TECHNICAL APPENDIX

1.1 COMPONENTS

The Centre projects the future population using the 'cohort component' method. This involves developing forecasts, by single year of age and sex, of the components of population change – fertility, mortality and migration. These components are added to the population at the start of a financial year to calculate the population at the end of the financial year. This process is repeated until the end of the projection period.

For consistency across different geographic projections, components of population change at the national level constrain components at the state level which, in turn, constrain components of change at the national level.

1.1.1 NET OVERSEAS MIGRATION

The net overseas migration (NOM) forecasts begin with Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) estimates of quarterly overseas migrant arrivals and departures by visa group and by state. The ABS provides preliminary estimates of overseas migration around six months after the reference period and final estimates a further 12 months later.[1]

The Centre analyses ABS Overseas Arrivals and Departures data as a source of information in preparing NOM forecasts. This includes more detailed data than is published by the ABS, which the Centre adjusts to account for known discrepancies between border crossing and migration data. The Centre also analyses other data as leading indicators of NOM, including data from the Department of Home Affairs on the number of temporary visa holders in Australia and offshore visa grants. The Centre takes into consideration Government policy and its expected future effect on overseas migration.

NOM forecasts are produced by visa group for each quarter until 2028–29. After that, NOM is assumed to return to the long run assumption by 2035–36. The long run assumption of NOM is 235,000 per year, which is unchanged since the 2021 Intergenerational Report (IGR).[2] NOM projections from 2029–30 onwards have no visa breakdown. Further explanation of the long run assumption can be found in the 2022 Population Statement.[3]

Pre-pandemic average (2016–17 to 2018–19) age and sex profiles of migrant arrivals and departures, by visa and state, are assumed in forecasts up to 2028–29. Pre-pandemic age and sex profiles without a visa breakdown are assumed from 2029–30 onwards.

State-level overseas migration figures are derived as a share of the national total. Historical state shares, disaggregated by migrant visa type and direction, inform the forecast shares. A phased transition from recent state shares (June 2024 to March 2025 quarters) to pre-pandemic shares (2004–05 to 2017–18) is applied over the first 8 forecast quarters, after which pre-pandemic shares are applied.

Greater Capital City Statistical Area (GCCSA) level overseas migration figures are derived as a share of forecast state totals. The average GCCSA share of migrants over 2016–17 to 2018–19 is used to inform forecast GCCSA shares, disaggregated by direction, age, and sex.

1 ABS, *National, state and territory population methodology*, 2025.
2 Australian Government, *Intergenerational Report 2023*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2023, pg. 228.
3 Centre for Population, *2022 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2022, pg. 56.

1.1.2 FERTILITY

The fertility forecasts are made up of 2 components: leading indicator data in the near term before transitioning to the long-run assumption.

The near-term-fertility forecasts have been formulated using data on pregnancy scans as a leading indicator. As most women undergo an ultrasound at around 20 weeks of pregnancy, the scan data provides a 4-to-6-month lead time on births. The statistical model incorporates a four month lag of scan data to project quarterly births. In the 2025 Population Statement, the leading indicator model is used to forecast up to December 2025, with the remainder of 2025–26 extrapolated using an exponential smoothing model. Age specific fertility rates are estimated using the projected births and forecasts of the female population aged between 15 to 49 years.

From 2026–27, the fertility rate is expected to gradually recover. This assumes that shorter-term factors weighing on fertility will unwind. The long run assumption is that the total fertility rate will stabilise at 1.62 children per women by 2031–32, in accordance with the analysis in the report *A Projection of Australia's Future Fertility Rates*.[4] The expectation that fertility will rise to this long run rate reflects the fact that the proportion of women without children has not increased significantly in recent years and Australia has historically seen relatively strong fertility recuperation.

Estimates are produced at the national and state and territory level using the above methods. At the capital city and rest-of-state level, the recent ratios of location-specific fertility rates to the state total fertility rate are assumed to remain constant. The fertility rates for these areas are also constrained to state fertility rates.

1.1.3 MORTALITY

Projected national mortality is based on the ABS's 2019–2021 national life table, adjusted for future improvement by applying mortality improvement factors from the Australian Government Actuary (AGA).[5] The adjusted 2019–2021 life table is used to represent the level of mortality that would be expected in the absence of the pandemic.

This year, the AGA reviewed the mortality improvement factors and has lowered the rate of increase in life expectancy over the next 25 years. This reflects evidence that the large improvements seen for those born 1930–1950 are unlikely to continue. Life expectancy is now projected to increase from 85.8 years for females and 81.9 years for males in 2024–25 to 89.5 years for females and 86.1 years for males in 2065–66 (compared to 89.7 for females and 87.3 for males in the 2024 Population Statement).[6]

The mortality projections also incorporate short-term uplift factors to account for the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, concentrated among those aged 50 and above. Based on observed mortality in 2024–25, these uplifts have been revised downward from last year's assumptions. Excess mortality peaked in 2022 and declined through 2023, but the number of COVID-19 deaths during the second half of 2024–25 was lower than expected.[7] As a result, the uplift for 2024–25 is now estimated at 2.6 per cent (previously 4 per cent). Uplifts for subsequent years have also been reduced, with the impact still assumed to fall to zero from 2028–29 (Table 1). Although the impact of COVID-19 has eased, the longer-term implications for mortality remain uncertain.

4 P McDonald, *A Projection of Australia's Future Fertility Rates*, The Centre for Population, Department of the Treasury, 2020.
5 ABS, *Life tables 2019 – 2021*, 2022.
6 Centre for Population, *2024 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2024.
7 ABS, *Measuring Australia's excess mortality by remoteness areas during the COVID-19 pandemic until December 2023*, 2025.

Table 1. EXCESS MORTALITY PROJECTIONS

%	2024–25	2025–26	2026–27	2027–28	2028–29 onwards
2024 Population Statement	4	3	2	1	0
2025 Population Statement	2.6	2	1.5	1	0

The same approach as above has been used at the state level. For capital city and rest-of-state projections, abridged life tables were constructed using ABS deaths data and estimated resident population data from 2003–04 to 2022–23. Projected mortality rates for capital cities and rest-of-state areas are then calculated by multiplying projected state mortality rates prepared by the Australian Government Actuary by the historical ratios.

1.1.4 NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION

The distribution and size of internal migration flows is influenced by both regional economic conditions and a range of social factors, making internal migration flows difficult to forecast. Interruptions to internal migration flows brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic also make recent trends difficult to interpret.

Previously, the ABS revised its NIM estimates during Census rebasing, once every five years. Since the 2024 Population Statement, the ABS has implemented a new methodology which resulted in net internal migration (NIM) estimates being revised mid-way through the Census cycle. This revision resulted in large changes in NIM for Western Australia, Victoria and the Northern Territory. These revisions have been incorporated into the NIM forecasts in this Population Statement. The ABS provides detail for this new methodology in the *Net Interstate Migration Review,* which was made available alongside the June 2025 National, state and territory population (NSTP).[8]

Forecasts of internal migration are made by age and sex for each state and territory, and GCCSA. The current methodology incorporates these historical age and sex compositional trends. Compositional assumptions are based on the 2016 Census because pandemic lockdowns significantly affected the 2021 Census movement data.[9]

The methodology for forecasting internal migration has been updated to produce experimental 40-year projections. This is in contrast to the previous projection horizon of 11 years. In order to produce robust estimates for the 40 year horizon, the methods for forecasting net internal migration have been improved.

The following methodology is used for state and territory interstate arrival and departure flows and GCCSA level inter and intra arrival and departure flows.

METHODOLOGY TO 2027–28

Expected internal migration for the first quarter of the forecast is based on recent internal migration estimates. Internal migration is then assumed to return to a historical average by 2027–28.

The historical average calculation uses 20 years of data, consisting of the 18 years to 2018–19 plus 2022–23 and 2023–24. The pandemic period is excluded from the averages because of disruptions to the data.

8 ABS, *National state and territory population: Net interstate migration review*, 2025.
9 ABS, *Census of Population and Housing*, 2016.

METHODOLOGY BEYOND 2027–28

With internal migration forecasts now experimentally projected beyond the medium term (2035–36), holding the historical rates of internal migration constant can create circumstances where NIM levels diverge from historically observed trends. For example, due to low projected population growth in Tasmania, the number of departures would slowly drop while higher growth in other states would drive arrivals to Tasmania up. Over the medium term, this leads to the NIM level gradually increasing to a point where it does not align with historically observed levels.

To address this, from 2028–29 onwards, internal arrival rates (by age and sex) to a region are scaled based on changes in that state's population share relative to their share in 2027–2028. This means that arrival rates to slower-growing states are assumed to fall over time, while faster-growing states have a higher rate of arrival. Internal migration departures are a constant rate, allowing departures to reflect the size of the population at risk of departing. This methodology draws on approaches used by Statistics Canada and the UK Office for National Statistics.[10]

10 Statistics Canada, *Population Projections for Canada (2024 to 2074), Provinces and Territories (2024 to 2049)*, Statistics Canada website, 2025; Office for National Statistics (ONS), *Method for incorporating cross border migration rates into the UK National Population Projections*, ONS website, 2016.

1.2 COMPARING PAST PROJECTIONS TO OUTCOMES

Projecting populations is challenging, with forecasts varying from outcomes for several reasons. These include changes in trends, behaviours and government policy, as well as data revisions. This variation highlights the importance of evaluating how closely forecasts align with actual outcomes.

Measuring forecast accuracy provides insight into the uncertainty surrounding future population change and helps identify areas where forecasting could be improved. Transparency on the limitations and assumptions underlying forecasts also supports better interpretation of results.

Population change was volatile during and after the COVID-19 pandemic.[11] Forecasts in the 2020, 2021 and 2022 Population Statements did not anticipate the magnitude of the post-pandemic surge in migrant arrivals across 2021–22 and 2022–23.[12] Improvements in forecasting methods as well as an easing in migrant arrivals have resulted in significantly smaller misses in the 2023 and 2024 Population Statements. The 2024 Population Statement is expected to overestimate net overseas migration (NOM) for 2023–24, in contrast to the prior statements which underestimated NOM.[13]

Since the 2022 Population Statement, migrant departures have generally been the largest source of forecast misses. Births forecasts are also an emerging issue with increasingly larger forecast misses in all Population Statements, excluding 2024, for forecast years from 2022–23 and 2023–24.

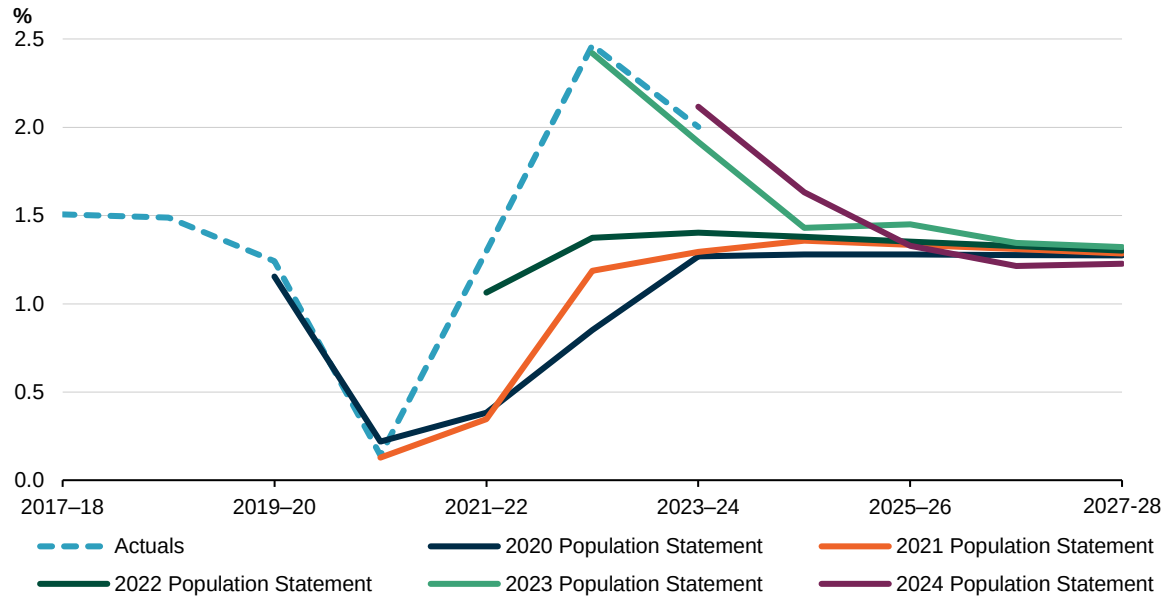
At the subnational level, forecasting misses often reflect the national misses. However, net interstate migration has been significant to the forecast misses outside the capital cities of the larger states. The Centre has continued to develop better forecasting methods and identify new data sources to improve the population forecasts.

11 ABS, *National, state and territory population*, *multiple releases*, 2020–2025.
12 Centre for Population, *2020 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2020; Centre for Population, *2021 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2021; Centre for Population, *2022 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2022.
13 Centre for Population, *2023 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2023; Centre for Population, *2024 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2024.

1.2.1 National Projections

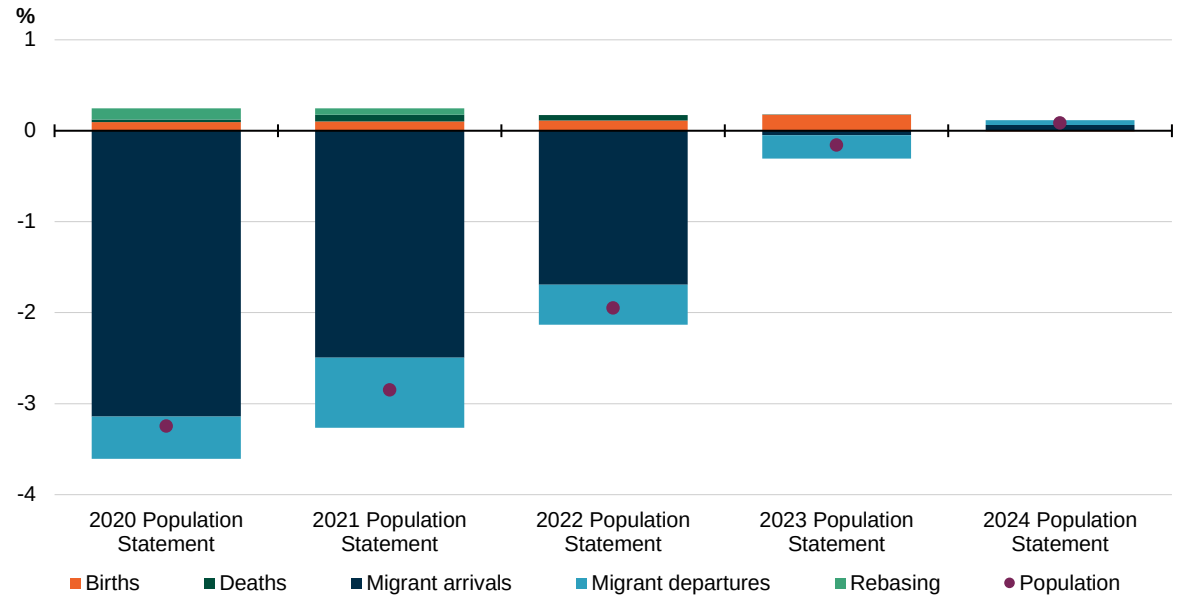
The Centre's Population Statements since 2020 have had mixed performance at forecasting national population growth (Chart 1). This has been due to the unprecedented circumstances introduced by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as restrictions placed on international and domestic movement. Since the 2023 Population Statement, actuals have more closely followed the Centre's forecasts.

Chart 1. Population growth forecast and outcomes, Australia



Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population*, *March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

Chart 2. National contribution of components to growth, difference between forecasts and outcome



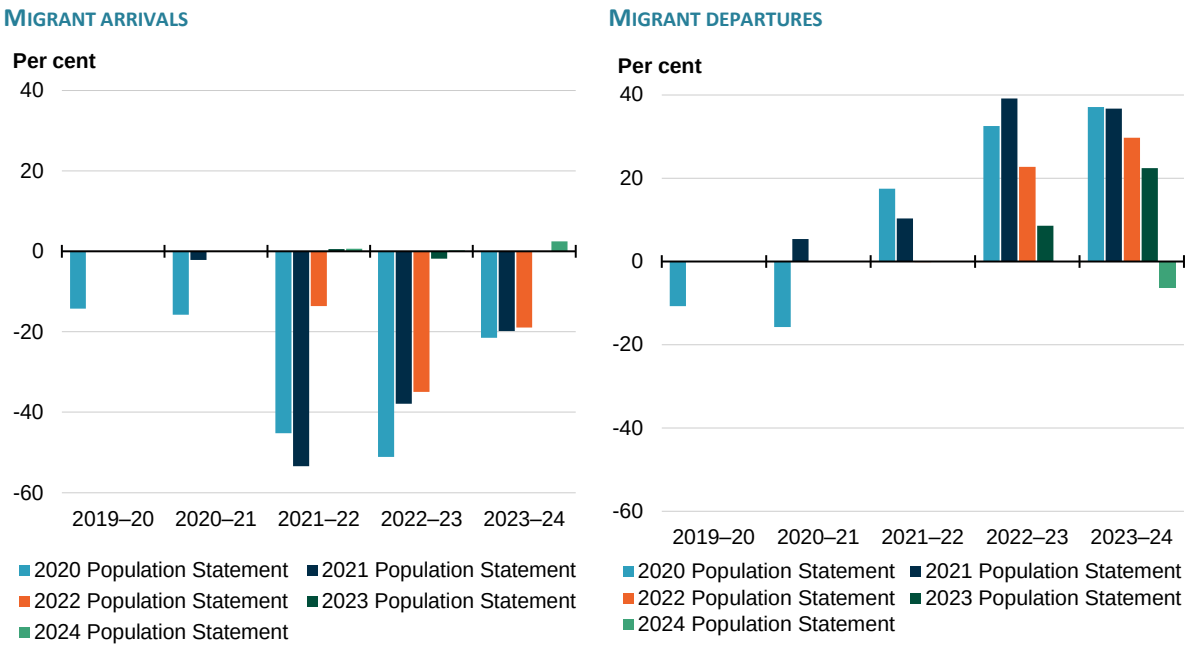
Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals.
Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population*, *March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

1.2.2 NET OVERSEAS MIGRATION

NOM has been the most volatile component of national population growth and the most difficult to forecast, particularly due to the disruption of overseas migration during and since the COVID-19 pandemic.

In the 2020, 2021 and 2022 Population Statements, NOM forecast misses were largely driven by underestimating migrant arrivals following the staged reopening of Australia's international borders from late 2021 (Chart 3). The 2020 and 2021 Population Statements underestimated migrant arrivals in 2021–22 by 45 and 53 per cent respectively (192,000 and 227,000). Forecast misses for migrant arrivals were smaller in the 2023 and 2024 Population Statements.

Chart 3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MIGRANT ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES FORECASTS AND OUTCOMES



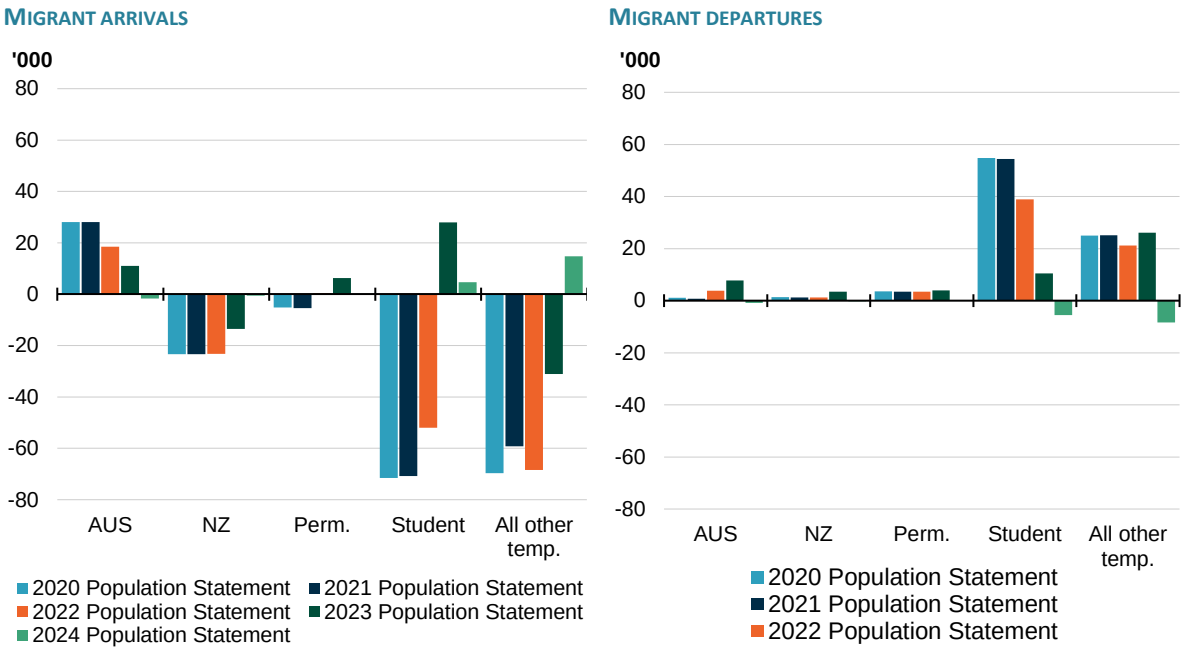
Note: A positive difference indicates the forecast was an overestimate of the outcome. A negative difference indicates the forecast was an underestimate of the outcome.
Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population*, *March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

Overestimating migrant departures has also been a source of forecast misses. The 2020 and 2021 Population Statements both overestimated migrant departures in 2023–24 by 37 per cent or around 85,000. Forecast misses for migrant departures in 2023–24 were smaller in the 2022 and 2023 Population Statements, declining to 30 per cent (69,000) and 22 per cent (52,000) respectively.

Forecasting migrant departures is inherently difficult. The significant disruptions to travel and migration trends during the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent border restrictions increased forecasting uncertainty. Since the pandemic, migrants on temporary visas have also been departing Australia at lower rates.

Students and other temporary visa holders have been the primary source of NOM forecast misses (Chart 4). In the 2020, 2021 and 2022 Population Statements, arrivals of all temporary visa holders in 2023–24 were underestimated by up to 31 per cent (or up to 141,000), while departures were overestimated by up to 70 per cent (80,000).

Chart 4. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MIGRANT ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES FORECAST AND OUTCOME, BY VISA GROUP



Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals. A positive number indicates the forecast was an overestimate.

Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population*, *March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

1.2.3 BIRTHS

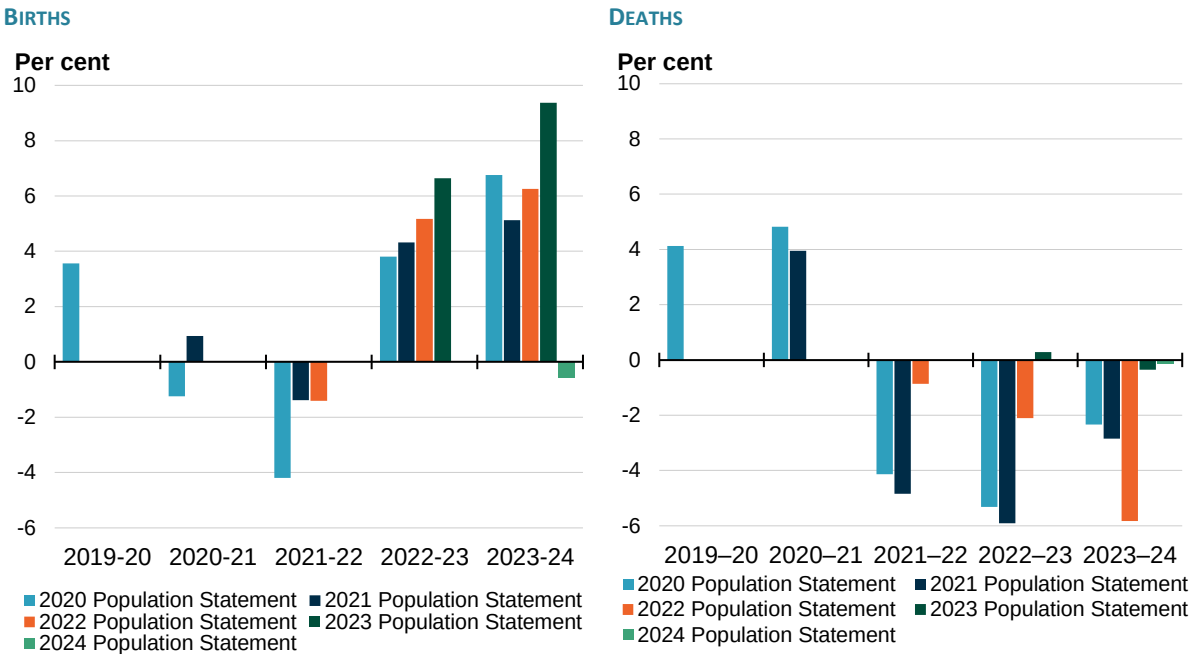
The births forecast in the 2023 Population Statement overestimated outcomes, with a 7 per cent miss for 2022–23 and 9 per cent for 2023–24 (Chart 5). These misses were notably larger than those in earlier Statements. The Centre has since developed a new leading indicator model to assist in predicting births, which uses Medicare data on the number of pregnancy-related ultrasound scans. This method was used in the 2024 and 2025 Population Statement projections. This saw smaller forecasting misses for 2023–24 in the 2024 Statement. More information regarding this method can be found in the 2024 Population Statement technical appendix.[14]

1.2.4 DEATHS

Assumptions regarding mortality varied during the COVID-19 pandemic, reflecting the evolving understanding of the virus and its impacts. Given the uncertainty surrounding the virus prior to its widespread transmission, the first two Population Statements assumed no impact of COVID-19 on mortality. This led to significant underestimates of deaths from 2021–22 onwards (when COVID-19 became widespread) (Chart 5). Subsequent Population Statements updated this expectation, using data on COVID-19 deaths to provide a more realistic forecast of deaths.

14 Centre for Population, *2024 Population Statement*, pg. 69-71.

Chart 5. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BIRTHS AND DEATHS FORECAST AND OUTCOME

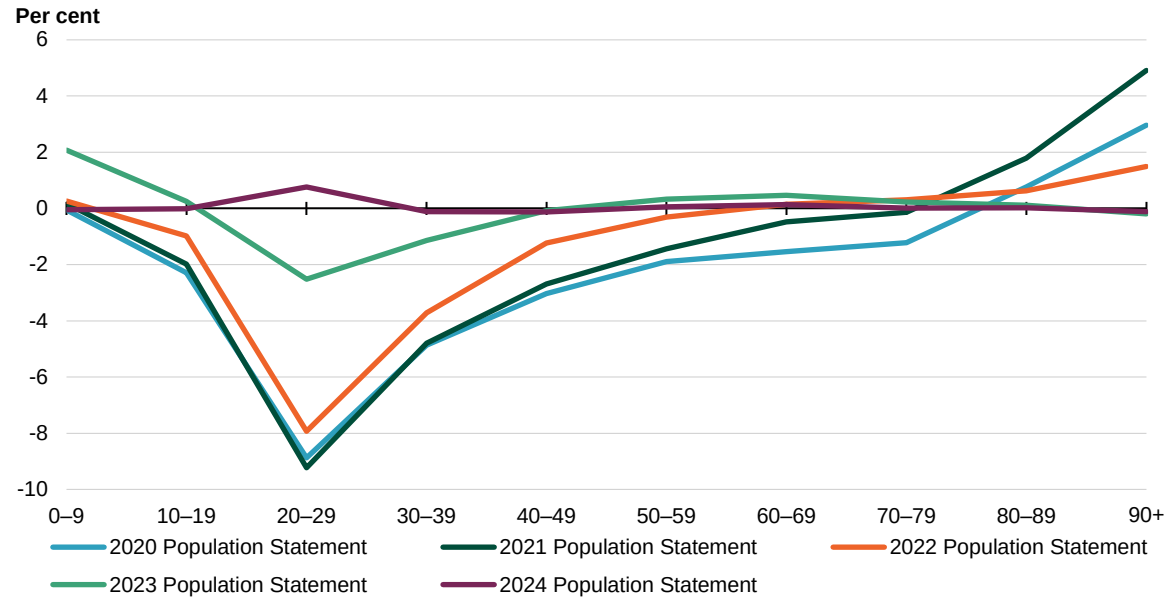


Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population, March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

1.2.5 PROJECTIONS BY AGE

Except for the 2024 Population Statement, projections for 2023–24 underestimated the number of 20–29 year-olds, and to a lesser extent, 30–39 year-olds. The younger cohort was underestimated by approximately 8 per cent or more in the 2020, 2021 and 2022 Population Statements, and 3 per cent for the 2023 Statement (Chart 6). These misses are mostly due to underestimating migration by temporary visa holders, particularly international students, who tend to be in these age ranges.

Chart 6. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORECAST AND OUTCOMES, BY AGE



Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals.
Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population, March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

1.2.6 STATE AND TERRITORY PROJECTIONS

Early statements had large forecast misses for Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory (Chart 7). The 2020 Population Statement underestimated population growth in 2023–24 by 8 per cent for both these states, with the 2021 Population Statement having similar misses. By the 2023 Population Statement, state forecasts were more aligned with the latest estimates for 2023–24, reflecting the incorporation of updated historical data.

Chart 7. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POPULATION FORECASTS AND OUTCOMES, BY STATE

Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals.
Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population, March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

1.2.7 STATE FORECAST COMPONENTS

The charts below illustrate the difference between forecasts and ABS actuals for each state and territory in 2023–24, as published in the first four Population Statements, broken down by components of growth (Chart 8).

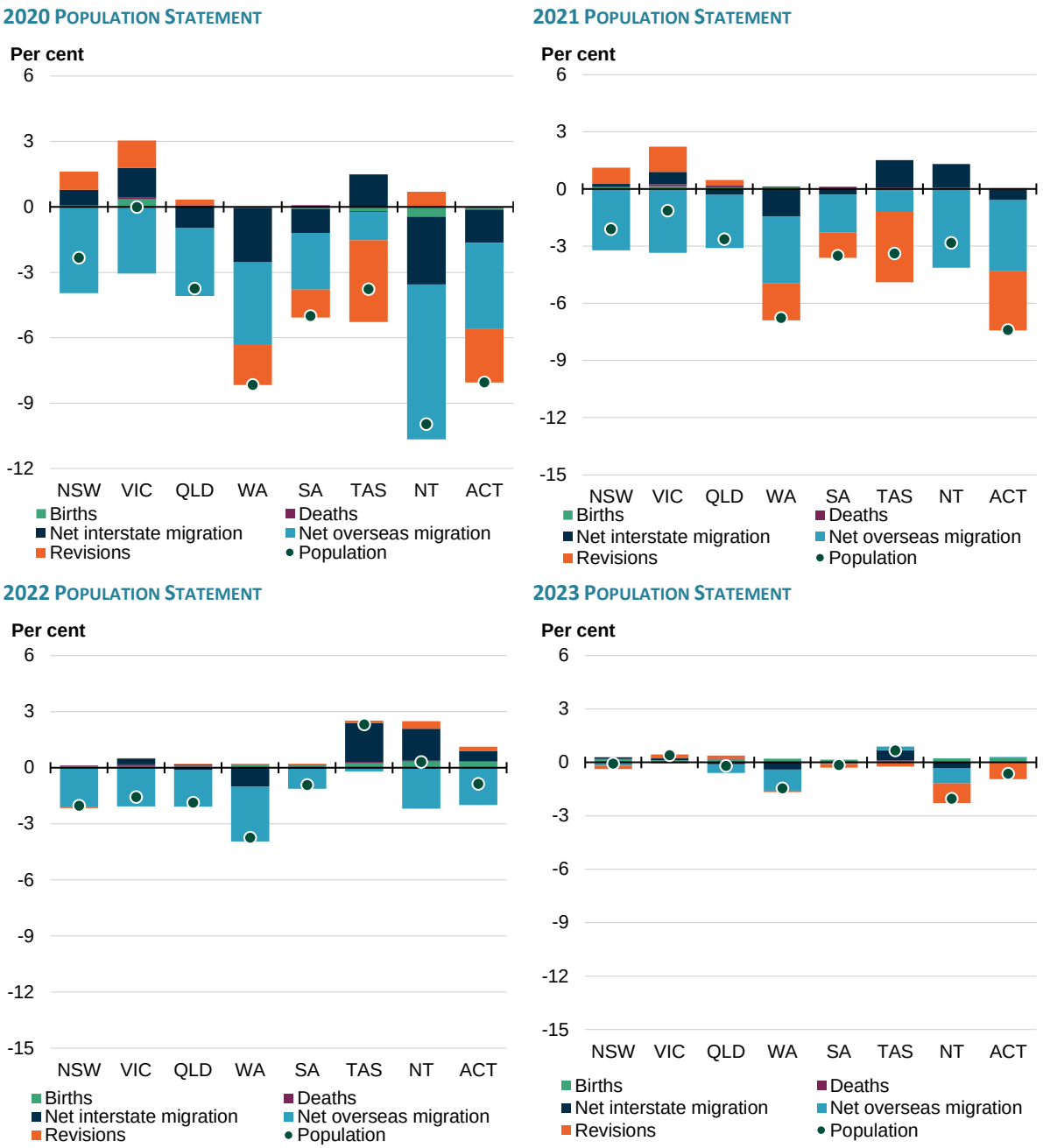
Underestimation of NOM was the primary driver of forecast misses, with impacts distributed relatively evenly. Tasmania was least affected by NOM misses, reflecting the fact that the state received only a small share of the pick-up in migrant arrivals post-pandemic. By contrast, Western Australia was more affected as it received an unexpectedly large share of migrant arrivals.

Forecast misses in the 2020 and 2021 Population Statements were further influenced by subsequent revisions to population data following the 2021 Census. This became the second largest contributor to the overall error. Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory had the largest adjustments, contributing up to 4 per cent.

Net interstate migration was the third major source of forecast misses, with the distribution varying by jurisdiction. The Northern Territory and Western Australia recorded the largest NIM misses in the 2020 Population Statement, while Tasmania saw the highest deviation in the 2021 Population Statement.

Forecasting accuracy for 2023–24 improved for the 2022 Population Statement supported by updated historical data. NOM continued to be slightly underestimated in the 2022 Population Statement, but the 2023 Population Statement showed improvement across components.[15]

Chart 8. COMPONENTS CONTRIBUTION TO GROWTH BY STATE, DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORECASTS AND OUTCOME



Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals.
Source: ABS, *National, state and territory population, March 2025*; Centre for Population projections.

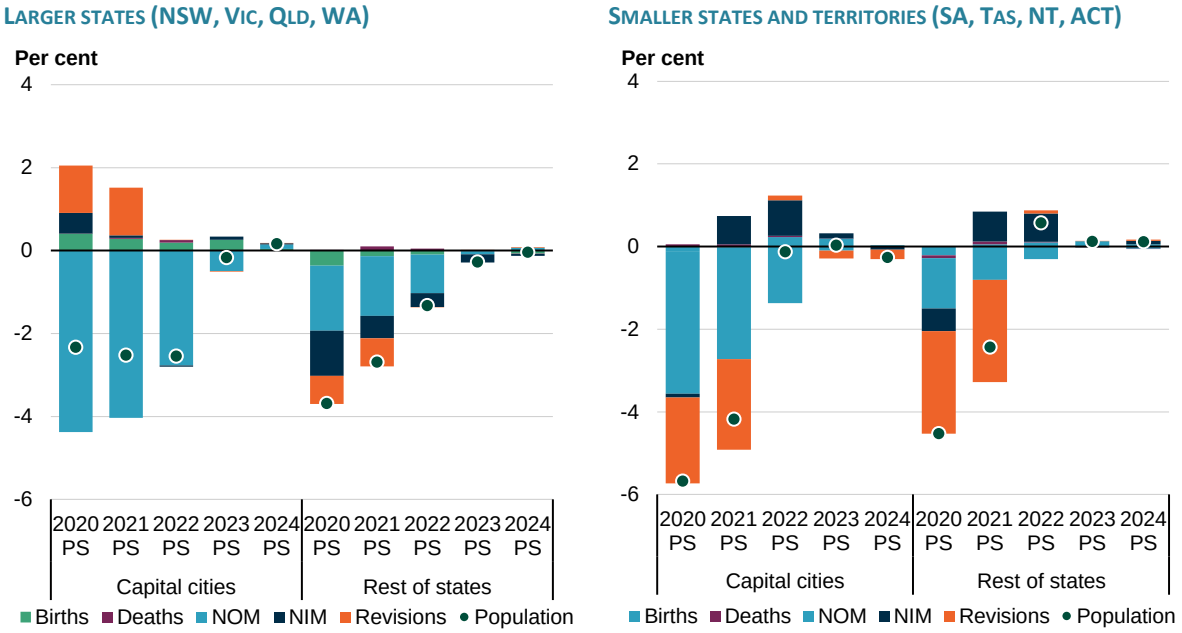
15 Births forecasts for the year 2023–24 did not show improvement prior to the 2024 Population Statement. However, misses in births as a contribution to growth are minimal relative to all components.

1.2.8 CAPITAL CITY AND REST-OF-STATE FORECASTS

For larger states, underestimation of NOM was the largest contributor to forecast misses. The forecast NOM misses in 2023–24 were concentrated in capital cities, particularly of the larger states (Chart 9) with the magnitude of misses declining over time. This pattern is reflected in smaller states and territories, with the exception of NOM forecasts for capital cities in the 2020 Population Statement.

The ABS rebasing, where population is updated to the 2021 Census, to the estimated resident population were the second-largest contributor to forecast misses. These revisions were particularly prominent among the rest of state areas in smaller states. In several jurisdictions, these revisions were the dominant source of forecast misses, contributing to discrepancies of approximately 3 percentage points in the rest-of-state forecasts.[16]

Chart 9. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORECAST AND OUTCOMES, BY AGGREGATED CAPITAL CITIES AND REST OF STATES



Note: Forecast comparisons are made to the 2023–24 actuals. PS refers to Population Statement.
Source: ABS, *Regional Population, 2023–24*; Centre for Population projections.

16 ABS, *Regional Population 2023–24*, 2025.

1.3 Research and analysis

Box 4: Dwelling demand by citizenship and visa class box

Methodology

The analysis in Box 4 estimates average housing demand of demographic groups using information on family and household structures, drawing upon methods outlined in Wilson (2013).[17]

Applying the below rules (Table 2) to the ABS's Australian Census and Temporary Entrants Integrated Dataset (ACTEID), the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID), and Census data allows for the estimation of dwelling demand by each visa and citizenship cohort, as well as by age. This allows for the calculation of average household representation propensity (AHRP), or the average per capita dwelling demand. Using person-specific data allows demand to be attributed within households comprised of people holding different visas and citizenships.

An individual's living arrangements determines their contribution to dwelling demand. The Census asks for each individual's relationship in household (RLHP), which describes the relationship of each person in a family to the family reference person, or where a person is not part of a family, that person's relationship to the household reference person.[18]

Assuming a single-family household, in a couple family, each member of the couple is assumed to contribute demand for half of the dwelling (0.5 per individual). In a three-person group household, each person is assumed to demand one third of a dwelling. Usual residents of non-private dwellings, such as students that live in on-campus accommodation, do not contribute to demand for dwellings.

Table 2. Method

Family household composition	Relationship in household - household calculation
Couple family with or without children*	Husband, Wife or Partner = 0.5 All other household members = 0
One parent family*	Lone parent = 1 All other household members = 0
Other family type household*	Siblings, cousins, grandparents, nephew, nieces, other related individuals (nec), uncles and aunts = 1/Count of persons in family
Group households	1/Number of persons usually residing in dwelling
Lone person	Lone person = 1

* For dwellings with multiple families, the HH calculation is divided by the number of families.

The AHRP for permanent migrants may be higher than the analysis in Box 4 suggests. This is because the propensities were estimated using the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID), which only includes individuals who were granted a permanent visa after 2000.[19] As a result, it excludes many older permanent migrants, who are likely to have higher AHRPs.

17 T Wilson, The sequential propensity household projection model', *Demographic Research*, 2013, 28(4):681-712, doi:10.4054/DemRes.2013.28.24; National Housing Supply and Affordability Council (NHSAC), *State of the Housing System 2025*, NHSAC website, 2025.

18 ABS, *Relationship in household (RLHP)*, ABS website, 2021.

19 ABS, *Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID)*, ABS website, 2025.

LIMITATIONS

AHRP measures the average housing demand attributable to each group, based on their living arrangements. As such, short-term fluctuations in migration may not immediately increase or decrease housing demand to the same extent. Many visa holders share housing with citizens or others, so their departure may shift household composition rather than free up dwellings. For instance, if a visa holder in a relationship with an Australian citizen left the country and the citizen remained, the dwelling would transition from a couple to a lone-person household –with no immediate impact on the quantity of dwellings demanded. Over time, household adjustments would begin to impact dwelling demand, pending the supply elasticity of the various housing markets around Australia.

The AHRP method calculates the quantity of dwellings demanded, but not the type of dwelling demanded or the market a specific dwelling is in, such as rental or owner occupied. The use of person specific data measures each person's contribution to dwelling demand. This ensures that 'mixed' visa and citizenship households are accurately captured.

BOX 5: UNDERSTANDING FERTILITY PATTERNS IN AUSTRALIA

DATA SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY TO MEASURE FERTILITY INTENTIONS

This analysis primarily uses results from the HILDA survey. HILDA asks questions surrounding how likely participants are to have a child, how many more children they intend to have, when they intend to have more children and the importance in their decision to have a child.[20] The results from these questions have been used to calculate average fertility intentions for both female and male respondents.

Estimates of female fertility intentions have then been used to project intended birth rates through applying the ratio of intended fertility to actual fertility and multiplying this by live births. Current sex ratios were then used to estimate the sex of these intended births. This gives an approximation of how many additional births would have occurred if fertility rates had met intentions. Thus, these calculations show the additional people that would exist in the population had intentions been met.[21]

20 Department of Social Services; Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 'The household, income and labour dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. GENERAL RELEASE (Waves 1-23)', *ADA Dataverse*, 2024, doi:10.26193/NBTNMV.

21 ABS, *Regional population by age and sex*, 2024.

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ABS, *Life tables 2019 – 2021*, ABS website, 2022.

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ABS, *National state and territory population: Net interstate migration review*, ABS website, 2025.

ABS, *Regional Population 2023–24*, ABS website, 2025.

ABS, *Regional population by age and sex*, ABS website, 2024.

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Australian Government, *Intergenerational Report 2023*, The Department of the Treasury, 2023, pg. 228.

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Centre for Population, *2023 Population Statement*, Department of the Treasury, Australian Government, 2023.

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Department of Social Services; Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 'The household, income and labour dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. GENERAL RELEASE (Waves 1-23)', *ADA Dataverse*, 2024, doi:10.26193/NBTNMV.

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T Wilson, The sequential propensity household projection model', *Demographic Research*, 2013, 28 (4): 681-712, doi:10.4054/DemRes.2013.28.24.