estate Tamil	13	16	2.6	22	43	4.0	35	65	3.8
	Muslim	40	67	10.5	87	90	8.5	127	146	8.7
	Other	8	2	0.3	12	5	0.5	20	5	0.3
Province	WP	131	161	25.5	218	286	27.0	349	454	26.9
	CP	82	86	13.6	158	141	13.3	240	225	13.3
	SP	87	70	11.0	128	126	12.0	215	203	12.0
	NP	71	41	6.5	119	61	5.8	190	95	5.6
	EP	47	70	11.0	102	90	8.5	149	145	8.6
	NWP	56	69	10.9	89	114	10.7	145	184	10.9
	NCP	43	41	6.5	75	71	6.7	118	115	6.8
	Uva	46	38	6.0	71	66	6.2	117	108	6.4
	Sab	69	57	9.0	97	103	9.7	166	161	9.5
Sector	Urban	220	112	17.7	335	205	19.4	555	328	19.4
	Rural	412	520	82.3	722	852	80.6	1,134	1,361	80.6
SES Quintile	Poorest	108	128	20.3	187	211	19.9	295	340	20.1
	Lower middle	119	121	19.1	211	217	20.6	330	346	20.5
	Middle	122	127	20.1	202	206	19.5	324	328	19.4
	Upper middle	139	121	19.1	222	213	20.2	361	340	20.1
	Richest	144	135	21.4	235	210	19.9	379	335	19.8

Note: N = Unweighted number of respondents; *Nw* = Weighted number of respondents.

Favourability of Capitalism – Composition of samples

		Late 2022			Early 2023			All		
		N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%
Total		545	545	100.0	1,026	1,026	100.0	1,571	1,571	100.0
Sex	Male	266	263	48.2	519	487	47.5	785	741	47.2
	Female	279	282	51.8	507	539	52.5	786	830	52.8
Age (years)	18–29	51	109	20.0	171	231	22.5	222	342	21.8
	30–39	72	124	22.8	134	216	21.1	206	332	21.1
	40–49	116	99	18.2	205	193	18.8	321	300	19.1
	50–59	101	98	17.9	183	173	16.9	284	267	17.0
	60–69	107	67	12.2	162	125	12.2	269	194	12.3
	70–79	84	37	6.8	125	65	6.4	209	101	6.4
	80+	14	12	2.1	46	22	2.2	60	34	2.2
Ethnicity	Sinhala	392	396	72.7	717	778	75.8	1,109	1,199	76.3
	SL Tamil	99	74	13.5	190	112	11.0	289	170	10.8
	Estate Tamil	12	15	2.8	22	41	4.0	34	60	3.8
	Muslim	35	58	10.6	85	92	8.9	120	135	8.6
	Other	7	2	0.3	12	2	0.2	19	7	0.4
Province	WP	109	140	25.6	209	280	27.3	318	431	27.4
	CP	68	71	13.0	154	137	13.3	222	208	13.3
	SP	73	58	10.6	125	121	11.8	198	185	11.8
	NP	67	37	6.8	119	58	5.7	186	87	5.6
	EP	42	62	11.3	102	87	8.5	144	133	8.5
	NWP	50	58	10.7	85	110	10.7	135	169	10.8
	NCP	38	39	7.2	71	69	6.8	109	107	6.8
	Uva	38	32	5.9	67	64	6.3	105	99	6.3
	Sab	60	48	8.9	94	99	9.6	154	150	9.5
Sector	Urban	185	98	18.0	328	200	19.5	513	308	19.6
	Rural	360	447	82.0	698	826	80.5	1,058	1,263	80.4
SES Quintile	Poorest	101	108	19.8	183	203	19.8	284	313	19.9
	Lower middle	95	103	18.9	204	212	20.7	299	322	20.5
	Middle	103	108	19.9	196	197	19.2	299	298	19.0
	Upper middle	122	107	19.6	217	206	20.1	339	316	20.1
	Richest	124	118	21.7	226	208	20.2	350	321	20.4

Note: N = Unweighted number of respondents; Nw = Weighted number of respondents.

Favourability of Socialism – Composition of samples

		Late 2022			Early 2023			All		
		N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%	N	Nw	%
Total		545	545	100.0	1,024	1,024	100.0	1,569	1,569	100.0
Sex	Male	266	263	48.2	519	487	47.5	785	740	47.2
	Female	279	282	51.8	505	537	52.5	784	829	52.8
Age (years)	18–29	51	109	20.0	170	231	22.5	221	342	21.8
	30–39	72	124	22.8	134	216	21.1	206	332	21.1
	40–49	116	99	18.2	205	192	18.7	321	300	19.1
	50–59	101	98	17.9	183	173	16.9	284	267	17.0
	60–69	107	67	12.2	162	125	12.2	269	194	12.3
	70–79	84	37	6.8	123	65	6.4	207	101	6.4
	80+	14	12	2.1	47	22	2.2	61	34	2.2
Ethnicity	Sinhala	392	396	72.7	715	776	75.8	1,107	1,197	76.3
	SL Tamil	99	74	13.5	190	112	11.0	289	170	10.8
	Estate Tamil	12	15	2.8	22	41	4.0	34	60	3.8
	Muslim	35	58	10.6	85	92	9.0	120	135	8.6
	Other	7	2	0.3	12	2	0.2	19	7	0.4
Province	WP	109	140	25.6	209	279	27.3	318	431	27.4
	CP	68	71	13.0	154	137	13.3	222	208	13.3
	SP	73	58	10.6	124	121	11.8	197	185	11.8
	NP	67	37	6.8	119	58	5.7	186	87	5.6
	EP	42	62	11.3	102	87	8.5	144	133	8.5
	NWP	50	58	10.7	84	110	10.7	134	169	10.8
	NCP	38	39	7.2	71	69	6.8	109	107	6.8
	Uva	38	32	5.9	67	64	6.3	105	99	6.3
	Sab	60	48	8.9	94	99	9.6	154	150	9.5
Sector	Urban	185	98	18.0	327	199	19.5	512	307	19.6
	Rural	360	447	82.0	697	825	80.5	1,057	1,262	80.4
SES Quintile	Poorest	101	108	19.8	182	203	19.8	283	313	19.9
	Lower middle	95	103	18.9	204	212	20.7	299	322	20.5
	Middle	103	108	19.9	196	196	19.2	299	298	19.0
	Upper middle	122	107	19.6	216	206	20.1	338	315	20.1
	Richest	124	118	21.7	226	207	20.2	350	321	20.4

Note: N = Unweighted number of respondents; Nw = Weighted number of respondents.

Net favourability estimates

		Aragalaya (%)		Democracy (%)		Capitalism (%)		Socialism (%)	
		Net favourability	95% CI	Net favourability	95% CI	Net favourability	95% CI	Net favourability	95% CI
Sex	Male	42.5	(36.0–48.9)	19.7	(11.9–27.6)	-31.0	(-38.0–-24.0)	35.5	(28.7–42.3)
	Female	33.3	(27.0–39.5)	20.9	(13.5–28.2)	-15.1	(-21.9–-8.3)	28.5	(22.2–34.9)
Age (years)	18–29	64.2	(54.7–73.8)	2.0	(-12.2–16.2)	-43.7	(-55.4–-31.9)	35.3	(22.5–48.0)
	30–39	43.1	(32.6–53.6)	17.6	(4.6–30.7)	-23.0	(-35.1–-10.9)	37.7	(26.9–48.4)
	40–49	27.9	(17.5–38.3)	26.5	(15.6–37.4)	-14.3	(-24.1–-4.5)	33.6	(24.3–42.8)
	50–59	34.6	(24.2–44.9)	28.8	(17.0–40.6)	-21.9	(-33.2–-10.6)	25.4	(14.9–35.9)
	60–69	19.2	(8.4–29.9)	31.4	(20.3–42.5)	-9.7	(-20.9–-1.5)	29.7	(19.4–40.0)
	70+	9.7	(-1.4–20.9)	27.3	(15.7–39.0)	-6.9	(-17.7–-4.0)	20.6	(10.4–30.7)
SES tertile	Lower income	27.7	(19.6–35.7)	27.9	(19.2–36.7)	-6.8	(-15.5–-1.8)	26.1	(17.8–34.4)
	Middle	38.9	(31.2–46.6)	15.7	(6.1–25.2)	-27.3	(-35.8–-18.9)	31.8	(23.5–40.1)
	Upper income	46.4	(39.0–53.8)	17.2	(7.7–26.8)	-33.8	(-41.8–-25.7)	37.5	(30.0–45.1)
Education	Upto primary school	13.0	(1.0–24.9)	31.6	(18.6–44.5)	-1.9	(-15.1–11.2)	29.6	(17.8–41.5)
	Upto O-level	39.2	(33.4–44.9)	19.9	(13.0–26.9)	-20.4	(-26.8–-14.1)	29.3	(23.2–35.4)
	A-level	53.0	(44.3–61.7)	14.3	(2.2–26.3)	-38.7	(-48.6–-28.7)	41.0	(31.4–50.7)
	Degree and above	23.6	(2.8–44.3)	18.6	(-5.8–43.1)	-42.1	(-62.0–-22.1)	32.4	(10.0–54.8)
Ethnicity	Sinhala	41.7	(36.8–46.6)	17.7	(11.5–23.9)	-29.5	(-34.6–-24.3)	35.7	(30.7–40.8)
	Tamil	23.1	(11.2–35.0)	26.5	(13.0–40.0)	-0.9	(-15.6–13.8)	29.9	(17.2–42.7)
	Muslim	26.9	(9.2–44.6)	33.1	(14.6–51.7)	1.7	(-18.3–21.6)	0.1	(-19.7–20.0)
Sector	Urban	37.3	(28.8–45.8)	26.0	(15.4–36.5)	-21.5	(-31.6–-11.4)	28.4	(18.8–38.0)
	Rural	37.7	(32.5–42.9)	19.0	(12.8–25.2)	-22.9	(-28.5–-17.3)	32.7	(27.4–38.0)
Province	WP	41.8	(32.2–51.5)	19.7	(7.5–31.9)	-24.0	(-34.8–-13.2)	29.6	(19.6–39.7)
	CP	32.1	(19.2–45.1)	22.0	(8.7–35.3)	-18.1	(-31.4–-4.9)	32.8	(20.4–45.1)
	SP	36.5	(24.6–48.3)	2.5	(-11.3–16.3)	-41.1	(-51.2–-31.0)	37.2	(26.2–48.3)
	NP	16.9	(0.9–32.9)	30.2	(12.1–48.3)	9.7	(-8.4–27.9)	25.4	(8.0–42.7)
	EP	31.1	(15.2–47.0)	33.5	(16.2–50.7)	1.0	(-17.5–19.4)	25.1	(7.4–42.8)
	NWP	40.2	(26.9–53.4)	23.0	(6.3–39.7)	-24.5	(-38.8–-10.3)	30.5	(16.7–44.3)
	NCP	47.1	(33.6–60.6)	28.3	(10.1–46.6)	-28.6	(-45.3–-11.9)	45.2	(29.7–60.8)
	Uva	46.3	(30.8–61.8)	5.9	(-14.1–26.0)	-29.1	(-46.3–-11.9)	16.9	(-1.2–35.1)
	Sab	37.7	(24.8–50.7)	25.5	(9.6–41.4)	-31.1	(-44.8–-17.3)	41.7	(27.9–55.5)
Current general election vote intent	SLPP	-33.3	(-49.9–-16.6)	57.9	(43.0–72.7)	-1.4	(-17.9–15.1)	36.2	(20.4–51.9)
	SJB	51.2	(41.6–60.9)	3.7	(-9.7–17.1)	-22.7	(-35.5–-9.9)	26.9	(14.4–39.4)
	NPP/JVP	72.7	(65.2–80.3)	6.8	(-7.2–20.8)	-36.5	(-48.2–-24.8)	60.7	(50.7–70.7)
	ITAK	48.6	(28.8–68.3)	23.3	(-7.3–53.9)	-34.4	(-60.4–-8.3)	39.4	(14.8–64.0)
	UNP	11.0	(-10.9–33.0)	40.9	(18.1–63.6)	7.2	(-13.6–27.9)	37.8	(19.7–55.8)
	SLFP	42.5	(0.3–84.6)	66.9	(32.6–101.1)	29.2	(-10.1–68.6)	48.9	(14.2–83.6)
	Will not vote	33.7	(24.4–43.1)	33.6	(21.6–45.5)	-36.0	(-45.8–-26.3)	20.4	(10.5–30.3)
Time period	Late 2022	27.0	(19.3–34.7)	13.8	(5.5–22.2)	-16.8	(-24.9–-8.8)	24.3	(16.7–32.0)
	Early 2023	43.0	(37.5–48.5)	23.8	(16.8–30.7)	-25.3	(-31.5–-19.2)	35.4	(29.6–41.2)