CHAPTER 1.

KAZIMIERZ M. SŁOMCZYNSKI AND SANDRA T. MARQUART-PYATT

INTRODUCTION: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY OF SOCIAL LIFE

This chapter introduces the reader to the study of social change in Poland, including the classical legacy of Polish sociologists and contemporary approaches to the topics of recent social changes. It also introduces a unique longitudinal study of social, political, and economic change, highlighting structural and integration processes related to stratification. The research presented in this volume is based on the Polish Panel Survey, called POLPAN, 1988–2003. The survey was conducted among a random (probability) sample of the adult population in Poland who were interviewed in 1988, 1993, 1998, and 2003.

The scope of the project is governed by the basic assumption that there is a need to integrate the two approaches to social structure: relational and distributional. In accordance with sociological tradition, an analysis of social structure in terms of social relations, particularly relations of the control and subordination of certain social groups to others, can be identified as the class approach. Another approach, the stratification approach, concentrates on the analysis of the distribution of commonly desired goods, for which the central question is who gets what, through what channels, and with what consequences. These two approaches are interrelated, as has been demonstrated in two previous volumes: Social Patterns of Being Political (Slomczynski 2000) and Social Structure: Changes and Linkages (Slomczynski 2002).

We base this research on the rich tradition of Polish sociology that includes the analytical approach of Stanisław Ossowski, the class theory of Julian Hochfeld, the historical orientation of Jan Szczepański, and the inte-
ative program of Włodzimierz Wesołowski. We also refer to modern empirical research on social structure, which began in Poland with the work of Adam Sarapata, Stefan Nowak, Włodzimierz Wesołowski, Stanisław Widerszpil, Witold Morawski, Jan Malanowski, and Michał Pohoski. Their classical contributions—discussed in Wesołowski and Slomczynski (1977)—provide a framework for historical comparisons that can be made using panel data for 1988, 1993, 1998, and 2003. We situate the comprehensive analyses presented in this volume among recent studies on social structure and individuals’ adjustments to radical social change—studies conducted in Poland and in other countries of Eastern Europe.

This volume is organized into five sections that derive from and extend the aforementioned research. In this introductory chapter, we briefly describe each of the contributions based on the thematic sections: social structure and occupational careers; unemployment and underemployment; economic dimensions of social change; voting behavior, democracy, and democratic values; and finally institutional attitudes related to politics, the state, and the Catholic Church. However, before describing the contributions of each chapter in this volume, we provide basic information on our data set.

**Four Waves of the Polish Panel Survey: POLPAN, 1988–2003**

The initial survey, which later became the basis for the POLPAN study, was originally conducted before the 1989 fall of communism. The random sample, consisting of 5,817 men and women ages twenty-one to sixty-five, was surveyed at the end of 1987 and the beginning of 1988. The first wave included a large set of questions pertaining to involvement in political organizations (in particular, the Polish United Workers Party and Solidarity) and attitudes toward state welfare provisions, distribution of income, and the existing socialist system (Slomczynski et al. 1989).

The 1993 wave, *Social Changes in Poland* (Domański and Slomczynski 1994), was based on a random sample of 2,500 respondents previously interviewed in 1987–1988 and focused primarily on attitudinal and behavioral aspects of radical social change that had taken place in the period between the two studies. A set of questions dealt with voting choices in the 1989 and 1991 parliamentary elections.

The third wave of the survey, conducted in 1998, comprised 1,752 men and women ages thirty-one to sixty-five who had previously been interviewed in both 1987–88 and 1993, and a renewal sample of those ages
twenty-one to thirty \((n = 383)\). It contained questions on voting behavior in the 1993 and 1997 parliamentary elections. In addition, the 1998 survey included an extensive battery of questions on support for democratic values and norms.

In 2003, the fourth wave of the POLPAN study was conducted. New questions dealt with corruption, political accountability, and socioeconomic attitudes. The sample consisted of those who took part in the previous waves \((n = 1,474)\) as well as those from the younger cohort, age twenty-one to twenty-five in the year of the study \((n = 225)\).

The basic information about samples is provided in Table 1.1. The total number of respondents interviewed at least once for the POLPAN survey is 6,425 (5,817 respondents in the original survey plus 383 and 225 respondents in the renewal samples in 1998 and 2003, respectively). The largest decline in the sample size was in 1993 because instead of re-interviewing all persons from the entire 1988 sample, a subsample of one-third of the original sample was taken into account. The reason for this decision was financial in nature, specifically the lack of funds for a more comprehensive study. However, since that time the POLPAN researchers have followed as many persons from the 1993 sample as possible.

In computing response rates, we have to take into account issues of attrition, where cases have been eliminated for various reasons. Some potential respondents have died, others have emigrated, and still others were institutionalized. In the 1993 and 1998 panel surveys, the response rate was around 75 percent. In 2003, the response rate was 71 percent for the panel part of the survey. Generally, the response rate for the POLPAN survey is not lower than that usually obtained in cross-sectional surveys.

### Substantive Research Questions

An impetus for the panel study described in this volume and its two predecessors (Social Patterns of Being Political and Social Structure: Changes and Linkages) has been to create and maintain a data set rich with information of interest to social science researchers, allowing them to describe continuity and change in social life related to social structure and psychological adjustment in a broad sense. The POLPAN study enables researchers to examine these processes in the context of ongoing systemic transformation in a variety of realms, including political, economic, and cultural domains. Social structure provides an overarching framework for understanding how systemic changes are bounded as well as for exploring the presence of poten-
tially unique trajectories that may be evident over time in the phases of the post-communist transition. Social change does not occur in a vacuum, however, which necessitates an approach that is flexible enough to incorporate the mutually reinforcing aspects of systemic transformation that are essential for the POLPAN project. We next turn to a brief description of each of the five thematic sections.

Class Structure, Occupational Careers, and Group Cohesion

Kazimierz M. Slomczynski, Krystyna Janicka, Goldie Shabad, and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow (Chapter 2) apply a class schema adjusted to the post-communist transformation, distinguishing the following nine classes: (1) employers, (2) managers, (3) experts, (4) supervisors, (5) self-employed, (6) technicians and office workers, (7) skilled manual workers, (8) unskilled manual workers, and (9) farmers. Analyses lead the authors to reject the hypothesis about the death of class. The authors show that in terms of social stratification—measured by formal education, occupational rank, and job income—the main class inequalities do not diminish during the 1988–2003 period. Moreover, the distance between privileged and disadvantaged classes is very large according to an assessment of success, perception of opportunities, or evaluation of one’s social position. The claim about winners and losers of the post-communist transformation is validated.

Rachel E. Lovell (Chapter 3) is interested in describing differences among three population segments distinguished according to gender, age, and education with regard to occupational careers. Lovell uncovers a gendered nature to the differences in patterns of interruptions for men and women, creating three conceptual categories (i.e., female-specific, male-specific, and gender-neutral). While the frequency of interruptions is similar for men and women, some notable differences are apparent with regard to gender-based differences that have consequences for processes of labor market attainment. With respect to both the pattern and consequences of career interruptions, the differences according to age and education are less pronounced than those according to gender.

Kazimierz M. Slomczynski and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow (Chapter 4) test the hypothesis concerning the positive effect of the social capital hypothesis on income changes between 1998 and 2003. They focus on particular aspects of friendship networks: the number of friends and the density of ties, which are proposed to influence income mobility over and above well-established
predictors. Results indicate that a large number of potential bridges between friends is conducive to income attainment, whereby sparse networks (or networks with structural holes) positively stimulate income mobility, net of social characteristics traditionally used in status attainment research. Questions are raised that are especially pertinent to Central and East European countries, where economic restructuring has created both greater risks and opportunities, and individuals may find it essential to place their available resources into play in order to secure their position in the new social structure.

Alicia A. Weaver (Chapter 5) examines how farmers as a social category have responded to systemic changes in three respects, with regard to: farm stability over time, processes of psychological adjustment, and engagement in market production. Of particular interest are characteristics that enabled some farmers to remain in and benefit from farming, whether advantages from the communist system for some farmers facilitated adjustments to the social changes, and whether some farmers were more readily able to adapt to the transition. The analyses suggest some interesting findings with regard to engaging in market production, educational efforts, and farm contracts, suggesting the possibility of an entrepreneurial spirit among farmers who continue to experience changes with further integration into European markets.

Elizabeth Osborn (Chapter 6) focuses on attitudinal determinants of entrepreneurial activity, in particular including whether those who believe that state enterprises should be in private hands are indeed better candidates for becoming entrepreneurs than others and whether a willingness to establish a business and the propensity to invest influence later entrepreneurial activity. In line with previous research, results indicate that attitudes toward privatization differ along structural or stratification lines (i.e., gender, education, occupational rank, and income). In seeking to disentangle individual-level political orientations from their immediate economic interests, Osborn’s analysis shows that political orientations do matter over and above their stratification correlates. Attitudes toward privatization are a strong predictor of starting a business in the future, which she argues can be linked with a psychological outlook that incorporates self-directedness and self-reliance, both of which she further suggests can be identified as crucial in forming preferences for engaging in entrepreneurial activities.

Henryk Domański (Chapter 7) investigates whether the systemic change resulted in social openness in Poland in the occupational selection of spouses and the educational selection of friends. In general, the findings demonstrate that relative openness in market societies differs from egalitarian communist societies in terms of both occupational differences among spouses and
differing educational levels among friends. Instead of being characterized by processes of social closure that appeared to be operating, the results tend to support the idea that intimate relationships became more structured as reflected in the stratification order. In some respects, social positions influence marital choices, whereby people tended to marry those in close status and class positions, though some barriers could be noted, such as the situation where in-marrying was more common among some social groups. In placing these findings within the broader time frame being investigated, Domański suggests that these patterns may be time-bound and potentially unique with regard to the transition from a communist system to a market society.

**Employment Prospects: Unemployment and Underemployment**

Irina Tomescu-Dubrow (Chapter 8) investigates labor market segmentation and its effect on the risk of unemployment from 1988 to 2003. In particular, she examines the extent to which distinct classes of workers, notably the *nomenklatura* and those employed in heavy industry, experience unemployment at different rates than the rest of the labor force. The findings demonstrate that former *nomenklatura* members had a lower risk of unemployment and that the chances of unemployment increased for workers in heavy industry. However, those workers in heavy industry who moved into the private sector were in some respects able to overcome their disadvantaged position in the new labor market. Moreover, counter to theoretical expectations, men were more likely to experience unemployment than women.

Anna Kiersztyn (Chapter 9) identifies the presence and extent of different forms of underemployment, examines how underemployment has changed in recent years, explores overlap between underemployment and contingent work, and describes patterns of how these processes are distributed across segments of the labor market. In the analyses, two groups of employment inadequacies are considered: those linked with negative job characteristics and those resulting from occupational mismatch. The results generally indicate that the prevalence of some forms of unemployment and underemployment have grown in recent years. While this is in some respects expected due to structural changes associated with the transition to a market economy, the magnitude of the increase in workers whose earnings are close to the minimum wage was not anticipated. Differences existed across various social categories, including gender, education, and social class. Of note are the patterns that emerged with respect to regions and place of residence, which serve as
some confirmation of the continued relevance of aspects of the winners and losers hypothesis related to systemic changes.

**Economic Dimensions of Social Change**

Michał Bojanowski (Chapter 10) examines household income inequality and income mobility, highlighting how these dynamics can be characterized over time, and whether these relationships differ for urban and rural households. Analyses exploring changes in income distribution and income mobility show an initial increase and later stabilization in income inequalities. For income mobility, results indicate a systematic decrease over time. With regard to trends in total income inequality, results indicate differences both within groups and between groups. Those taking into account residential differences between urban and rural households show differences in the particular form of these categories: a linear trend in household income for urban households and an initial decrease followed by a later increase for rural households. The analyses in some respects also point to the ongoing significance of winners and losers related to system transformations.

Alexis Yamokoski (Chapter 11) examines economic well-being in Poland, highlighting those who occupy the most economically privileged positions to determine whether stability or volatility is a more accurate depiction of those in certain structural positions (i.e., the top 10 percent of household income). Results demonstrate volatility in the composition of the elite across the entire panel data set and in each five-year increment when survey data were collected. Some evidence of stability could, however, be noted for those who attained a privileged position after the initial period of high instability from 1988 to 1993, the early phase of the post-communist transition. Moreover, opportunities for achieving economic well-being emerged steadily over time, increasing throughout the fifteen-year time frame considered. The relationship between earned human capital and privileged financial well-being also increased over time. Yamokoski argues that with continued economic stabilization at the national level, those in positions of economic privilege will likely maintain advantages relative to those who lack the human capital that would facilitate greater status attainment in the emerging meritocratic system.

Maciej Krzyszczuk and Brian E. Green (Chapter 12) examine an aspect of social change related to larger processes linked with globalization, the growth in personal computer (PC) ownership. Their work considers the structural determinants of the digital divide in Poland, seeking to analyze the structural determinants of changes in PC ownership both cross-sectionally and over
time, and the correlates of Internet use cross-sectionally. Though the number of households with computers increased over the entire time frame of the panel study, the most rapid gains can be noted during the last five years that the survey was realized. Notable influences of age and education on PC possession occur over time, and some interesting patterns of difference emerge with regard to occupational strata and the use or exposure to PCs. The authors spend some time reflecting on different reasons underlying the growth in PC ownership, including stratification position, place of residence (urban resident), employment status, occupational strata, and household composition, in relation to processes of social change in a broad sense.

Sheri Kunovich (Chapter 13) considers the growth in consumer debt in Poland, especially the use of credit to finance housing, leisure pursuits, durable goods, and other items, and asks whether there are discernible differences with regard to two broad classes of household types—the “haves” and “have-nots.” The “haves” are those households that have experienced gains related to the changing conditions, while the “have-nots” encompass those likely to experience potential economic hardship as a result of the rapid social changes. The results demonstrate that household demographic characteristics influence those households that will use credit, especially in terms of being composed of employed persons and having children under the age of seventeen. With regard to socioeconomic status (SES), only upper-middle class households are more likely to use loans than the lower economic class, net of other effects. The picture is more complicated with regard to the role of education, particularly when looked at in relation to demographic characteristics, SES, material conditions, and financial attitudes. Strong, consistent effects are discernible across a number of the models revealing patterns related to a lack of resources for basic needs. Implications are noted for class-based explanations regarding change both structurally and attitudinally.

Rachel E. Lovell (Chapter 14) investigates another dimension of human capital—illness—as it influences income attainment. Illness was selected stemming in part from the analyses presented in Chapter 3, since gender-based differences are not necessarily expected to exist with respect to the timing of illness (i.e., one’s age) and may instead be a function of larger forces in the labor market. The analyses demonstrate that men and women do not differ significantly with respect to age at onset of illness. Contrary to theoretical expectations, illness does have a negative influence on income attainment for men, but not for women, taking into account human capital variables and job complexity. The consequences of illness for men and women differ and the discussion introduces state institutional arrangements as a possible explanation, since Poland has specific illness-related policies
with respect to defining and compensating illness, which are accomplished through state and employer provisions.

Voting Behavior, Democracy, and Democratic Values

Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow (Chapter 15) investigates the issue of descriptive representation related to voting in recent Polish elections. The primary hypothesis, focusing on similarity, proposes that people are more likely to vote for those with specified matching demographic variables. Thus, three demographic indicators are analyzed: sex, class, and age. Relationships are explored for fourteen parties and three years, based on careful attention to previous research and particularities of the Polish parliamentary system and voivodships. The findings indicate that demographic cues matter in various ways with links between stratification measures and particular parties. Results demonstrate both cross-time consistency for the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD, Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe), and time-specific results for the Civic Platform (PO, Platforma Obywatelska) and the League of Polish Families (LPR, Liga Polskich Rodzin). Results overall suggest that demographic cues voting, where people vote on the basis of similarity, operates in a parliamentary context in much the same way as underlying vote choice in the United States.

Clayton D. Peoples (Chapter 16) examines the relevance of social class as a predictor of voting behavior in the 1990 Polish presidential elections. Peoples posits class-based differences in participation rates, in candidate selection, and in value preferences, and both direct and indirect influences regarding class (i.e., a direct influence on voting and an indirect influence through values). The findings indicate class-based differences in participation in the 1990 elections for some social categories in particular and an influence of class on voting or the candidate selected in the election. The results also show class differences in conformity and that conformity influences voting behavior or the candidate selected. Further, the final results demonstrate that class and conformity have separate yet seemingly complementary influences on voting. Overall, the results serve to further challenge the death of class thesis, as class matters for political behavior in this instance in a period of rapidly changing economic and political circumstances.

Sandra T. Marquart-Pyatt (Chapter 17) examines how democratic values are taking shape in the former state socialist context in Poland. Of particular interest is the extent to which democratic values as attitudes, comprising
democratic governance and majoritarian rule and beliefs, are developing in the general public. Cleavage, emerging political context, and generational hypotheses are explored in comparing the composition and sources of democratic values. Poles are generally supportive of rule of law, the influence of mutual concessions for problem solving, the meaning of democratic elections, and the right to criticize decisions. Other aspects of democracy and democratization are arguably more contentious: the roles of political parties, voting rights, and elections. Briefly, age, education, urban residence, views of the previous regime, views of the state’s role, and generational effects can be noted. This research complements and extends previous research suggesting that democratic values are undergoing a somewhat unique trajectory in former state socialist countries.

Institutional Attitudes: Politics, the State, and the Catholic Church

Irina Tomescu-Dubrow (Chapter 18) investigates structural and retrospective assessments of socialism, focusing on people’s views of socialism depending on how their lives have changed and especially how their position in the social structure influences these perceptions. The analyses show relative stability over time with regard to views of socialism. Over time, people tend either to retain a positive evaluation or to switch from a negative to a positive view of socialism, with a notable switch from neutral to positive. Anticipated patterns based on winners and losers can be seen tied to particular points in time related to the particular phase of the post-communist transition with regard to class-based differences. In addition to class-based effects, the results also show differences between educational and age categories.

Christy M. Glass and Sandra T. Marquart-Pyatt (Chapter 19) analyze welfare state changes and attitudes toward the state, centering on changes over time in the overall support for redistributive policies during the transition from state socialism and changes in the social predictors of support for redistribution. Overall the findings demonstrate broad support for a strong state role in redistributing wealth, reducing inequality, and guaranteeing jobs. Results indicate that those who perceive their material situation as worsening, those with lower income, women, and pensioners generally express stronger support for redistributive policies. Significant class-based patterns emerge across time, as working class status influences welfare-state-related policies across all time points. The cohort-specific findings provide significant support for the hypothesis that socialist-era ideology regarding the state
role in providing a basic standard of living to all citizens continues to shape political attitudes more than ten years after the fall of state socialism. While the Polish working class overwhelmingly supports a strong social safety net, Poles with a college education do not. Thus, those with the most to gain from job guarantees and income redistribution demonstrate the most favorable views, while those with the least to gain show much less support for welfare-state policies. Changes in the social predictors are considered to provide some evidence of emerging social cleavages that may structure attitudes and political support for the welfare state and democracy in the future.

Natalie A. Kistner (Chapter 20) examines the determinants and implications of corruption among the general public based on recent events (i.e., Rywingate) and places them in the broader context of democratic consolidation and institutional change. In general, the results support the perspective that individuals vote because they have the resource base (e.g., time and money), especially in terms of income and education, and also as a result of their motivation to engage the democratic process through formal political participation. Rather than attitudinal forces or perception of corruption per se, results show that interest in politics, views of economic performance, and other forms of political involvement matter in terms of the likelihood of voting. In many respects, legitimacy matters. These findings suggest that social forces driving participation in political life are similar to those influencing citizens in more established democracies, although it is likely that the enduring legacy of the communist system is another factor.

Robert M. Kunovich (Chapter 21) considers citizens’ perceptions of the Catholic Church’s influence on politics in 1998 and 2003, providing a framework that suggests a difference in these two years based on political climates and two elections during this time. The hypotheses investigated seek to identify influences on promoting a closer relationship between the Catholic Church and the Polish State. Those favoring a closer relationship are likely to differ from those supporting secular nationalism with regard to mutual concessions in political decision making, the legitimacy of political institutions, and the evaluation of institutional performance in various realms (i.e., economically, politically, and socially). Overall the analyses suggest support for morality and legitimacy-based arguments regarding the role of the Church in political life.

Christina V. Xydias (Chapter 22) explores gendered attitudinal differences, emphasizing egalitarianism. In particular, she investigates these proposed attitudinal differences first as a function of the disadvantaged position of women due to recent systemic changes. Xydias also explores the resulting gender-based differences in perceptions of risks and opportunities, religious
differences, and proposed convergence notions because of growing similarities between social structural circumstances that would lead to less pronounced differences over time between men and women. Generally, results support the aforementioned patterns. In line with anticipated results using the winners and losers frame, women and men differ in terms of egalitarian attitudes, their views of risks and opportunities, and religiosity.

The Post-Communist Transition

In *Social Structure: Changes and Linkages* (Slomczynski 2002), specific phases of the post-communist transition were outlined in the introductory chapter as they pertained to the various waves of the POLPAN survey. Briefly, these included the initial phase of the post-communist transition from 1988 to 1993 to the advanced phase of the post-communist transition, culminating in 1998 with various legal changes such as the introduction of reforms in the administrative division of the country, the educational and health care systems, and social security programs. For purposes of this volume, which explores changes from 1988 to 2003, the phases of the post-communist transition remain especially germane. The 1998 to 2003 time frame coincides with institutional adjustment prior to Poland’s joining the European Union. In addition, various mechanisms underscore the shift to a capitalist economic system and the movement toward a democratic political structure. While institutional changes have in some respects been consolidated, we cannot be certain whether attitudinal changes have similarly occurred. Indeed, it is likely that some aspects of systemic transformation have not yet been fully resolved.

Poles voted to join the European Union in a referendum in June 2003, and Poland became a full member on May 1, 2004. In economic terms, Poland’s joining the European Union ended the post-communist transformation. However, in political terms, the communist past is still important in the struggle among political parties since the conservative wings want to pursue lustration, which is revealing previous connections of all public figures with internal security forces. Both President Lech Kaczynski and his brother, Prime Minister Jarosław Kaczynski, use lustration to consolidate their power. The parliamentary coalition of Law and Justice (PiS, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość) with Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland (SO, Samoobrona RP), and the League of Polish Families (LPR, Liga Polskich Rodzin) supports their policy, sometimes with short-lived internal opposition. Other parliamentary parties, Civic Platform (PO, Platforma Obywatelska), Democratic Left-Alliance (SLD, Sojusz Lewicydemokratycznej) and the Polish Peasant
Party (PSL, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe) represent diversified interest groups. Thus, in 2006, two years after Poland’s joining of the European Union, the Polish political arena is still fragmented and disordered by conflicts among main social forces.

**Accessibility of Data for Future Analyses**

The POLPAN survey data contain a large number of variables (nV >1,500) describing respondents’ location in the social structure and their various attitudes and behaviors. The data are in the public domain. All interested researchers are invited to use the POLPAN data set. This data set is available through the Comparative Social Inequality section of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (Nowy Swiat 72, 00-330 Warsaw, Poland) or the Department of Sociology, The Ohio State University (300 Bricker Hall, Columbus, OH 43210, USA). You may contact us in this regard by e-mail: slomczynski.1@osu.edu, the principal investigator, or sandm@cc.usu.edu.

**Table 1.1. Sample Sizes of the Consecutive Waves of the Polish Panel Survey, POLPAN 1988–2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw sample</td>
<td>5,817</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>2,135</td>
<td>1,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel sample</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,259&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>1,474&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renewal sample</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>383&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>225&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Contains 2,092 cases from the randomly selected subset of the 1988 sample and 167 cases from the same sample overrepresenting people with higher education and involved in self-employment (in 1988). The composition of the total 1993 sample (n = 2,259) mirrors the 1993 population better than the 2,092 cases from the randomly selected subset of the 1988 sample.

<sup>b</sup> Contains 225 cases from the 1998 renewal sample.

<sup>c</sup> Random sample of those who were age 21–30 in 1998.

<sup>d</sup> Random sample of those who were age 21–25 in 2003.