

CONTENTS

Preface ix

Introduction: Death in the Afternoon	1
PART I. PAST AS PROLOGUE	17
1 The Calm before the Storm	19
2 Things Come Apart	28
3 Deaths of Despair	37
PART II. THE ANATOMY OF THE BATTLEFIELD	47
4 The Lives and Deaths of the More (and Less) Educated	49
5 Black and White Deaths	62
6 The Health of the Living	71
7 The Misery and Mystery of Pain	83
8 Suicide, Drugs, and Alcohol	94
9 Opioids	109
PART III. WHAT'S THE ECONOMY GOT TO DO WITH IT?	131
10 False Trails: Poverty, Income, and the Great Recession	133
11 Growing Apart at Work	148
12 Widening Gaps at Home	167
PART IV. WHY IS CAPITALISM FAILING SO MANY?	185
13 How American Healthcare Is Undermining Lives	191
14 Capitalism, Immigrants, Robots, and China	212
15 Firms, Consumers, and Workers	226
16 What to Do?	245
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	263
<i>Notes</i>	265
<i>Index</i>	293

Introduction

DEATH IN THE AFTERNOON

THIS BOOK WAS BORN in a cabin in Montana in the summer of 2014. We spend August each year in the hamlet of Varney Bridge on the Madison River, overlooking the mountains of the Madison Range. We had promised to investigate the link between happiness and suicide, whether it was true that unhappy places—counties, cities, or countries where people report that their lives are going really badly—are also places where suicide is more common. Over the past ten years, Madison County, Montana, has had a suicide rate that is four times that of Mercer County, New Jersey, where we spend the rest of the year. We were curious, especially because we were generally happy in Montana, and others there seemed happy too.

Along the way, we had discovered that suicide rates among middle-aged white Americans were rising rapidly. We found something else that puzzled us. Middle-aged white Americans were hurting in other ways. They were reporting more pain and poorer overall health, not as much as older Americans—health worsens with age, after all—but the gap was closing. Health among the elderly was improving while health among the middle-aged was worsening. We knew that pain could drive people to suicide, so perhaps the two findings were linked?

That was the beginning. As we thought about how to write up our results, we wanted to put the suicides in context. How big a deal was suicide relative to all other deaths, and compared with the big causes like

cancer or heart disease? We went back to the Centers for Disease Control, downloaded the numbers, and made the calculations. To our astonishment, it was not only suicide that was rising among middle-aged whites; it was *all* deaths. Not by much, but death rates are supposed to fall year on year, so even a pause was news, let alone an increase.

We thought we must have hit a wrong key. Constantly falling death rates were one of the best and best-established features of the twentieth century. All-cause mortality is not supposed to increase for *any* large group. There are exceptions, such as the great influenza epidemic at the tail end of the First World War, or mortality from HIV/AIDS among young men thirty years ago. But the steady decrease in death rates, especially in middle age, had been one of the greatest (and most reliable) achievements of the twentieth century, driving up life expectancy at birth not only in the United States but also in other wealthy countries around the world.

What was happening? There were not enough suicides to account for the turnaround in total deaths. We looked at what other causes might be responsible. To our surprise, “accidental poisonings” were a big part of the story. How could this be? Were people somehow accidentally drinking Drano or weed killer? In our (then) innocence, we did not know that “accidental poisonings” was the category that contained drug overdoses, or that there was an epidemic of deaths from opioids, already well established and still rapidly spreading. Deaths from alcoholic liver disease were rising rapidly too, so that the fastest-rising death rates were from three causes: suicides, drug overdoses, and alcoholic liver disease. These kinds of deaths are all self-inflicted, quickly with a gun, more slowly and less certainly with drug addiction, and more slowly still through alcohol. We came to call them “deaths of despair,” mostly as a convenient label for the three causes taken together. Exactly what kind of despair, whether economic, social, or psychological, we did not know, and did not presume. But the label stuck, and this book is an in-depth exploration of that despair.

The book is about these deaths and about the people who are dying. We document what we found then, and what we and others have found since. Other writers, in the press and in a series of fine books, have put

names and faces to the deaths and told the stories behind them. We shall draw on these accounts too. Our own previous work was primarily focused on documenting what was happening, but here we go further and try to follow trails back to the underlying economic and social roots.

Who is dying? When a person dies, a death certificate is filled out, and one of the boxes asks about the deceased's education. Here was another surprise. The increase in deaths of despair was almost all among those without a bachelor's degree. Those with a four-year degree are mostly exempt; it is those without the degree who are at risk. This was particularly surprising for suicide; for more than a century, suicides were generally more common among the educated,¹ but that is not true in the current epidemic of deaths of despair.

The four-year college degree is increasingly dividing America, and the extraordinarily beneficial effects of the degree are a constant theme running through the book. The widening gap between those with and without a bachelor's degree is not only in death but also in quality of life; those without a degree are seeing increases in their levels of pain, ill health, and serious mental distress, and declines in their ability to work and to socialize. The gap is also widening in earnings, in family stability, and in community.² A four-year degree has become *the* key marker of social status, as if there were a requirement for nongraduates to wear a circular scarlet badge bearing the letters *BA* crossed through by a diagonal red line.

In the last half century, America (like Britain and other rich countries) has built a meritocracy that we rightly see as a great achievement. But there is a dark side that was long ago predicted by Michael Young, the British economist and social scientist who invented the term in 1958 and who saw meritocracy as leading to social calamity.³ Those who do not pass the exams and graduate to the cosmopolitan elite do not get to live in the fast-growing, high-tech, and flourishing cities and are assigned jobs threatened by globalization and by robots. The elite can sometimes be smug about their accomplishments, attributing them to their own merit, and dismissive of those without degrees, who had their chance but blew it. The less educated are devalued or even disrespected, are encouraged to think of themselves as losers, and may feel that the system is rigged

4 INTRODUCTION

against them.⁴ When the fruits of success are as large as they are today, so are the penalties for failing the tests of meritocracy. Young presciently referred to the left-behind group as “the populists” and the elite as “the hypocrisy.”

We tell the story not only of death but of pain and addiction and of lives that have come apart and have lost their structure and significance. For Americans without a bachelor’s degree, marriage rates are in decline, though cohabitation and the fraction of children born out of wedlock continue to rise. Many middle-aged men do not know their own children. They have parted from the woman with whom they once cohabited, and the children of that relationship are now living with a man who is not their father. The comfort that used to come from organized religion, especially from the traditional churches, is now absent from many lives. People have less attachment to work; many are out of the labor force altogether, and fewer have a long-term commitment to an employer who, in turn, was once committed to them, a relationship that, for many, conferred status and was one of the foundations of a meaningful life.

More workers used to belong to a union. Unions help keep wages up and help give workers some control over their workplace and working conditions. In many towns and cities, the union hall was a center of social life. The good wages that once supported the blue-collar aristocracy have largely vanished, and manufacturing has been replaced by service jobs—for example, in healthcare, in food preparation and service, in janitorial and cleaning services, and in maintenance and repair.

Our story of deaths of despair; of pain; of addiction, alcoholism, and suicide; of worse jobs with lower wages; of declining marriage; and of declining religion is mostly a story of non-Hispanic white Americans without a four-year degree. In 2018, the Census Bureau estimated that there were 171 million Americans between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four. Of those, 62 percent were white non-Hispanics, and 62 percent of those did not have a four-year college degree; the less educated white Americans who are the group at risk are 38 percent of the working-age population. The economic forces that are harming labor are common to all working-class Americans, regardless of race or ethnicity, but the stories of blacks and whites are markedly different.

In the 1970s and 1980s, African Americans working in inner cities experienced events that, in retrospect, share some features with what happened to working-class whites thirty years later. The first wave of globalization hit blacks particularly hard, and jobs in the central city became scarce for this long-disadvantaged group. Better-educated and more talented blacks deserted the inner cities for safer city neighborhoods or the suburbs. Marriage rates fell as once-marriageable men no longer had work.⁵ Crime rates rose, as did mortality from violence, from drug overdoses in the crack cocaine epidemic, and from HIV/AIDS, which disproportionately affected blacks. Blacks, always the least favored group, had that status reinforced by being the first to experience the downside of a changing national and global economy that was increasingly shedding less skilled workers.

African Americans have long had harder lives than whites. Blacks die younger, today as in the past. Blacks are also less likely to go to college, or to find employment. Those who work earn less than whites on average. Blacks have less wealth, are less likely to own their own home, are more likely to be incarcerated, and more likely to live in poverty. In many but not all of these areas, black lives have improved; since 1970, black education, wages, income, and wealth have risen. From 1970 to 2000, black mortality rates declined by more than those of whites, and they fell in the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century while those of working-class whites were rising.

There is less overt discrimination than in 1970. There has been a black president. The large majority who used to think intermarriage was wrong has now become a large majority who thinks it is just fine. Some whites undoubtedly resent the loss of their long-standing white privilege in a way that hurts them but not blacks.⁶ Poor whites, it has long been said, suffered from a racist system that was primarily directed against blacks. Poor whites were co-opted by the rich, who told them that they might not have much, but at least they were white. As Martin Luther King Jr. summarized, "The southern aristocracy took the world and gave the poor white man Jim Crow," so that when he had no money for food, "he ate Jim Crow, a psychological bird that told him that no matter how bad off he was, at least he was a white man, better than a black man."⁷ As Jim Crow

weakened, along with other forms of discrimination, working-class whites lost whatever benefits they got from it. More than half of white working-class Americans believe that discrimination against whites has become as big a problem as discrimination against blacks and other minorities, while only 30 percent of white, college-educated Americans agree.⁸ The historian Carol Anderson states that to someone who has “always been privileged, equality begins to look like oppression.”⁹

Black mortality rates remain above those for whites but, in the past three decades, the gap in mortality rates between blacks and whites with less than a bachelor’s degree fell markedly. Black rates, which were more than twice those of whites as late as the early 1990s, fell as white rates rose, closing the distance between them to 20 percent. Since 2013 the opioid epidemic has spread to black communities, but until then, the epidemic of deaths of despair was white.

In the chapters that follow, we document the decline of white working-class lives over the last half century. White non-Hispanics are 62 percent of the working-age population, so understanding their mortality is important in and of itself. The story of what happened to African Americans in the seventies and eighties has been extensively researched and debated,¹⁰ and we have nothing to add to that literature except to note that there are some parallels with whites today. Hispanics are a widely heterogeneous group, defined only by their common language. US mortality trends for Hispanics change with changes in the composition of people who have immigrated—for example, from Mexico, Cuba, or El Salvador; we do not try to tell a coherent story for them.

We describe the social and economic forces that have slowly made working-class lives so much more difficult. One line of argument focuses on a decline in values or on an increasingly dysfunctional culture within the white working class itself.¹¹ There is little doubt that the collapse of social norms about not having children out of wedlock, which seemed so liberating to so many at first, has brought a heavy price in the long term. Young men who thought they could live a life free of commitment found themselves alone and adrift in middle age. The turning away from religion is perhaps a similar force, but it is also possible to think of it as a failure of organized religion to adapt to political and economic change

and to continue to provide meaning and comfort in a changing world. These arguments about social norms are clearly right, but our story is primarily about the external forces that have eaten away the foundations that characterized working-class life as it was half a century ago. There is strong factual evidence against the view that workers brought the calamity on themselves by losing interest in work.

After correction for inflation, the median wages of American men have been stagnant for half a century; for white men without a four-year degree, median earnings lost 13 percent of their purchasing power between 1979 and 2017. Over the same period, national income per head grew by 85 percent. Although there was a welcome turnaround in earnings for the less educated between 2013 and 2017, it is very small compared with the long-term decline. Since the end of the Great Recession, between January 2010 and January 2019 nearly sixteen million new jobs were created, but fewer than three million were for those without a four-year degree. Only fifty-five thousand were for those with only a high school degree.¹²

The prolonged decline in wages is one of the fundamental forces working against less educated Americans. But a simple link to despair from falling material living standards cannot by itself account for what has happened. For a start, the wage decline has come with job decline—from better jobs to worse jobs—with many leaving the labor force altogether because the worse jobs are unattractive, because there are few jobs at all, or because they cannot easily move, or some combination of these reasons. Deterioration in job quality, and detachment from the labor force, bring miseries over and above the loss of earnings.

Many of the jobs that have come with the lower wages do not bring the sense of pride that can come with being part of a successful enterprise, even in a low-ranked position. Cleaners, janitors, drivers, and customer service representatives “belonged” when they were directly employed by a large company, but they do not “belong” when the large company outsources to a business-service firm that offers low wages and little prospect of promotion. Even when workers are doing the same jobs that they did before they were outsourced, they are no longer part of a marquee corporation. As economist Nicholas Bloom memorably puts

it, they are no longer invited to the holiday party.¹³ The days are gone when a janitor for Eastman Kodak could rise through the ranks to become the CEO of a related firm.¹⁴ In some of these jobs, working conditions are closely monitored by software that deprives workers of control or initiative, even compared with the old, and once much hated, assembly lines.¹⁵ Workers, even in dangerous, dirty occupations, such as coal mining, or in low-level employment for famous corporations, could be proud of their roles.

Men without prospects do not make good marriage partners. Marriage rates among less educated whites fell, and more people lost out on the benefits of marriage, of seeing their children grow, and of knowing their grandchildren. A majority of less educated white mothers have currently had at least one child outside marriage. Poorer prospects make it harder for people to build the life that their parents had, to own a home, or to save to send kids to college. The lack of well-paying jobs threatens communities and the services they provide, such as schools, parks, and libraries.

Jobs are not just the source of money; they are the basis for the rituals, customs, and routines of working-class life. Destroy work and, in the end, working-class life cannot survive. It is the loss of meaning, of dignity, of pride, and of self-respect that comes with the loss of marriage and of community that brings on despair, not just or even primarily the loss of money.

Our account echoes the account of suicide by Emile Durkheim, the founder of sociology, of how suicide happens when society fails to provide some of its members with the framework within which they can live dignified and meaningful lives.¹⁶

We do not focus on economic hardship, though hardship undoubtedly exists. Whites without a college degree are not the poorest group in the US; they are much less likely to be poor than African Americans. Instead, we see the decline in wages as slowly undermining all aspects of people's lives.

Why has the economy been failing the working class? If we are to come up with ideas for change, then we need to know what happened, where to begin, and what sort of policies might make a difference.

Again, we could turn to the failings of the people themselves and argue that, in the modern economy, it is impossible to prosper without a bachelor's degree, and that people should simply get more education. We have nothing against education, and it has certainly become more valuable over time. We would like to see a world in which everyone who can benefit from going to college, and wants to go to college, is able to do so. But we do not accept the basic premise that people are useless to the economy unless they have a bachelor's degree. And we certainly do not think that those who do not get one should be somehow disrespected or treated as second-class citizens.

Globalization and technological change are often held up as the main villains because they have reduced the value of uneducated labor, replacing it with cheaper, foreign labor or cheaper machines. Yet other rich countries, in Europe and elsewhere, face globalization and technological change but have not seen long-term stagnation of wages, nor an epidemic of deaths of despair. There is something going on in America that is different, and that is particularly toxic for the working class. Much of this book is concerned with trying to find out just what that something might be.

We believe that the healthcare system is a uniquely American calamity that is undermining American lives. We shall also argue that in America, more than elsewhere, market and political power have moved away from labor toward capital. Globalization has aided the shift, both weakening unions and empowering employers,¹⁷ and American institutions have helped push this further than elsewhere. Corporations have become more powerful as unions have weakened, and as politics has become more favorable to them. In part, this comes from the phenomenal growth of high-tech firms, such as Apple and Google, that employ few workers for their size and have high profits per worker. This is good for productivity and for national income, but little of the gain is shared by labor, especially by less educated labor. Less positively, consolidation in some American industries—hospitals and airlines are just two of many examples—has brought an increase in market power in some product markets so that it is possible for firms to raise prices above what they would be in a freely competitive market. The rising economic and

political power of corporations, and the declining economic and political power of workers, allows corporations to gain at the expense of ordinary people, consumers, and particularly workers. At its worst, this power has allowed some pharmaceutical companies, protected by government licensing, to make billions of dollars from sales of addictive opioids that were falsely peddled as safe, profiting by destroying lives. More generally, the American healthcare system is a leading example of an institution that, under political protection, redistributes income upward to hospitals, physicians, device makers, and pharmaceutical companies while delivering among the worst health outcomes of any rich country.

As we write, in August 2019, the opioid manufacturers are being held to account in the courts; a judge ordered Johnson & Johnson to pay more than half a billion dollars to the state of Oklahoma. A subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson grew the poppies in Tasmania that were the raw material for almost all the opioids produced in the US. Early reports of a settlement with the worst offender, Purdue, the maker of OxyContin, suggest that the Sackler family, who own the company, may lose it, as well as several billion dollars of their past profit. Yet the aggressive marketing of pharmaceuticals to doctors and patients is still in place, as are the rules whereby the Food and Drug Administration approved the use of what is essentially legalized heroin. Many of those who have followed the opioid scandal see little difference between the behavior of the legalized drug dealers and the illegal suppliers of heroin and cocaine who are so widely despised and condemned.¹⁸

The problems with the healthcare industry go far beyond the opioid scandal. The US spends huge sums of money for some of the worst health outcomes in the Western world. We will argue that the industry is a cancer at the heart of the economy, one that has widely metastasized, bringing down wages, destroying good jobs, and making it harder and harder for state and federal governments to afford what their constituents need. Public purpose and the wellbeing of ordinary people are being subordinated to the private gain of the already well-off. None of this would be possible without the acquiescence—and sometimes enthusiastic participation—of the politicians who are supposed to act in the interest of the public.

Robin Hood was said to have robbed the rich to benefit the poor. What is happening today in America is the reverse of Robin Hood, from poor to rich, what might be called a Sheriff of Nottingham redistribution. Political protection is being used for personal enrichment, by stealing from the poor on behalf of the rich, a process known to economists and political scientists as rent-seeking. It is, in a sense, the opposite of free-market capitalism, and it is opposed by the Left, because of its distributional consequences, and the Right, because it undermines freedom and a truly free market. It is as old as capitalism itself, as Adam Smith knew very well even in 1776. In his *Wealth of Nations*, often seen as the bible of capitalism, Smith noted that while tax laws could be cruel, they were “mild and gentle” in comparison with the laws that the pressure of “our merchants and manufacturers has extorted from the legislature, for the support of their own absurd and oppressive monopolies.” He suggested that “these laws may be said to be all written in blood.”¹⁹ Rent-seeking is a major cause of wage stagnation among working-class Americans and has had much to do with deaths of despair. We shall have much to say about it.

The most common explanations for the decline in living standards of less educated Americans are that globalization has caused factories to close and move to Mexico or China and that automation has displaced workers. These forces are real enough, and they underlie much of our discussion. But, as the experience of other rich countries shows, globalization and automation, which are faced by all, need not reduce wages as has happened in the US, let alone bring an epidemic of death. American healthcare bears much of the blame, as does policy, particularly the failure to use antitrust to combat market power, in labor markets perhaps even more than goods markets, and to rein in the rent-seeking by pharma, by healthcare more generally, and by banks and many small- or medium-size business entrepreneurs, such as doctors, hedge fund managers, the owners of sports franchises, real estate businesspeople, and car dealers. All of these get rich from the “oppressive monopolies” and special deals, tax breaks, and regulations that they have “extorted from the legislature.” The very top ranks of the American income distribution, the top 1 percenters and top tenth of 1 percenters, are less likely to be corporate

heads than they are to be entrepreneurs who run their own businesses,²⁰ many of whom are protected by rent-seeking.

Inequality is much cited for its baleful impacts. In this book, we see inequality as a consequence as much as a cause; if the rich are allowed to enrich themselves through unfair processes that hold down wages, and raise prices, then inequality will certainly rise. But not everyone gets rich that way. Some people invent new tools, drugs, or gadgets, or new ways of doing things, and benefit many, not just themselves. They profit from improving and extending other people's lives. It is good for great innovators to get rich. Making is not the same as taking. It is not inequality itself that is unfair but rather the process that generates it.

The people who are being left behind care about their own falling living standards and loss of community, not about Jeff Bezos (of Amazon) or Tim Cook (of Apple) being rich. Yet when they think the inequality comes from cheating or from special favors, the situation becomes intolerable. The financial crisis has much to answer for. Before it, many believed that the bankers knew what they were doing and that their salaries were being earned in the public interest. Afterward, when so many people lost their jobs and their homes, and the bankers continued to be rewarded and were not held to account, American capitalism began to look more like a racket for redistributing upward than an engine of general prosperity.

We do not think that taxation is the solution to rent-seeking; the right way to stop thieves is to stop them stealing, not to raise their taxes.²¹ We need to stop the abuse and overprescription of opioids, not tax the profits. We need to correct the process, not try to fix the outcomes. We need to make it easier for foreign doctors to qualify to practice in the US. We need to stop bankers and real estate dealers writing regulations and tax laws in their own interests. The problem for less educated people is stagnant and declining wages, not inequality in and of itself, and indeed much inequality is the consequence of forcing down wages in order to enrich a minority. Reducing rent-seeking would do much to reduce inequality. When the owners of a pharmaceutical company get fabulously rich from the high prices, extended patents, approvals, and convenient regulations that their lobbyists have persuaded the government to grant,

they greatly contribute to inequality, both by pushing down the real incomes of those who have to pay for the drugs and by pushing up the highest incomes at the top of the distribution. The same is true of the bankers who rewrote bankruptcy law in their favor and against borrowers; as one commentator noted, “Never before in our history has such a well-organized, well-orchestrated, and well-financed campaign been run to change the balance of power between creditors and debtors.”²²

As is often noted, even confiscatory taxes on the rich do not provide much relief for the poor, because there are so many poor people and so few rich people. In today’s world, however, we need to think about the process working in the other direction—that squeezing even small amounts out of each of a large number of working people can provide enormous fortunes for the rich who are doing the squeezing. That is what is happening today, and we should stop it.

What might be done to make lives better, not just for the elite but also for working people? It is easy to be pessimistic. Once political and financial power are increasingly concentrated, the dynamic does not appear to be self-correcting. The election of Donald Trump is understandable in the circumstances, but it is a gesture of frustration and rage that will make things worse, not better. Working-class whites do not believe that democracy can help them; in 2016, more than two-thirds of white working-class Americans believed that elections are controlled by the rich and by big corporations, so that it does not matter if they vote. Analysis by political scientists of voting patterns in Congress supports their skepticism; both Democratic and Republican lawmakers consistently vote for the interests of their more prosperous constituents with little attention to the interests of others.²³

Justice Louis Brandeis campaigned against the misbehavior of giant trusts at the end of the nineteenth century and was later nominated to the Supreme Court by Woodrow Wilson, becoming its first Jewish member. He thought that extreme inequality was incompatible with the preservation of democracy. This applies both to “good” and “bad” inequality; it doesn’t matter how people got rich if even those who earned their wealth legitimately use it to undermine the rights and interests of the non-rich. For us, the best way to deal with this is to stop the rent-seeking,

lobbying, and misuse of market power that is behind the extreme inequality, to stop the unfair process. If that is impossible, high marginal income taxes or, better—but practically much more difficult—a wealth tax would lessen the influence of fortunes in politics. But it is sometimes difficult to be optimistic. One historian has argued that inequality, once it is established, is only overcome by violent ruptures and that this has been true since the Stone Age.²⁴ We think that is too pessimistic, but it is hard to see today's levels of inequality lessening without reforms of the processes and institutions that produced them.

Yet there are some reasons for optimism, and there are policies that, even in our current flawed democracy, might be feasible and might make things better. Institutions can change. There is much intellectual ferment around these issues, and many good new ideas that we will discuss later in the book. But we end this introduction with another, but more optimistic, historical parallel.

In Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, inequality was greater than anything we see today. The hereditary landowners not only were rich but also controlled Parliament through a severely limited franchise. After 1815, the notorious Corn Laws kept out imports of wheat until the local price was so high that people were at risk of starving; high prices of wheat, even if they hurt ordinary people, were very much in the interests of the land-owning aristocracy, who lived off the rents supported by the restriction on imports—rent-seeking of the classic and here literal kind, and rent-seeking that did not stop at killing people; laws that were “written in blood.” The Industrial Revolution had begun, there was a ferment of innovation and invention, and national income was rising. Yet working people were not benefiting. Mortality rates rose as people moved from the relatively healthy countryside to stinking, unsanitary cities. Each generation of military recruits was shorter than the last, speaking to their ever-worsening undernutrition in childhood, from not getting enough to eat and from the nutritional insults of unsanitary conditions. Religious observance fell, if only because churches were in the countryside, not in the new industrial cities. Wages were stagnant and would remain so for half a century. Profits were rising, and the share of

profits in national income rose at the expense of labor. It would have been hard to predict a positive outcome of this process.

Yet by century's end, the Corn Laws were gone and the rents and fortunes of the aristocrats had fallen along with the world price of wheat, especially after 1870 when wheat from the American prairie flooded the market. A series of reform acts had extended the franchise, from one in ten males at the beginning of the century to more than half by its end, though the enfranchisement of women would wait until 1918.²⁵ Wages had begun to rise in 1850, and the more than century-long decline in mortality had begun.²⁶ All of this happened without a collapse of the state, without a war or a pandemic, through gradual change in institutions that slowly gave way to the demands of those who had been left behind. Even if we do not know just why, or whether the logic applies to our own times, the facts themselves surely justify at least a limited optimism.

INDEX

- abortion, 169, 171
- Abraham, Katharine G., 278n10, 288n36
- Abraham, Sarah, 276n1
- accidental poisonings, 2, 38, 39, 97, 113. *See also* drug overdoses; opioids
- acetaminophen, 117
- Achenbach, Joel, 267n2
- addiction, x, 2, 4, 37, 95–96, 115–16, 120, 261; black market and, 12.4; characteristics of, 39; costs of, 10.4; cures for, 12.9; depression and, 21.2; developing, 11.7; hangover of, 6.9; to heroin, 12.2, 12.3; medication-assisted treatment for, 10.9; opioids and, 11.2, 12.2; pain and, 4; people predisposed to, 19.2; risk for, 11.8; seen as moral weakness, 2.8; suicide and, 8.4; treating, 2.47
- Advil, 117
- advocacy organizations for pain sufferers, 12.4
- Affordable Care Act, 210. *See also* Obamacare
- Afghanistan, 12.5
- African Americans, 5, 8, 38, 68, 140, 148, 172–73, 174, 224, 275n25; black culture, 18.9; contrasting outcomes for, 18.3; drug overdoses and, 11.9; exclusion of, 16.6; fentanyl and, 11.4, 18.8; happiness and, 18.1; heart disease and, 4.4; improvements in lives of, 18.6; inner-city, 6.7; job loss and, 25.8; life expectancy of, 2.7; misfortunes of, 6.9; mortality rates and, 6, 31, 6.2; mortality rates for white Americans and, 6.4–6.5; pain and, 9.0–9.1; poverty and, 13.7; religion and, 17.8; social protection and, 22.5
- age effects, 3.5; deaths of despair and, 5.9; drinking and, 10.6; life evaluation and, 18.2; mental health and, 7.8; pain and, 8.7–8.9; poor health and, 7.6
- aging, 8.4, 8.8, 9.0
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, 17.2
- airlines, 23.1, 23.3; increasing concentration of, 23.5
- Akcigit, Ufuk, 285n2
- Alabama, 4.3, 10.0, 14.0, 268n5
- Al-Anon, x
- alcohol: average drinks per occasion, 10.6; social life and, 10.3; in Soviet Union, 10.6–7; taxes on, 10.4–5. *See also* binge drinking
- alcoholic liver diseases, 2, 3.8; China and, 5.8; common features of, 9.7; mortality rates from, 4.0, 268n5; rising, 10.6
- Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), x, 10.4
- alcoholism, 4, 2.8, 3.1, 3.6, 3.7, 6.5–6.6, 7.1, 9.6, 10.4, 13.8, 18.5; drug overdoses and, 2.4.6; high-functioning, 3.9; National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 10.5, 273n20; white Americans and, 3.8
- Alesina, Alberto, 286n18
- Aleve, 11.7
- Aliprantis, Dionissi, 274n8
- Allen, Robert C., 266n26
- Alston, Philip, 276n3
- Alzheimer's, 2.4

- Amazon, 12, 165, 229, 231, 242, 254; growth of, 235; information technology and, 233
ambulance chasers, 200
ambulance service companies, 200
American Airlines, 231
American Civil War, 115, 164
American Medical Association, 196, 209, 242, 256
American Optometric Society, 209
American Pain Society, 116
Anderson, Carol, 6, 265n6, 265n9
Anderson, Elizabeth, 286n6
Angelou, Maya, 83
Anna Karenina (Tolstoy), 71
anti-alcohol controls, 103
antibiotics, 24
anticompetitive behavior, 130, 187–88, 227–37, 253–54; healthcare industry and, 200–202; upward redistribution and, 188, 230
antihypertensives, 24, 26, 41, 43, 44, 204. *See also* hypertension
antiretrovirals, 24
antitrust laws, 188; enforcement of, 229, 253; unwillingness to apply, 234
antiviral for influenza, 199
Appalachia, 33, 86, 137
Appelbaum, Eileen, 283n28
Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 252, 290n17
Apple, 229, 230–31
Arias, Elizabeth, 282n8
Arkansas, 33, 137, 138, 140
Arnold, Edward, 280n6
Arrow, Kenneth, 207, 248, 282n4, 284n50, 289n7, 289n9
arthritis, 84, 88, 116, 117; rheumatoid, 197
Ashenfelter, Orley, 263
Asian Americans, 31–32
Asian countries, 197
aspirin, 117
AstraZeneca, 201
Atkinson, Anthony B., 289n2, 290n16
Atkinson, Robert D., 284n51, 290n29
AT&T, 242, 256
Auerbach, David I., 284n44
Auerbach, Jonathan, 267n4
Augier, Eric, 273n17
austerity policies, 144–45, 260
Australia, 23, 38, 41, 44, 114, 193, 197
automation, 11, 146, 161, 181, 187, 240, 260; globalization and, 214, 218, 222, 229, 251, 261
Autor, David, 219, 278n21, 285n9, 285n10, 285n13, 285n15, 287n8, 287n20, 288n26
Azar, José, 287n11
bachelor's degrees, 3, 4, 6, 9, 43, 49, 50–53, 57–61, 75, 76–77, 93, 100, 101, 148, 257–259, 269n20, 273n16, 278n5; drug overdoses and, 114, 121; earnings premium of, 153; financial returns on, 258; happiness and, 181–82; marriage, 168–69; mental distress and, 78–79; mortality rates and, 57, 60; obesity and, 56; pain and, 90; religion and, 178; smoking and, 80; suicides and, 102; white Americans with, 88; white non-Hispanics, earnings and, 154–55
Baicker, Katherine, 267n3
Baillièrè, Germer, 265n1, 270n3, 270n21, 272n1
Baker, Dean, 282n17, 283n22, 286n6, 290n28
Bakija, Jon, 282n18
bankers, 12–13, 141, 147, 229. *See also* financial crisis of 2008
bankruptcy law, 13
Banks, James, 282n12
Baqir, Reza, 286n18
Barber, D. Linden, 125
Barbier, Estelle, 273n17
bargaining power, 243; monopsony and, 236–37; unions and, 164, 175, 187–88, 214, 225, 238–39
Barnett, Jessica C., 289n10
Barry, Ellen, 291n35
Bartels, Larry M., 266n23, 280n15, 289n43
Baselga, José, 201

- Baslandze, Salomé, 285n2
Basu, Susanto, 287n13
Batt, Rosemary, 283n28
Bayer, 115
Becker, Gary S., 272n7
Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS), 73–74, 75, 76, 106, 270n3, 270n5, 271n9; calculations using, 76
Bell, Alex, 269n8
Bell, Alexander Graham, 215
Bell Telephone System (AT&T), 230
benefit systems, 163. *See also* social safety net
Bennett, Amanda, 39
Benyamini, Yael, 271n8
Benzodiazepines, 118
Berchick, Edward R., 289n10
Berkman, Lisa, 263
Berkshire Hathaway, 231
Bernstein, Lenny, 275n33
Besley, Tim, 263
Bethlehem Steel, 161
Bevan, Nye, 250
Bezos, Jeff, 12
Bhattacharya, Jay, 273n23
Bhupal, Herman K., 284n41, 284n43
binge drinking, 43, 97, 105, 106
birth cohorts, 35; binge drinking and, 106; deaths of despair and, 58–60; earnings and, 154–56; education and, 273n16; health and, 77; pain and, 89–90, 93; suicide rates, 101–2
Blackburn, Marsha, 125
black market, 124
BlackRock, 240
Blair, Tony, 199
Blanchflower, David G., 288n26
blood pressure, 24, 26, 41, 43, 72, 73, 85, 116, 158; heart disease and, 44
Bloodworth, James, 165, 266n15, 279n23
Bloom, Nicholas, 7, 166, 219, 266n13, 279n26, 285n11
blue-collar aristocrats, 4, 20, 161
blue-collar jobs, 91, 166
Boddice, Rob, 271n3
body mass index (BMI), 79–80, 91
Boeing, 242, 256
Bohnert, Amy S. B., 273n6
Boring, Michael A., 274n15
Bousbib, Ari, 202
Bowling Alone (Putnam), 173
Brandeis, Louis, 13
breast cancer, 24
Brexit, 259
Brill, Steven, 283n29, 284n54, 285n14
Brin, Sergey, 215
Britain, 3, 14, 30, 31, 41, 99, 121, 128, 141, 145, 147, 156, 165, 193, 199, 218, 224, 250, 258; austerity policies in, 260; deaths of despair and, 38, 145, 224; Great Recession and, 222; healthcare costs in, 196, 198; minimum wage and, 237; National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, 199, 210, 247, 248, 250; Opium War and, 109–11; social protection and, 223, 224, 225
Buell, Ryan W., 281n9
Buffett, Warren, 187, 207, 231–32, 287n9
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 158, 255
Cabral, H., 268n8
Caine, Eric D., 263, 272n6
California, 33, 86, 100, 134, 140, 179, 216, 237, 239, 251
campaign finance, 186, 241
Campbell, David E., 280n16, 280n18
Campbell, James, 116, 274n16
Canada, 23, 38, 41, 114, 193, 195, 197
cancer, 23–24, 29, 207; in midlife, 41; new drugs for, 202; terminal, 116
Cannadine, David, 266n25
Canton (Guangzhou), 109
Cantril ladder, 53, 181
capital, 152, 232, 260; human, 153; immigration and, 217; owners of, 239; power of, 175, 187; rate of return to, 216; re-distribution towards, 240; social, 174

- capitalism, 11, 12, 130, 147, 153, 156, 227, 254, 260; central problem of, 213; competition and, 230; crisis of, 140; critiques of, 188; crony capitalism, 245; faults of contemporary, 186; future of, x, 228, 244, 261; Industrial Revolution and, ix; medical emergencies and, 200; modern, 187; regulated, 262; worst face of, 212. *See also* anticompetitive behavior; rent-seeking
- carbon monoxide, 99
- Card, David, 263, 288n28
- car dealers, 11, 230, 256, 257
- cardiovascular disease, 43, 97, 107. *See also* heart disease; hypertension
- Carnegie, Andrew, 228
- Carney, Tim, 286n6
- cartels, 227
- Case, Anne, 271n5, 271n7, 272n12, 272n15, 277n16
- Case, Susan, 263
- Cass, Oren, 255, 290n24, 290n32
- Catholics, 176, 177
- Catlin, Aaron, 281n1, 283n20, 284n39, 284n42
- cause of death, 23, 28, 42, 91, 136
- CDC Wonder, 29
- Celebrex, 117
- celecoxib, 117
- cell phones, 230–31
- Cengiz, Doruk, 236–37, 288n27
- Census Bureau, 4, 219
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2, 29, 38, 73–74
- Chamber of Commerce, 242, 256
- Chandler, Daniel, 263
- Chandra, Amitabh, 267n3, 282n10, 283n20
- Cher, Benjamin A. Y., 275n31
- Cherlin, Andrew, 166, 171, 173, 177, 190, 263, 265n2, 279n17, 279n21, 279n27, 280n9, 280n12, 281n8, 281n21, 281n22
- Chetty, Raj, 140, 269n8, 276n1, 277n10
- childbearing, 170–73, 183; non-marital, 4, 6, 8, 53, 149, 164, 170
- childcare, 163
- childhood diseases, 21, 22
- child rearing, 148, 157
- children born out of wedlock, 4, 6, 164, 170–73
- Chin, Yi, 284n40
- China, 11, 58, 120, 152, 212, 218, 222; manufacturing and, 219, 220
- cholera, 24
- cholesterol, 24, 26, 41, 43, 72, 73, 197
- chronic pain, 83–93, 114, 116, 121, 122, 247
- church membership, 100, 173, 175, 176, 178, 212
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 103
- cirrhosis, 38, 94, 97, 105. *See also* alcoholic liver diseases; alcoholism
- class action lawsuits, 226
- Clifton, Jim, 263
- Coale, Ansley J., 280n6
- coal gas, 99
- cocaine, 10, 43, 119; fentanyl mixed with, 67, 119
- cohabitation, 4, 171
- cohort effects, 34–35, 58–61, 154–56. *See also* birth cohorts
- Cole, Adam, 282n18
- Colen, Cynthia, 265n1, 270n21
- college degrees, 3–4, 66, 77, 153, 257; women with, 52, 155. *See also* bachelor's degrees
- college entrance scandal of 2019, 55
- college premium, 51, 153, 155, 217, 278n4
- Collier, Paul, 286n6
- Collins, Francis, 19, 263
- Collins, Sara R., 284n41, 284n43
- Comcast, 242
- Coming Apart* (Murray), 70
- Commonwealth Fund, 197
- communication, 229
- communications technology, 233
- community, 173, 179; destruction of, 189; white working-class losing, 178
- competition: capitalism and, 230; elimination of, 232; foreign, 68; free markets and, 212; globalization and, 225;

- labor markets and, 236, 237; permanent advantage in, 235; Robinson and, 236; stifling of, 227
- Congress, 13, 100, 120, 124–26, 197, 210, 211, 225, 242, 261
- Conner, Marcy, 37, 49
- consumer price index (CPI), 158
- consumers, 208, 221, 230; benefits to, 227; immiseration of, 188; market power used against, 187; technological change socially beneficial for, 233
- contraceptive pills, 160, 169
- Cook, Tim, 12
- Cooper, Zack, 283n27, 283n28, 284n56
- copayments, 192
- copyright laws, 256
- Corn Laws, 14, 15
- corporate choices, 227
- corporate lobbies, 228, 232, 239, 241–43, 256–57; healthcare and, 209–11, 250
- Corwin, Steven, 201
- Cotton, Tom, 285n5
- Courtwright, David, 115, 118, 274n11, 274n12
- Cowen, Tyler, 286n6
- Cox, Daniel, 265n8, 279n28
- crack cocaine epidemic, 5, 62, 64; opioid epidemic and, 68–69
- Craig, Stuart V., 283n27
- creative destruction, 235
- Crestor, 197
- crime, 68, 179
- crime rates, 5, 69
- crony capitalism, 245. *See also* rent-seeking
- Culyer, Anthony J., 284n45
- Cunningham, Rebecca M., 273n6
- Currie, Janet, 263
- Cutler, David M., 263, 277n11
- Damasio, Antonio R., 271n3
- Danziger, Sheldon H., 280n5
- Daoguang Emperor, 109
- Davis, Karen, 282n14
- death certificates, 3, 29, 101, 118, 119, 136, 269n19
- Deaton, Angus, 271n5, 271n7, 272n12, 272n15, 273n26, 276n3, 277n16, 291n37
- deductibles, 192, 204
- De Loecker, Jan, 287n14, 287n18
- Delta Airlines, 231
- delusional parasitosis, 112
- democracy, ix, 14, 241, 246, 262; white working-class and, 13
- Democratic Party, x
- Democrats, 210
- Denmark, 163
- depression, 27, 37, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 212
- Desmond, Matthew, 276n3
- detox, 122
- Devine, Tom, 111, 273n4, 276n42
- diabetes, 43
- Diamond, Peter, 289n4
- disability, 27, 161; insurance, 81, 85, 92, 157, 162, 252, 279n19
- discrimination, 5, 31, 62, 65, 166, 189; reverse, 6, 166, 190; women and, 160
- dissatisfaction, 181
- dividends, 52
- divorce, 98, 149
- Dobson, Frank, 199
- Doctor, Jason, 263, 274n20
- doctors, 26, 52, 72, 73, 75, 84, 116 186, 198, 204, 210, 249; germ theory of disease and, 56; opioids and, 10, 113, 114, 117–19, 121–26, 247, 259; rent-seeking and, 10, 11, 12, 193, 196–97, 200–202, 241–42, 256
- Doonesbury* (cartoon), 62, 63
- Dorn, David, 238, 278n21, 285n9, 285n10, 285n15, 287n8, 288n33
- Doty, Michelle M., 284n41, 284n43
- Dow Jones Index, 240
- Dreamland* (Quinones), 146
- drug dealers, 10, 66, 69, 109–11, 114, 115, 120, 121
- Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), 110, 120, 124–25
- drug manufacturers, 10, 40, 85, 112, 120, 124, 126, 127, 192, 193, 201, 202, 242, 259

- drug overdoses, 2, 37, 38, 65–66, 111, 137, 185;
African Americans and, 119; alcoholism
and, 246; bachelor's degrees and, 114, 121;
common features of, 97; mortality rates
from, 40, 121; rapid increases in, 45; rise
in, 118; suicides and, 246. *See also*
accidental poisonings
- drugs, development of, 198
- drug testing, 113
- Drutman, Lee, 284n55, 288n38
- Dube, Arindrajit, 236–37, 288n27
- Dulman, Russell S., 273n17
- DuPont, Robert, 39, 267n3, 267n4, 272n2,
272n4
- Durkheim, Emile, 8, 60, 67, 94, 98, 101, 102,
107, 212, 265n1, 266n16, 270n3, 270n4,
270n21, 272n1
- Dzau, Victor, 282n6
- Earned Income Tax Credit, 136, 157, 163, 251
- earnings, 3, 92, 148; British, 145; education
and, 152–55; loss of, 7, 92, 155; median,
7; poor health and, 133; premiums, 51,
153, 268n2; professional, 52, 155; white
non-Hispanics, median, 154–56
- Easterly, William, 263, 286n18
- East India Company, 109–10
- Eastman Kodak, 8
- Eberly, Janice, 263
- Eberstadt, Nicholas, 271n10, 278–79n11
- Ebola, 29
- economic crises, 102–3. *See also* Great
Depression; Great Recession
- economic growth, 130, 149, 244; decline in,
150
- Economist* (magazine), 198
- Edin, Kathryn, 177, 276n3, 280n11, 281n22
- Edsall, Thomas B., 278n1
- education, 9, 50–51, 148, 165–66, 215, 218;
college premium, 153; earnings and,
152, 154–55; employment gap and, 52;
geographical segregation and, 52–53;
high school graduation rates, 20;
importance of, 75; Kentucky and, 49;
meritocracy and, 54; mortality gap of
white Americans and, 57–58; mortality
rates and, 56, 269n19; national average
of, 33; nonincome benefits of, 53; pain
and, 86; suicides and, 3, 101; tertiary, 50;
wages and, 159; workers, less educated,
227. *See also* bachelor's degrees; college
degrees
- Eeckhout, Jan, 287n14, 287n18
- Eisenberger, Naomi I., 271n1
- elderly people, 23, 35, 38, 45; benefits
received by, 35; caring for, 78; health of,
1, 77, 78; mortality of, 22, 27, 31, 35; pain
and, 84
- Elhauge, Einar, 287n11
- Elizabeth (Queen), 128
- Ellwood, David T., 279n1
- Elo, Irma, 276n2
- Emanuel, Ezekiel, 203, 282n11, 282n16
- emergency room visits, 200
- employees, 205, 251; healthcare costs of, 69;
noncompete agreements and, 237–38; in
rural areas, 237
- employer concentration, 237
- employer-provided health insurance, 191,
204, 224, 248; deteriorating, 205;
healthcare costs and, 206; subsidizing, 209
- employment, 4, 7, 135; lack of well-paying
jobs, 8; rates of, 146, 160; wages and, 70;
of women, 160
- employment gap, 52, 160
- employment levels, 237
- employment-to-population ratios, 159–60
- Energy and Commerce Committee, 124
- English-speaking countries, 38, 41, 114
- Ensuring Patient Access and Effective Drug
Enforcement Act, 124
- euphoria, 95, 112
- Europe, 9, 20, 156, 179, 188, 214, 224, 233,
251; income inequality and, 234; life
expectancy and, 277n18; politics in, 259
- Evangelical churches, 176–77

- Evans, William N., 270n8
Ezzati, Majid, 271n6
- Facebook, 175, 229, 242, 254
fair-housing legislation, 68
family incomes, 157, 223
family stability, 3
FAO Schwarz, 220
Farber, Henry S., 263, 279n19, 288n35
Farmer, Brit McCandless, 275n33
Farmer, Paul, 266n1
farmers, 216
fathers, 20, 46, 161, 167, 172; absence of, 4, 70, 171
federal government, 10, 97, 187, 192, 204, 206, 228, 249, 257
federal minimum wage, 219, 236, 239, 255
FedEx trucks, 206
Fee, Kyle, 274n8
Feenstra, Robert, 220
Feldstein, Marty, 264
feminism, 169
fentanyl, 28, 38, 39, 45, 66–67, 112, 114, 119, 121, 126, 188; African American mortality and, 38, 66–7, 69, 114, 119, 188; mixed with other drugs, 67, 119; mortality rates from, 69, 119; potency of, 119
Filipski, Mateusz, 277n15
Finan, Christopher, 273n18
financial crisis of 2008, 12. *See also* Great Recession
First World War, 2, 20, 187
Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 10, 40, 112, 120, 127–28, 199, 211
Ford, Jonathan, 283n28
foreign competition, 68
fornication, 112. *See also* delusional parasitosis
401(k), 225, 240
France, 193; China and, 222; social protection and, 225
Frances, Allen, 276n39
Francis, Robert, 281n22
Frank, Robert, 253, 290n22
Frankenberg, Elizabeth, 271n6
Franklin, Ben, 277n17
Franklin, Benjamin, 103
Frazier, Kenneth, 202
Freeman, Richard B., 279n18
free markets, ix, 115, 207–9; competition and, 212; health for, 249
Frick, Henry Clay, 228
Friedman, Benjamin M., 278n1
Fuchs, Victor, 203, 206, 249–50, 263, 281n2, 284n38, 284n47, 289n11, 289n12, 289n13
Furman, Jason, 263
- Gallup, 53, 85–89, 105, 173, 181, 182, 189, 196, 269n7, 271n8, 272n10, 273n22, 273n26, 280n14, 280n17, 281n7, 281n25, 282n13
Garthwaite, Craig, 270n8
gastrointestinal infections, 23
Gathmann, Christina, 273n23
Gawande, Atul A., 283n20
Gaynor, Martin, 283n27
Gelman, Andrew, 267n4
Gelosa, Leonard, 263
General Motors, 146, 161, 221
General Social Survey, 177, 178, 180
geographical segregation, 52–53
geography of pain, 86
Gerber, Alan S., 281n10
Germany, 197, 224, 258; China and, 222
germ theory of disease, 22, 56
Gilded Age, 227, 228, 229
Gilens, Martin, 266n23, 280n15, 289n43
Girion, Lisa, 291n34
Gitterman, Debbi, 263
Glaeser, Edward, 277n11, 286n18
Glasser, Susan B., 265n6, 265n9
Glaxo Wellcome, 199
globalization, ix, 9, 69, 161, 218, 219, 220–21; automation and, 214, 222, 229, 251; competition and, 225; comprehensive, 224; jobs threatened by, 3, 5, 11, 187; rich countries and, 222

- Glover, Scott, 291n34
Goldin, Claudia, 280n3
Goldman, Dana, 263
Goldstein, Amy, 146, 278n22
Goldstein, Dana, 269n13
Goodhart, David, 265n2
Goodman-Bacon, Andrew, 275n31
Goodnough, Abby, 289n5
Google (Alphabet), 9, 165, 215, 228, 229, 242, 254, 256, 286n4, 288n34
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 107
Gottlieb, Scott, 274n24
Gould, Jay, 228
Grace, Richard J., 273n3
Graf, Nikki, 278n9
Gramlich, John, 272n10
Gramm, Phil, 221, 223
Great Depression, ix, 21, 26, 141; suicides and, 142
Great Recession, 7, 78, 134–35, 141, 144, 147, 149, 150; Britain and, 222; in Europe, 156; mortality rates and, 251
Greece, 144–45, 156
Green, Donald P., 281n10
Grigoriev, Pavel, 273n24
gross domestic product (GDP), 191, 225; healthcare expenditures as percentage of, 203; share of labor in, 231, 233; share of wages in, 232
Gruber, Jonathan, 277n11, 284n45
Guendelsberger, Emily, 266n15, 279n22, 279n24
Guglielmo, Dana, 274n15
Gunnell, David, 272n9, 277n12
guns, 2, 25, 39, 69, 98, 99–100, 110, 113, 170, 251

Hacker, Jacob S., 266n23, 286n20, 286n21, 288n38, 289–90n14
Haines, Michael, 56, 269n16
Hall, Robert E., 282n3
Hammermesh, Daniel S., 272n7
Handley, Kyle, 285n11
Hansen, Gordon, 278n21, 285n9, 285n10, 285n15

Hantke, Max, 281n5
happiness, 1, 159, 179–80; African Americans and, 181; bachelor's degrees and, 181–82; unhappiness, 40
Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914, 115
Hart, Oliver, 263, 288n37
Hartman, Micah, 281n1, 283n20, 284n39, 284n42
Has Globalization Gone Too Far? (Rodrik), 222
Hatch, Orrin, 125
Hayes, Christopher, 269n14
health, 139, 162–63; collecting information on, 74–75; declining, 134; disparities in, 65; free markets for, 249; good, 75, 77; indicators of, 72; measures of, 195; money and, 133; morbidity and, 73; outcomes, 148; poor, 76–77; public, 23, 27; self-reported life evaluation of, 179, 180; of white non-Hispanics, 76; World Health Organization on, 72
healthcare access, 197
healthcare costs, 69, 157, 191; in Britain, 196; controlling, 248; employer-provided health insurance and, 206; hospitals and, 202; paid by individuals, 204; rising, 205, 224, 243; surprise medical bills, 205; in United States, 197; wages and, 187, 206
healthcare expenditures, 194, 203, 207
healthcare insurance benefits, 157–58
healthcare lobby, 250
healthcare providers, 193
healthcare system, ix, 9, 10, 114, 126–27, 186; economics of, 193; employer-provided health insurance, 191; exorbitant costs of, 157; jobs in, 195–96; lobbying and, 209; market solution for, 207–8; single-payer, 199
health insurance, 199, 204, 208; exorbitant price of, 229
health-related taxes, 204
Hearn, Denise, 286n6, 287n9, 287n12
heart attacks, 37–38

- heart disease, 2, 19, 23–24, 25–26, 29, 38, 43, 67, 74, 107, 135, 142–43; blood pressure and, 44; in midlife, 42, 145; mortality gaps for, 57; mortality rates for, 42, 45; and obesity, 44; and opioids, 268n8; progress against, 42; risk of, 41; underlying causes of, 42
- heavy drinking, 43, 96–97, 105–6
- Heim, Bradley T., 282n18
- Hemingway, Ernest, 103
- Hendi, Arun S., 277–78n20
- Hendren, Nathaniel, 277n10
- Herbst, Daniel, 279n19, 288n35
- heroin, 39, 66, 95, 112, 118, 121; addiction to, 122, 123; Bayer and, 115; death from, 119; fentanyl mixed with, 67; OxyContin and, 119; strength of morphine and, 111
- Hershow, Ronald C., 268n10
- Hicks, John, 232
- Higgins, Susan, 263
- Higham, Scott, 275n33
- high school degrees, 7, 53, 153, 258; labor markets and, 20; unemployment and, 51; white Americans with, 56
- high school graduation rates, 20, 50
- Highland Clearances, 111
- Hispanics, 6, 32, 38, 140, 195; fentanyl and, 114; heart disease and, 44; mortality rates of, 31
- Hitler, Adolf, 187
- HIV/ AIDS, 2, 5, 20, 64; amount of people killed by, 32
- Ho, Jessica Y., 277–78n20
- Hochlaf, Dean, 277n17
- Holley-Moore, George, 277n17
- Holmes, John, 280n8
- homicide rates, 69, 97
- Hood, Emily, 289n10
- Hoorn, Stephen Vander, 271n6
- Hopkins, Jared S., 274n9
- hospitals, 114, 186, 198, 200, 210, 249, 259; admissions, 113; consolidation of, 9, 183, 200–201; healthcare costs and, 9, 10, 193, 196, 198–202; lobbying and, 242; nurses wages and, 226, 237
- Hoynes, Hilary W., 290n21
- Hsu, Tiffany, 275n35
- Humira, 197
- Humphreys, Keith, 273n19
- hydrocodone, 112, 117, 118
- hypertension, 24, 26, 41, 43–44, 56, 73, 204.
See also antihypertensives
- hypocrisy, 4, 54, 252
- iatrogenic deaths, 114, 118
- ibuprofen, 117
- Idler, Ellen L., 271n8
- ill health, increasing in midlife, 71. *See also* morbidity
- Illinois, 33, 239
- immigration, 6, 176, 214–18, 242; capital and, 217; low-skill, 216; populists and, 214; race and, 224; religion and, 176–77; unauthorized inflows, 216; wages and, 216, 218, 251
- Imperial Twilight* (Platt), 109
- income growth, 20, 54, 130, 134, 135, 139, 147, 149–52, 155–59, 165, 192, 195, 214, 223, 231, 234, 243–44, 251, 256; in Britain, 145, 156, 222, 223, 260
- India, 152, 212, 218
- individualism, 177, 223
- industrial concentration, 226, 233, 235, 253.
See also mergers
- Industrial Revolution, ix, 14
- industriousness, 162, 261
- inequality, 12–14, 147, 213, 245, 246, 262; antitrust and, 229; creators of, 226, 228, 231, 256–57; in earnings, 237; Europe and, 234, 251; geographic, 134, 145; Gilded Age, 188, 227–29; in income, 134, 136, 139–41, 245, 256, 257; increase in, 149, 150–53; low mobility and, 141; redistribution, 246; rent-seeking and, 256, 262; reverse Robin Hood, 11, 139, 193, 213, 261; upward redistribution and, 262. *See also* poverty
- infectious diseases, 23, 24
- influenza, 20, 23, 25, 26, 33, 120; antiviral for, 199

- information technology, 233
innovation, 130, 151, 198, 212, 220, 227, 234;
market power and, 233; prices and, 235;
productive expansion from, 222. *See also*
automation; robots
Instagram, 235
insulin, 198
insurance, 204, 208, 249; healthcare
insurance benefits, 157–58; malpractice,
198; mutual schemes, 223; premiums,
205; unemployment, 222, 243; universal,
248. *See also* employer-provided health
insurance; health insurance
Insys Therapeutics, 126
Integrity Staffing Solutions, 165
internet streaming, 230
iPhones, 231
Iqvia, 202
Ireland, 38, 41, 114, 156, 175, 177, 214
Irwin, Neil, 266n14, 279n25
Islam, 103
Isle of Lewis, 110
Italy, 175, 177

Jackson, Joe, 263
Jackson Hole, 226
James, Jonathan, 268n2
Jamison, Kay Redfield, 96
janitorial service, 4, 7, 8, 165, 206
Jaravel, Xavier, 269n8
Jardine, William, 109, 110
Jardine Matheson Holdings, 109
Jejeebhoy, Jamssetjee, 110, 128
Jencks, Christopher, 279n1, 280n4
Jensen, Robert T., 273n25
Jha, Ashish K., 282n11, 282n15, 282n19
Jick, S., 268n8
Jim Crow, 5, 21, 190
job creation, 7, 220
job loss, 4, 7, 10, 69, 72, 91, 92, 127, 146, 160,
161, 212, 214, 220; addiction and, 39, 146;
African Americans and, 5, 62, 68, 189;
deaths of despair and, 98, 100, 127; good
job loss and marriage, 167–70; Great
Recession and, 12, 135, 141, 147, 161;
healthcare costs and, 187, 191, 205–6;
immigration and, 214–17; international
trade and, 219–22; in manufacturing, 161,
164–65; outsourcing and, 7, 52, 165–66,
200, 205–06, 238, 243, 251; robots and,
214, 218–19; Schumpeterian creative
destruction and, 235; social safety net
and, 221, 223, 251; women’s labor force
participation and, 217–18
Johns Hopkins, 122
Johnson, Lyndon, 70
Johnson & Johnson, 10, 125
Jones, Charles I., 282n3
Jones, Robert P., 265n8, 279n28, 280n19
Josephs, Leslie, 284n48
Joyce, Rob, 277n19, 286n17

Kahneman, Danny, 263
Kaplan, Edward, 281n10
Kaplan, Greg, 272n13
Kapteyn, Arie, 263
Karabarbounis, Loukas, 278n2
Kasich, John, 247
Katz, Lawrence F., 280n3, 287n8
Kearny, Melissa S., 278n10, 288n36
Keefe, Patrick Radden, 276n39, 276n40
Kellerman, Arthur L., 284n44
Kentucky, 33, 37, 43, 49–50, 137, 138, 140
Kenworthy, Lane, 263, 279n14, 286n6
Kertesz, Stefan, 268n8
Kessler Psychological Distress Scale, 77
Keynes, John Maynard, 187, 236, 281n3
Khodneva, Yulia, 268n8
Kiernan, Kathleen, 280n8
Kindleberger, Charles P., 281n4
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 5, 265n7
Kissela, Brett, 268n8
Kleven, Henrik Jacobsen, 279n13
Kline, Patrick, 277n10
Koch, Robert, 25
Komlos, John, 267n3

- Kowalski, Amanda E., 284n56
Kowalski, Jenna, 263
Kraft, James L., 215
Kreitman, Norman, 272n8
Krieger, Nancy, 263
Krueger, Alan, 226
Kurman, André, 285n11
Kuster, Ann McLane, 28
Kuziemko, Ilyana, 190, 263, 279n19, 281n9, 288n35
- labor, 152, 260; additional cost for, 230; cost of, 214, 243; power of capital relative to, 9, 10, 152, 175, 187–88, 209, 214, 225, 235–38, 242, 243, 250, 254, 255; share in gross domestic product of, 231, 233. *See also* job creation; job loss; labor markets
- labor markets, 11, 20, 51, 52, 70, 92, 251–52; automation and globalization, 214–20; collapse for the working class, 216; Earned Income Tax Credit and, 163; employer provided benefits and, 224–25; marriage and, 168–69; monopsony and, 236, 237; polarization of, 51, 68, 153, 167, 219
- Labour Party, 250
Lamont, Michele, 279n16
Lamoreaux, Naomi, 228, 286n4, 286n5
land-use policies, 220, 256
Lane, Allen, 273n4
Lauderdale, Benjamin E., 267n3
Layard, Richard, 281n24
Lehman Brothers, 134, 142
Lembke, Anna, 263, 275n26, 275n37
Lessig, Lawrence, 284n52
Lev, Roneet, 274n20
Lewis, Nicole, 267n2
Li, L., 268n8
licensing requirements, 256
Liebman, Jeffrey B., 271n11, 279n12
Lienesch, Rachel, 265n8, 279n28
life expectancy, 21–22, 23, 44, 100, 134, 135, 140, 159, 180, 195; of African Americans, 27; decline in the twenty first century, 32–33, 114, 186; Europe and, 145, 260, 277n18; inequality and, 134, 140; Russia and, 107; in the twentieth century, 2, 21, 23, 41; United States healthcare system and, 114, 135, 186, 193–94
- Lincoln, Abraham, 104
Lind, Michael, 284n51, 290n29
Lindner, Attila, 288n27
Lindsey, Brink, 255–56, 288n38, 290n27, 290n28
Lin Zexu, 109
Lipton, David, 263
living standards, 7, 11, 12, 19, 21, 149, 150, 151, 156, 173, 179, 181, 195; African American, 137; working class, lowering, 183, 212
- Lleras-Muney, Adriana, 263
lobbying, 157, 209–11, 239, 241, 242, 255, 257; Google (Alphabet) and, 228; healthcare, 250; market power protected by, 232; taxation and, 232; in United States, 234
- Lockheed Martin, 242
Logan, Trevon, 263
loneliness, 95, 98
Losing Ground (Murray), 70
Lowery, Wesley, 267n2
low mobility, 141
low-skill jobs, 52; concentrations of, 220
Luck, Phillip, 285n11
lung cancer, 23, 26, 29
Luthra, Shefali, 283n32
Lynch, Peter, 231
- Ma, Hong, 285n12
Machin, Stephen, 278n6
Macy, Beth, 118, 274n13, 274n21
Maine, 33, 51, 86, 137
mainline churches, 177
malingerers, 92, 93
malpractice insurance, 198
mammograms, 196
Manning, Becky, 37, 49
manual work, 68, 84, 87, 91, 155

- manufacturing, 4, 62, 162, 222; African American job loss in, 67–69; of cars, 221; China and, 219–20; jobs, 146, 161–62, 165, 214, 224, 243; rise of, 164; working class life and, 164, 219
- Mare, Robert D., 280n4
- Marino, Tom, 125
- market barriers, 233. *See also* market power; rent-seeking
- market fundamentalists, 207
- market power, 9, 14, 127, 187, 243; extent of, 235; increasing, 253; innovation and, 233; prices raised by, 226, 230; protected by lobbying, 232
- market solution for healthcare, 207–8
- Markovits, Daniel, 269n15
- markups, 232
- Marmot, Michael, 269n17, 263
- marriage, 4, 53, 68, 100, 148–49, 152, 164, 167–70, 172, 183, 185, 212
- marriage rates, 5, 219; education and, 4, 8, 52, 53, 168, 171; wages and, 20, 148
- Martin, Anne B., 281n1, 283n20, 284n39, 284n42
- Martin, Hilarie, 271n6
- Massey, Douglas S., 285n4
- Master Tobacco Settlement of 1998, 129
- Matheson, James, 109, 110–11
- Mayo Clinic, 116–17
- Mazzocco, Maurizio, 284n40
- McCaffery, Margo, 271n4
- McCarthy, Michael A., 286n19, 286n20
- McClellan, Mark B., 282n6
- McDonald's, 92
- McGavin, Stephanie Hernandez, 288n40
- McGinnis, Michael, 282n6
- McGreal, Chris, 274n17
- McLanahan, Sara, 263, 265n2, 269n6, 280n7, 280n8
- McNamara, Damien, 274n17
- Meara, Ellen, 40, 263
- measles, 22
- meat-packing industry, 227
- Medalia, Carla, 276n3
- median household income, 142, 143–44, 157, 195, 205
- median wages, 7, 143; and education, 154–56, 203; European countries, 156, 222
- Medicaid, 124, 157, 158, 192, 204; eligibility requirements for, 207; expansion, 124, 247; state budgets and, 206, 207
- medical bills, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205
- medical device manufacturers, 10, 193, 197–98, 201, 202
- medical emergencies, 200
- medical schools, 196, 197, 256
- Medicare, 35, 73, 157, 192, 204, 211, 243, 249, 250
- medication-assisted treatment (MAT), 109, 129, 247
- Medoff, James L., 279n18
- Melbourne (Prime Minister), 110
- Mello, Michelle M., 283n20
- Mellon, Andrew, 228
- Melzack, Ronald, 115
- Memorial Sloan Kettering, 201
- mental distress, 3, 27, 40, 72, 78–79, 82, 93, 95, 100
- Merck, 202
- mergers, 157, 229, 231, 232, 254
- meritocracy, 3–4, 53–55, 148, 252
- Meslé, France, 273n24
- Metcalf, David, 288n28
- methamphetamines, 43
- Mexico, 11, 114, 119, 120, 177, 218
- Meyer, Bruce D., 276n3
- Micheltmore, Katherine, 280n8
- Michigan, 33, 86, 226, 273n6
- Microsoft, 229; Netscape and, 235
- middle class, 20, 214, 246
- middle-class life, 141, 161
- midlife, 22, 25, 29, 32, 155, 181–82, 267n4; cancer mortality in, 41; church attendance in, 177–78; deaths of despair in, 45, 46, 49, 97, 100, 111, 138; heart disease mortality in, 41, 42, 145; ill health increasing in, 71,

- 77–80, 100; life evaluation in, 181–82; life satisfaction in, 180–81; marriage rates in, 169–70; mortality rates in, 29, 30–32, 33, 35, 44–45, 57, 64–66, 119; pain in, 84–90, 89; poverty rates in, 137; voter turnout in, 173–74
- Miller, Douglas L., 277n15
- Miller, Grant, 273n23
- minimum wage, 219, 236, 237, 239, 243, 254, 255
- Mishel, Lawrence, 268n4
- Mississippi, 33, 43, 137, 140
- moderate drinking, 43, 103, 105, 106. *See also* alcohol
- monopolies, 188, 232, 254; laws against, 228; oligopolies and, 230. *See also* market power
- monopsony, 236, 254. *See also* market power
- Montana, 1, 100–101
- Mooers, Victoria R., 276n3
- Moore, Timothy J., 270n8
- morbidity, 27, 72, 73, 77, 81, 92; US and UK comparison, 196. *See also* pain
- Morden, Nancy E., 275n31
- Morgan, John Pierpont, 228
- morphine, 111, 115, 116, 208
- morphine milligram equivalent (MME), 111–12
- mortality rates, 2, 14, 21–22, 140, 143, 145, 189; of African Americans, 6, 31, 62; for African Americans and white Americans, 64–65; from alcoholic liver diseases, 40, 268n5; bachelor's degrees and, 57, 60; decline of, 26, 27, 30; from drug overdoses, 40, 121; education and, 56, 269n19; from fentanyl, 69; Great Recession and, 251; for heart disease, 42, 45; of Hispanics, 31; for middle-aged white Americans, 25, 29, 34–35, 41; in midlife, 30–31, 33, 35, 45, 64–66; over time, 49–50; progress in, 65; racial differences in, 31; in Russia, 107; synthetic narcotics and, 67; for white non-Hispanics, 59; of women, 32
- Morton, Fiona Scott, 283n28
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 69–70, 270n9
- MRI examinations, 198
- Muehlhof, Alice, 263
- Mundipharma, 129, 259
- Muntner, Paul, 268n8
- Murphy, Louise B., 274n15
- Murphy, Morgan, 122
- Murray, Charles, 70, 260, 265n2, 265n10, 266n11, 269n6, 270n10, 291n36
- Murray, Christopher J. L., 271n6
- Musick, Kelly, 280n8
- Musk, Elon, 215
- Myers, David G., 281n23
- Naidu, Suresh, 279n19, 288n35
- naloxone (Narcan), 39, 120
- nannies, 216
- naproxen, 117
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 84, 127, 217
- National Association of Realtors, 242, 256
- National Health Interview Survey (NHIS), 74, 77–78, 79, 89, 270n5
- National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE), 199, 247, 248, 250
- National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 105
- National Institute on Drug Abuse, 39
- National Institutes of Health, 105, 198, 264
- National Rifle Association, 100
- National Suicide Prevention Lifeline, x
- National Survey on Drug Use and Health, 113
- Neckerman, Kathryn, 279n1, 280n5
- Negro Family, The* (Moynihan), 70
- Neiman, Brent, 278n2
- Nelson, Timothy J., 280n11, 281n22
- Netscape, 235
- network externalities, 175
- New Deal, 262
- New Hampshire, 28, 134, 137
- Newhouse, Joseph P., 284n45

- New Jersey, 1, 33, 100, 137, 216, 268n5
Newport, Frank, 189, 263, 273n22, 281n7
New York, 33, 70, 100, 134, 140, 179
New York Presbyterian Hospital, 201
Nguyen, Andy, 274n20
Nixon, Richard, 70, 122
noncompete agreements, 237–38, 251
nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs
(NSAIDs), 117
Norberg, Karen E., 277n11
Northrop Grumman, 242
Norton, Michael I., 281n9
Norway, 145, 163
Novak, Judith, 263
nurses, 196, 197, 208, 226, 236, 237
- Obama, Barack, 174, 213, 263
Obamacare, 124, 187, 210
obesity, 25, 43–44, 56, 73, 91, 134; rising,
79–80
Ockerman, Emma, 267n2
Office of Technology Assessment, 210
Ofri, Danielle, 283n23
Ogburn, William, 141–42, 266n2, 277n13
Ohio, 247
Oklahoma, 10, 125, 140, 269n19
Oldfield, Zoe, 282n12
oligopolies, 230–31. *See also* market power
oligopsonies, 236. *See also* market power
Olshansky, Jay, 268n10
Open Society Policy Center, 242
Operation Golden Flow, 122
opioid epidemic, 2, 6, 31, 40, 67, 83, 97,
112–121, 113, 124, 126, 146, 192, 247; African
Americans and, 66, 67, 68, 137; crack
cocaine epidemic and, 5, 62, 68–69; first
American, 115; pain and, 69, 83, 85, 93, 112,
114; pharmaceutical industry and, 10, 40,
85, 114, 116, 118, 120, 124–26, 128, 192, 259,
261; role of Congress and, 124–25, 126
opioids, 111–114, 121; abuse of, 43, 66;
addiction and, 112, 122; American Civil
War and, 115; controls on, 259; deaths
from prescription types of, 119, 186;
dependence on, 201; manufacturers of,
10; painkillers, 93; prescriptions for, 113,
247; prices of, 129–30; strength of, 111;
suicides and, 113; synthetic, 275n25;
Vietnam War and, 122–23
opium trade, 109
Opium War, 109
Organisation for Economic Co-operation
and Development, 150, 195, 197, 225
Ornstein, Charles, 283n33, 283n34
outsourcing, 7, 52, 165, 166, 200, 205, 206,
219, 238, 243, 251. *See also* job loss
overeating, 44
oxycodone, 118
OxyContin, 10, 40, 112, 114, 117, 118, 127–28,
129, 259; approved, 247; heroin and, 119
- Page, Marianne, 277n15
pain, 3, 72, 76, 82, 117, 121, 182, 185, 272n10;
addiction and, 4; advocacy organizations
for sufferers of, 124; African Americans
and, 90–91; aging and, 90; American
Pain Society, 116; bachelor's degrees and,
90; chronic, 84, 89, 121; education and,
86; emotional, 73; geography of, 86;
increase in, 92; management, 112; in
midlife, 89; normal increase in, 88;
on-the-job, 91; opioid painkillers, 93;
physical, 73; postsurgical, 116; rising levels
of, 123; Schweitzer on, 84; social, 83;
suicides and, 83, 86, 101; in United States,
93; in United States and comparison
countries, 87; white non-Hispanics and,
89; women and, 93; work and, 85
Papanicolas, Irene, 282n11, 282n15, 282n19
paradox of patents, 255
Parekh, Natasha, 282n7
Parfit, Derek, 289n3
Parker, Kim, 269n12
Passaro, Douglas J., 268n10
Patel, Jugal K., 269n13
patents, 209, 255, 256

- patients, 200; healthier, 208; not knowing
 how much treatment will cost, 204; trials
 of new drugs for, 202
- patient satisfaction surveys, 117
- Patterson, Christina, 287n8
- Pearlstein, Steven, 286n6
- pensions, 35, 108, 144, 152, 159, 221, 224, 225,
 240, 252
- Pescosolido, Bernice, 265n1, 270n21
- Peterson, Paul F., 280n4
- Petkova, Neviana, 269n8
- PET scanner, 215
- pharmaceutical executives, 126, 202
- Phelps, Edmund, 255, 290n24
- philanthropists, 110, 111, 128
- Philippon, Thomas, 286n6, 286n7, 287n21,
 288n24
- Phillips, Julie A., 277n11
- physical examination, 75
- Pickett, Kate, 276n4
- Pierce, Justin R., 278n21
- Pierson, Paul, 266n23, 288n38
- Piketty, Thomas, 269n5
- pill mills, 121
- Plath, Sylvia, 99
- Platt, Stephen, 109, 273n1, 273n2
- pneumonia, 23
- political power, 9, 10, 13, 120, 210, 213; of
 wealthy people, 11, 241
- population density, 100–101
- population growth, 217
- populists, 4, 54, 252; immigration and, 214
- Posner, Eric A., 290n23
- Posner, Richard A., 272n7
- postsurgical pain, 116
- Poterba, Jim, 264
- poverty, ix, 65, 87, 133–34; African
 Americans and, 137; Census Bureau on,
 219; midlife, 137; misery of, 135; official
 counts of, 136; racial patterns of, 137;
 responses to, 136; suicides and, 138;
 typhus and, 25; white non-Hispanics
 and, 138
- Powell, Eleanor N., 284n56
- Powell, Lewis, Jr., 241, 288n41
- pregnancy, 170–72. *See also* childbearing
- presidential election turnout, 173–74
- Preston, Samuel, 56, 263, 268n9, 269n16,
 276n2
- preventive medicine, 41
- price-fixing agreements, 228. *See also*
 rent-seeking
- Princeton, 215
- prioritarianism, 245
- private incentives, 227, 228
- problem drinking, 106. *See also* alcoholism;
 heavy drinking
- production, 233
- productivity growth, 152
- profiteering, 229, 230
- progress, ix, 21, 23; against heart disease, 42;
 in mortality rates, 65; slowdown in, 26
- Progressive Era, 228, 262
- Prohibition, 103, 104, 105
- Protestants, 103
- Purdue Pharmaceutical, 10, 40, 112, 114, 118,
 128, 129, 259
- Putnam, Robert, 150, 173, 263, 265n2, 269n6,
 272n12, 278n8, 280n13, 280n16, 280n18
- Quinones, Sam, 146, 266n18, 274n10,
 274n22, 274n23
- racial privilege, 166, 190. *See also* white
 privilege
- racism, 137, 186, 189
- raiders, 240
- Rajan, Raghuram, 68, 270n7, 286n6
- Rawlins, Michael, 199
- Ray, Julie, 263
- Reich, Taly, 281n9
- relapse, 95, 97, 129
- Relenza, 199
- religion, 4, 6, 118, 167, 173, 175–79, 183
- rent-seeking, 11, 12, 14, 209, 214, 229, 245,
 257; inequality and, 256, 262;

- rent-seeking (cont.)
 opportunities for, 248. *See also* crony capitalism; Sheriff of Nottingham redistribution
Republicans, 210
Reuther, Walter, 221
rheumatoid arthritis, 197
Richter, Kaspar, 273n25
Rieder, Travis, 122
Rinz, Kevin, 288n29
robber barons, 228, 233
Robins, Lee, 123, 275n28
Robinson, David, 283n30
Robinson, Joan, 236, 255, 288n25, 290n26
robots, 3, 161, 165, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 225, 229, 240, 252
Rockefeller, John D., 228
Rockett, Ian R. H., 272n6
Rodrik, Dani, 222, 266n17, 285n16, 289n44
Roe v. Wade, 169
Rogstad, Teresa L., 282n7
Roosevelt, Theodore, 228
Roser, Max, 282n5
Rossi-Hansberg, Esteban, 287n23
Rothschild, Emma, 290n19
Rothstein, Jesse, 290n21
Ruhm, Christopher J., 266n2, 277n14
rural areas, 236; employees in, 237
Rush, Benjamin, 104
Russell, Bertrand, 163, 279n15
Russia, 106–7; suicides and, 108
Ryan, Harriet, 291n34
Ryan, Paul, 146

Sackler, Arthur M., 128
Sackler, Mortimer, 128
Sackler, Raymond, 128
Sackler, Richard, 128
Sackler family, 10, 114
Saez, Emmanuel, 269n5, 277n10, 289n4
Safford, Monika M., 268n8
Samsung, 231
Sandel, Michael, 54–55, 265n4, 269n11, 290n33

Sandoe, Emma, 275n31
SARS, 29
Sarte, Pierre-Daniel, 287n23
Sasahara, Akira, 285n12
Scalia, Antonin, 234
Scandinavian countries, 73
Scheidel, Walter, 266n24
Scheve, Kenneth, 266n21
Schmalz, Martin C., 287n11
Schmieder, Johannes, 238
Schoen, Cathy, 282n14
Schoenbaum, Stephen, 282n14
Schofield, Roger, 280n6
Schott, Peter K., 278n21
Schulhofer-Wohl, Sam, 272n13
Schuller, Andrew, 263
Schumpeter, Joseph, 234, 235
Schweitzer, Albert, 84
Schweitzer, Mark, 274n8
Scotland, 38, 224
Scott, Dylan, 289n14
Scurria, Andrew, 274n9
Second World War, 20, 35, 149, 151, 224;
 progress after, 21
self-harm, 212. *See also* suicides
selfish brain, 39, 95
Sen, Amartya, 71, 245, 270n1, 271n7, 289n1
service jobs, 4, 7, 68, 69, 146, 164–65, 206, 214, 219, 238, 243, 255
Setoguchi, S., 268n8
Seventh-day Adventists, 103
sexual norms, 6, 164, 176
Shaefer, H. Luke, 276n3
Shaeffer, Leonard, 263
Shapiro, Carl, 287n16, 287n17
shareholders, 126, 127, 222, 231, 232, 239, 240, 243, 260
Shekita, Nathan, 283n28
Sheriff of Nottingham redistribution, 11, 193, 211, 213
Shkolnikov, Vladimir M., 273n24
Shrank, William H., 282n7
sickness, 71. *See also* ill health; morbidity

- Siegel, Zachary, 272n3
Simon, Herbert, 290n20
Simpson, George, 67, 270n4
Singapore, 22
single-payer healthcare systems, 199
60 *Minutes* (television), 124–25
Skinner, Jonathan, 40, 263, 267n3, 268n6, 282n10
Skjold, Suzanne, 271n6
slavery, 186
smallpox, 24
Smith, Adam, 11, 192, 207, 226, 245, 257, 266n19, 281n2, 286n1, 290n31
Smith, Gordon S., 272n6
Smith, James P., 263, 282n12
Smith, Matthew, 256, 266n20, 269n5, 283n36, 290n30
Smith, Peter Audrey, 125, 275n34
smoking, 23–24, 25, 56; bachelor's degrees and, 80; effects of, 26; increase in, 43; quitting, 41; white non-Hispanics and, 80
snowflake effect, 90
Snyder, Thomas D., 268n1
social capital, 100, 173, 174, 175, 252
social democratic parties, 260
social incentives, 227, 228
social isolation, 100
social norms, 164. *See also* sexual norms
social pain, 83
social safety net, 157, 162, 221, 235, 255, 261, 262; food stamps and, 136; Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, 136; United States and, 223–225; United States relative to other countries, 133, 135, 163, 186, 251, 252, 260. *See also* Medicaid; Medicare; Social Security
Social Security, 35, 92, 243
solidarity, 139
Solman, Paul, 37
Soros, George, 242
Soss, Neal M., 272n7
Southern Democratic senators, 224
Southwest Airlines, 231
Soviet Union, 106–7, 108
S&P 500, 240, 241
Spaulding, John A., 270n4
spirituality, 177
Spletzer, James, 238, 288n33
Spoerer, Mark, 281n5
Standard Oil, 227
Stanford University, 263
Stantcheva, Stefanie, 285n2
Stasavage, David, 266n21
state budgets, 206
statins, 24, 204
Steele, Robert, 122
Stepner, Michael, 276n1
Stevens, Ann H., 277n15
Stiglitz, Joseph, 263, 286n6
stigma, 28
St. John Providence Hospital, 226
stock market, 127, 152, 239, 240
stock market crashes, 141
Stokes, Andrew, 268n9
Stone, Arthur, 263
stress, 25, 44, 72, 182, 183. *See also* mental distress
Studdert, David M., 283n20
sudden cardiac death, 43
Suhre, Jeffrey, 226
suicide belt, 100
suicides, x, 31, 39, 65–66, 69, 95, 167, 185; addiction and, 84; bachelor's degrees and, 102; carbon monoxide and, 99; common features of, 97; divergence in risk of, 60–61; drug overdoses and, 246; Durkheim and, 60, 67, 94, 98, 101, 102; economic theory of, 98–99; education and, 3, 101; Great Depression and, 142; guns and, 99–100; happiness and, 1; high-suicide states, 100–101; increases in, 138; in midlife, 67; opioids and, 113; pain and, 83, 86, 101; poverty and, 138; rapid increases in, 45; rates among middle-aged white Americans, 1, 2; Russia and, 108; today is a good day to die theory of,

- suicides (cont.)
99; in United States, 98; upper-class, 28;
white Americans and, 38; white
non-Hispanics and, 98, 102; women
and, 58
- surveys, 74–75, 166, 272n10; patient
satisfaction, 117
- Suzman, Richard, 264
- Sweden, 22, 163
- Swift, Gustavus, 227
- Switzerland, 193, 194, 195
- Sydnor, Eugene B., Jr., 288n41
- synthetic narcotics, 67. *See also* fentanyl;
heroin
- Syverson, Chad, 287n13
- Személy, Béla, 284n40
- Tabb, Charles Jordan, 266n22
- Tanner Lectures in Human Values, 263
- Target, 220
- Tasmania, 10, 120
- Tasmanian Alkaloids, 125
- taxation, 12, 104–5, 158, 246, 252–53, 256;
confiscatory, 13; health-related, 204;
income after, 206; lobbying and, 232
- technological change, 9, 222, 254; socially
beneficial for consumers, 233. *See also*
automation; robots
- Tecu, Isabel, 287n11
- Teles, Steven, 255–56, 288n38, 290n27,
290n28
- Tepper, Jonathan, 286n6, 287n9, 287n12
- terminal illnesses, 95
- Texas, 33, 110
- Thomas, Dorothy, 141–42, 266n2, 277n13
- Thomas, Duncan, 271n6
- Thomas, Katie, 275n35, 283n33, 283n34
- Thomas, Kyla, 272n9, 277n12
- Thomas, Patrick, 283n35
- Thompson, Ken, 275n30
- Thrush, Glenn, 265n6, 265n9
- Tignor, Bob, 263
- Timmins, Nicholas, 283n25, 289n8
- Tolstoy, Leo, 71
- Toyota, 230
- Trachter, Nicholas, 287n23
- Trade Adjustment Assistance program,
221–22
- trade secrets, 238
- “Tragedy of Needless Pain, The” (Melzack),
116
- Treaty of Detroit, 221, 224
- trente glorieuses, Les, 20
- Trudeau, Gary, 63, 270n1
- Truly Disadvantaged, The* (Wilson, W.), 67
- Trump, Donald, 13, 87, 124
- tuberculosis, 23
- Twain, Mark, 103
- Tylenol, 83, 117
- typhus, 25
- unemployment, 134, 159; doubling of, 142;
insurance, 222, 243; rates of, 51, 87, 102,
135, 144, 147
- unfairness, 12, 14, 166, 213, 221, 227, 262
- Unger, Gabriel, 287n14, 287n18
- unintended pregnancies, 169
- unions, 161, 221; decline of, 174–75, 244, 250;
less prevalent, 214; power of, 238–39;
restoration of, 251; wages and, 4, 164
- United Airlines, 231
- United Auto Workers (UAW), 221
- United Kingdom, 145. *See also* Britain
- United Nations, 215
- United States (US), 20, 25, 29, 41, 108,
186, 193, 199, 218, 249; Britain and, 223;
church membership in, 176; consolida-
tion of industries in, 9; fentanyl and,
38; four-year college degrees and, 3;
healthcare costs in, 197; immigration
and, 215; labor in, 165; level of inequality
in, 151; life expectancy in, 23, 194, 195;
lobbying in, 234; mobility in, 236; pain,
in comparison countries and, 87; pain
in, 93; safety net in, 133; social safety
net and, 223, 225; suicides in, 98; Trade
Adjustment Assistance program,
221–22

- universal basic income (UBI), 163, 252–53
universal insurance, 248
upward redistribution, 127, 188;
 anti-competitive behavior and,
 230; inequality and, 262
US News and World Report, 219
US white non-Hispanics (USW), 30
Utah, 100, 125, 134
- vaccinations, 22, 23
Vanderborght, Yannick, 252, 290n18
Vanguard, 232, 240
van Parijs, Philippe, 252, 290n18
van Reenen, John, 263, 269n8, 276n41,
 283n27, 287n8, 287n19
Vermont, 268n5
Vicodin, 112, 121
Vietnam war, 122–23
Virchow, Rudolf, 25
Volkov, Nora, 263
- wages, 10, 15, 149, 152, 205, 251; after-tax,
 158; decline in, 8; education and, 159;
 employment and, 70; fall in, 161; federal
 minimum, 236, 239; growth in, 155;
 healthcare costs and, 187, 206; immigra-
 tion and, 216, 218; labor markets and,
 203; lack of well-paying jobs, 8; lowering,
 163; marriage rates and, 20; median, 156,
 203; minimum, 237, 255; policy on, 219,
 254; power to lower, 236; share in gross
 domestic product, 232; stagnant, 7;
 stagnation of, 11; subsidies, 254–55;
 unions and, 4, 164; workers, low-wage, 213
Wall Street Journal (newspaper), 202
Walmart, 92, 220; information technology
 and, 233
Walton, Maureen A., 273n6
Washington, Benjamin, 281n1, 283n20,
 284n39, 284n42
Washingtonians, 104
Washington Post (newspaper), 124–25
Watkins, Susan Cotts, 280n6
Wealth of Nations, The (Smith, A.), 11, 226
Weil, David, 288n32, 289n45
Weimar Republic, 187
Weinberg, Daniel H., 280n5
Weir, David, 263
Welch, Gil, 263
welfare provision, 214. *See also* social safety
 net
West Virginia, 33, 124, 137, 140, 178
Weyeneth, Miquelon, 263
Weyl, E. Glen, 290n23
WhatsApp, 235
white privilege, 5, 6, 62, 65, 166, 190
Wikler, Abraham, 275n29
Wikler, Daniel, 263, 275n29
Wilkinson, Richard, 139, 276n4, 276n9
Wilson, William Julius, 67, 68, 265n5,
 265n10, 270n5, 270n6, 270n11, 280n5
Wilson, Woodrow, 13
Winship, Christopher, 280n4
Wise, David A., 271n5, 271n7, 272n15
Wise, Norton, 263
withdrawal, 112, 117, 127
Wolf, Martin, 263
Wolfe, Julia, 268n4
women, 32, 75, 169, 171, 217; with college
 degrees, 52, 155; college wage premiums
 for, 278n4; employment rates of, 160;
 employment-to-population ratios
 and, 159–60; giving birth out of
 wedlock, 68; pain and, 93; suicides
 and, 58
worker compensation, 152
workers, 81, 156, 209, 236, 243, 261; deprived
 of control, 8; displaced, 11, 160; earnings
 of, 51, 92; in Germany, 258; immiseration
 of, 188; less educated, 227; less power,
 214; low-wage, 213; market power used
 against, 187; political power of, 10, 213;
 replaceable, 161; supply of, 163; trade
 secrets and, 238
working class, 9, 164, 260; economy failing,
 8; labor markets for, 216; lowering living
 standards of, 212; marriage and, 168;
 social capital of, 174

- working-class life, 6, 183; disintegration of, 123; foundations of, 7; long-term decline in, 145; outsourcing and, 238; routines of, 8
- World Health Organization, 72
- World Trade Organization, 146
- Woskie, Liana R., 282n11, 282n15, 282n19
- Wray, Matt, 265n1, 270n21
- Wren-Lewis, Simon, 277n18
- Wright, Melanie, 280n8
- Wrigley, E. Anthony, 280n6
- Wu, Derek, 276n3
- Wu, Jennifer, 284n56
- Wu, Tim, 286n6
- Wuthnow, Robert, 177, 280n20
- Wyoming, 100, 138
- Xu, Jiaquan, 282n8
- Xu, Xiaowei, 277n19, 286n17
- Xu, Yuan, 285n12
- Yagan, Danny, 256, 266n20, 269n5, 283n36, 290n30
- Young, Michael, 3–4, 54, 68, 148, 252, 265n3, 269n9, 269n10
- Zidar, Owen, 256, 263, 266n20, 269n5, 283n36, 290n30
- Zingales, Luigi, 263, 286n3
- Zipperer, Ben, 288n27
- Zwick, Eric, 256, 266n20, 269n5, 283n36, 290n30