

Researching in a mobile world: Dealing with populations, mobility and longitudinal research in the twenty-first century.

Lois Bryson and Jenny Powers, Research Centre for Gender, Health and Ageing, University of Newcastle.

Abstract

The question that initiated this paper was, 'what are the implications of contemporary patterns of international mobility for undertaking longitudinal research?' The issue emerged from problems faced in tracking a cohort of women who were aged 18-23 years when the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health (ALSWH) began in 1996. Exploration of the relevant national data confirms that the rate of international, and local, mobility is highest for those in their twenties and thirties. However the analysis has raised wider and more fundamental issues. These involve how best to understand the nature of 'national populations' in a globalising context in which much migration is best conceptualised as a continuing, rather than a one-off process, as it has been in the past. This requires research approaches that can encompass a number of developments including transmigration, long distance marital relationships, diasporas, dual citizenship, expatriate national parliamentary representatives and global censuses. The discussion raises some implications of these developments, not only for understanding issues for longitudinal research, but also for how we can 'make the most of our Census', given that the iconic concept of the bordered national population may be reaching its use-by date.

Researching in a mobile world: Dealing with populations, mobility and longitudinal research in the twenty-first century.

Lois Bryson and Jenny Powers, Research Centre for Gender, Health and Ageing, University of Newcastle.

Introduction

This paper is concerned with issues associated with contemporary international mobility and the implications of this globalizing trend for understanding national populations in the future. Twenty-first century migration is notable for its extent and particularly for its diverse forms of transmigration which involve maintaining meaningful contact with more than one nation. Although by no means a new phenomenon, transmigration has become more prominent over recent decades and can no longer be ignored in discussions of national population issues. Recent research on the nature of diasporas by, for example Graeme Hugo and his colleagues (2001; 2003), illustrates the growing recognition of this not only by researchers but governments as well. The focus of this paper is on a consideration of some emerging patterns of international mobility in order to highlight their implication for future approaches to national populations and to social research, and especially longitudinal more generally.

While much is being made in Australia at present of the effects of globalisation for the workforce which certainly is fundamental, the ramifications go well beyond this. The effects of globalization are such that it seems that the iconic concept of the bordered national population, as embodied in the national census, may soon reach its use-by date unless it is renovated to incorporate these recent trends. Nonetheless recognizing relevant trends has been a feature of the Australian Census. It has been constantly up-dated, so the idea of change to meet social contingencies is hardly new. Indeed this conference is part of this on-going process.

Background

When we consider the context of current globalizing trends it becomes clear that past Australian research on migration has mostly been focused on permanent migration. This means that as international mobility increases not only in scale but also variety, it is inevitable that we have to deal with types of mobility that past approaches have not adequately addressed. This paper arose from our concern about such an issue, particularly that involving circulatory mobility or transmigration. We were alerted to it through our attempt to understand the effects of contemporary international mobility for undertaking longitudinal research. The study that sparked this particular interest is the Australian Longitudinal Study on Women's Health (ALSWH), also known as Women's Health Australia (WHA), for which data are collected through three-yearly mailed

questionnaires. The study is planned to continue for twenty or more years and had an initial sample of more than 40,000 women. Now, ten years on, it has around 30,000 participants. The sample is comprised of three cohorts, who in 1996, the year the study commenced, were aged 18-23 years (younger), 45-50 years (mid-aged) and 70-75 years (older). Each cohort initially represented between 2 and 3 per cent of its total age category of women in Australia. The women are now 28-33, 55-60 and 80-85 years of age.

A central object of the ALSWH is to inform Australian health policy. This is a goal that makes it imperative that we maintain, throughout the life of the study, a detailed understanding of how adequately the sample represents the national population. However our attention was not originally drawn to the impact of international mobility because of its importance for sample representativeness, even though we knew in general that we would face considerable difficulties in tracking the youngest cohort. In longitudinal studies young people have been found to be notoriously difficult to track (Wadsworth, et al. 2003). Australian statistics for all forms of mobility clearly confirm that a reason for our difficulties tracking young women between the ages of 20 and 30 years is that they are more mobile than other women (and men as well). To illustrate, according to the Australian census, 17% of the Australian population move house each year and 42% move in a five-year period (ABS, 2001). For the 14,247 younger women who took part in the study in 1996 the ALSWH recorded 13,152 changes of address between 1998 and 2001. Between 1997 and 2000 only 26% of the young women who returned the first questionnaire had not moved house and almost half (48%) had moved twice or more. Moreover our information about changes of address is inevitably incomplete, and most no doubt we lost contact with many, if not most of the hyper mobile.

Movement within Australia naturally causes tracking problems for the research, though within Australia, mobility this is made somewhat easier to manage because of the availability of a range of centralised directory systems that can be called upon for assistance (Lee, et al. 2000). But what our efforts at tracking have emphasised is how difficult this is outside Australia. We were thus moved to try to better understand the phenomenon of contemporary migration and to investigate the implications of this for the sample and for drawing policy implications.

Despite the fact that the focus of much Australian research has been on permanent migration, the government historically has collected considerable information about international mobility of a shorter duration, both into and out of Australia. This facilitated our analysis and was fundamental for opening up a range of issues connected with globalisation that have implications well beyond checking the representativeness of research samples such as ours.

A general lack in other countries of attention to the broad issues of international mobility must be at least partly understood in the light of the fact that few countries have collected detailed information on types of international travel (Hugo et al. 2001). However greater appreciation of the many facets of international mobility has recently led to such data

being more widely collected particularly in OECD countries (OECD, 2005; Hugo, 2005) and the European Union (Ackers and Dwyer, 2002).

It is well recognised, that international migration 'is always selective' as Graeme Hugo (2005: 1) succinctly puts it. Because of this it became evident that this mobility has the potential to affect the representativeness of a sample of a longitudinal study, such as the ALSWH. Perhaps not unexpectedly, because of changing patterns of international mobility and the embryonic nature of our understanding of these patterns, we have not emerged from our analysis with definitive answers. But we have gained insight into some of the implications of twenty-first century patterns of mobility not only for longitudinal research, but also for research and policy more generally.

Understanding the Australian population and international mobility

As I have already indicated, it is their mobility, both local and international that makes young people particularly difficult to track for longitudinal studies. As Table 1 shows the differences between the participation rates at the second study for the ALSWH participants is far lower for the youngest cohort than the other two. Only 68 percent of the youngest cohort responded to this second questionnaire compared to 88 per cent for the older women and 90 percent for the mid-age women. In other terms, almost one third of the young women failed to respond compared to only 10 per cent of the mid-age women and twelve per cent of the oldest cohort. The major reason by far for these differing responses rates was our difficulty in tracking the young women, despite great persistence and the multiple strategies we employed.

While tracking difficulties are well recognised by researchers, this remains an under-addressed research issue, yet clearly it will require innovative approaches in the future. The Australian Population Research Network (2005: 3) noted a lack of attention to mobility issues in its 2005 statement of research directions suggesting there is a need to develop 'new ways of measuring temporary populations... [and of] understanding how mobility and settlement choices intersect with other events in the life course (such as family formation, child-rearing, retirement, ill-health)'. Further elaboration of processes of globalisation seems certain, and this will only magnify the significance of such changes (Hugo et al, 2002; Vertovec, 1999).

Rates of mobility are projected to speed up (Hugo, 2005) in the wake of developments, such as cheap and swift travel and the capacity to maintain effective cross-national communication. Important contributing trends have involved reductions in trade and employment barriers with effects across the employment spectrum and an expanding 'migration services' industry. This mobility is exemplified in, for example, domestic workers moving to employment in more affluent countries while maintaining contact with, and remitting money to their home country (Özden and Schiff, 2006); seasonal workers who 'migrate' annually for agricultural work, (Cecil and Ebanks, 1992; Basok, 2000; Cassidy and Pearson, 2001; Nurse, 2004) as well as increased graduate employment overseas (Button 2006). It has also been noted that transmigration involving

'long distance' marital relationships has increased. Tiger typifies couples, who live apart in distant countries, as 'geographically challenged' (Tiger, 2005; ABC, 2005).

Rates of mobility will also continue to be affected by altered forms of citizenship, as exemplified for example within the European Union with its blurring of borders, and the increasing recognition of dual citizenship, which has become more attractive as birth rates have fallen and working age populations have declined. Greater focus on diasporas is seen in many countries, as is reflected in for example in the Croatian and Italian electoral systems which now cater for expatriate parliamentary representatives (Fisher 2006).

What do we know about short term international mobility to and from Australia?

It has been fortunate for our study that Australia is a world leader in the collection of data relating to long-term and temporary travel into and out of the country, and these data provided valuable national statistics for our analysis of mobility patterns (ABS, 1998, 2003; Hugo et al, 2003). On their arrival in Australia, all people arriving from overseas are asked, among other questions, their intended length of stay in the country, and on exit, its actual duration. These data provide the potential basis for a system for the adjustment of these statistics to deal with the slippage in estimations that are inevitable with data collected about peoples' intentions about their length of stay (ABS, 2004).

The Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' 'Incoming Passenger Card', so familiar to international travelers, first divides travelers into those migrating to Australia, of whom only former country of residence is asked at this stage. The second category, 'Residents returning to Australia' are asked the length of time they have been away and the country in which most time was spent. 'Visitors and Temporary Residents' are asked to indicate their intended length of stay and the main reason for 'coming to Australia' The categories that are offered to travelers are: 'in transit; convention; accompanying business visitor; visiting relatives; holiday; employment; and other (Hugo, et al. 2001).¹ Outgoing travelers are asked similar questions covering the actuality rather than intention. However, despite what is a concerted attempt to collect sound data, they have proved problematic, which is well illustrated by the 50,000 visa over-stayers estimated to be in the country at any one time (DIMA 2005).

The data passengers provide do however, capture the broad patterns of contemporary international turnover and circulation for Australia (Hugo, et al. 2003). They also alert us to some of the potential effects of this mobility for the interpretation of population data generally and from our point of view, specifically for longitudinal studies. Potentially there is considerable influence on national populations from permanent and long-term arrivals and departure even between Censuses. Among women in 2000/2001, there were 168,538 arrivals to and 102,808 departures from Australia (ABS 2003). Of the arrivals:

¹ The Incoming and Outgoing Passenger Cards were changed somewhat after 1997, however the coverage remained similar

25% were long-term (staying a year or more) arrivals of Australian residents,
43% were long-term arrivals of overseas visitors
32% were permanent arrivals.

Of the departures:

45% were long-term departures of Australian residents,
33% were long-term departures of overseas visitors
22% were permanent departures (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 shows the age distribution of all women who were permanent or long-term arrivals to or departures from Australia in 2000-2001 (ABS 2003). Of all permanent departures, people born in Australia comprised 50% in 2000-01 and 2001-2 (ABS, 2003)

Figure 1 and 2 about here

As figures 1 and 2 show there are relatively few arrivals and departures among those age groups represented by the mid-age or older cohorts (see Figure 1) in the ALSWH, though in the future it seems likely that there will be a growing mobility of retirees as an extension of the 'grey nomad' effect. Australian migration figures between 1998 and 2001 for women show that most arrivals (37%-38%) and departures (37%-39%) occurred among those between the ages of 20 and 29 years, the age category which covered by the younger ALSWH cohort at that time (ABS 2000, 2001, 2003). The potential effects of such migration for this cohort were estimated by considering the overall migration rate of women of the same age (22-28 years in 2001) for the five years between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses and from calculating each migration group as a percentage of the women enumerated in the 1996 Census.

Approximately 760,000 women were aged 18-23 years at the 1996 Census and 22-28 years at the 2001 Census. Between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses, an estimated 102,450 women of these ages were permanent or long-term departures from Australia and 154,100 were permanent or long-term arrivals to Australia (ABS 1998, ABS 1999, ABS 2000, ABS 2001, ABS 2003; see Figure 2). In other words there should be a net increase of over 50,000 women (6.8%) in this age group, but the net overall percentage change among women in this age group between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses was less than 1%.

These calculations are based on the assumptions that the reclassification of migration categories between long-term and short-term arrivals or departures, that is category jumping, was appropriate and that women were not double (or even triple) counted in different years. In the past, estimates of net permanent and long-term overseas movements have been adjusted for the net effect of category jumping (ABS 1998, ABS 1999, ABS 2000, ABS 2001). However the 2003 publication of Migration reports 'Recently, deficiencies have been identified in the measurement of category jumping' which resulted in 'the decision to set category jumping to zero for ... the periods September quarter 1997 to June quarter 2001, pending the outcome of a methodological review'(ABS 2003). The figures presented here are based on published figures for

migration between 1997 and 2001 but are adjusted for category jumping. So, in the light of the ABS's concern, they should be treated with some caution (ABS 1998, ABS 1999, ABS 2000, ABS 2001, ABS 2003).

The data are cross-sectional and any assumption of independence is unlikely to be valid. For example, while permanent arrivals and departures may be exactly that (i.e. permanent), we know that for departures of Australian residents, about two-thirds return home within two years. Many of these women would be counted as long-term departures in one of the years between the Census and as long-term arrivals in another year. So they would be counted in both the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. Others who left in the year prior to the 1996 or 2001 Census may not be included at all.

In the case of overseas visitors, the median length of stay was 2.5 years, with almost half the overseas visitors coming to Australia for education. This suggests that up to half of the arrivals would depart between the Censuses so overall the influence on the population at the 2001 Census could be estimated to be around 5% to 6% (ABS 1998, ABS 1999, - ABS 2000, ABS 2001, ABS 2003; see Figure 2). However it is recognised that subsequent overseas travel by overseas students may result in category jumping or double counting. For example if long-term overseas visitors including students visit their home country briefly within one year, when they return to Australia they may be reclassified as a short-term visitor or a new long-term visitor, depending on the stage of their study. These, however, are just a few examples of the complexities of keeping abreast of international mobility in the twenty-first century. Nonetheless overseas students well illustrate of some issues that international mobility poses for longitudinal research, particularly research that's object is to input into policy making.

Uncertainties in the figures on international mobility, are compounded by the data bases from which a national sample can be drawn. The ALSWH sample was drawn in 1996 from the Health Insurance Commission's database for the Australian health care system, now known as Medicare Australia (Medicare). Medicare is reputed to have a good coverage of the Australian population (ABS, 2004), better, for example than other Australian data-bases such as electoral rolls and phone and residence listings. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) uses the Medicare Australia database for its post-censal migration estimates because it is 'the best administrative data source available' for 'its population coverage and timeliness' (ABS, 2004: 2).

However although a sizeable number of people in Australia at any one time will be transmigrants, there is no data base that will routinely include that. For health, planning commercial and other purposes this seems to be a significant gap. If we just consider overseas students, in 1996 when the ALSWH sample was drawn they numbered about 140,000 (Australian Education International, 2000: 2), when the national population was around 20 million. During the period 1989 to 1996 the percentage enrolled in higher education alone rose from 5% to 8% of all students (n=634,094) (Dobson, 1997).

The Medicare Australia data base however only routinely includes resident Australian and New Zealand citizens, permanent residents and persons who have applied for permanent residence in Australia (ABS, 2004: 3). Some temporary migrants are also covered if Australia has signed an explicit Reciprocal Health Agreement with their

country of citizenship. Such agreements have been signed with Finland, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Republic of Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Yet in 1996 they accounted about 1.4% of all international students (Australian Education International, 2000: 3).

Visitor inclusion in the Australian Census, on the other hand, is very different. The Australian Census's target population is 'all people in Australia on census night (other than foreign diplomats and their families)', regardless of the length of their intended stay (ABS, 2006: 5). Thus we have differing bases for two major sources of population data in Australia and this may need to be factored into the interpretation of sample research data.

The Medicare Australia data bank also under-represents those who regularly use other publicly funded medical services, such as the Aboriginal Medical Service and prison medical systems. Among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, the proportion who have no effective access to a Medicare number ranges from 15-20% in some urban areas to nearly 40% in some remote areas (ABS 1999).

Discussion

The nature of contemporary international mobility suggests that national populations will continue to change in ways that are significant for policy and for population-focused research. If the nature of this change is well recognised, compensation can be attempted through, for example weighting the sample, or replenishing, it occurs in some household surveys (Goode and Watson 2006; Taylor et al. 2003). However, if the nature of any change is not well understood, this cannot happen. Also augmenting a sample does have problems for longitudinal studies as the very strength of these is to track the same people. The most general feasible option for coping with potential effects from increased mobility, at this stage seems to lie in developing as clear an understanding of any potentially relevant change as possible. Equally important, is clear acknowledgement of any possible effects of changes on representativeness.

Current rates of international mobility suggest that the Australian population should be approached as one in a perpetual state of flux. Inevitably a longitudinal sample that is not augmented, such as the ALSWH sample, can only represent those Australian women listed on the data base when the sample was drawn, and can only do this more or less well, depending on the nature of the response. In our case we know now that the data base did not include long-term visiting students, or workers, except for the few from the countries with which Australia had signed a Reciprocal Health Agreement. The data base also under-represented those who rely on other publicly funded medical services, such as the Aboriginal Medical Service and prison medical systems.

A fundamental future change with consequences for the Census and for interpreting population data will lie also in moves towards redefining national populations so that they are not necessarily restricted to those currently residing within the national boundaries. That an increasing number of countries recognize dual citizenship reflects change in the nature of conceptualizing nations (Vertovec, 1999, 2005) as does the

USA's intention to include Americans living overseas in its 2010 Census (Hugo, et al. 2003: 10; Riggs, 2000; GAO, 2004).

A spur to recent interest in Australia's diaspora has been concern about the possible effects for the country of any 'brain drain' that international mobility might cause. However as the debate has become more firmly grounded in relevant data, the phenomenon is increasingly recognised for Australia as one of 'brain circulation' rather than a drain or gain (Hugo et al. 2003; Özden and Schiff 2006). Nonetheless fear of a brain drain has led to consideration of ways of preventing the negative consequences of international mobility. The Australian government has demonstrated its interest in fostering ties with transmigrant citizens by recognising, from 2001, dual citizenship something that is currently recognised by more than half the nations in the OECD (Vertovec 1999; Hugo 2005), and an increasing number of countries generally. If the current trend continues, non-exclusive citizenship may become a near universal phenomenon in the not too distant future.

Globalising trends mean not only an increasing size and complexity of national diasporas, but also increasing interest in understanding their implications for the home country. Not surprisingly, there are vast variations in diaspora size which is well illustrated Hugo, Harris and Rudd's (2003: 21) comparison of estimates of the size of the diasporas of the USA, Australia and New Zealand, at the beginning of the twenty-first century. These represented 2.5, 4.3 and 21.9 per cent of their national populations respectively. While New Zealand's diaspora is proportionally very much larger than the other two, it is comparable to Mexico's, which represents 19 per cent of its national population (Hugo, 2005: 11). An increasing Australia's diaspora is well illustrated by the proportion of its graduates employed overseas in the year after their graduation. This figure more than doubled from 2.2 per cent in 1991 to 5.6 in 1998 (Hugo et al.2003: 20).

Although the US diaspora represents the smallest proportion of the resident population among Australia, Mexico, New Zealand and the USA, it is numerically sizable and politically active, and is organized through a number of national organizations. A trial inclusion of the USA diaspora in the US census was undertaken as early as the 1970 Census (Hugo et al, 2003). However this practice was not routinised, though agitation for the US census to include citizens living overseas has continued from those who have been termed 'long-distance nationalists' (Anderson, 1992). This agitation has resulted in preparations that are now underway to include US citizens, who live abroad, in the 2010 US Census. Here we have another facet of the increasing complexities of contemporary migration for the interpretation of population data.

These are developments that clearly have potential consequences for the concept of national censuses and for carrying out research, particularly longitudinal research. An issue that exercises the organizers of the ALSWH is that of how to maintain contact with respondents during overseas stays, though modern technology suggests that very soon the internet should provide an effective answer to this. A looming issue however be the manner of defining, and constructing an appropriate sampling frame to encompass transnational migrants within a 'global' national population.

Conclusion

The influence of 'globalization' (Giddens, 1990; Hutton and Giddens, 200; Legrain, 2002), has forced a recognition of far more complexity patterns of migration than was the case when it was largely approached it as a 'one-off process' (Redstone Massey, 2004; Feliciano, 2005; Glick Schiller and Basch, 1995; Vertovec; Castles and Miller, 2003). It is clear that many migrants today are more appropriately understood as 'transnational migrants' a concept that acknowledges the maintenance of an on-going relationship with two, and potentially more countries. The concept of transmigration has the advantage of being able to accommodate both circulation and diversity thus encompassing a range of forms of migration including, long-term overseas sojourns, regular overseas seasonal or other work patters and even marital relationship that cross international boundaries (Button, J. 2006).

These developing patterns of migration have broad social implications for conceptualising citizenship and national populations which have yet to be adequately addressed. Fundamental issues are raised about how best to define the nature of 'national populations' in a globalising context if much migration is best conceptualised as a continuing process, though such issues were largely excluded from discussion when migration was seen as a one-off process. But in the twentieth-first century, approaches that can encompass the variety covered by transmigration will give a picture of a population that is far more realistic and hence valuable for informing research and policy.

This discussion has aimed to raise some implications of international mobility, not only for understanding issues for longitudinal research, but also for how we can 'make the most of our Census'. We do not however have any definitive answers, but if a national population is to be conceptualised as borderless and as in a state of flux, we need to redefine the target population of the Australian Census. It can hardly remain, 'all people in Australia on census night (other than foreign diplomats and their families)', though such a definition retains value for some purposes. The USA started to challenge this residential notion in 1970 and will do so again by including its disapora in the 2010 Census. Such a step itself raises many issues around the question of what is an appropriate approach now that we better understand what is happening through globalisation. Whatever is done it seems clear that we cannot make the most of our Census if we do not cater for the effects of such a key social trend as international mobility in this globalising world.

References

Ackers, L. and P. Dwyer (eds). 2002. *Senior Citizenship? Retirement, Migration and Welfare in the European community*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Anderson, B. (1992) "Long-distance Nationalism: World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics". Wertheim Lecture: University of Amsterdam.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1998. *Migration Australia 1996-97*, ABS Cat. no. 3412.0. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

-. 1999. *Migration Australia 1997-98*, ABS Cat. no. 3412.0. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

-. 2000. *Migration Australia 1998-99*, ABS Cat. no. 3412.0. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

-. 2001. *Migration Australia 1999-2000*, ABS Cat. no. 3412.0. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

-. 2003. *Demography working paper 2003/1. Estimated resident population and measurement of category jumping* (accessed, 02/02/2006)
http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/c311215.nsf/22b99697d1e47ad8ca2568e30008e1bc/c027c7af9d0e4ff1ca2567cf0009ac56!OpenDocument#ABS%20Demography_1

-. 2004. *Demographic Estimates and Projections: Concepts, Sources and Methods*, Australian Bureau of Statistics (website, 2005).

Australian Education International. 2000. *Year 2000 Final International Student Numbers*. <http://aei.dest.gov.au>.

Australian Population Research Network. 2005. *Research Directions*. http://www.geosp.uq.edu.au/qcpr/aprn/research_directions.htm

Basok, T. 2000. "He Came, He Saw, He...Stayed," Guest Worker Programs and the Issue of Non-Return. *International Migration* 38: 215-238.

Button, J. 2006. "Where the bloody hell are they?" *Sydney Morning Herald* 6 May.

Cassidy, R. and L. Pearson. 2001. "Evaluating Components of International Migration: Legal Temporary Migrants." Working Paper Series No. 60. Washington: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau.

Castles, S. and M.J. Miller. 2003. *The Age of Migration* (4th ed.), Macmillan: London.

Cecil, R.G. and G.E. Ebanks. 1992. "The Caribbean Migrant Farm Worker Programme in Ontario: Seasonal Expansion of West Indian Economic Space." *International Migration* 30: 19-38.

Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. 2005. "Australian Immigration Fact Sheet - Overstayers and people in breach of visa conditions". Fact sheet. _
Canberra: Australian Government.

Dobson, I. 1997. "Overseas Students in Australia: Higher education trends to 1996." *People and Place* 5: 24-29.

Feliciano, C. 2005. "Educational Selectivity in U.S. Immigration: How do Immigrants Compare to Those Left Behind." *Demography* 42: 131-152.

Fisher, I. 2006. Stubborn Berlusconi refuses to go quietly, *The Age*. 19 April: 4.

GAO (US General Accounting Office). 2004. *2010 Census: Overseas Enumeration Test Raises Need for Clear Policy Directions*. Washington. www.gao.gov.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glick Schiller, N. and L. Basch. 1995. "From Migrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68: 48-63.

GAO (US General Accounting Office). 2004. *2010 Census: Overseas Enumeration Test Raises Need for Clear Policy Directions*. Washington. www.gao.gov.

Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goode, A. and N. Watson, (eds). 2006. *HILDA User Manual - Release 4.0*, University of Melbourne: Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research.

Hugo, G. 2005. "Migrants in society: Diversity and cohesion". A Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM).

-. 2005. *Migrants in Society: Diversity and Cohesion: A Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration* . www.gcim.org/attachments/TP6.

-. -. 2006. "An Australian Diaspora?" *International Migration* 44: 105-133. (Online article)

Hugo, G., D. Rudd and K. Harris. 2001. *Emigration from Australia: Economic Implications*. Melbourne: CEDA Information Paper No. 77.

-. 2003. *Australia's Diaspora: Its Size, Nature and Policy Implication* Melbourne: CEDA Information Paper No. 80.

Hutton, W. and A. Giddens (eds) 2000. *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Legrain, P. 2002. *Open World: The Truth about Globalisation*. London: Abacus.

Nurse, K. 2004. "Diaspora, Migration and Development in the Caribbean." *Focal Policy Paper – 04-6*. Ottawa: Canadian Foundation for the Americas.

OECD. 2002. *International Mobility of the Highly Skilled*. OECD Proceedings. Paris: OECD.

Özden, C. and M. Schiff (eds). 2006. *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain*. Basingstoke: The World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan.

Redstone, I. and D.S. Massey. 2004. "Coming to Stay: An Analysis of the U.S. Census Question on Immigrants' Year of Arrival." *Demography* 41: 721-738.

Riggs, Fred. 2000. "Diasporas and Ethnic Nations: Causes and Consequences of Globalization." <http://webdata.soc.hawaii.edu/fredr/diaglo.htm>.

Simpson, B. 2004. Submission to Senate Legal and Constitutional Committee Inquiry into Australian Expatriates.

www.aph.gov.au/senate/committee/legcon_ctte/expats03/submissions/sub544.doc

Taylor, M.F. (ed), Brice, J, Buck, N, and Prentice-Lane, E (2003) *British Household Panel Survey User Manual Volume A: introduction, technical report and appendices*. Colchester: University of Essex.

Tiger, C. 2005. *The Long-Distance Relationship Guide: Advice to the Geographically Challenged*. Quirk Books.

Vertovec, S. 1999. "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22: 445-462.

-. 2005. "The political importance of diasporas." Centre on Migration, Policy and Society: University of Oxford.

<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/papers/Steve%20Vertovec%20WP0513.pdf>.

Wadsworth, M.J.E, S.L. Butterworth, R.J. Hardy, et al. 2003. "The life course prospective design: an example of benefits and problems associated with longevity." *Social Science Medicine* 57: 2193-2205.

Table 1. Survey 2 response rate as percent of eligible* by cohort (ages in 1996)

Status at Survey 2	Age Cohort					
	Young 18-23 years		Mid-age 45-50 years		Older 70-75 years	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Respondents	9688	68.1	12338	90.3	10434	88.3
Non-respondents	4534	31.9	1321	9.7	1378	11.7
Total eligible	14222		13659		11812	

- A small number of women were ineligible for inclusion in the longitudinal study due to death before Survey 2 or because were too ill to complete further surveys.

Figure 1. Permanent and long-term arrivals to and departures from Australia of women 2000-2001

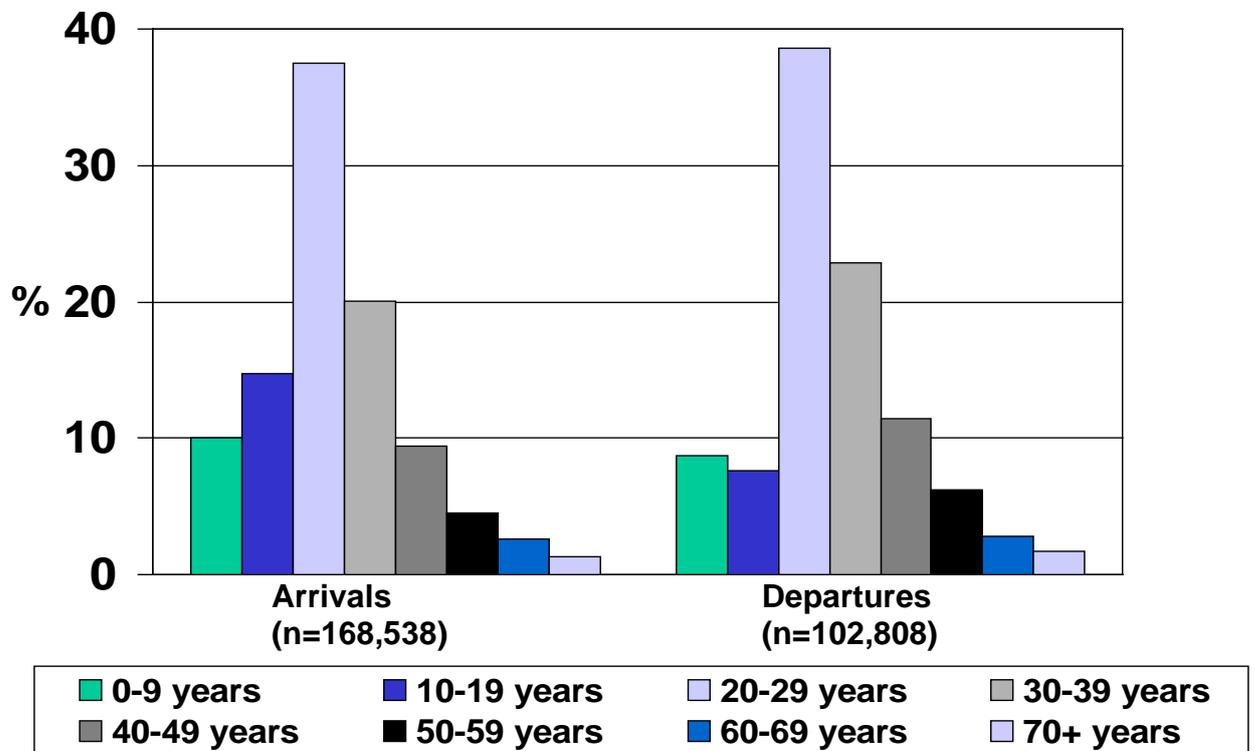


Figure 2. Migration of women (18-23 years in 1996) between 1997-2001

