

EPILOGUE: Two Paths to Harvard

And now, with all these pages behind us, an early promise has been confirmed: this book indeed has no “unifying theme.”

But if there is no unifying theme to *Freakonomics*, there is at least a common thread running through the everyday application of Freakonomics. It has to do with thinking sensibly about how people behave in the real world. All it requires is a novel way of looking, of discerning, of measuring. This isn't necessarily a difficult task, nor does it require supersophisticated thinking. We have essentially tried to figure out what the typical gang member or sumo wrestler figured out on his own (although we had to do so in reverse).

Will the ability to think such thoughts improve your life materially? Probably not. Perhaps you'll put up a sturdy gate around your swimming pool or push your real-estate agent to work a little harder. But the net effect is likely to be more subtle than that. You might become more skeptical of the conventional wisdom; you may begin looking for hints as to how things aren't quite what they seem; per-

haps you will seek out some trove of data and sift through it, balancing your intelligence and your intuition to arrive at a glimmering new idea. Some of these ideas might make you uncomfortable, even unpopular. To claim that legalized abortion resulted in a massive drop in crime will inevitably lead to explosive moral reactions. But the fact of the matter is that *Freakonomics*-style thinking simply doesn't traffic in morality. As we suggested near the beginning of this book, if morality represents an ideal world, then economics represents the actual world.

The most likely result of having read this book is a simple one: you may find yourself asking a lot of questions. Many of them will lead to nothing. But some will produce answers that are interesting, even surprising. Consider the question posed at the beginning of this book's penultimate chapter: how much do parents really matter?

The data have by now made it clear that parents matter a great deal in some regards (most of which have been long determined by the time a child is born) and not at all in others (the ones we obsess about). You can't blame parents for trying to do something—anything—to help their child succeed, even if it's something as irrelevant as giving him a high-end first name.

But there is also a huge random effect that rains down on even the best parenting efforts. If you are in any way typical, you have known some intelligent and devoted parents whose child went badly off the rails. You may have also known of the opposite instance, where a child succeeds despite his parents' worst intentions and habits.

Recall for a moment the two boys, one white and one black, who were described in chapter 5. The white boy who grew up outside Chicago had smart, solid, encouraging, loving parents who stressed education and family. The black boy from Daytona Beach was abandoned by his mother, was beaten by his father, and had be-

come a full-fledged gangster by his teens. So what became of the two boys?

The second child, now twenty-seven years old, is Roland G. Fryer Jr., the Harvard economist studying black underachievement.

The white child also made it to Harvard. But soon after, things went badly for him. His name is Ted Kaczynski.

NOTES

The bulk of this book was drawn from the research of Steven D. Levitt, often done in concert with one or more collaborators. The notes below include citations for the academic papers on which the material was based. We have also made liberal use of other scholars' research, which is also cited below; we thank them not only for their work but for the subsequent conversations that allowed us to best present their ideas. Other material in this book comes from previously unpublished research or interviews by one or both of the authors. Material not listed in these notes was drawn from readily accessible databases, news reports, and reference works.

AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

ix–xi THE ITALICIZED EXCERPTS in this section and elsewhere originally appeared in Stephen J. Dubner, “The Probability That a Real-Estate Agent Is Cheating You (and Other Riddles of Modern Life),” *The New York Times Magazine*, August 3, 2003.

INTRODUCTION: THE HIDDEN SIDE OF EVERYTHING

3–6 THE FALL AND FALL OF CRIME: The crime-drop argument can be found in Steven D. Levitt, “Understanding Why Crime Fell in the 1990’s: Four Fac-

tors That Explain the Decline and Six That Do Not,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (2004), pp. 163–90. / **3–4 The superpredator:** See Eric Pooley, “Kids with Guns,” *New York Magazine*, August 9, 1991; John J. DiIulio Jr., “The Coming of the Super-Predators,” *Weekly Standard*, November 27, 1995; Tom Morganthau, “The Lull Before the Storm?” *Newsweek*, December 4, 1995; Richard Zoglin, “Now for the Bad News: A Teenage Time Bomb,” *Time*, January 15, 1996; and Ted Gest, “Crime Time Bomb,” *U.S. News & World Report*, March 25, 1996. / **4 James Alan Fox’s dire predictions** can be found in a pair of government reports: “Trends in Juvenile Violence: A Report to the United States Attorney General on Current and Future Rates of Juvenile Offending” (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1996) and “Trends in Juvenile Violence: An Update” (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1997). / **4 President Clinton’s fearful comment** came during a 1997 speech in Boston announcing new anti-crime measures; see Alison Mitchell, “Clinton Urges Campaign Against Youth Crime,” *New York Times*, February 20, 1997. / **5–6 The story of Norma McCorvey/Jane Roe:** See Douglas S. Wood, “Who Is ‘Jane Roe?’: Anonymous No More, Norma McCorvey No Longer Supports Abortion Rights,” CNN.com, June 18, 2003; and Norma McCorvey with Andy Meisler, *I Am Roe: My Life, Roe v. Wade, and Freedom of Choice* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994). / **6 The abortion-crime link** is argued in two papers by Steven D. Levitt and John J. Donohue III: “The Impact of Legalized Abortion on Crime,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116, no. 2 (2001), pp. 379–420; and “Further Evidence That Legalized Abortion Lowered Crime: A Response to Joyce,” *Journal of Human Resources* 39, no. 1 (2004), pp. 29–49.

- 7–9 **THE REAL REAL-ESTATE STORY:** The study measuring how a real-estate agent treats the sale of her own home versus a client’s home is Steven D. Levitt and Chad Syverson, “Market Distortions When Agents Are Better Informed: A Theoretical and Empirical Exploration of the Value of Information in Real Estate Transactions,” National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2005. / **7–8 The lax California auto mechanics** are discussed in Thomas Hubbard, “An Empirical Examination of Moral Hazard in the Vehicle Inspection Market,” *RAND Journal of Economics* 29, no. 1 (1998), pp. 406–26; and in Thomas Hubbard, “How Do Consumers Motivate Experts? Reputational Incentives in an Auto Repair Market,” *Journal of Law & Economics* 45, no. 2 (2002), pp. 437–68. / **8 Doctors who perform extra C-sections** are examined in Jonathan Gruber and Maria Owings, “Physician

- Financial Incentives and Caesarean Section Delivery,” *RAND Journal of Economics* 27, no. 1 (1996), pp. 99–123.
- 9–12 THE MYTH OF CAMPAIGN SPENDING is told in greater detail in a trio of papers: Steven D. Levitt, “Using Repeat Challengers to Estimate the Effect of Campaign Spending on Election Outcomes in the U.S. House,” *Journal of Political Economy*, August 1994, pp. 777–98; Steven D. Levitt, “Congressional Campaign Finance Reform,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9 (1995), pp. 183–93; and Steven D. Levitt and James M. Snyder Jr., “The Impact of Federal Spending on House Election Outcomes,” *Journal of Political Economy* 105, no. 1 (1997), pp. 30–53.
- 13 EIGHT GLASSES OF WATER A DAY: See Robert J. Davis, “Can Water Aid Weight Loss?” *Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 2004, which cites an Institute of Medicine report concluding that “there is no scientific basis for the recommendation [of eight glasses of water a day] and that most people get enough water through normal consumption of foods and beverages.”
- 14–15 ADAM SMITH is still well worth reading, of course (especially if you have infinite patience); so too is Robert Heilbroner’s *The Worldly Philosophers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), which contains memorable profiles of Smith, Karl Marx, Thorstein Veblen, John Maynard Keynes, Joseph Schumpeter, and other giants of economics.

1. WHAT DO SCHOOLTEACHERS AND SUMO WRESTLERS HAVE IN COMMON?

- 19–20, 23 THE ISRAELI DAY-CARE STUDY: See Uri Gneezy and Aldo Rustichini, “A Fine Is a Price,” *Journal of Legal Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2000), pp. 1–17; and Uri Gneezy, “The ‘W’ Effect of Incentives,” University of Chicago working paper.
- 22–23 MURDER THROUGH THE AGES: See Manuel Eisner, “Secular Trends of Violence, Evidence, and Theoretical Interpretations,” *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 3 (2003); also presented in Manuel Eisner, “Violence and the Rise of Modern Society,” *Criminology in Cambridge*, October 2003, pp. 3–7.
- 23 THOMAS JEFFERSON ON CAUSE-AND-EFFECT: *Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson* (1829; reprint, New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1914), p. 156.
- 24 BLOOD FOR MONEY: See Richard M. Titmuss, “The Gift of Blood,” *Transaction* 8 (1971); also presented in *The Philosophy of Welfare: Selected Writings by R. M. Titmuss*, ed. B. Abel-Smith and K. Titmuss (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987). See also William E. Upton, “Altruism, Attribution, and In-

- trinsic Motivation in the Recruitment of Blood Donors,” Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1973.
- 25 WHEN SEVEN MILLION CHILDREN DISAPPEARED OVERNIGHT: See Jeffrey Liebman, “Who Are the Ineligible EITC Recipients?” *National Tax Journal* 53 (2000), pp. 1165–86. Liebman’s paper was citing John Szilagyi, “Where Some of Those Dependents Went,” *1990 Research Conference Report: How Do We Affect Taxpayer Behavior?* (Internal Revenue Service: March 1991), pp. 162–63.
- 25–37 CHEATING TEACHERS IN CHICAGO: This study, which also provides considerable background on high-stakes testing, is detailed in two papers: Brian A. Jacob and Steven D. Levitt, “Rotten Apples: An Investigation of the Prevalence and Predictors of Teacher Cheating,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118, no. 3 (2003), pp. 843–77; and Brian A. Jacob and Steven D. Levitt, “Catching Cheating Teachers: The Results of an Unusual Experiment in Implementing Theory,” *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, 2003, pp. 185–209. / **27 The Oakland fifth-grader with the extra-helpful teacher:** Based on an author interview with a former assistant superintendent of the Oakland Public Schools. / **34–35 Cheating among North Carolina teachers:** See G. H. Gay, “Standardized Tests: Irregularities in Administering of Tests Affect Test Results,” *Journal of Instructional Psychology* 17, no. 2 (1990), pp. 93–103. / **35–37 The story of Arne Duncan, CEO of the Chicago schools,** was based largely on author interviews; see also Amy D’Orio, “The Outsider Comes In,” *District Administration: The Magazine for K–12 Education Leaders*, August 2002; and various *Chicago Tribune* articles by Ray Quintanilla.
- 37–38 THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA BASKETBALL TEST was made public when the university released 1,500 pages of documents in response to an investigation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association.
- 38–45 CHEATING IN SUMO: See Mark Duggan and Steven D. Levitt, “Winning Isn’t Everything: Corruption in Sumo Wrestling,” *American Economic Review* 92, no. 5 (December 2002), pp. 1594–1605. / **38–45 There is a lot to know about sumo,** and quite a bit can be found in these books: Mina Hall, *The Big Book of Sumo* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stonebridge Press, 1997); Keisuke Itai, *Nakabon* (Tokyo: Shogakkan Press, 2000); and Onaruto, *Yaocho* (Tokyo: Line Books, 2000). / **44 Two sumo whistleblowers die mysteriously:** See Sheryl WuDunn, “Sumo Wrestlers (They’re BIG) Facing a Hard Fall,” *New York Times*, June 28, 1996; and Anthony Spaeth, “Sumo Quake: Japan’s Revered Sport Is Marred by Charges of Tax Evasion, Match Fixing, Ties to

Organized Crime, and Two Mysterious Deaths,” reporting by Irene M. Kunii and Hiroki Tashiro, *Time (International Edition)*, September 30, 1996.

- 45–51 **THE BAGEL MAN:** Paul Feldman was looking for a research economist to take an interest in his data, and brought himself to Steven Levitt’s attention. (Several other scholars had passed.) Levitt and then Dubner subsequently visited Feldman’s bagel operation near Washington, D.C. Their research led to an article that was substantially similar to the version of the story published here: Stephen J. Dubner and Steven D. Levitt, “What the Bagel Man Saw,” *The New York Times Magazine*, June 6, 2004. Levitt is also writing an academic paper about Feldman’s bagel operation. / **47 The “Beer on the Beach” study** is discussed in Richard H. Thaler, “Mental Accounting and Consumer Choice,” *Marketing Science* 4 (Summer 1985), pp. 119–214; also worth reading is Richard H. Thaler, *The Winner’s Curse: Paradoxes and Anomalies of Economic Life* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

2. HOW IS THE KU KLUX KLAN LIKE A GROUP OF REAL-ESTATE AGENTS?

- 55–66 **UNMASKING THE KU KLUX KLAN:** A number of excellent books have been written about the Ku Klux Klan. For general history, we relied most heavily on Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), and David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965); see also Stetson Kennedy, *After Appomattox: How the South Won the War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995). Of most particular interest to us was Stetson Kennedy, *The Klan Unmasked* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1990), which was originally published as *I Rode with the Ku Klux Klan* (London: Arco Publishers, 1954). But Stetson Kennedy himself is probably the greatest living repository of Klan lore. (For more information, see www.stetsonkenedy.com; also, many of Kennedy’s papers are housed in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York.) The authors visited Kennedy at his home near Jacksonville, Florida, interviewing him and availing ourselves of his extensive collection of Klan paraphernalia and documentation. (We also tried on his Klan robes.) We are most grateful for his cooperation. The Harvard economist Roland G. Fryer Jr. accompanied us; he and Steven Levitt are currently collaborating on a series of papers about the Ku Klux Klan. It should be noted that Fryer was driving the rental car as we first sought out Kennedy’s

- tion: Evidence from *The Weakest Link*,” *Journal of Law and Economics* 17 (October 2004), pp. 431–52. / **79 The theory of taste-based discrimination** originates with Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957). / **79 The theory of information-based discrimination** is derived from a number of papers, including Edmund Phelps, “A Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism,” *American Economic Review* 62, no. 4 (1972), pp. 659–61; and Kenneth Arrow, “The Theory of Discrimination,” *Discrimination in Labor Markets*, ed. Orley Ashenfelter and Albert Rees (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973).
- 80–84 THE ONLINE DATING STORY: See Dan Ariely, Günter J. Hitsch, and Ali Hortaçsu, “What Makes You Click: An Empirical Analysis of Online Dating,” University of Chicago working paper, 2004.
- 84 VOTERS LYING ABOUT DINKINS / GIULIANI: See Timur Kuran, *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); also Kevin Sack, “Governor Joins Dinkins Attack Against Rival,” *New York Times*, October 27, 1989; and Sam Roberts, “Uncertainty over Polls Clouds Strategy in Mayor Race,” *New York Times*, October 31, 1989.
- 84 VOTERS LYING ABOUT DAVID DUKE: See Kuran, *Private Truths, Public Lies*; also Peter Applebome, “Republican Quits Louisiana Race in Effort to Defeat Ex-Klansman,” *New York Times*, October 5, 1990; and Peter Applebome, “Racial Politics in South’s Contests: Hot Wind of Hate or Last Gasp?” *New York Times*, November 5, 1990.
- 84–85 DAVID DUKE, MASTER OF INFORMATION ABUSE: Among the many helpful sources for this material were Karen Henderson, “David Duke’s Work-Release Program,” *National Public Radio*, May 14, 2004; and the exhaustive John McQuaid, “Duke’s Decline,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, April 13, 2003.

3. WHY DO DRUG DEALERS STILL LIVE WITH THEIR MOMS?

- 89–90 JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH’S “CONVENTIONAL WISDOM”: See “The Concept of the Conventional Wisdom,” the second chapter of *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958).
- 90 MITCH SNYDER AND THE HOMELESS MILLIONS: The controversy over Snyder’s activism was covered widely, particularly in Colorado newspapers, during

- the early 1980s and was revisited in 1990 when Snyder committed suicide. A good overview is provided in Gary S. Becker and Guity Nashat Becker, "How the Homeless 'Crisis' Was Hyped," in *The Economics of Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), pp. 175–76; the chapter was adapted from a 1994 *Business Week* article by the same authors.
- 91 THE INVENTION OF CHRONIC HALITOSIS: The strange and compelling story of Listerine is beautifully told in James B. Twitchell, *Twenty Ads That Shook the World: The Century's Most Groundbreaking Advertising and How It Changed Us All* (New York: Crown, 2000), pp. 60–69.
- 91 GEORGE W. BUSH AS A MAKE-BELIEVE COWBOY: See Paul Krugman, "New Year's Resolutions," *New York Times*, December 26, 2003.
- 92 NOT AS MUCH RAPE AS IS COMMONLY THOUGHT: The 2002 statistics from the National Crime Survey, which is designed to elicit honest responses, suggests that the lifetime risk of a woman's being the victim of unwanted sexual activity or attempted unwanted sexual activity is about one in eight (not one in three, as is typically argued by advocates). For men, the National Crime Survey suggests a one-in-forty incidence, rather than the one-in-nine incidence cited by advocates.
- 92 NOT AS MUCH CRIME AS THERE ACTUALLY WAS: See Mark Niese, "Report Says Atlanta Underreported Crimes to Help Land 1996 Olympics," Associated Press, February 20, 2004.
- 93–109 SUDHIR VENKATESH'S LONG, STRANGE TRIP INTO THE CRACK DEN: As of this writing, Venkatesh is an associate professor of sociology and African American studies at Columbia University. / **93–99 The biographical material** on Venkatesh was drawn largely from author interviews; see also Jordan Marsh, "The Gang Way," *Chicago Reader*, August 8, 1997; and Robert L. Kaiser, "The Science of Fitting In," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 2000. / **99–109 The particulars of the crack gang** are covered in four papers by Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh and Steven D. Levitt: "The Financial Activities of an Urban Street Gang," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115, no. 3 (August 2000), pp. 755–89; "Are We a Family or a Business? History and Disjuncture in the Urban American Street Gang," *Theory and Society* 29 (Autumn 2000), pp. 427–62; "Growing Up in the Projects: The Economic Lives of a Cohort of Men Who Came of Age in Chicago Public Housing," *American Economic Review* 91, no. 2 (2001), pp. 79–84; and "The Political Economy of an American Street Gang," American Bar Foundation working paper, 1998. See also Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *American Project: The Rise and Fall of a*

Modern Ghetto (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000). / 104

Crack dealing as the most dangerous job in America: According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the ten most dangerous legitimate occupations are timber cutters, fishers, pilots and navigators, structural metal workers, drivers/sales workers, roofers, electrical power installers, farm occupations, construction laborers, and truck drivers.

- 109 THE INVENTION OF NYLON STOCKINGS: It was Wallace Carothers, a young Iowa-born chemist employed by DuPont, who, after seven years of trying, found a way to blow liquid polymers through tiny nozzles to create a fiber of superstrong strands. This was nylon. Several years later, DuPont introduced nylon stockings in New York and London. Contrary to lore, the miracle fabric's name did not derive from a combination of those two cities' names. Nor was it, as rumored, an acronym for "Now You've Lost, Old Nippon," a snub to Japan's dominant silk market. The name was actually a hepped-up rendering of "No Run," a slogan that the new stockings could not in fact uphold, but whose failure hardly diminished their success. Carothers, a long-time depressive, did not live to see his invention blossom: he killed himself in 1937 by drinking cyanide. See Matthew E. Hermes, *Enough for One Lifetime: Wallace Carothers, Inventor of Nylon* (Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation, 1996).
- 110 CRACK SLANG: The Greater Dallas Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse has compiled an extraordinarily entertaining index of cocaine street names. For cocaine powder: Badrock, Bazooka, Beam, Berni, Bernice, Big C, Blast, Blizzard, Blow, Blunt, Bouncing Powder, Bump, C, Caballo, Caine, Candy, Caviar, Charlie, Chicken Scratch, Coca, Cocktail, Coconut, Coke, Cola, Damablanca, Dust, Flake, Flex, Florida Snow, Foo Foo, Freeze, G-Rock, Girl, Goofball, Happy Dust, Happy Powder, Happy Trails, Heaven, King, Lady, Lady Caine, Late Night, Line, Mama Coca, Marching Dust/Powder, Mojo, Monster, Mujer, Nieve, Nose, Nose Candy, P-Dogs, Peruvian, Powder, Press, Prime Time, Rush, Shot, Sleighride, Sniff, Snort, Snow, Snowbirds, Soda, Speedball, Sporting, Stardust, Sugar, Sweet Stuff, Toke, Trails, White Lady, White Powder, Yeyo, Zip. For smokeable cocaine: Base, Ball, Beat, Bisquits, Bones, Boost, Boulders, Brick, Bump, Cakes, Casper, Chalk, Cookies, Crumbs, Cubes, Fatbags, Freebase, Gravel, Hardball, Hell, Kibbles n' Bits, Kryptonite, Love, Moonrocks, Nuggets, Onion, Pebbles, Piedras, Piece, Ready Rock, Roca, Rock(s), Rock Star, Scotty, Scrabble, Smoke House, Stones, Teeth, Tornado.

- 110 THE JOHNNY APPLESEED OF CRACK: Oscar Danilo Bandon and his purported alliance with the Central Intelligence Agency are discussed in great detail, and in a manner that stirred great controversy, in a three-part *San Jose Mercury News* series by Gary Webb, beginning on August 18, 1996. See also Tim Golden, "Though Evidence Is Thin, Tale of C.I.A. and Drugs Has a Life of Its Own," *New York Times*, October 21, 1996; and Gary Webb, *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998). The U.S. Department of Justice later examined the matter in detail in "The C.I.A.–Contra–Crack Cocaine Controversy: A Review of the Justice Department's Investigations and Prosecutions," available as of this writing at www.usdoj.gov/oig/special/9712/ch01p1.htm.
- 111 GANGS IN AMERICA: See Frederick Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).
- 113 THE SHRINKING OF VARIOUS BLACK-WHITE GAPS, PRE-CRACK: See Rebecca Blank, "An Overview of Social and Economic Trends By Race," in *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences*, ed. Neil J. Smelser, William Julius Wilson, and Faith Mitchell (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2001), pp. 21–40. / **113 Regarding black infant mortality**, see Douglas V. Almond, Kenneth Y. Chay, and Michael Greenstone, "Civil Rights, the War on Poverty, and Black-White Convergence in Infant Mortality in Mississippi," National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2003.
- 113–14 THE VARIOUS DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF CRACK are discussed in Roland G. Fryer Jr., Paul Heaton, Steven D. Levitt, and Kevin Murphy, "The Impact of Crack Cocaine," University of Chicago working paper, 2005.

4. WHERE HAVE ALL THE CRIMINALS GONE?

- 117–19 NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU'S ABORTION BAN: Background information on Romania and the Ceaușescu was drawn from a variety of sources, including "Eastern Europe, the Third Communism," *Time*, March 18, 1966; "Ceausescu Ruled with an Iron Grip," *Washington Post*, December 26, 1989; Ralph Blumenthal, "The Ceaușescu: 24 Years of Fierce Repression, Isolation and Independence," *New York Times*, December 26, 1989; Serge Schmemmann, "In Cradle of Rumanian Revolt, Anger Quickly Overcame Fear," *New York Times*, December 30, 1989; Karen Breslau, "Overplanned Parenthood: Ceaușescu's Cruel Law," *Newsweek*, January 22, 1990; and Nicolas Holman,

- “The Economic Legacy of Ceaușescu,” *Student Economic Review*, 1994. / **118 The link between the Romanian abortion ban and life outcomes** has been explored in a pair of papers: Cristian Pop-Eleches, “The Impact of an Abortion Ban on Socio-Economic Outcomes of Children: Evidence from Romania,” Columbia University working paper, 2002; and Cristian Pop-Eleches, “The Supply of Birth Control Methods, Education and Fertility: Evidence from Romania,” Columbia University working paper, 2002.
- 119–20 **THE GREAT AMERICAN CRIME DROP:** As noted earlier, this material is drawn from Steven D. Levitt, “Understanding Why Crime Fell in the 1990’s: Four Factors That Explain the Decline and Six That Do Not,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (2004), pp. 163–90. / **120 James Alan Fox’s “intentional overstatement”:** See Torsten Ove, “No Simple Solution for Solving Violent Crimes,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 12, 1999.
- 122 **POLITICIANS WERE GROWING INCREASINGLY SOFTER ON CRIME:** This and a number of related issues are discussed in Gary S. Becker and Guity Nashat Becker, “Stiffer Jail Terms Will Make Gunmen More Gun-Shy,” “How to Tackle Crime? Take a Tough, Head-On Stance,” and “The Economic Approach to Fighting Crime,” all in *The Economics of Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), pp. 135–44; the chapters were adapted from *Business Week* articles by the same authors.
- 122–24 **INCREASED RELIANCE ON PRISONS:** Concerning the fifteenfold increase in drug-crime prisoners, see Ilyana Kuziemko and Steven D. Levitt, “An Empirical Analysis of Imprisoning Drug Offenders,” *Journal of Public Economics* 88, nos. 9–10 (2004), pp. 2043–66. / **123 What if we just turn all the prisoners loose?** See William Nagel, “On Behalf of a Moratorium on Prison Construction,” *Crime and Delinquency* 23 (1977), pp. 152–74. / **123 “Apparently, it takes a Ph.D. . . .”:** See John J. DiIulio Jr., “Arresting Ideas: Tougher Law Enforcement Is Driving Down Urban Crime,” *Policy Review*, no. 75 (Fall 1995).
- 124–25 **CAPITAL PUNISHMENT:** For a full report on New York State’s failure to execute a single criminal, see “Capital Punishment in New York State: Statistics from Eight Years of Representation, 1995–2003” (New York: The Capital Defender Office, August 2003), which is available as of this writing at nycdo.org/8yr.html. More recently, New York’s Court of Appeals found the death penalty itself unconstitutional, effectively halting all executions. / **125 Executing 1 criminal translates into 7 fewer homicides:** See Isaac Ehrlich, “The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: A Question of Life and

- Death,” *American Economic Review* 65 (1975), pp. 397–417; and Isaac Ehrlich, “Capital Punishment and Deterrence: Some Further Thoughts and Evidence,” *Journal of Political Economy* 85 (1977), pp. 741–88. / **125 “I no longer shall tinker with the machinery of death”**: From Justice Harry A. Blackmun’s dissenting opinion in a 1994 Supreme Court decision denying review of a Texas death-penalty case: *Callins v. Collins*, 510 U.S. 1141 (1994); cited in *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* 5, no. 9 (March 10, 1995). It should be noted that American juries also seem to have lost their appetite for the death penalty—in part, it seems, because of the frequency with which innocent people have been executed in recent years or exonerated while on death row. During the 1990s, an average of 290 criminals were given the death sentence each year; in the first four years of the 2000s, that number had dropped to 174. See Adam Liptak, “Fewer Death Sentences Being Imposed in U.S.,” *New York Times*, September 15, 2004.
- 126–27 **DO POLICE ACTUALLY LOWER CRIME?** See Steven D. Levitt, “Using Electoral Cycles in Police Hiring to Estimate the Effect of Police on Crime,” *American Economic Review* 87, no. 3 (1997), pp. 270–90; Steven D. Levitt, “Why Do Increased Arrest Rates Appear to Reduce Crime: Deterrence, Incapacitation, or Measurement Error?” *Economic Inquiry* 36, no. 3 (1998), pp. 353–72; and Steven D. Levitt, “The Response of Crime Reporting Behavior to Changes in the Size of the Police Force: Implications for Studies of Police Effectiveness Using Reported Crime Data,” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 14 (February 1998), pp. 62–81. / **127 The 1960s as a great time to be a criminal**: See Gary S. Becker and Guity Nashat Becker, *The Economics of Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), pp. 142–43.
- 127–30 **NEW YORK CITY’S CRIME “MIRACLE”**: The “Athenian period” quote came from an author interview with former police captain William J. Gorta, one of CompStat’s inventors. / **128 The broken window theory**: See James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling, “Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety,” *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1982. / **130 Bratton hiring more police in Los Angeles**: See Terry McCarthy, “The Gang Buster,” *Time*, January 19, 2004.
- 130–34 **GUN LAWS**: Concerning the fact that the United States has more guns than it has adults, see Philip Cook and Jens Ludwig, *Guns in America: Results of a Comprehensive Survey of Gun Ownership and Use* (Washington: Police Foundation, 1996). / **131 The gun-crime link**: See Mark Duggan, “More Guns, More Crime,” *Journal of Political Economy* 109, no. 5 (2001), pp. 1086–1114. / **131 Guns in Switzerland**: See Stephen P. Halbrook, “Armed

- to the Teeth, and Free,” *Wall Street Journal Europe*, June 4, 1999. / **132 The impotent Brady Act:** See Jens Ludwig and Philip Cook, “Homicide and Suicide Rates Associated with Implementation of the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 284, no. 5 (2000), pp. 585–91. / **132 Felons buying black-market guns:** See James D. Wright and Peter H. Rossi, *Armed and Considered Dangerous: A Survey of Felons and Their Firearms* (Hawthorne, N.Y.: Aldine de Gruyter, 1986). / **133 The gun-for-psychotherapy swap:** See “Wise Climb-Down, Bad Veto,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 1994. / **133 Why gun buybacks don’t work:** See C. Callahan, F. Rivera, and T. Koepsell, “Money for Guns: Evaluation of the Seattle Gun Buy-Back Program,” *Public Health Reports* 109, no. 4 (1994), pp. 472–77; David Kennedy, Anne Piehl, and Anthony Braga, “Youth Violence in Boston: Gun Markets, Serious Youth Offenders, and a Use-Reduction Strategy,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59 (1996), pp. 147–83; and Peter Reuter and Jenny Mouzon, “Australia: A Massive Buy-back of Low-Risk Guns,” in *Evaluating Gun Policy: Effects on Crime and Violence*, ed. Jens Ludwig and Philip Cook (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2003). / **133 John Lott’s right-to-carry theory:** See John R. Lott Jr. and David Mustard, “Right-to-Carry Concealed Guns and the Importance of Deterrence,” *Journal of Legal Studies* 26 (January 1997), pp. 1–68; and John R. Lott Jr., *More Guns, Less Crime: Understanding Crime and Gun Control Laws* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). / **133 John Lott as Mary Rosh:** See Julian Sanchez, “The Mystery of Mary Rosh,” *Reason*, May 2003; and Richard Morin, “Scholar Invents Fan to Answer His Critics,” *Washington Post*, February 1, 2003. / **133–34 Lott’s gun theory disproved:** See Ian Ayres and John J. Donohue III, “Shooting Down the ‘More Guns, Less Crime’ Hypothesis,” *Stanford Law Review* 55 (2003), pp. 1193–1312; and Mark Duggan, “More Guns, More Crime,” *Journal of Political Economy* 109, no. 5 (2001), pp. 1086–1114.
- 134–35 **THE BURSTING OF THE CRACK BUBBLE:** For a discussion of crack’s history and particulars, see Roland G. Fryer Jr., Paul Heaton, Steven Levitt, and Kevin Murphy, “The Impact of Crack Cocaine,” University of Chicago working paper, 2005. / **134 25 percent of homicides:** See Paul J. Goldstein, Henry H. Brownstein, Patrick J. Ryan, and Patricia A. Bellucci, “Crack and Homicide in New York City: A Case Study in the Epidemiology of Violence,” in *Crack in America: Demon Drugs and Social Justice*, ed. Craig Reinerman and Harry G. Levine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 113–30.

- 135–36 THE “AGING POPULATION” THEORY: See Steven D. Levitt, “The Limited Role of Changing Age Structure in Explaining Aggregate Crime Rates,” *Criminology* 37, no. 3 (1999), pp. 581–99. Although the aging theory has by now been widely discounted, learned experts continue to float it; see Matthew L. Wald, “Most Crimes of Violence and Property Hover at 30-Year Low,” *New York Times*, September 13, 2004, in which Lawrence A. Greenfield, director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, says, “There is probably no single factor explanation for why the crime rates have been going down all these years and are now at the lowest level since we started measuring them in 1973. It probably has to do with demographics, and it probably has to do with having a lot of very high-rate offenders behind bars.” / **135 “There lurks a cloud”**: See James Q. Wilson, “Crime and Public Policy” in *Crime*, ed. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1995), p. 507.
- 136–44 THE ABORTION-CRIME LINK: For an overview, see John J. Donohue III and Steven D. Levitt, “The Impact of Legalized Abortion on Crime,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116, no. 2 (2001), pp. 379–420; and John J. Donohue III and Steven D. Levitt, “Further Evidence That Legalized Abortion Lowered Crime: A Response to Joyce,” *Journal of Human Resources* 39, no. 1 (2004), pp. 29–49. / **136 Abortion studies in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia**: See P. K. Dagg, “The Psychological Sequelae of Therapeutic Abortion—Denied and Completed,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 148, no. 5 (May 1991), pp. 578–85; and Henry David, Zdenek Dytrych, et al., *Born Unwanted: Developmental Effects of Denied Abortion* (New York: Springer, 1988). / **137 The Roe v. Wade opinion**: *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973). / **138 One study has shown that the typical child**: See Jonathan Gruber, Philip P. Levine, and Douglas Staiger, “Abortion Legalization and Child Living Circumstances: Who Is the ‘Marginal Child?’ ” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114 (1999), pp. 263–91. / **138 Strongest predictors of a criminal future**: See Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, “Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency,” *Crime and Justice*, vol. 7, ed. Michael Tonry and Norval Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); also, Robert Sampson and John Laub, *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). / **139 So does having a teenage mother**: See William S. Comanor and Llad Phillips, “The Impact of Income and Family Structure on Delinquency,” University of California–Santa Barbara working paper, 1999. / **139 Another study has shown that low ma-**

ternal education: Pijikko Rasanen et al., “Maternal Smoking During Pregnancy and Risk of Criminal Behavior Among Adult Male Offspring in the Northern Finland 1966 Birth Cohort,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 156 (1999), pp. 857–62. / **139 Infanticide fell dramatically:** See Susan Sorenson, Douglas Wiebe, and Richard Berk, “Legalized Abortion and the Homicide of Young Children: An Empirical Investigation,” *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 2, no. 1 (2002), pp. 239–56. / **141 Studies of Australia and Canada:** See Anindya Sen, “Does Increased Abortion Lead to Lower Crime? Evaluating the Relationship between Crime, Abortion, and Fertility,” unpublished manuscript; and Andrew Leigh and Justin Wolfers, “Abortion and Crime,” *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 72, no. 4 (2000), pp. 28–30. / **141 Many of the aborted baby girls:** See John J. Donohue III, Jeffrey Grogger, and Steven D. Levitt, “The Impact of Legalized Abortion on Teen Childbearing,” University of Chicago working paper, 2002. / **142 Abortion worse than slavery:** See Michael S. Paulsen, “Accusing Justice: Some Variations on the Themes of Robert M. Cover’s *Justice Accused*,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 7, no. 33 (1989), pp. 33–97. / **142 Abortion as “the only effective crime-prevention device”:** See Anthony V. Bouza, *The Police Mystique: An Insider’s Look at Cops, Crime, and the Criminal Justice System* (New York: Plenum, 1990). / **142 \$9 million to save a spotted owl:** See Gardner M. Brown and Jason F. Shogren, “Economics of the Endangered Species Act,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 12, no. 3 (1998), pp. 3–20. / **142 \$31 to prevent another Exxon Valdez –type spill:** See Glenn W. Harrison, “Assessing Damages for the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill,” University of Central Florida working paper, 2004. / **142–43 Body-part price list:** Drawn from the state of Connecticut’s Workers’ Compensation Information Packet, p. 27, available as of this writing at wcc.state.ct.us/download/acrobat/info-packet.pdf.

5. WHAT MAKES A PERFECT PARENT?

- 147–50 THE EVER CHANGING WISDOM OF PARENTING EXPERTS: Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice About Children* (New York: Knopf, 2003) is an extremely helpful compendium of parenting advice. / **148 Gary Ezzo’s “infant-management strategy” and sleep deprivation warning:** See Gary Ezzo and Robert Bucknam, *On Becoming Babywise* (Sisters, Ore.: Multnomah, 1995), pp. 32 and 53. / **148 T. Berry Brazelton**

- and the “interactive” child:** T. Berry Brazelton, *Infants and Mothers: Difference in Development*, rev. ed. (New York: Delta/Seymour Lawrence, 1983), p. xxiii. / **148 L. Emmett Holt’s warning against “undue stimulation”:** L. Emmett Holt, *The Happy Baby* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1924), p. 7. / **148 Crying as “the baby’s exercise”:** L. Emmett Holt, *The Care and Feeding of Children: A Catechism for the Use of Mothers and Children’s Nurses* (New York: Appleton, 1894), p. 53.
- 149–52 A GUN OR A SWIMMING POOL? See Steven Levitt, “Pools More Dangerous than Guns,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 28, 2001.
- 150–53 PETER SANDMAN ON MAD-COW DISEASE AND OTHER RISKS: See Amanda Hesser, “Squeaky Clean? Not Even Close,” *New York Times*, January 28, 2004; and “The Peter Sandman Risk Communication Web Site” at <http://www.psandman.com/index.htm>.
- 153–56 HOW MUCH DO PARENTS REALLY MATTER? See Judith Rich Harris, *The Nurture Assumption: Why Children Turn Out the Way They Do* (New York: Free Press, 1998); for a Harris profile that also provides an excellent review of the nature-nurture debate, see Malcolm Gladwell, “Do Parents Matter?” *The New Yorker*, August 17, 1998; and Carol Tavris, “Peer Pressure,” *New York Times Book Review*, September 13, 1998. / **155 “‘Here we go again’”:** See Tavris, *New York Times*. / **155 Pinker called Harris’s views “mind-boggling”:** Steven Pinker, “Sibling Rivalry: Why the Nature/Nurture Debate Won’t Go Away,” *Boston Globe*, October 13, 2002, adapted from Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (New York: Viking, 2002).
- 157–59 SCHOOL CHOICE IN CHICAGO: This material is drawn from Julie Berry Cullen, Brian Jacob, and Steven D. Levitt, “The Impact of School Choice on Student Outcomes: An Analysis of the Chicago Public Schools,” *Journal of Public Economics*, forthcoming; and Julie Berry Cullen, Brian Jacob, and Steven D. Levitt, “The Effect of School Choice on Student Outcomes: Evidence from Randomized Lotteries,” National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2003.
- 159 STUDENTS WHO ARRIVE AT HIGH SCHOOL NOT PREPARED TO DO HIGH SCHOOL WORK: See Tamar Lewin, “More Students Passing Regents, but Achievement Gap Persists,” *New York Times*, March 18, 2004.
- 159–60 THE BLACK-WHITE INCOME GAP TRACED TO EIGHTH-GRADE TEST SCORE GAP: See Derek Neal and William R. Johnson, “The Role of Pre-Market Factors in Black-White Wage Differences,” *Journal of Political Economy* 104 (1996), pp. 869–95; and June O’Neill, “The Role of Human Capital in

- Earnings Differences Between Black and White Men,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4, no. 4 (1990), pp. 25–46. / **160 “Reducing the black-white test score gap”**: See Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips, “America’s Next Achievement Test: Closing the Black-White Test Score Gap,” *American Prospect* 40 (September–October 1998), pp. 44–53.
- 160 “ACTING WHITE”: See David Austen-Smith and Roland G. Fryer Jr., “The Economics of ‘Acting White,’” National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2003. / **160 Kareem Abdul-Jabbar**: Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Peter Knobler, *Giant Steps* (New York: Bantam, 1983), p. 16.
- 160–75 THE BLACK-WHITE TEST SCORE GAP AND THE ECLS: This material was drawn from Roland G. Fryer Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, “Understanding the Black-White Test Score Gap in the First Two Years of School,” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 86, no. 2 (2004), pp. 447–464. While this paper contains little discussion of the correlation between test scores and home-based factors (television viewing, spanking, etc.), a regression of those data is included in the paper’s appendix. Regarding the ECLS study itself: as of this writing, an overview of the study was posted at nces.ed.gov/ecls/.
- 171 ADOPTIVE PARENTS WITH HIGHER IQS THAN BIRTH MOTHER: See Bruce Sacerdote, “The Nature and Nurture of Economic Outcomes,” National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2000.
- 172 FINNISH LITERACY: See Lizette Alvarez, “Educators Flocking to Finland, Land of Literate Children,” *New York Times*, April 9, 2004.
- 173 A BOOK FOR EVERY TOT: See John Keilman, “Governor Wants Books for Tots; Kids Would Get 60 by Age 5 in Effort to Boost Literacy,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 12, 2004.
- 175–76 THE INFLUENCE OF ADOPTIVE PARENTS: See Sacerdote, “The Nature and Nurture of Economic Outcomes.”

6. PERFECT PARENTING, PART II; OR: WOULD A ROSHANDA BY ANY OTHER NAME SMELL AS SWEET?

- 179–80 THE STORY OF LOSER LANE: Drawn from author interviews and from Sean Gardiner, “Winner and Loser: Names Don’t Decide Destiny,” *Newsday*, July 22, 2002.
- 180–81 THE JUDGE AND THE TEMPRESS: Based on author interviews.
- 182 ROLAND G. FRYER AND THE STUDY OF BLACK UNDERACHIEVEMENT: Drawn from author interviews.
- 182 THE BLACK-WHITE CIGARETTE GAP: See Lloyd Johnston, Patrick O’Malley,

- Jerald Bachman, and John Schulenberg, "Cigarette Brand Preferences Among Adolescents," *Monitoring the Future Occasional Paper 45*, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1999.
- 182–89 BLACK NAMES (AND OTHER BLACK-WHITE CULTURE GAPS): See Roland G. Fryer Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, "The Causes and Consequences of Distinctively Black Names," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119, no. 3 (August 2004), pp. 767–805.
- 186 "WHITE" RÉSUMÉS BEATING OUT "BLACK" RÉSUMÉS: The most recent audit study to reach such a conclusion is Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan, "Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment Evidence on Labor Market Discrimination," National Bureau of Economic Research working paper, 2003.
- 187 YO XING HEYNO AUGUSTUS EISNER ALEXANDER WEISER KNUCKLES JEREMIJENKO-CONLEY: See Tara Bahrapour, "A Boy Named Yo, Etc.: Name Changes, Both Practical and Fanciful, Are on the Rise," *New York Times*, September 25, 2003.
- 187 MICHAEL GOLDBERG, INDIAN-BORN SIKH: See Robert F. Worth, "Livery Driver Is Wounded in a Shooting," *New York Times*, February 9, 2004.
- 188 WILLIAM MORRIS, NÉ ZELMAN MOSES: Author interview with Alan Kannof, former chief operating officer of the William Morris Agency.
- 190 BRAND NAMES AS FIRST NAMES: Drawn from California birth-certificate data and also discussed in Stephanie Kang, "Naming the Baby: Parents Brand Their Tot with What's Hot," *Wall Street Journal*, December 26, 2003.
- 190 A GIRL NAMED SHITHEAD: The woman who called the radio show to tell Roland Fryer about her niece Shithead might have been misinformed, of course, or even outright lying. Regardless, she was hardly alone in her feeling that black names sometimes go too far. Bill Cosby, during a speech in May 2004 at the NAACP's *Brown v. Board of Education* fiftieth-anniversary gala, lambasted lower-income blacks for a variety of self-destructive behaviors, including the giving of "ghetto" names. Cosby was summarily excoriated by white and black critics alike. (See Barbara Ehrenreich, "The New Cosby Kids," *New York Times*, July 8, 2004; and Debra Dickerson, "America's Granddad Gets Ornerly," *Slate*, July 13, 2004.) Soon after, the California education secretary, Richard Riordan—the wealthy, white former mayor of Los Angeles—found himself under attack for a perceived racial slight. (See Tim Rutten, "Riordan Stung by 'Gotcha' News," *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 2004.) Riordan, visiting a Santa Barbara library to promote a reading program, met a

six-year-old girl named Isis. She told Riordan that her name meant “Egyptian princess”; Riordan, trying to make a joke, replied, “It means stupid, dirty girl.” The resultant outrage led black activists to call for Riordan’s resignation. Mervyn Dymally, a black assemblyman from Compton, explained that Isis was “a little African-American girl. Would he have done that to a white girl?” As it turned out, however, Isis *was* white. Some activists tried to keep the anti-Riordan protest alive, but Isis’s mother, Trinity, encouraged everyone to relax. Her daughter, she explained, hadn’t taken Riordan’s joke seriously. “I got the impression,” Trinity said, “that she didn’t think he was very bright.”

- 190 ORANGEJELLO AND LEMONJELLO: Although these names have the whiff of urban legend about them—they are, in fact, discussed on a variety of websites that dispel (or pass along) urban legends—the authors learned of the existence of OrangeJello and LemonJello from Doug McAdam, a sociologist at Stanford University, who swears he met the twin boys in a grocery store.
- 196 A MUCH LONGER LIST OF GIRLS’ AND BOYS’ NAMES: Here lies an arbitrary collection of names that are interesting, pretty, uncommon, very common, or somehow quintessential, along with the level of education that they signify. (Each name occurs at least ten times in the California names data.)

SOME GIRLS’ NAMES

(Years of mother’s education in parentheses)

Abigail (14.72), Adelaide (15.33), Alessandra (15.19), Alexandra (14.67), Alice (14.30), Alison (14.82), Allison (14.54), Amalia (15.25), Amanda (13.30), Amber (12.64), Amy (14.09), Anabelle (14.68), Anastasia (13.98), Angelina (12.74), Annabel (15.40), Anne (15.49), Anya (14.97), Ashley (12.89), Autumn (12.86), Ava (14.97), Aziza (11.52), Bailey (13.83), Beatrice (14.74), Beatriz (11.42), Belinda (12.79), Betty (11.50), Breanna (12.71), Britt (15.39), Brittany (12.87), Bronte (14.42), Brooklyn (13.50), Brooklynne (13.10), Caitlin (14.36), Caitlynn (13.03), Cammie (12.00), Campbell (15.69), Carly (14.25), Carmella (14.25), Cassandra (13.38), Cassidy (13.86), Cate (15.23), Cathleen (14.31), Cecilia (14.36), Chanel (13.00), Charisma (13.85), Charlotte (14.98), Chastity* (10.66), Cherokee (11.86), Chloe (14.52), Christina (13.59), Ciara (13.40), Cierra (12.97), Cordelia (15.19), Courtney (13.55), Crimson (11.53), Cynthia (12.79), Dahlia (14.94), Danielle (13.69), Daphne (14.42),

* Concerning the teenage girl named Tempress on p. 180: judging from Chastity’s poor showing here, it is doubtful that Tempress would have gained much benefit from being called Chastity.

Darlene (12.22), Dawn (12.71), Deborah (13.70), December (12.00), Delilah (13.00), Denise (12.71), Deniz (15.27), Desiree (12.62), Destiny (11.65), Diamond (11.70), Diana (13.54), Diane (14.10), Dora (14.31), Eden (14.41), Eileen (14.69), Ekaterina (15.09), Elizabeth (14.25), Elizabethann (12.46), Ella (15.30), Ellen (15.17), Emerald (13.17), Emily (14.17), Emma (15.23), Faith (13.39), Florence (14.83), Francesca (14.80), Frankie (12.52), Franziska (15.18), Gabrielle (14.26), Gennifer (14.75), Georgia (14.82), Geraldine (11.83), Ginger (13.54), Grace (15.03), Gracie (13.81), Gretchen (14.91), Gwyneth (15.04), Haley (13.84), Halle (14.86), Hannah (14.44), Hilary (14.59), Hillary (13.94), Ilana (15.83), Ilene (13.59), Indigo (14.38), Isabel (15.31), Isabell (13.50), Ivy (13.43), Jacquelin (12.78), Jacqueline (14.40), Jade (13.04), Jamie (13.52), Jane (15.12), Janet (12.94), Jeanette (13.43), Jeannette (13.86), Jemma (15.04), Jennifer (13.77), Johanna (14.76), Jordan (13.85), Joyce (12.80), Juliet (14.96), Kailey (13.76), Kara (13.95), Karissa (13.05), Kate (15.23), Katelynne (12.65), Katherine (14.95), Kayla (12.96), Kelsey (14.17), Kendra (13.63), Kennedy (14.17), Kimia (15.66), Kylie (13.83), Laci (12.41), Ladonna (11.60), Lauren (14.58), Leah (14.30), Lenora (13.26), Lexington (13.44), Lexus (12.55), Liberty (13.36), Liesl (15.42), Lily (14.84), Linda (12.76), Linden (15.94), Lizabeth (13.42), Lizbeth (9.66), Lucia (13.59), Lucille (14.76), Lucy (15.01), Lydia (14.40), MacKenzie (14.44), Madeline (15.12), Madison (14.13), Mandy (13.00), Mara (15.33), Margaret (15.14), Mariah (13.00), Mary (14.20), Matisse (15.36), Maya (15.26), Meadow (12.65), Megan (13.99), Melanie (13.90), Meredith (15.57), Michaela (14.13), Micheala (12.95), Millicent (14.61), Molly (14.84), Montana (13.70), Naomi (14.05), Naseem (15.23), Natalie (14.58), Nevada (14.61), Nicole (13.77), Nora (14.88), Olive (15.64), Olivia (14.79), Paige (14.04), Paisley (13.84), Paris (13.71), Patience (11.80), Pearl (13.48), Penelope (14.53), Phoebe (15.18), Phoenix (13.28), Phyllis (11.93), Portia (15.03), Precious (11.30), Quinn (15.20), Rachel (14.51), Rachell (11.76), Rebecca (14.05), Renee (13.79), Rhiannon (13.16), Rikki (12.54), Ronnie (12.72), Rosalind (15.26), Ruby (14.26), Sabrina (13.31), Sadie (13.69), Samantha (13.37), Sarah (14.16), Sasha (14.22), Sayeh (15.25), Scarlett (13.60), Selma (12.78), September (12.80), Shannon (14.11), Shayla (12.77), Shayna (14.00), Shelby (13.42), Sherri (12.32), Shira (15.60), Shirley (12.49), Simone (14.96), Siobhan (14.88), Skylynn (12.61), Solveig (14.36), Sophie (15.45), Stacy (13.08), Stephanie (13.45), Stevie (12.67), Storm (12.31), Sunshine (12.03), Susan (13.73), Suzanne (14.37), Svetlana (11.65), Tabitha (12.49), Talia (15.27), Tallulah (14.88), Tatiana (14.42), Tatum (14.25), Taylor (13.65), Tess (14.83), Tia (12.93), Tiffany (12.49), Tracy (13.50), Trinity (12.60), Trudy (14.88), Vanessa (12.94), Venus (12.73), Veronica (13.83), Veronique (15.80), Violet (13.72), Whitney (13.79), Willow (13.83), Yael (15.55), Yasmine (14.10), Yvonne (13.02), and Zoe (15.03).

SOME BOYS' NAMES

(Years of mother's education in parentheses)

Aaron (13.74), Abdelrahman (14.08), Ace (12.39), Adam (14.07), Aidan (15.35), Alexander (14.49), Alistair (15.34), Andrew (14.19), Aristotle (14.20), Ashley (12.95), Atticus (14.97), Baylor (14.84), Bjorn (15.12), Blane (13.55), Blue (13.85), Brian (13.92), Buck (12.81), Bud (12.21), Buddy (11.95), Caleb (13.91), Callum (15.20), Carter (14.98), Chaim (14.63), Christ (11.50), Christian (13.55), Clyde (12.94), Cooper (14.96), Dakota (12.92), Daniel (14.01), Dashiell (15.26), David (13.77), Deniz (15.65), Dylan (13.58), Eamon (15.39), Elton (12.23), Emil (14.05), Eric (14.02), Finn (15.87), Forrest (13.75), Franklin (13.55), Gabriel (14.39), Gary (12.56), Giancarlo (15.05), Giuseppe (13.24), Graydon (15.51), Gustavo (11.68), Hashem (12.76), Hugh (14.60), Hugo (13.00), Idean (14.35), Indiana (13.80), Isaiah (13.12), Jackson (15.22), Jacob (13.76), Jagger (13.27), Jamieson (15.13), Jedidiah (14.06), Jeffrey (13.88), Jeremy (13.46), Jesus (8.71), Jihad (11.60), Johan (15.11), John-Paul (14.22), Jonathan (13.86), Jordan (13.73), Jorge (10.49), Joshua (13.49), Josiah (13.98), Jules (15.48), Justice (12.45), Kai (14.85), Keanu (13.17), Keller (15.07), Kevin (14.03), Kieron (14.00), Kobe (13.12), Kramer (14.80), Kurt (14.33), Lachlan (15.60), Lars (15.09), Leo (14.76), Lev (14.35), Lincoln (14.87), Lonny (11.93), Luca (13.56), Malcolm (14.80), Marvin (11.86), Max (14.93), Maximilian (15.17), Michael (13.66), Michelangelo (15.58), Miro (15.00), Mohammad (12.45), Moises (9.69), Moses (13.11), Moshe (14.41), Muhammad (13.21), Mustafa (13.85), Nathaniel (14.13), Nicholas (14.02), Noah (14.45), Norman (12.90), Oliver (15.14), Orlando (12.72), Otto (13.73), Parker (14.69), Parsa (15.22), Patrick (14.25), Paul (14.13), Peter (15.00), Philip (14.82), Philippe (15.61), Phoenix (13.08), Presley (12.68), Quentin (13.84), Ralph (13.45), Raphael (14.63), Reagan (14.92), Rex (13.77), Rexford (14.89), Rocco (13.68), Rocky (11.47), Roland (13.95), Romain (15.69), Royce (13.73), Russell (13.68), Ryan (14.04), Sage (13.63), Saleh (10.15), Satchel (15.52), Schuyler (14.73), Sean (14.12), Sequoia (13.15), Sergei (14.28), Sergio (11.92), Shawn (12.72), Shelby (12.88), Simon (14.74), Slater (14.62), Solomon (14.20), Spencer (14.53), Stephen (14.01), Stetson (12.90), Steven (13.31), Tanner (13.82), Tariq (13.16), Tennyson (15.63), Terence (14.36), Terry (12.16), Thaddeus (14.56), Theodore (14.61), Thomas (14.08), Timothy (13.58), Toby (13.24), Trace (14.09), Trevor (13.89), Tristan (13.95), Troy (13.52), Ulysses (14.25), Uriel (15.00), Valentino (12.25), Virgil (11.87), Vladimir (13.37), Walker (14.75), Whitney (15.58), Willem (15.38), William (14.17), Willie (12.12), Winston (15.07), Xavier (13.37), Yasser (14.25), Zachary (14.02), Zachory (11.92), Zane (13.93), and Zebulon (15.00).

- 199 MOST POPULAR WHITE GIRL NAMES, 1960 AND 2000: The California names data actually begin in 1961, but the year-to-year difference is negligible.
- 202 SHIRLEY TEMPLE AS SYMPTOM, NOT CAUSE: See Stanley Lieberman, *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashions, and Culture Change* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000). A Harvard sociologist, Lieberman is the acknowledged master of (among other subjects) the academic study of names. For instance, *A Matter of Taste* details how, from 1960, it was American Jewish families who first popularized many girls' names (Amy, Danielle, Erica, Jennifer, Jessica, Melissa, Rachel, Rebecca, Sarah, Stacy, Stephanie, Tracy) while only a handful (Ashley, Kelly, and Kimberly) began in non-Jewish families. Another good discussion of naming habits can be found in Peggy Orenstein, "Where Have All the Lisas Gone?" *New York Times Magazine*, July 6, 2003; and, if only for entertainment, see *The Sweetest Sound* (2001), Alan Berliner's documentary film about names.
- 202 BOYS' NAMES BECOMING GIRLS' NAMES (BUT NOT VICE VERSA): This observation is drawn from the work of Cleveland Kent Evans, a psychologist and onomastician at Bellevue University in Bellevue, Nebraska. A sample of Evans's work is available as of this writing at academic.bellevue.edu/~CKEvans/cevans.html; see also Cleveland Kent Evans, *Unusual & Most Popular Baby Names* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: Publications International/Signet, 1994); and Cleveland Kent Evans, *The Ultimate Baby Name Book* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: Publications International/Plume, 1997).

EPILOGUE. TWO PATHS TO HARVARD

- 206–7 THE WHITE BOY WHO GREW UP OUTSIDE CHICAGO: This passage, as well as the earlier passage about the same boy on pp. 155–56, was drawn from author interviews and from Ted Kaczynski, *Truth Versus Lies*, unpublished manuscript, 1998; see also Stephen J. Dubner, "I Don't Want to Live Long. I Would Rather Get the Death Penalty than Spend the Rest of My Life in Prison," *Time*, October 18, 1999.
- 206–7 THE BLACK BOY FROM DAYTONA BEACH: This passage, as well as the earlier passage about the same boy on p. 156, were drawn from author interviews with Roland G. Fryer Jr.

and Colin Camerer. And to Linda Jines, who came up with the title: nicely done.

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—S. D. L.

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—S. J. D.

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About the Author

Steven D. Levitt teaches economics at the University of Chicago; he recently received the John Bates Clark Medal, awarded every two years to the best American economist under forty.

Stephen J. Dubner lives in New York City; he writes for the *New York Times* and *The New Yorker* and is the national bestselling author of *Turbulent Souls* and *Confessions of a Hero-Worshiper*.

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