NOTES

Introduction

- 1. Emile Durkheim, 1897, Le suicide: Etude de sociologie, Germer Baillière, but the link with education goes back further. See Matt Wray, Cynthia Colen, and Bernice Pescosolido, 2011, "The sociology of suicide," Annual Review of Sociology, 37, 505–28.
- 2. Sara McLanahan, 2004, "Diverging destinies: How children are faring under the second demographic transition," *Demography*, 41(4), 607–27; Andrew Cherlin, 2014, *Labor's love lost: The rise and fall of the working-class family in America*, Russell Sage Foundation; Robert D. Putnam, 2015, *Our kids: The American dream in crisis*, Simon and Schuster; David Goodhart, 2017, *The road to somewhere: The populist revolt and the future of politics*, Hurst; Charles Murray, 2012, *Coming apart: The state of white America*, 1960–2010, Crown.
 - 3. Michael Young, 1958, The rise of the meritocracy, Thames and Hudson.
- 4. Michael Sandel, 2018, "Populism, Trump, and the future of democracy," openDemocracy, May 9, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/populism-trump-and-future-of-democracy/.
- 5. William Julius Wilson, 1987, The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy, University of Chicago Press, 39.
- 6. Carol Anderson, quoted in Susan B. Glasser and Glenn Thrush, 2016, "What's going on with America's white people?," *Politico Magazine*, September/October 2016.
- 7. Martin Luther King Jr., 1965, "Address at the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery march," March 25, Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford, https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/address-conclusion-selma-montgomery-march.
- 8. Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones, 2017, "Beyond economics: Fears of cultural displacement pushed the white working class to Trump," PRRI/Atlantic Report, April 9, https://www.prri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/.
 - 9. Anderson, quoted in Glasser and Thrush, "What's going on."
- 10. Wilson, Truly disadvantaged; Charles Murray, 1984, Losing ground: American social policy 1950–1980, Basic Books.

- 11. Murray, Coming apart.
- 12. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015, "Table A-4: Employment status of the civilian population 25 years and over by educational attainment," Data Retrieval: Labor Force Statistics (CPS), July 8, https://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpsatab4.htm.
- 13. Nicholas Bloom, 2017, "Corporations in the age of inequality," The Big Idea, *Harvard Business Review*, https://hbr.org/cover-story/2017/03/corporations-in-the-age-of-inequality.
- 14. Neil Irwin, 2017, "To understand rising inequality, consider the janitors at two top companies, then and now," *New York Times*, September 2, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/03/upshot/to-understand-rising-inequality-consider-the-janitors-at-two-top-companies-then-and-now.html.
- 15. Emily Guendelsberger, 2019, On the clock: What low-wage work did to me and how it drives America insane, Little, Brown; James Bloodworth, 2018, Hired: Six months undercover in low-wage Britain, Atlantic Books.
 - 16. Durkheim, Le suicide.
 - 17. Dani Rodrik, 1997, Has globalization gone too far?, Institute for International Economics.
 - 18. Sam Quinones, 2015, Dreamland: The true tale of America's opiate epidemic, Bloomsbury.
 - 19. Adam Smith, 1776, The wealth of nations, bk. 4.
- 20. Matthew Smith, Danny Yagan, Owen M. Zidar, and Eric Zwick, 2019, "Capitalists in the 21st century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(4), 1675–745.
- 21. Kenneth Scheve and David Stasavage, 2016, Taxing the rich: A history of fiscal fairness in the United States and Europe, Princeton University Press.
- 22. Charles Jordan Tabb, 2007, "The top twenty issues in the history of consumer bank-ruptcy," *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1, 9–30, 29.
- 23. Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, 2011, Winner-take-all politics: How Washington made the rich richer—and turned its back on the middle class, Simon and Schuster; Martin Gilens, 2012, Affluence and influence: Economic inequality and political power in America, Princeton University Press; Larry M. Bartels, 2008, Unequal democracy: The political economy of the new gilded age, Princeton University Press.
- 24. Walter Scheidel, 2017, The great leveler: Violence and the history of inequality from the Stone Age to the twenty-first century, Princeton University Press.
 - 25. David Cannadine, Victorious century: The United Kingdom, 1800-1906, Penguin.
- 26. Robert C. Allen, 2017, The Industrial Revolution: A very short introduction, Oxford University Press.

Chapter 1: The Calm before the Storm

- Quoted in Paul Farmer, 1999, Infections and inequalities: The modern plagues, University of California Press, 202.
- 2. William F. Ogburn and Dorothy S. Thomas, 1922, "The influence of the business cycle on certain social conditions," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 18(139), 324–40; Christopher J. Ruhm, 2000, "Are recessions good for your health?," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(2), 617–50.

3. John Komlos and Benjamin E. Lauderdale, 2007, "Underperformance in affluence: The remarkable relative decline in U.S. heights in the second half of the 20th century," *Social Science Quarterly*, 88, 283–305, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2007.00458.x.

Chapter 2: Things Come Apart

- 1. Brookings Institution, 2017, Policy approaches to the opioid crisis, featuring remarks by Sir Angus Deaton, Rep. Ann McLane Kuster, and Professor Bertha K. Madras: An event from the USC-Brookings Schaeffer Initiative for Health Policy, Washington, DC, November 3, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/es_20171103_opioid_crisis_transcript.pdf.
- 2. Unless otherwise noted, throughout the book, we will refer to white non-Hispanics as "whites," black non-Hispanics as "blacks," and Hispanics of all races as "Hispanics."
- 3. See Katherine Baicker, Amitabh Chandra, and Jonathan S. Skinner, 2005, "Geographic variation in health care and the problem of measuring racial disparities," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 48(1), supplement (Winter), S42–53.
- 4. Another question is whether the pause or reversal is in part a result of people getting older over this stretch of time within this midlife age-group. Indeed, the average age within the age band from forty-five to fifty-four increased by four-tenths of a year (from 49.2 to 49.6) between 1990 and 2017, and we would expect mortality to rise (if slightly) just because of the average increase in age. But the graph makes an adjustment that takes this into account. Without the adjustment, the mortality line for the US whites rises a little more, but the difference between the US whites and citizens of other countries, or between the US whites and what would have been expected had late twentieth-century progress continued, remains starkly obvious independent of any such adjustments. See Andrew Gelman and Jonathan Auerbach, 2016, "Age-aggregation bias in mortality trends," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(7), E816–17.
- 5. At the time we go to press, we do not know what has happened to US life expectancy in 2018, and it is not clear which way it will move.

Chapter 3: Deaths of Despair

- 1. *PBS Newshour*, 2017, "'Deaths of despair' are cutting life short for some white Americans," February 16, video, 8:19, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/deaths-despair-cutting-life-short-white-americans.
- 2. Nicole Lewis, Emma Ockerman, Joel Achenbach, and Wesley Lowery, 2017, "Fentanyl linked to thousands of urban overdose deaths," *Washington Post*, August 15, https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/national/fentanyl-overdoses/.
- 3. Robert L. DuPont, 2008, "Addiction in medicine," *Transactions of the American Clinical and Climatological Association*, 119, 227–41.
- 4. Robert L. DuPont, 1997, The selfish brain: Learning from addiction, American Psychiatric Association.

- 5. Alcoholic liver disease mortality rates fell slightly over this period in Maryland and Mississippi, and rose slightly in New Jersey. In a number of small states, data were not reported in some years. These are Alaska, Delaware, Hawaii, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming. In all of these states, with the exception of Delaware, rates increased over the period that data were reported.
- 6. Ellen Meara and Jonathan Skinner, 2015, "Losing ground at midlife in America," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(49), 15006–7.
- 7. These statistics are for white non-Hispanics and white Hispanics together; before 1990, ethnicity is not fully available.
- 8. Yulia Khodneva, Paul Muntner, Stefan Kertsesz, Brett Kissela, and Monika M. Safford, 2016, "Prescription opioid use and risk of coronary heart disease, stroke, and cardiovascular death among adults from a prospective cohort (REGARDS study)," *Pain Medicine*, 17(3), 444–55, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6281131/; American Heart Association, 2018, "Opioid use may increase risk of dangerous hearth rhythm disorder," meeting report, poster presentation, November 5, https://newsroom.heart.org/news/opioid-use-may-increase-risk-of-dangerous-heart-rhythm-disorder?preview=303c; L. Li, S. Setoguchi, H. Cabral, and S. Jick, 2013, "Opioid use for noncancer pain and risk of myocardial infarction amongst adults," *Journal of Internal Medicine*, 273(5), 511–26, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/23331508.
- 9. Andrew Stokes and Samuel H. Preston, 2017, "Deaths attributable to diabetes in the United States: Comparison of data sources and estimation approaches," *PLoS ONE*, 12(1), e0170219, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0170219.
- 10. Jay Olshansky, Douglas J. Passaro, Ronald C. Hershow, et al., 2005, "A potential decline in life expectancy in the United States in the 21st century," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 352(11), 1138–45.
- 11. For England, see NHS Digital, 2018, "Health Survey for England 2017," December 4, https://digital.nhs.uk/data-and-information/publications/statistical/health-survey-for-england/2017; for Australia, see Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2018, "Overweight and obesity rates across Australia 2014–15," June 7, https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/overweight-obesity/overweight-and-obesity-rates-2014-15/data.

Chapter 4: The Lives and Deaths of the More (and Less) Educated

- 1. Statistics are from Thomas D. Snyder, ed., 1993, 120 years of American education: A statistical portrait, Center for Education Statistics, US Department of Education, table 3, https://nces.ed.gov/pubs93/93442.pdf.
- 2. The earnings premium is calculated as the ratio of median hourly wages for full-time, full-year workers with a four-year degree and median hourly earnings for those with a high school diploma but no additional education. Jonathan James, 2012, "The college wage premium," *Economic Commentary*, 2012-10, August 8, Research Department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland.
 - 3. Statistics are for the civilian population. American Community Survey 2017.
- 4. Lawrence Mishel and Julia Wolfe, 2019, "CEO compensation has grown 940% since 1978," Economic Policy Institute, August 14, https://www.epi.org/publication/ceo-compensation-2018/.

- 5. Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez, 2003, "Income inequality in the United States, 1913–1998," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 118(1), 1–39; Thomas Piketty, 2013, *Capital in the 21st century*, Harvard; Matthew Smith, Danny Yagan, Owen M. Zidar, and Eric Zwick, 2019, "Capitalists in the 21st century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(4), 1675–745.
- 6. Robert D. Putnam, 2015, Our kids: The American dream in crisis, Simon and Schuster; Charles Murray, 2012, Coming apart: The state of white America, 1960–2010, Crown; Sara McLanahan, 2004, "Diverging destinies: How children are faring under the second demographic transition," Demography, 41(4), 607–27.
 - 7. Authors' calculations using Gallup's tracking poll.
- 8. Alex Bell, Raj Chetty, Xavier Jaravel, Neviana Petkova, and John van Reenen, 2019, "Who becomes an inventor in America? The importance of exposure to innovation," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(2), 647–713.
 - 9. Michael Young, 1958, The rise of the meritocracy, Thames and Hudson.
 - 10. Young, 152.
- 11. Michael Sandel, 2018, "Populism, Trump, and the future of democracy," openDemocracy, May 9, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/populism-trump-and-future-of-democracy/.
- 12. Kim Parker, 2019, "The growing partisan divide in views of higher education," Pew Research Center, August 19, https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/essay/the-growing-partisan-divide-in-views-of-higher-education/.
- 13. Dana Goldstein and Jugal K. Patel, 2019, "Need extra time on tests? It helps to have cash," July 30, *New York Times*, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/30/us/extra-time-504-sat-act.html.
 - 14. Christopher Hayes, 2012, Twilight of the elites: America after meritocracy, Crown.
- 15. See also Daniel Markovits, 2019, The meritocracy trap: How America's foundational myth feeds inequality, dismantles the middle class, and devours the elite, Penguin.
- 16. Samuel H. Preston, 1996, "American longevity: Past, present, and future," Syracuse University Center for Policy Research, Policy Brief No. 7, 8; Samuel H. Preston and Michael R. Haines, 1971, Fatal years: Child mortality in late nineteenth-century America, Princeton University Press
- 17. Michael Marmot, 2004, The status syndrome: How social standing affects our health and longevity, Times Books.
- 18. Authors' calculations from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System and National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey data.
- 19. Our data on mortality by educational attainment go back only to 1992, by which time most states were including education on death certificates. Four states—Georgia, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and South Dakota—were slow to comply, so the 5 percent of the total US population who live in those states is excluded from all of our results on deaths and education.
- 20. From the late 1990s to 2017, the fraction of forty-five-to-fifty-four-year-olds with a bachelor's degree remained nearly constant at around one-third. If the fraction with and without a bachelor's degree had changed dramatically since the late 1990s, there would be a worry that what we are seeing in the figure are not changes in death rates but rather changes in the kind of people who do and do not have a bachelor's degree. The stability of the shares of the population makes such an account unlikely.

21. Emile Durkheim, 1897, *Le suicide: Etude de sociologie*, Germer Baillière; Matt Wray, Cynthia Colen, and Bernice Pescosolido, 2011, "The sociology of suicide," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37, 505–28.

Chapter 5: Black and White Deaths

- 1. Gary Trudeau, 2017, Doonesbury, Washington Post, March 26.
- 2. Mortality rates are for all whites, including Hispanic whites, and all blacks, including Hispanic blacks. Before 1968, death certificates categorized decedents as "white" and "other race," so we limit the series to the period 1968–2017.
 - 3. Emile Durkheim, 1897, Le suicide: Etude de sociologie, Germer Baillière.
- 4. George Simpson, introduction to *Suicide, a study in sociology*, by Emile Durkheim, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson, ed. George Simpson, Free Press, 1951, loc. 367 of 7289, Kindle
- 5. William Julius Wilson, 1987, The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy, University of Chicago Press, 39.
 - 6. Wilson, 254.
- 7. Raghuram Rajan, 2019, The third pillar: How markets and the state leave the community behind, Penguin.
- 8. William N. Evans, Craig Garthwaite, and Timothy J. Moore, 2018, "Guns and violence: The enduring impact of crack cocaine markets on young black males," NBER Working Paper 24819, July.
- 9. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 1965, *The negro family: The case for national action*, US Department of Labor.
- 10. Charles Murray, 1984, Losing ground: American social policy 1950–1980, Basic Books; Charles Murray, 2012, Coming apart: The state of white America, 1960–2010, Crown.
 - 11. Wilson, Truly disadvantaged, 14.

Chapter 6: The Health of the Living

- 1. Amartya K. Sen, 1985, Commodities and capabilities, Elsevier.
- 2. World Health Organization, n.d., "Constitution," accessed October 15, 2019, https://www.who.int/about/who-we-are/constitution.
- 3. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2019, "Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System," last reviewed August 27, https://www.cdc.gov/brfss/index.html.
- 4. National Center for Health Statistics, 2019, "National Health Interview Survey," last reviewed August 22, https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nhis/index.htm.
- 5. The BRFSS (a telephone survey) is an order of magnitude larger than the NHIS (administered in-home), which is, in turn, an order of magnitude larger than the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, a program that collects data through a mix of interviews, physical examinations, and lab work on five thousand people each year. For information on the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, see National Center for Health Statistics, 2019, "National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey," last reviewed September 17, https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/nhanes/index.htm.

- 6. Majid Ezzati, Hilarie Martin, Suzanne Skjold, Stephen Vander Hoorn, and Christopher J. L. Murray, 2006, "Trends in national and state level obesity in the USA after correction for self-report bias: Analysis of health surveys," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99, 250–57, https://doi.org/10.1177/014107680609900517; Duncan Thomas and Elizabeth Frankenberg, 2002, "The measurement and interpretation of health in social surveys," in *Summary measures of population health: Concepts, ethics, measurement and applications*, World Health Organization, 387–420.
- 7. Amartya K. Sen, 2002, "Health: Perception versus observation: Self reported morbidity has severe limitations and can be extremely misleading," *British Medical Journal*, 324, 860–61.
- 8. Ellen L. Idler and Yael Benyamini, 1997, "Self-rated health and mortality: A review of twenty-seven community studies," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 38(1), 21–37.
- 9. To cross-check that the results are not driven by some peculiarity of the BRFSS, we have used the other large national survey, the NHIS, to replicate the results in figure 6.1, and we find the same results.
 - 10. Nicholas Eberstadt, 2016, Men without work: America's invisible crisis, Templeton.
- 11. Jeffrey B. Liebman, 2015, "Understanding the increase in disability insurance benefit receipt in the United States," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29(2), 123–50.

Chapter 7: The Misery and Mystery of Pain

- 1. Naomi I. Eisenberger, 2015, "Social pain and the brain: Controversies, questions, and where to go from here," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66, 601–29, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115146.
- 2. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017, Pain management and the opioid epidemic: Balancing societal and individual benefits and risks of prescription opioid use, National Academies Press, https://doi.org/10.17226/24781.
- 3. Rob Boddice, 2017, *Pain: A very short introduction*, Oxford; Antonio R. Damasio, 2005, *Descartes' error: Emotion, reason, and the human brain*, Penguin.
- 4. Margo McCaffery, 1968, Nursing practice theories related to cognition, bodily pain and manenvironmental interaction, University of California, Los Angeles, Students' Store, quoted in American Pain Society, n.d., Pain: Current understanding of assessment, management, and treatments, 4.
- 5. Anne Case and Angus Deaton, 2005, "Broken down by work and sex: How our health declines," in David A. Wise, ed., *Analyses in the economics of aging*, National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Report, University of Chicago Press for NBER, 185–212.
- 6. This map is drawn with an age range from twenty-five to sixty-four, rather than for forty-five-to-fifty-four-year-old whites, which allows us to use a larger sample to estimate pain by small area.
- 7. Anne Case and Angus Deaton, 2017, "Suicide, age, and well-being: An empirical investigation," in David A. Wise, ed., *Insights in the economics of aging*, National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Report, University of Chicago Press for NBER, 307–34.
- 8. Gallup World Poll, accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.gallup.com/analytics/232838/world-poll.aspx.
- 9. These are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK.

- 10. The question asked in the Gallup surveys pertains to "yesterday," while the questions asked in the NHIS pertain to the last three months, which may explain the higher fraction reporting pain in the NHIS. That said, the patterns observed, of faster increases before age sixty than after sixty, are similar in the two surveys. We have no explanation for the high pain levels among elderly Europeans in figure 7.2.
 - 11. Authors' calculations using annual Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System surveys.
 - 12. Case and Deaton, 2005, "Broken down."
- 13. Greg Kaplan and Sam Schulhofer-Wohl, 2018, "The changing (dis)-utility of work," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 32(3), 239–58.

Chapter 8: Suicide, Drugs, and Alcohol

- 1. Emile Durkheim, 1897, Le suicide: Etude de sociologie, Germer Baillière.
- 2. Robert L. DuPont, 1997, The selfish brain: Learning from addiction, American Psychiatric Association, Kindle.
- 3. Zachary Siegel, 2018, "I'm so sick of opioid disaster porn," *Slate*, September 12, https://slate.com/technology/2018/09/opioid-crisis-photo-essays-leave-out-recovery.html.
 - 4. DuPont, Selfish brain, loc. 2093 of 8488, Kindle.
 - 5. Kay Redfield Jamison, 2000, Night falls fast: Understanding suicide, Vintage, 128.
- 6. Ian R. H. Rockett, Gordon S. Smith, Eric D. Caine, et al., 2014, "Confronting death from drug self-intoxication (DDSI): Prevention through a better definition," *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(12), e49–55, e50.
- 7. Daniel S. Hammermesh and Neal M. Soss, 1974, "An economic theory of suicide," *Journal of Political Economy*, 82(1), 83–98; Gary S. Becker and Richard A. Posner, 2004, "Suicide: An economic approach," unpublished manuscript, last revised August, https://www.gwern.net/docs/psychology/2004-becker.pdf.
- 8. Norman Kreitman, 1976, "The coal gas story: United Kingdom suicide rates, 1960–71," *British Journal of Preventive Social Medicine*, 30, 86–93.
- 9. Kyla Thomas and David Gunnell, 2010, "Suicide in England and Wales 1861–2007: A time-trends analysis," *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 39, 1464–75, https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyq094.
- 10. John Gramlich, 2018, "7 facts about guns in the U.S.," Fact Tank, Pew Research Center, December 27, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/27/facts-about-guns-in-united-states/.
- 11. National Research Council, 2005, "Firearms and suicide," in *Firearms and violence: A critical review*, National Academies Press, 152–200.
- 12. Robert D. Putnam, 2000, Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community, Simon and Schuster.
 - 13. CDC Wonder, average suicide rates over the period 2008-17.
 - 14. Across the fifty US states, the correlation coefficient is .4.
- 15. Anne Case and Angus Deaton, 2017, "Suicide, age, and well-being: An empirical investigation," in David A. Wise, ed., *Insights in the economics of aging*, National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Report, University of Chicago Press for NBER, 307–34.

- 16. The fractions of the birth cohorts of 1945 and 1970 who finish a four-year degree are not very different, so these results are unlikely to be attributable to changing compositions of those with and without a bachelor's degree between the cohorts.
- 17. Eric Augier, Estelle Barbier, Russell S. Dulman, et al., 2018, "A molecular mechanism for choosing alcohol over an alternative reward," *Science*, 360(6395), 1321–26, https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aa01157.
 - 18. Christopher Finan, 2017, Drunks: An American history, Beacon, 41.
- 19. Keith Humphreys, 2003, Circles of recovery: Self-help organizations for addictions, Cambridge University Press.
- 20. National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, n.d., "Alcohol's effects on the body," accessed September 18, 2019, https://www.niaaa.nih.gov/alcohol-health/alcohols-effects-body.
- 21. Global Burden of Disease Alcohol Collaborators, 2018, "Alcohol use and burden for 195 countries and territories, 1990–2016: A systematic analysis for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2016," *Lancet*, 392, 1015–35, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(18)31310-2.
 - 22. We are grateful to Frank Newport at Gallup for sending us these data.
- 23. Jay Bhattacharya, Christina Gathmann, and Grant Miller, 2013, "The Gorbachev antialcohol campaign and Russia's mortality crisis," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5(2), 232–60, http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/app.5.2.232.
- 24. Pavel Grigoriev, France Meslé, Vladimir M. Shkolnikov, et al., 2014, "The recent mortality decline in Russia: Beginning of the cardiovascular revolution?," *Population and Development Review*, 40(1), 107–29.
- 25. Robert T. Jensen and Kaspar Richter, 2004, "The health implications of social security failure: Evidence from the Russian pension crisis," *Journal of Public Economics*, 88(1–2), 209–36.
- 26. Angus Deaton, 2008, "Income, health and wellbeing around the world: Evidence from the Gallup World Poll," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 22(2), 53–72.

Chapter 9: Opioids

- 1. Stephen R. Platt, 2018, Imperial twilight: The opium war and the end of China's last golden age, Knopf.
 - 2. Platt, 202.
- 3. Richard J. Grace, 2014, Opium and empire: The lives and careers of William Jardine and James Matheson, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- 4. Tom M. Devine, 2018, *The Scottish Clearances: A history of the dispossessed, 1600–1900*, Allen Lane, 3.
- 5. National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2019, "Overdose death rates," revised January, https://www.drugabuse.gov/related-topics/trends-statistics/overdose-death-rates.
- 6. Amy S. B. Bohnert, Maureen A. Walton, Rebecca M. Cunningham, et al., 2018, "Overdose and adverse drug event experiences among adult patients in the emergency department," *Addictive Behaviors*, 86, 66–72. Twenty-one percent of patients surveyed in a level 1 trauma center in Flint, Michigan, following an overdose reported that they were unsure of their intent.

- 7. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2017, Key substance use and mental health indicators in the United States: Results from the 2016 National Survey on Drug Use and Health, HHS Publication No. SMA 17-5044, NSDUH Series H-52, Center for Behavioral Statistics and Quality, Substance Abuse, and Mental Health Services Administration, https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/NSDUH-FFR1-2016/NSDUH-FFR1-2016.pdf.
- 8. Dionissi Aliprantis, Kyle Fee, and Mark Schweitzer, 2019, "Opioids and the labor market," Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Working Paper 1807R; Alan B. Krueger, 2017, "Where have all the workers gone? An inquiry into the decline of the U.S. labor force participation rate," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Fall, 1–87.
- 9. Jared S. Hopkins and Andrew Scurria, 2019, "Sacklers received as much as \$13 billion in profits from Purdue Pharma," Wall Street Journal, October 4.
 - 10. Sam Quinones, 2015, Dreamland: The true tale of America's opiate epidemic, Bloomsbury.
- 11. David T. Courtwright, 2001, A history of opiate addiction in America, Harvard University Press, Kindle.
 - 12. Courtwright, loc. 604 of 4538, Kindle.
- 13. Beth Macy, 2018, Dopesick: Dealers, doctors, and the drug company that addicted America, Hachette.
- 14. Ronald Melzack, 1990, "The tragedy of needless pain," *Scientific American*, 262(2), 27–33.
- 15. Dana Guglielmo, Louise B. Murphy, Michael A. Boring, et al., 2019, "State-specific severe joint pain and physical inactivity among adults with arthritis—United States, 2017," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 2019(68), 381–87, http://dx.doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.mm6817a2.
- 16. James M. Campbell, 1996, "American Pain Society 1995 Presidential Address," *Journal of Pain*, 5(1), 85–88.
- 17. Chris McGreal, 2019, "US medical group that pushed doctors to prescribe painkillers forced to close," *Guardian*, May 25, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/25/american-pain-society-doctors-painkillers; Damien McNamara, 2019, "American Pain Society officially shuttered," Medscape, July 2, https://www.medscape.com/viewarticle/915141.
- 18. Mayo Clinic, 2019, "Hydrocodone and acetaminophen (oral route)," last updated October 1, https://www.mayoclinic.org/drugs-supplements/hydrocodone-and-acetaminophen -oral-route/description/drg-20074089.
- 19. Mayo Clinic Staff, 2018, "How opioid addiction occurs," Mayo Clinic, February 16, https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/prescription-drug-abuse/in-depth/how-opioid-addiction-occurs/art-20360372.
- 20. Jason Doctor, Andy Nguyen, Roneet Lev, et al., 2018, "Opioid prescribing decreases after learning of a patient's fatal overdose," *Science*, 361(6402), 588–90.
 - 21. Macy, Dopesick, 60.
 - 22. Quinones, Dreamland.
 - 23. Quinones.
- 24. Scott Gottlieb, 2019, "The decline in opioid deaths masks danger from designer drug overdoses in US," CNBC, August 22, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/08/21/decline-in-opioid-deaths-masks-new-danger-from-designer-drug-overdoses.html.

- 25. For African Americans aged twenty-five to sixty-four, age-adjusted mortality rates increased by 20.8 per 100,000 between 2012 and 2017. Mortality implicating other synthetic (nonheroin, nonmethadone) opioids—i.e., fentanyl—increased by 15 per 100,000 over this period.
- 26. Anna Lembke, 2016, Drug dealer, MD: How doctors were duped, patients got hooked, and why it is so hard to stop, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 27. Travis N. Rieder, 2016, "In opioid withdrawal, with no help in sight," Health Affairs 36(1), 1825.
- 28. Lee N. Robins, 1993, "Vietnam veterans' rapid recovery from heroin addiction: A fluke or a normal expectation?," *Addiction*, 88, 1041–54, 1049.
- 29. We are grateful to Daniel Wikler for discussion of this episode. The ideas of his father, Abraham Wikler, were important in the design of the Vietnam detox program.
 - 30. Ken Thompson, personal communication, September 13, 2018.
- 31. Benjamin A. Y. Cher, Nancy E. Morden, and Ellen Meara, 2019, "Medicaid expansion and prescription trends: Opioids, addiction therapies, and other drugs," *Medical Care*, 57(3), 208–12, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6375792/; Andrew Goodman-Bacon and Emma Sandoe, 2017, "Did Medicaid expansion cause the opioid epidemic? There is little evidence that it did," *Health Affairs*, August 23, https://www.healthaffairs.org/do/10.1377/hblog20170823.061640/full.
- 32. Energy and Commerce Committee, US Congress, 2018, Red flags and warning signs ignored: Opioid distribution and enforcement concerns in West Virginia, December 19, 4, https://republicans-energycommerce.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Opioid-Distribution-Report-FinalREV.pdf.
- 33. Brit McCandless Farmer, 2019, "The opioid epidemic: Who is to blame?," 60 Minutes Overtime, February 24, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-opioid-epidemic-who-is-to-blame-60-minutes/; Scott Higham and Lenny Bernstein, 2017, "The drug industry's triumph over the DEA," Washington Post, October 15.
- 34. Peter Andrey Smith, 2019, "How an island in the antipodes became the world's leading supplier of licit opioids," *Pacific Standard*, July 11, updated July 24, https://psmag.com/ideas/opioids-limiting-the-legal-supply-wont-stop-the-overdose-crisis.
- 35. Katie Thomas and Tiffany Hsu, 2019, "Johnson and Johnson's brand falters over its role in the opioid crisis," *New York Times*, August 27.
- 36. District of Massachusetts, US Attorney's Office, Department of Justice, 2019, "Founder and four executives of Insys Therapeutics convicted of racketeering conspiracy," May 2, https://www.justice.gov/usao-ma/pr/founder-and-four-executives-insys-therapeutics-convicted-racketeering-conspiracy.
- 37. Lembke, *Drug dealer*, *MD*. Of course, once the drug was approved, there was no such exclusion in prescribing, so the population who are given the drug are different from those on whom it was tested.
- 38. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017, Pain management and the opioid epidemic: Balancing societal and individual benefits and risks of prescription opioid use, National Academies Press, https://doi.org/10.17226/24781.

- 39. Allen Frances, quoted in Patrick Radden Keefe, 2017, "The family that built an empire of pain," New Yorker, October 23.
 - 40. Keefe.
 - 41. We are grateful to John van Reenen for this sentence.
 - 42. Devine, Scottish Clearances, 3.

Chapter 10: False Trails: Poverty, Income, and the Great Recession

- 1. Raj Chetty, Michael Stepner, Sarah Abraham, et al., 2016, "The association between income and life expectancy in the United States, 2001–2014," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 315(16), 1750–66.
- 2. Irma Elo and Samuel H. Preston, 1996, "Educational differences in mortality: United States, 1979–85," Social Science and Medicine, 42(1), 47–57.
- 3. Kathryn Edin and H. Luke Shaefer, 2015, \$2.00 a day: Living on almost nothing in America, Houghton Mifflin; Matthew Desmond, 2016, Evicted: Poverty and profit in the American city, Crown; United Nations Human Rights Office of the Commissioner, 2017, "Statement on visit to the USA, by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights," December 15, https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews .aspx?NewsID=22533; Angus Deaton, 2018, "The US can no longer hide from its deep poverty problem," New York Times, January 24. The World Bank, which is the official keeper of the global poverty counts, estimates that there are 5.3 million people in the US who are poor judged by the global poverty line. Recent work, using administrative data, has argued that the surveys used by the World Bank (and the Census Bureau) to calculate poverty understate the amounts that poor Americans receive from the safety net. See Bruce D. Meyer, Derek Wu, Victoria R. Mooers, and Carla Medalia, 2019, "The use and misuse of income data and extreme poverty in the United States," NBER Working Paper 25907, May. The same is almost certainly true of the developing country surveys used by the World Bank, so the truth of the comparison remains unresolved. The ethnographic work by Edin and Shaefer, Desmond, and, on a smaller scale, Alston, documents the grotesque poverty that exists in the US.
- 4. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, 2009, *The spirit level: Why greater equality makes societies stronger*, Bloomsbury. See also the wide range of claims at the Equality Trust's website, https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/.
- 5. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015, "Table A-4: Employment status of the civilian population 25 years and over by educational attainment," Data Retrieval: Labor Force Statistics (CPS), https://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpsatab4.htm.
- 6. Census Bureau, n.d., "Poverty," accessed September 19, 2019, https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty.html; authors' calculations using the March Current Population Survey.
 - 7. Authors' calculations from the March Current Population Survey.
- 8. An excellent interactive mapping tool for drug overdoses and poverty is available at https://overdosemappingtool.norc.org/.
- 9. Richard Wilkinson, 2000, Mind the gap: An evolutionary view of health and inequality, Darwinism Today, Orion, 4.

- 10. Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, Patrick Kline, and Emmanuel Saez, 2014, "Where is the land of opportunity? The geography of intergenerational mobility in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(4), 1553–623.
- 11. David M. Cutler, Edward L. Glaeser, and Karen E. Norberg, 2001, "Explaining the rise in youth suicide," in Jonathan Gruber, ed., *Risky behavior among youths: An economic analysis*, University of Chicago Press, 219–79; Julie A. Phillips, 2014, "A changing epidemiology of suicide? The influence of birth cohorts on suicide rates in the United States," *Social Science and Medicine*, 114, 151–60.
- 12. Kyla Thomas and David Gunnell, 2010, "Suicide in England and Wales 1861–2007: A time trends analysis," *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 39, 1464–75.
- 13. William F. Ogburn and Dorothy S. Thomas, 1922, "The influence of the business cycle on certain social conditions," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 18(139), 324–40.
- 14. Christopher J. Ruhm, 2000, "Are recessions good for your health?," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(2), 617–50.
- 15. Ann H. Stevens, Douglas L. Miller, Marianne Page, and Mateusz Filipski, 2015, "The best of times, the worst of times: Understanding pro-cyclical mortality," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 7(4), 279–311.
- 16. A more comprehensive analysis of income and mortality patterns by race and education is in Anne Case and Angus Deaton, 2017, "Mortality and morbidity in the 21st century," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Spring.
- 17. Ben Franklin, Dean Hochlaf, and George Holley-Moore, 2017, *Public health in Europe during the austerity years*, International Longevity Centre, UK, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/public-health-in-europe-during-the-austerity-years.
- 18. There is another, more recent, mystery about life expectancy in Europe. In the years after 2010, mortality improvements have been slowing in the healthiest countries, and between 2014 and 2015, at least twelve countries saw life expectancy *fall*. Although it is tempting to think so, this is *not* continental Europe catching up with events in the United States. In Europe, the fall in life expectancy comes from increased mortality among the elderly, while in the United States, the fall comes from increased mortality in midlife or before. In Europe, there was a very bad flu season in the early months of 2015, the vaccine turned out not to be a good fit for the virus, and many elderly people died. To compensate, there were fewer deaths than usual in the early months of 2016, because many of those who were frail had already been "harvested" (yes, it is a standard term among demographers), and life expectancy bounced back in 2016 over 2015. An exception was Britain, where there was no bounce back, and where the deaths have fed into the bitter debate over austerity and its effects. An excellent account is given by Simon Wren-Lewis, 2017, "Austerity and mortality," *Mainly macro* (blog), November 25, https://mainlymacro.blogspot.com/2017/11/austerity-and-mortality.html.
- 19. Rob Joyce and Xiaowei Xu, 2019, *Inequalities in the 21st century: Introducing the IFS Deaton Review*, Institute for Fiscal Studies, May, https://www.ifs.org.uk/inequality/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/The-IFS-Deaton-Review-launch.pdf.
- 20. Public Health England, 2018, A review of recent trends in mortality in England, December, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/762623/Recent_trends_in_mortality_in_England.pdf; Office of National Statistics,

- 2018, "Changing trends in mortality: An international comparison: 2000 to 2016," August 7, https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages /lifeexpectancies/articles/changingtrendsinmortalityaninternationalcomparison/2000to2016; Jessica Y. Ho and Arun S. Hendi, 2018, "Recent trends in life expectancy across high income countries: Retrospective observational study," *BMJ*, 362, k2562, https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.k2562.
- 21. David Autor, David Dorn, and Gordon Hansen, 2018, "When work disappears: Manufacturing decline and the falling marriage market-value of young men," NBER Working Paper 23173, revised January; Justin R. Pierce and Peter K. Schott, 2016, "Trade liberalization and mortality: Evidence from U.S. counties," NBER Working Paper 22849, November.
 - 22. Amy Goldstein, 2017, Janesville: An American story, Simon and Schuster.

Chapter 11: Growing Apart at Work

- 1. Benjamin M. Friedman, 2005, *The moral consequences of economic growth*, Vintage; Thomas B. Edsall, 2012, *The age of austerity: How scarcity will remake American politics*, Doubleday.
- 2. Loukas Karabarbounis and Brent Neiman, 2013, "The global decline of the labor share," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(1), 61–103.
- 3. Compensation (wages and benefits) is measured for the median production or nonsupervisory workers (80 percent of payroll employment) in the private sector. Economic Policy Institute, 2019, "The productivity—pay gap," updated July, https://www.epi.org/productivity—pay-gap/.
- 4. In 1980, the college wage premium for women was higher than that for men (50 percent versus 30 percent). In 2000 and beyond, there is an 80 percent premium for both men and women. Authors' calculations from the Current Population Survey.
- 5. Authors' calculations from the Current Population Survey. Some adults continue to work toward a bachelor's degree into their late twenties. In 2008, at age thirty, the fraction having completed a bachelor's degree was 30 percent in 2008, rising to 36 percent in 2017. Authors' calculations from the American Community Survey.
- 6. Stephen Machin, 2015, "Real wage trends," Understanding the Great Recession: From Micro to Macro Conference, Bank of England, September 23 and 24, https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/Presentations/Understanding%20the%20recession 230915/SMachin.pdf.
- 7. White House, 2019, *Economic Report of the President*, March, https://www.govinfo.gov/features/erp.
- 8. Robert D. Putnam, 2000, Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community, Simon and Schuster, 196–97.
- 9. Nikki Graf, 2016, "Most Americans say that children are better off with a parent at home," Pew Research Center, October 10, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/10/10/most-americans-say-children-are-better-off-with-a-parent-at-home/.
- 10. Katharine G. Abraham and Melissa S. Kearny, 2019, "Explaining the decline in the US employment to population ratio: A review of the evidence," NBER Working Paper 24333, revised August.
- 11. Not everyone sees a ratchet effect in figure 11.2. Nicholas Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute argues that "there is a remarkable linearity of the decline in labor-force participation

rates for prime-age American men over the past fifty years. This great male flight from work has been almost totally un-influenced by economic fluctuations." Eberstadt, 2018, "Men without work," *American Consequences*, January 30, http://www.aei.org/publication/men-without-work-2/.

- 12. Other reasons include the aging of the labor force and the greater fraction of covered female workers, given that women have more sickness than men. See Jeffrey B. Liebman, 2015, "Understanding the increase in disability insurance benefit receipt in the United States," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29(2), 123–50.
- 13. Henrik Jacobsen Kleven, 2014, "How can Scandinavians tax so much?," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 28(4), 77–98.
 - 14. Lane Kenworthy, 2019, Social democratic capitalism, Oxford University Press.
 - 15. Bertrand Russell, 1935, In praise of idleness and other essays, Routledge.
 - 16. Michele Lamont, 2000, The dignity of the working man, Harvard University Press.
- 17. Andrew Cherlin, 2014, Labor's love lost: The rise and fall of the working class family in America, Russell Sage Foundation.
 - 18. Richard B. Freeman and James L. Medoff, 1984, What do unions do?, Basic Books.
- 19. Henry S. Farber, Daniel Herbst, Ilyana Kuziemko, and Suresh Naidu, 2018, "Unions and inequality over the twentieth century: New evidence from survey data," NBER Working Paper 24587, May.
- 20. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019, "Union members summary," Economic News Release, January 18, https://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nro.htm.
 - 21. Cherlin, Labor's love lost.
- 22. Emily Guendelsberger, 2019, On the clock: What low-wage work did to me and how it drives America insane, Little, Brown.
- 23. James Bloodworth, 2018, *Hired: Six months undercover in low-wage Britain*, Atlantic Books, 57.
 - 24. Guendelsberger, On the clock.
- 25. Neil Irwin, 2017, "To understand rising inequality, consider the janitors at two top companies, then and now," *New York Times*, September 3.
- 26. Nicholas Bloom, 2017, "Corporations in the age of inequality," The Big Idea, *Harvard Business Review*, https://hbr.org/cover-story/2017/03/corporations-in-the-age-of-inequality.
 - 27. Cherlin, Labor's love lost, 172.
- 28. Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones, 2017, "Beyond economics: Fears of cultural displacement pushed the white working class to Trump," PRRI/Atlantic Report, April 9, https://www.prri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/.

Chapter 12: Widening Gaps at Home

- 1. An early statement is in David T. Ellwood and Christopher Jencks, 2004, "The uneven spread of single-parent families: What do we know? Where do we look for answers?," in Kathryn M. Neckerman, ed., *Social inequality*, Russell Sage Foundation, 3–77.
- 2. We present three-year averages for each time period, 1980-82, 1990-92, 2000-02, 2010-12, and 2016-18.

- 3. Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, 2002, "The power of the pill: Oral contraceptives and women's career and marriage decisions," *Journal of Political Economy*, 110(4), 730–70.
- 4. Robert D. Mare and Christopher Winship, 1991, "Socioeconomic change and the decline of marriage for blacks and whites," in Christopher Jencks and Paul F. Peterson, ed., *The urban underclass*, Brookings Institution, 175–202.
- 5. William Julius Wilson and Kathryn Neckerman, "Poverty and family structure: The widening gap between evidence and public policy issues," in Sheldon H. Danziger and Daniel H. Weinberg, ed., Fighting poverty: What works and what doesn't, Harvard University Press, 232–59.
- 6. Ansley J. Coale and Susan Cotts Watkins, 1986, The decline of fertility in Europe, Princeton University Press; E. Anthony Wrigley and Roger Schofield, 1981, The population history of England 1541–1871: A reconstruction, Edward Arnold.
- 7. Sara McLanahan, 2004, "Diverging destinies: How children are faring under the second demographic transition," *Demography*, 41(4), 607–27.
- 8. McLanahan; Kathleen Kiernan, Sara McLanahan, John Holmes, and Melanie Wright, 2011, "Fragile families in the US and the UK," https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Kathleen _Kiernan3/publication/254446148_Fragile_families_in_the_US_and_UK/links/of31753b3edb82d9b3000000/Fragile-families-in-the-US-and-UK.pdf; Kelly Musick and Katherine Michelmore, 2018, "Cross-national comparisons of union stability in cohabiting and married families with children," *Demography*, 55, 1389–421.
- 9. Andrew Cherlin, 2014, Labor's love lost: The rise and fall of the working-class family in America, Russell Sage Foundation, 145.
- 10. Guttmacher Institute, 2017, "Abortion is a common experience for U.S. women, despite dramatic declines in rates," news release, October 19, https://www.guttmacher.org/news-release/2017/abortion-common-experience-us-women-despite-dramatic-declines-rates.
- 11. Kathryn Edin and Timothy J. Nelson, 2013, *Doing the best I can: Fathers in the inner city*, University of California Press.
- 12. Andrew Cherlin, 2009, *The marriage-go-round: The state of marriage and the family in America today*, Vintage Books/Random House, loc. 2881 of 4480, Kindle.
- 13. Robert D. Putnam, 2000, Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community, Simon and Schuster.
- 14. Authors' calculations from Gallup tracking polls. For a general description, see Gallup, "How does Gallup Daily tracking work?," accessed September 20, 2019, https://www.gallup.com/174155/gallup-daily-tracking-methodology.aspx.
- 15. Larry M. Bartels, 2008, Unequal democracy: The political economy of the new gilded age, Princeton University Press; Martin Gilens, 2012, Affluence and influence: Economic inequality and political power in America, Princeton University Press.
- 16. Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, 2010, American grace: How religion divides and unites us, Simon and Schuster.
 - 17. Gallup tracking poll, authors' calculations.
 - 18. Putnam and Campbell, American grace.
- 19. Robert P. Jones and Daniel Cox, 2017, *America's changing religious identity*, PRRI, https://www.prri.org/research/american-religious-landscape-christian-religiously-unaffiliated/.
 - 20. Robert Wuthnow, 1998, After heaven: spirituality in America since the 1950s, U of California.

- 21. Cherlin, Marriage-go-round, loc. 485 of 4480, Kindle.
- 22. Kathryn Edin, Timothy Nelson, Andrew Cherlin, and Robert Francis, 2019, "The tenuous attachments of working-class men," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(2), 211–28.
- 23. David G. Myers, 2008, A friendly letter to skeptics and atheists: Musings on why God is good and faith isn't evil, Jossey-Bass/Wiley.
 - 24. Richard Layard, 2005, Happiness: Lessons from a new science, Penguin.
 - 25. Authors' calculations from questions on each of the feelings, using Gallup tracking data.

Part IV: Why Is Capitalism Failing So Many?

- 1. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2018, "Key facts about the uninsured population," December 7, https://www.kff.org/uninsured/fact-sheet/key-facts-about-the-uninsured-population/.
- 2. Victor R. Fuchs, 2019, "Does employment-based health insurance make the US medical care system unfair and inefficient?," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 321(21), 2069–70, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2019.4812; Victor R. Fuchs, 1976, "From Bismarck to Woodcock: The 'irrational' pursuit of national health insurance," *Journal of Law and Economics*, 19(2), 347–59.
 - 3. John Maynard Keynes, 1919, The economic consequences of the peace, Macmillan.
- 4. Charles P. Kindleberger, 1986, *The world in depression, 1929–1939*, University of California Press. 17–26.
- 5. Max Hantke and Mark Spoerer, 2010, "The imposed gift of Versailles: The fiscal effects of restricting the size of Germany's armed forces, 1924–29," *Economic History Review*, 63(4), 849–64.
 - 6. Authors' calculations using the American Community Survey.
- 7. Frank Newport, 2013, "In U.S., 87% approve of black-white marriage, vs. 4% in 1958," Gallup, July 25, https://news.gallup.com/poll/163697/approve-marriage-blacks-whites.aspx.
- 8. Andrew J. Cherlin, Love's labor lost: The rise and fall of the working-class family in America, Russell Sage Foundation, 54.
- 9. Ilyana Kuziemko, Ryan W. Buell, Taly Reich, and Michael I. Norton, 2014, "'Last-place aversion': Evidence and redistributive implications," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(1), 105–49.
- 10. Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Edward Kaplan, 2003, "The illusion of learning from observational research," September 10, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Donald_Green4/publication/228755361_12_The_illusion_of_learning_from_observational_research/links/0046351eaab43ee2aaoooooo/12-The-illusion-of-learning-from-observational-research.pdf.

Chapter 13: How American Healthcare Is Undermining Lives

- 1. Anne B. Martin, Micah Hartman, Benjamin Washington, Aaron Catlin, and the National Health Expenditure Accounts Team, 2019, "National health care expenditure in 2017: Growth slows to post-Great Recession rates; share of GDP stabilizes," *Health Affairs*, 38(1), 96–106, https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2018.05085.
 - 2. Adam Smith, 1776, The wealth of nations, bk. 4. See our introduction.

- 3. Robert E. Hall and Charles I. Jones, 2007, "The value of life and the rise in health spending," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122(1), 39–72, https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.122.1.39.
- 4. Kenneth J. Arrow, 1963, "Uncertainty and the welfare economics of medical care," *American Economic Review*, 53(5), 941–73.
- 5. Authors' update of Max Roser, 2017, "Link between health spending and life expectancy: US is an outlier," Our World in Data, May 26, https://ourworldindata.org/the-link-between -life-expectancy-and-health-spending-us-focus. The underlying data used for extension are from the World Bank's World Development Indicators, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators; and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development data, data https://stats.oecd.org/.
- 6. Victor Dzau, Mark B. McClellan, Michael McGinnis, et al., 2017, "Vital directions for health and health care: Priorities from a National Academy of Medicine initiative," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 317(14), 1461–70, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2017.1964.
- 7. William H. Shrank, Teresa L. Rogstad, and Natasha Parekh, 2019, "Waste in the US health care system: Estimated costs and potential for savings," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 322(15), 1501–9, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2019.13978.
- 8. Elizabeth Arias and Jiaquan Xu, 2019, "United States life tables, 2017," *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 68(7), https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr68/nvsr68 07-508.pdf.
- 9. OECD.Stat, 2019, "Health status," last updated July 2, https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx ?DatasetCode=HEALTH STAT.
- 10. Jonathan Skinner and Amitabh Chandra, 2018, "Health care employment growth and the future of US cost containment," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 319(18), 1861–62.
- 11. Irene Papanicolas, Liana R. Woskie, and Ashish K. Jha, 2018, "Healthcare spending in the United States and in other high-income countries," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 319(10), 1024–39, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2018.1150; Ezekiel J. Emanuel, 2018, "The real cost of the US healthcare system," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 319(10), 983–85.
- 12. James Banks, Michael Marmot, Zoe Oldfield, and James P. Smith, 2006, "Disease and disadvantage in the United States and in England," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 295(17), 2037–45.
 - 13. Authors' calculations, Gallup World Poll.
- 14. Karen Davis, Cathy Schoen, Stephen Schoenbaum, et al., 2007, Mirror, mirror on the wall: An international update on the comparative performance of American Health Care, Commonwealth Fund, https://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/fund-reports/2007/may/mirror-mirror-wall-international-update-comparative-performance.
 - 15. Papanicolas et al., "Healthcare spending."
 - 16. Emanuel, "Real cost."
- 17. Dean Baker, 2016, Rigged: How globalization and the rules of the modern economy were structured to make the rich richer, Center for Economic Policy Research.
- 18. Jon Bakija, Adam Cole, and Bradley T. Heim, 2012, "Jobs and income growth of top earners and the causes of changing income inequality: Evidence from U.S. tax return data," April, https://web.williams.edu/Economics/wp/BakijaColeHeimJobsIncomeGrowthTopEarners.pdf.
 - 19. Papanicolas et al., "Healthcare spending."

- 20. Michelle M. Mello, Amitabh Chandra, Atul A. Gawande, and David M. Studdert, 2010, "National costs of the medical liability system," *Health Affairs*, 29(9), 1569–77, https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2009.0807; Martin et al., "National health care expenditure."
 - 21. Emanuel, "Real cost," 983.
 - 22. Baker, Rigged.
- 23. Danielle Ofri, 2019, "The insulin wars: How insurance companies farm out their dirty work to doctors and patients," New York Times, January 18.
- 24. Economist, 2019, "Why America's biggest charities are owned by pharmaceutical companies," August 15.
- 25. Nicholas Timmins, 2009, "The NICE way of influencing health spending: A conversation with Sir Michael Rawlins," *Health Affairs*, 28(5), 1360–65, 1362, https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff .28.5.1360.
 - 26. Emanuel, "Real cost."
- 27. Zack Cooper, Stuart V. Craig, Martin Gaynor, and John van Reenen, 2019, "The price ain't right? Hospital prices and health spending on the privately insured," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(1), 51–107, https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjy020.
- 28. Zack Cooper, Fiona Scott Morton, and Nathan Shekita, 2017, "Surprise! Out-of-network billing for emergency care in the United States," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 23623, July; Eileen Appelbaum and Rosemary Batt, 2019, "Private equity and surprise medical billing," Institute for New Economic Thinking, September 4, https://www.ineteconomics.org/perspectives/blog/private-equity-and-surprise-medical-billing; Jonathan Ford, 2019, "Private equity has inflated US medical bills," Financial Times, October 6.
- 29. Steven Brill, 2015, America's bitter pill: Money, politics, backroom deals, and the fight to fix our broken healthcare system, Random House.
- 30. David Robinson, 2016, "Top 5 highest paid New York hospital officials," Lohud.com, June 2, https://www.lohud.com/story/news/investigations/2016/06/02/hospitals-biggest -payouts/85049982/.
- 31. NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital, 2017, "Amazing things are happening," https://www.nyp.org/amazingthings/.
- 32. Shefali Luthra, 2018, "Playing on fear and fun, hospitals follow pharma in direct-to-consumer advertising," Kaiser Health News, November 19, https://khn.org/news/hospitals-direct-to-consumer-health-care-advertising-marketing/.
- 33. Katie Thomas and Charles Ornstein, 2019, "Top cancer doctor, forced out over ties to drug makers, joins their ranks," *New York Times*, January 7, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/07/health/baselga-sloan-kettering-astrazeneca.html.
- 34. Katie Thomas and Charles Ornstein, 2018, "Memorial Sloan Kettering's season of turmoil," *New York Times*, December 31, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/31/health/memorial-sloan-kettering-conflicts.html.
- 35. Patrick Thomas, 2018, "Ever heard of Iqvia? Its CEO made \$38 million," Wall Street Journal, June 12, https://www.wsj.com/articles/ever-heard-of-iqvia-its-ceo-made-38-million-1528801200.
- 36. Matthew Smith, Danny Yagan, Owen M. Zidar, and Eric Zwick, 2019, "Capitalists in the twenty-first century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(4), 1675–1745.

- 37. Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, 2018, "National health expenditure data," last modified April 17, https://www.cms.gov/Research-Statistics-Data-and-Systems/Statistics-Trends-and-Reports/NationalHealthExpendData/index.html.
- 38. Ezekiel J. Emanuel and Victor R. Fuchs, 2008, "Who really pays for health care? The myth of 'shared responsibility," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 299(9), 1057–59.
 - 39. Martin et al., "National health care expenditure."
- 40. Yi Chin, Maurizio Mazzocco, and Béla Személy, 2019, "Explaining the decline of the U.S. saving rate: The role of health expenditure," *International Economic Review*, 60(4), 1–37, https://doi.org/10.1111/iere.12405.
- 41. Sara R. Collins, Herman K. Bhupal, and Michelle M. Doty, 2019, "Health insurance coverage eight years after the ACA," Commonwealth Fund, February 7, https://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/issue-briefs/2019/feb/health-insurance-coverage-eight-years-after-aca.
 - 42. Martin et al., "National health care expenditure."
 - 43. Collins et al., "Health insurance coverage."
- 44. David I. Auerbach and Arthur L. Kellerman, 2011, "A decade of health care cost growth has wiped out real income gains for an average US family," *Health Affairs*, 30(9), 1630–36.
- 45. Jonathan Gruber, 2000, "Health insurance and the labor market," in Anthony J. Culyer and Joseph P. Newhouse, ed., *Handbook of Health Economics*, Elsevier Science, vol. 1, pt. A, 645–706, https://doi.org/10.1016/S1574-0064(00)80171-7.
- 46. Joint Committee on Taxation, 2018, "Estimates of federal tax expenditures for fiscal years 2017–2021," May 25, https://www.jct.gov/publications.html?func=select&id=5.
- 47. Victor R. Fuchs, 2019, "Does employment-based health insurance make the US medical care system unfair and inefficient?," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 321(21), 2069–70, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2019.4812.
- 48. Leslie Josephs, 2017, "FedEx says US roads are so bad it's burning through tires twice as fast as it did 20 years ago," Quartz, February 1, https://qz.com/900565/fedex-says-us-roads-are -so-bad-its-burning-through-tires-twice-as-fast-as-it-did-20-years-ago/.
- 49. National Association of State Budget Officers, 2018, Summary: NASBO state expenditure report, November 15, https://higherlogicdownload.s3.amazonaws.com/NASBO/9d2d2db1-c943-4fib-b750-ofca152d64c2/UploadedImages/Issue%20Briefs%20/2018_State_Expenditure Report Summary.pdf.
 - 50. Arrow, "Uncertainty."
- 51. Robert D. Atkinson and Michael Lind, 2018, Big is beautiful: Debunking the myth of small business, MIT Press.
 - 52. Lawrence Lessig, 2015, Republic, lost: version 2.0, Hachette.
 - 53. All data from https://www.opensecrets.org/, accessed August 2019.
 - 54. Brill, America's bitter pill.
- 55. Lee Drutman, 2015, The business of America is lobbying: How corporations became politicized and politics became more corporate, Oxford University Press.
- 56. Zack Cooper, Amanda E. Kowalski, Eleanor N. Powell, and Jennifer Wu, 2019, "Politics and health care spending in the United States," NBER Working Paper 23748, revised February.

Chapter 14: Capitalism, Immigrants, Robots, and China

- 1. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017, *The economic and fiscal consequences of immigration*, National Academies Press, https://doi.org/10.17226/23550. We draw on this compendium of evidence extensively in this section.
- 2. Ufuk Akcigit, Salomé Baslandze, and Stefanie Stantcheva, 2016, "Taxation and the international mobility of inventors," *American Economic Review*, 106(10), 2930–81, http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/aer.20150237.
- 3. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *Economic and fiscal consequences*.
- 4. Douglas S. Massey, 2017, "The counterproductive consequences of border enforcement," *Cato Journal*, 37(3), https://www.cato.org/cato-journal/fall-2017/counterproductive-consequences-border-enforcement.
- 5. Tom Cotton, 2016, "Fix immigration. It's what voters want," op-ed, New York Times, December 28.
- 6. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, *Economic and fiscal consequences*, 2.47.
- 7. U.S. News and World Report, n.d., "How much does a plumber make?," accessed July 28, 2019, https://money.usnews.com/careers/best-jobs/plumber/salary.
- 8. Census Bureau, "Poverty thresholds," accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-poverty-thresholds.html.
- 9. David Autor, David Dorn, and Gordon H. Hansen, 2013, "The China syndrome: Local labor market effects of import competition in the United States," *American Economic Review*, 103(6), 2121–68, http://dx.doi.org/10.1257/aer.103.6.2121. For a later review, see also David Autor, David Dorn, and Gordon H. Hansen, 2016, "The China shock: Learning from labor-market adjustment to large changes in trade," *Annual Review of Economics*, 8, 205–40, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-080315-015041.
- 10. David Autor, David Dorn, and Gordon H. Hansen, 2017, "When work disappears: Manufacturing decline and the falling marriage market of men," NBER Working Paper 23173, February, https://www.nber.org/papers/w23173.
- 11. Nicholas Bloom, Kyle Handley, André Kurman, and Phillip Luck, 2019, "The impact of Chinese trade on US employment: The good, the bad, and the apocryphal," July, https://nbloom.people.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj4746/f/bhkl_posted_draft.pdf.
- 12. Robert Feenstra, Hong Ma, Akira Sasahara, and Yuan Xu, 2018, "Reconsidering the 'China shock' in trade," VoxEU, January 18, https://voxeu.org/article/reconsidering-china-shock-trade.
- 13. David Autor, 2019, "Work of the past, work of the future," American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings, 109, 1–32.
- 14. Quoted in Steven Brill, 2018, Tailspin: The people and forces behind America's fifty-year fall—and those fighting to reverse it, Knopf, 181.
 - 15. Autor, Dorn, and Hansen, "China shock."
- 16. Dani Rodrik, 1997, *Has globalization gone too far?*, Institute for International Economics, loc. 178 of 1486, Kindle.

- 17. Robert Joyce and Xiaowei Xu, 2019, *Inequalities in the 21st century: Introducing the IFS Deaton Review*, Institute for Fiscal Studies, May, https://www.ifs.org.uk/inequality/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/The-IFS-Deaton-Review-launch final.pdf.
- 18. Alberto Alesina and Edward Glaeser, 2006, Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference, Oxford University Press; Alberto Alesina, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly, 1999, "Public goods and ethnic divisions," Quarterly Journal of Economics, 114(4), 1243–84.
- 19. Michael A. McCarthy, 2017, Dismantling solidarity: Capitalist politics and American pensions since the New Deal, Cornell University Press, 51.
- 20. Jacob S. Hacker, 2008, The great risk shift: The new economic insecurity and the decline of the American dream, Oxford University Press; McCarthy, Dismantling solidarity.
- 21. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development data quoted by Jacob S. Hacker, 2019, "The economy is strong, so why do so many Americans still feel at risk?," *New York Times*, May 21.

Chapter 15: Firms, Consumers, and Workers

- 1. Adam Smith, 1776, The wealth of nations, bk. 1.
- 2. Alan B. Krueger, 2018, "Reflections on dwindling worker bargaining power and monetary policy," luncheon address at the Jackson Hole Economic Symposium, August 24, https://www.kansascityfed.org/ \sim /media/files/publicat/sympos/2018/papersandhandouts/824180824 kruegerremarks.pdf?la=en.
- 3. Luigi Zingales, 2017, "Towards a political theory of the firm," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(3), 113-30.
- 4. Naomi Lamoreaux, 2019, "The problem of bigness: From Standard Oil to Google," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(3), 94–117.
 - 5. Lamoreaux.
- 6. Joseph Stiglitz, 2019, People, power, and politics: Progressive capitalism for an age of discontent, Norton; Thomas Philippon, 2019, The great reversal: How America gave up on free markets, Harvard University Press; Raghuram Rajan, 2019, The third pillar: How markets and the state leave the community behind, Penguin; Paul Collier, 2018, The future of capitalism: Facing the new anxieties, Harper; Jonathan Tepper and Denise Hearn, 2018, The myth of competition: Monopolies and the death of competition, Wiley; Steven Pearlstein, 2018, Can American capitalism survive? Why greed is not good, opportunity not equal, and fairness won't make us poorer, St. Martin's; Tim Wu, 2018, The curse of bigness: Antitrust in the new gilded age, Columbia Global Reports; Elizabeth Anderson, 2017, Private government: How employers rule our lives (and why we don't talk about it), Princeton University Press; Dean Baker, 2016, Rigged: How globalization and the rules of the modern economy were structured to make the rich richer, Center for Economic Policy Research; Tim Carney, 2019, Alienated America: Why some places thrive while others collapse, Harper; Lane Kenworthy, 2019, Social democratic capitalism, Oxford University Press. For an unapologetic defense, see Tyler Cowen, 2019, Big business: A love letter to an American anti-hero, St. Martin's.
 - 7. Philippon, Great reversal.

- 8. David Autor, David Dorn, Lawrence F. Katz, Christina Patterson, and John van Reenen, 2019, "The fall of the labor share and the rise of superstar firms," NBER Working Paper 23396, revised May 2, figure 4, https://economics.mit.edu/files/12979.
 - 9. Buffett quoted in Tepper and Hearn, Myth of competition, 2, 198.
- 10. Numbers from CNN Business online, February 19, 2019: for United, see https://money.cnn.com/quote/shareholders/shareholders.html?symb=UAL&subView=institutional; for Delta, see https://money.cnn.com/quote/shareholders.html?symb=DAL&subView=institutional; for Southwest, https://money.cnn.com/quote/shareholders/shareholders.html?symb=LUV&subView=institutional; for American, https://money.cnn.com/quote/shareholders/shareholders.html?symb=AAL&subView=institutional.
- 11. Einar Elhauge, 2019, "How horizontal shareholding harms our economy—and why antitrust law can fix it," SSRN, revised August 4, http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3293822; José Azar, Martin C. Schmalz, and Isabel Tecu, 2018, "Anticompetitive effects of common ownership," *Journal of Finance*, 73(4), 1513–65.
 - 12. Tepper and Hearn, Myth of competition.
- 13. Susanto Basu, 2019, "Are price-cost markups rising in the United States? A discussion of the evidence," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(3), 3–22; Chad Syverson, 2019, "Macroeconomics and market power: Context, implications, and open questions," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(3), 23–43.
- 14. Jan De Loecker, Jan Eeckhout, and Gabriel Unger, 2018, "The rise of market power and the macroeconomic implications," November 22, http://www.janeeckhout.com/wp-content/uploads/RMP.pdf.
- 15. John R. Hicks, 1935, "Annual survey of economic theory: The theory of monopoly," *Econometrica*, 3(1), 1-20.
- 16. Carl Shapiro, 2019, "Protecting competition in the American economy: Merger control, tech titans, labor markets," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33(3), 69–93.
- 17. Carl Shapiro, 2018, "Antitrust in a time of populism," *International Journal of Industrial Organization*, 61, 714–48.
 - 18. De Loecker et al., "Rise of market power."
- 19. John Van Reenen, 2018, "Increasing differences between firms: Market power and the market economy," prepared for the Jackson Hole conference, https://www.kansascityfed.org/~/media/files/publicat/sympos/2018/papersandhandouts/jh%20john%20van%20 reenen%20version%2020.pdf?la=en.
- 20. Autor et al., "Fall of the labor share"; International Labor Organization and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015, *The Labor share in G2o economies*, report prepared for the G2o Employment Working Group, Antalya, Turkey, February 26–27, https://www.oecd.org/g2o/topics/employment-and-social-policy/The-Labour-Share-in-G2o-Economies.pdf.
 - 21. For a contrary view, see Philippon, *Great reversal*.
- 22. Verizon Communications Inc. v. Law Offices of Curtis V. Trinko LLP, 540 U.S. 398 (2004), https://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/02-682.ZO.html.
- 23. Esteban Rossi-Hansberg, Pierre-Daniel Sarte, and Nicholas Trachter, 2018, "Diverging trends in national and local concentration," NBER Working Paper 25066, September.

- 24. For an argument to the contrary, see Philippon, Great reversal.
- 25. Joan Robinson, 1933, The economics of imperfect competition, Macmillan.
- 26. David G. Blanchflower, 2019, *Not working: Where have all the good jobs gone?*, Princeton University Press; David Autor, 2019, "Work of the past, work of the future," *American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings*, 109, 1–32.
- 27. Doruk Cengiz, Arindrajit Dube, Attila Lindner, and Ben Zipperer, 2019, "The effect of minimum wages on low-wage jobs," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(3), 1405–54.
- 28. David Metcalf, 2008, "Why has the British national minimum wage had little or no impact on employment?," *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 50(3), 489–512; David Card and Alan B. Krueger, 2017, "Myth and measurement and the theory and practice of labor economics," *ILR Review*, 70(3), 826–31.
- 29. Kevin Rinz, 2018, "Labor market concentration, earnings inequality, and earnings mobility," US Census Bureau, CARRA Working Paper 2018-10, September, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2018/adrm/carra-wp-2018-10.pdf.
 - 30. Krueger, "Reflections."
 - 31. Krueger.
- 32. David Weil, 2014, The fissured workplace: Why work became so bad for so many and what can be done to improve it, Harvard University Press.
- 33. David Dorn, Johannes Schmieder, and James R. Spletzer, 2018, "Domestic outsourcing in the United States," January 31, 1, https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/OASP/legacy/files/Domestic-Outsourcing-in-the-United-States.pdf.
- 34. New York Times, 2019, "Senators urge Google to give temporary workers fulltime status," August 5.
- 35. Henry Farber, David Herbst, Ilyana Kuziemko, and Suresh Naidu, 2018, "Unions and inequality over the 20th century: New evidence from survey data," NBER Working Paper 24587, May, https://www.nber.org/papers/w24587.
- 36. Kathryn Abraham and Melissa Kearney, 2018, "Explaining the decline in the US employment to population ratio: A review of the evidence," NBER Working Paper 24333, February, https://www.nber.org/papers/w24333.
 - 37. We are grateful to Oliver Hart for discussion of these issues.
- 38. The following draws on Lee Drutman, 2015, The business of America is lobbying: How corporations became politicized and politics became more corporate, Oxford University Press; Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, 2011, Winner-take-all politics: How Washington made the rich richer—and turned its back on the middle class, Simon and Schuster; and Brink Lindsey and Steven M. Teles, 2017, The captured economy: How the powerful enrich themselves, slow down growth, and increase inequality, Oxford University Press.
 - 39. Data from https://www.opensecrets.org, accessed August 5, 2019.
- 40. Stephanie Hernandez McGavin, 2016, "Volkswagen Group leads automotive spending on advertising," *Automotive News*, December 9, https://www.autonews.com/article/20161209/RETAIL03/161209824/volkswagen-group-leads-automotive-spending-on-advertising.
- 41. Lewis F. Powell Jr., 1971, "Attack of American free enterprise system," confidential memorandum to Eugene B. Sydnor Jr., August 23, Supreme Court History: Law, Power, and

Personality, PBS, accessed August 14, 2019, https://web.archive.org/web/20120104052451/http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/personality/sources document13.html.

- 42. Data from https://www.opensecrets.org, accessed August 5, 2019.
- 43. Martin Gilens, 2014, Affluence and influence: Economic inequality and political power in America, Princeton University Press; Larry M. Bartels, 2008, Unequal democracy: The political economy of the new gilded age, Princeton University Press.
 - 44. Dani Rodrik, 1997, Has globalization gone too far?, Institute for International Economics.
 - 45. Weil, Fissured workplace.

Chapter 16: What to Do?

- 1. Amartya K. Sen, 2009, *The idea of justice*, Harvard University Press; Amartya K. Sen, 2006, "What do we want from a theory of justice?," *Journal of Philosophy*, 103(5), 215-38.
- 2. Anthony B. Atkinson, 1970, "The measurement of inequality," *Journal of Economic Theory*, 2, 224–63.
 - 3. Derek Parfit, 1997, "Equality and priority," Ratio, 10(3), 202-21.
- 4. Peter Diamond and Emanuel Saez, 2011, "The case for a progressive tax: From basic research to policy recommendations," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25(4), 165–90.
- 5. Abby Goodnough, 2018, "This city's overdose deaths have plunged. Can others learn from it?," *New York Times*, November 25, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/25/health/opioid-overdose-deaths-dayton.html.
- 6. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2019, "Prescription opioid data," last reviewed June 27, https://www.cdc.gov/drugoverdose/data/prescribing.html.
- 7. Kenneth J. Arrow, 1963, "Uncertainty and the welfare economics of medical care," *American Economic Review*, 53(5), 941–73.
- 8. Nicholas Timmins, 2009, "The NICE way of influencing health spending: A conversation with Sir Michael Rawlins," Health Affairs, 28(5), 1360-65, https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.28.5.1360.
 - 9. Arrow, "Uncertainty," 967.
- 10. Edward R. Berchick, Emily Hood, and Jessica C. Barnett, 2018, *Health insurance coverage in the United States:* 2017, report no. P60-264, US Census Bureau, September, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2018/demo/p60-264.html.
- 11. Victor R. Fuchs, 2018, "Is single payer the answer for the US health care system?," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 319(1), 15–16, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2017.18739.
- 12. Victor R. Fuchs, 2018, "How to make US health care more equitable and less costly: Begin by replacing employment-based insurance," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 320(20), 2071–72, 2072, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2018.16475, 2072.
- 13. Ezekiel J. Emanuel and Victor R. Fuchs, 2007, A comprehensive cure: Universal health care vouchers, Discussion Paper 2007-11, Brookings Institution, July, http://www.hamiltonproject.org/assets/legacy/files/downloads_and_links/A_Comprehensive_Cure-_Universal_Health Care Vouchers.pdf.
- 14. Dylan Scott, 2019, "How to build a Medicare-for-all plan, explained by somebody who's thought about it for 20 years," Vox, January 28, https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019

- /1/28/18192674/medicare-for-all-cost-jacob-hacker. See also Jacob S. Hacker, 2018, "The road to Medicare for everyone," *American Prospect*, January 3.
- 15. BBC News, 1998, "Making Britain better," July 1, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/events/nhs_at_5o/special_report/119803.stm.
- 16. Anthony B. Atkinson, 2003, "Income inequality in OECD countries: Data and explanations," *CESifo Economic Studies*, 49(4), 479–513.
 - 17. Kwame Anthony Appiah, 2018, The lies that bind: Rethinking identity, Liveright.
- 18. Philippe van Parijs and Yannick Vanderborght, 2017, Basic income: A radical proposal for a free society and a sane economy, Harvard University Press.
- 19. Emma Rothschild, 2000, "A basic income for all: Security and laissez-faire," *Boston Review*, October 1, http://bostonreview.net/forum/basic-income-all/emma-rothschild-security-and-laissez-faire.
- 20. Herbert Simon, 2000, "A basic income for all: UBI and the flat tax," *Boston Review*, October 1, http://bostonreview.net/forum/basic-income-all/herbert-simon-ubi-and-flat-tax.
- 21. Hilary W. Hoynes and Jesse Rothstein, 2019, "Universal basic income in the US and advanced countries," NBER Working Paper 25538, February, https://www.nber.org/papers/w25538.
- 22. Robert H. Frank, 2014, "Let's try a basic income and public work," *Cato Unbound*, August 11, https://www.cato-unbound.org/2014/08/11/robert-h-frank/lets-try-basic-income-public-work.
- 23. Eric A. Posner and E. Glen Weyl, 2018, Radical markets: Uprooting capitalism and democracy for a just society, Princeton University Press.
- 24. Edmund Phelps, 2009, Rewarding work: How to restore participation and self-support to free enterprise, Harvard University Press; Oren Cass, 2018, The once and future worker: A vision for the renewal of work in America, Encounter Books.
- 25. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018, "Characteristics of minimum wage workers, 2017," BLS Reports, Report 1072, March, https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/minimum-wage/2017/home.htm.
 - 26. Joan Robinson, 1956, The accumulation of capital, Macmillan, 87.
- 27. Brink Lindsey and Steven M. Teles, 2017, The captured economy: How the powerful enrich themselves, slow down growth, and increase inequality, Oxford University Press.
- 28. Lindsey and Teles. See also Dean Baker, 2016, Rigged: How globalization and the rules of the modern economy were structured to make the rich richer, Center for Economic Policy Research.
- 29. Robert D. Atkinson and Michael Lind, 2018, Big is beautiful: Debunking the myth of small business, MIT Press.
- 30. Matthew Smith, Danny Yagan, Owen M. Zidar, and Eric Zwick, 2019, "Capitalists in the 21st century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 134(4), 1675–1745, 1677.
 - 31. Adam Smith, 1776, The wealth of nations, bk. 4.
 - 32. Cass, Once and future worker.
- 33. Michael J. Sandel, 2018, "Populism, Trump, and the future of democracy," openDemocracy, May 9, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/populism-trump-and-future-of-democracy/.

- 34. Harriet Ryan, Lisa Girion, and Scott Glover, 2016, "OxyContin goes global—'We're only just getting started," *Los Angeles Times*, December 18, https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-oxycontin-part3/.
- 35. Ellen Barry, 2019, "'Austerity, that's what I know': The making of a young UK socialist," *New York Times*, February 24, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/world/europe/britain-austerity-socialism.html.
 - 36. Charles Murray, 2012, Coming apart: The state of white America, 1960–2010, Crown.
- 37. Angus Deaton, 2017, "Without governments would countries have more inequality, or less?," *Economist*, July 13.