

# THE HON DR ANDREW LEIGH

## ACADEMIC CV

**Current:** Federal Member for Fenner, Australian House of Representatives (Member for Fraser 2010-16, Member for Fenner since 2016)

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**Last academic position:** Professor, Research School of Economics, Australian National University (resigned July 2010)

**Previous ANU positions:** Fellow (Jul 2004 – Jan 2008), Associate Professor (Feb 2008 – Mar 2009), Director, Economics Program, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU (2009), Deputy Director, Research School of Economics, ANU (2010).

**Other Affiliations:** IZA Fellow, CESifo Fellow, Centre for Applied Macroeconomic Analysis Research Associate

**Fields:** Labour Economics, Public Economics, Political Economy

### Academic Qualifications

- PhD in Public Policy, Harvard University (thesis title: ‘Essays in Poverty and Inequality’), 2004  
Thesis committee: Professors Christopher Jencks, Caroline Hoxby, and David Ellwood  
Doctoral Fellow, Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy (2002-2004); Frank Knox Fellowship (2000-2004)
- Master in Public Administration, Harvard University (2002)
- Bachelor of Laws with First Class Honours, University of Sydney (1996)
- Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours, University of Sydney (1994)

### **Selected Honors and Awards:**

- First place in AusActive ‘Fit for Office’ challenge to identify Australia’s fittest MP (2023)
- John Button Integrity Award from the Accountability Round Table (2022)
- Bragg Prize for Best Australian Science Writing (2018)
- Young Economist Award, Economics Society of Australia (2011)
- Fellow, Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (2011)

### **Books**

1. *The Shortest History of Innovation* (2026), Black Inc
2. *Battlers and Billionaires: The Updated Story of Inequality in Australia* (2024), Black Inc
3. *The Shortest History of Economics* (2024), Black Inc (published by HarperCollins in the US as *How Economics Explains the World*).
4. *Fair Game: Lessons from Sport for a Fairer Society and a Stronger Economy* (2022), Monash University Publishing
5. *What’s the Worst That Could Happen? Existential Risk and Extreme Politics* (2021), MIT Press

6. *Reconnected: A Community Builder's Handbook* (2020) (with Nick Terrell), Black Inc/La Trobe University Press.
7. *Innovation + Equality: Shaping a Future that is more Star Trek than Terminator* (2019) (with Joshua Gans), MIT Press
8. *Randomistas: How Radical Researchers Changed Our World* (2018) Black Inc (published by Yale Press in the US and UK as *Randomistas: How Radical Researchers Are Changing Our World*)
9. *Choosing Openness: Why Global Engagement is Best for Australia* (2017) Penguin/Lowy Institute
10. *The Luck of Politics: True Tales of Disaster and Outrageous Fortune* (2015) Black Inc
11. *The Economics of Just About Everything* (2014) New South Books
12. *Battlers and Billionaires: The Story of Inequality in Australia* (2013) Black Inc
13. *Disconnected* (2010), New South Books
14. *Imagining Australia: Ideas for Our Future* (with Macgregor Duncan, David Madden and Peter Tynan) (2004) Allen and Unwin.
15. *The Prince's New Clothes: Why Do Australians Dislike Their Politicians?* (co-edited with David Burchell) (2002) University of New South Wales Press

### **Journal Articles and Book Chapters**

#### **Inequality**

1. 'Inequality and Market Concentration: New Evidence from Australia' (with Lachlan Hotchin) (2024) *Review of Income and Wealth*, 70(4): 1216-1225.
2. 'Health Inequalities in the COVID Pandemic: Evidence from Australia' (2022) *Australian Population Studies*, 6(2): 33-44.
3. 'Engaged Egalitarianism: Why the Australian Recovery Must Prioritise Openness' (2022) *Economic Papers*, 41(2): 99-109.
4. 'Common Ownership of Competing Firms: Evidence from Australia' (2021) (with Adam Triggs), *Economic Record*, 97(318): 333-349 (IZA Discussion Paper 14287, CESifo Working Paper No. 9018)
5. 'This Time it's Ideological!' (2021) *Æconomia* 11(1): 135-142.
6. 'Frontiers of mobility: Was Australia 1870-2017 a more socially mobile society than England?' 2020 (with Gregory Clark & Mike Pottenger), *Explorations in Economic History*, vol 76, article 101327 (IZA Discussion Paper 11021, CESifo Working Paper 6650, ANU CEH Discussion Paper 07-2017).
7. 'The Second Convict Age: Explaining the Return of Mass Imprisonment in Australia' 2020, *Economic Record*, 96(313): 187-208 (IZA Discussion Paper 13025, CESifo Working Paper 8163, ANU CEH Discussion Paper 01-2020).
8. 'Estimating Long-Run Incarceration Rates for Australia, Canada, England & Wales, New Zealand and the United States' 2020, *Australian Economic History Review*, 60(2): 148-185 (IZA Discussion Paper 13024, CESifo Working Paper 8156, ANU CEH Discussion Paper 02-2020).
9. 'We Can't Let Coronavirus Worsen Inequality' 2020, *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 85: 57-61.

10. 'A Giant Problem: The Influence of the Chicago School on Australian Competition Law, Economic Dynamism and Inequality' 2019 (with Adam Triggs), *Federal Law Review*, 47(4), 696–714.
11. 'Inequality and Market Concentration, When Shareholding is More Skewed than Consumption' 2019 (with Joshua Gans, Martin Schmalz and Adam Triggs), *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 35(3): 550–563. (NBER Working Paper 25395, IZA Discussion Paper 12034, CESifo Working Paper 7402, ANU CAMA Working Paper 62/2018)
12. 'Sir Tony Atkinson–Egalitarian', 2018, *Economic and Labour Relations Review* 29 (1), 52-54
13. 'Long-Run Trends in Australian Executive Remuneration: BHP, 1887–2012,' 2016 (with Mike Pottenger), *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 56(1), pages 2-20 (IZA DP 7486, ANU CEH DP 017)
14. 'Markets, Monopolies and Moguls: The Relationship Between Inequality and Competition' 2016 (with Adam Triggs), *Australian Economic Review* 49 (4), 389-412
15. 'Top Wealth Shares in Australia 1915–2012' 2016 (with Pamela Katic), *Review of Income and Wealth* 62 (2), 209-222
16. 'The Distribution of Top Incomes in Five Anglo-Saxon Countries Over the Long Run' 2013 (with Tony Atkinson) *Economic Record* 89: 31-47.
17. 'Intergenerational Income Mobility in Urban China' (with Cathy Gong and Xin Meng) (2012) *Review of Income and Wealth* 58(3), pp.481-503 (working paper version: IZA DP 4811)
18. 'Effects of Temporary In-Work Benefits for Welfare Recipients: Examination of the Australian Working Credit Programme' (with Roger Wilkins) (2012), *Fiscal Studies*, 33(3), pp.335-369 (working paper version: Melbourne Institute Working Paper 7/09)
19. 'Do Rising Top Incomes Lift All Boats?' (with Dan Andrews and Christopher Jencks) (2011) *B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* (Contributions), 11(1): Article 6 (working paper version: IZA DP 4920)
20. 'Death, Dollars and Degrees: Socio-economic Status and Longevity in Australia' (with Philip Clarke) (2011) *Economic Papers*, 30(3): 348-355
21. 'Inequality in Indonesia: What Can We Learn from Top Incomes?' (with Pierre van der Eng) (2009) *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(1-2): 209–212
22. 'Top Incomes in Indonesia 1920-2004' (with Pierre van der Eng) in A.B. Atkinson and T. Piketty (eds) (2010) *Top Incomes: A Global Perspective*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 171-219 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 549)
23. 'Top Incomes' in W. Salverda, B. Nolan, and T. Smeeding (eds) (2009) *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 150-176
24. 'Health and Inequality' (with Christopher Jencks and Tim Smeeding) in W. Salverda, B. Nolan, and T. Smeeding (eds) (2009) *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 384-405
25. 'Top Incomes and National Savings' (with Alberto Posso) (2009) *Review of Income and Wealth*, 55(1): 57-74
26. 'Do Redistributive State Taxes Reduce Inequality?' (2008) *National Tax Journal*, 61(1): 81-104
27. 'Top Incomes in New Zealand 1921-2005: Understanding the Effects of Marginal Tax Rates, Migration Threat, and the Macroeconomy' (with A.B. Atkinson) (2008) *Review of Income and Wealth*, 54(2): 149-165
28. 'More Inequality, Less Social Mobility' (with Dan Andrews) (2009) *Applied Economics Letters*, 16(15): 1489-1492 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 566)

29. 'Intergenerational Mobility in Australia' (2007) *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 2 (Contributions), Article 6.
30. 'How Closely do Top Income Shares Track Other Measures of Inequality?' (2007) *Economic Journal*, 117(524): F619–F633 (formerly 'Using Panel Data on Top Income Shares to Analyze the Causes and Effects of Inequality')
31. 'Inequality and Mortality: Long-Run Evidence from a Panel of Countries' (with Christopher Jencks) (2007), *Journal of Health Economics*, 26(1): 1-24
32. 'The Distribution of Top Incomes in Australia' (with A.B. Atkinson) (2007) *Economic Record*, 83(262): 247-261 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 514)
33. 'The Distribution of Top Incomes in Australia' (with A.B. Atkinson) (2007) in A.B. Atkinson and T. Piketty (eds), *Top Incomes over the Twentieth Century: A Contrast Between Continental European and English-Speaking Countries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 309-332
34. 'The Distribution of Top Incomes in New Zealand' (with A.B. Atkinson) (2007) in A.B. Atkinson and T. Piketty (eds), *Top Incomes over the Twentieth Century: A Contrast Between Continental European and English-Speaking Countries*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 333-364 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 503)
35. 'Does Equality Lead to Fraternity?' (2006) *Economics Letters*, 93: 121–125 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 513)
36. 'Trust, Inequality, and Ethnic Heterogeneity' (2006) *Economic Record*, 82(258): 268-280 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 511)
37. 'Deriving Long-Run Inequality Series from Tax Data' (2005) *Economic Record*, 81(255): S58-S70 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 476)

### **Population Economics**

38. 'The Rise of Social Media and the Fall in Mental Wellbeing among Young Australians' (2025) (with Stephen Robson), *Australian Economic Review*, forthcoming
39. 'Leafy Localities, Longer Lives: A Cross-Sectional and Spatial Analysis' (2024) (with Gweneth Leigh), *Landscape and Urban Planning*, Volume 242, Article 104947.
40. 'How COVID Changed the World of Data' (2023) *Australian Population Studies*, 7(1): 17-19.
41. 'Response to critique of "Understanding the Impact of Lockdowns on Short-Term Excess Mortality in Australia"' (with Philip Clarke) (2023) *BMJ Global Health*, vol. 8, article e013595.
42. 'Understanding the Impact of Lockdowns on Short-Term Excess Mortality in Australia' (with Philip Clarke) (2022) *BMJ Global Health*, vol.7, article e009032.
43. 'Doctor's Dilemma: All Care Possible Versus Cost' (with Stephen Robson), *Medical Journal of Australia*, Insight, Issue 30, 5 August 2019
44. 'The Misaddressed Letter Experiment' (2018) (with Gweneth Leigh), *Applied Economics Letters*, 25(21), 1527-1530 (working paper version: IZA Discussion Paper 11315).
45. 'Does the lunar cycle affect birth and deaths?', 2015 (with Joshua Gans), *Journal of Articles in Support of the Null Hypothesis* 11(2), 31-36
46. 'Crime and mental well-being' 2014 (with Francesca Cornaglia and Naomi Feldman), *Journal of Human Resources* 49(1), 110-140
47. 'How Do Stamp Duties Affect the Housing Market?', 2013 (with Ian Davidoff), *Economic Record*, vol. 89(286), pages 396-410 (IZA DP 7463).
48. 'Bargaining Over Labor: Do Patients Have Any Power?' (with Joshua Gans) (2012) *Economic Record*, 88(281): 182-194 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 528)

49. 'Immigrants Assimilate as Communities – Not Just as Individuals' (with Tim Hatton), (2011) *Journal of Population Economics*, 24(2): 389-419 (working paper: IZA DP 2538, ANU CEPR DP 547)
50. 'Do Gun Buybacks Save Lives? Evidence from Panel Data' (with Christine Neill (2010) *American Law and Economics Review*, 12(2): 462-508
51. 'Born on the First of July: An (Un)natural Experiment in Birth Timing' (with Joshua Gans) (2009) *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(1-2): 246-263 (working paper: ANU CEPR DP 529)
52. 'Does Child Gender Affect Marital Status? Evidence from Australia' (2009) *Journal of Population Economics*, 22(2), 351-366 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 526)
53. 'The Millennium Bub' (with Joshua Gans) (2009) *Applied Economics Letters*, 16(14): 1467-1470 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 531)
54. 'Materialism on the March: From Conspicuous Leisure to Conspicuous Consumption?' (with Paul Frijters), (2008) *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 37(5): 1937-1945 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 495 )
55. 'Do Gun Buybacks Save Lives? Evidence from Time Series Variation' (with Christine Neill) (2008) *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 20(2): 145-162
56. 'Minding the Shop: The Case of Obstetrics Conferences' (with Joshua Gans and Elena Varganova) (2007), *Social Science and Medicine*, 65: 1458–1465 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 551)
57. 'Did the Death of Australian Inheritance Taxes Affect Deaths?' (with Joshua Gans) (2006) *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, Volume 6, Issue 1 (Topics), Article 23 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 530)
58. 'Toying With Death and Taxes: Lessons from Down Under' (with Joshua Gans) (2006) *The Economists' Voice*, 3(6): Article 9

### **Labour Economics**

59. 'How Uncompetitive Markets Hurt Workers' (2023) *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 26(1): 1-22.
60. "'Beauty Too Rich for Use": Billionaires' Assets and Attractiveness' 2022 (with Daniel Hamermesh), *Labour Economics*, 73, article 102153 (working paper version: IZA DP 14762)
61. 'Unpacking the Beauty Premium: What Channels Does It Operate Through, and Has It Changed Over Time?' 2014 (with Jeff Borland), *Economic Record* 90 (288), 17-32
62. 'Does Racial and Ethnic Discrimination Vary Across Minority Groups? Evidence From a Field Experiment' (with Alison Booth and Elena Varganova) (2012) *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 74(4): 547–573 (working paper version: IZA DP 4947)
63. 'Do Employers Discriminate by Gender? A Field Experiment in Female-Dominated Occupations' (with Alison Booth) (2010) *Economics Letters*, 107: 236-238
64. 'Who Benefits from the Earned Income Tax Credit? Incidence Among Recipients, Coworkers and Firms' (2010) *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, 10(1) (Advances), Article 45 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 494)
65. 'Informal Care and Labor Market Participation' (2010) *Labour Economics*, 17(1): 140-149
66. 'Does Size Matter in Australia?' (with Michael Kortt) (2010) *Economic Record*, 86(272): 71-83
67. 'Earned Income Tax Credits and Labor Supply: New Evidence from a British Natural Experiment' (2007) *National Tax Journal*, 60(2): 205-224 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 488)

68. 'Does Raising the Minimum Wage Help the Poor?' (2007) *Economic Record*, 83(263): 432-445 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 501)
69. 'Minimum Wages and Employment: Reply' (2004) *Australian Economic Review* 37(2): 173-179
70. 'Employment Effects of Minimum Wages: Evidence from a Quasi-Experiment' (2003) *Australian Economic Review* 36(4): 361-373
71. 'Randomised Policy Trials' (2003) *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform* 10(4): 341-354

### **Economics of Education**

72. 'Returns to Education in Australia 2001-2022' (2025) *Economic Papers*, 44(1): 62-76.
73. 'Australian Mobility Report Cards: Which Universities Admit the Most Disadvantaged Students?' (2021) *Australian Economic Review*, 54(3): 331-342.
74. 'Do School Principals Respond to Increased Public Scrutiny? New Survey Evidence from Australia', 2018 (with Michael Coelli & Gigi Foster) *Economic Record*, vol. 94(S1), pages 73-101 (IZA DP 11350)
75. 'The Economics and Politics of Teacher Merit Pay' (2013), *CESifo Economic Studies* 59(1): 1-33.
76. 'Revenge of the Nerds: The Economics of Education Reform' (2013), *Australian Economic Review*, 46(2): 227-233
77. 'Teacher Pay and Teacher Aptitude' (2012) *Economics of Education Review*, 31(3): 41-53
78. 'Which Children Benefit From Non-Parental Care?' (with Chikako Yamauchi) (2011), *Economics of Education Review*, 30: 1468-1490.
79. 'Long-Run Trends in School Productivity: Evidence From Australia?' (with Chris Ryan) (2011) *Education Finance and Policy*, 6(1): 105-135
80. 'Estimating Teacher Effectiveness From Two-Year Changes in Students' Test Scores' (2010) *Economics of Education Review*, 29: 480-488
81. 'Estimating Cognitive Gaps Between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians' (with Xiaodong Gong) (2009) *Education Economics*, 17(2): 239-261
82. 'Does Maternal Age Affect Children's Test Scores?' (with Xiaodong Gong) (2010) *Australian Economic Review*, 43(1): 12-27.
83. 'Do Very High Tax Rates Induce Bunching? Implications for the Design of Income-Contingent Loan Schemes' (with Bruce Chapman) (2009) *Economic Record*, 85(270): 276-289 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 521)
84. 'Estimating Returns to Education Using Different Natural Experiment Techniques' (with Chris Ryan) (2008) *Economics of Education Review*, 27(2): 149-160 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 493)
85. 'How and Why has Teacher Quality Changed in Australia?' (with Chris Ryan) (2008) *Australian Economic Review*, 41(2): 141-159 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 534)
86. 'Returns to Education in Australia' (2008) *Economic Papers*, 27(3): 233-249 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 561)
87. 'How Much Do Public Schools Really Cost? Estimating the Relationship Between House Prices and School Quality' (with Ian Davidoff) (2008) *Economic Record*, 84(265): 193-206 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 558)
88. 'Pulled Away or Pushed Out? Explaining the Decline of Teacher Quality in the United States' (with Caroline Hoxby) (2004) *American Economic Review* 94(2): 236-240

## **Macroeconomics & Political Economy**

89. 'A randomized field trial on motives for consulting with elected officials' (with William Minozzi and Michael Neblo) (2026) *Political Science Research and Methods*, forthcoming.
90. 'The Progressive Productivity Agenda' (2025), *Australian Economic Review*, 58(4): 317-324.
91. 'The Case for Randomised Trials (and Why Big Data Does Not Supersede Randomisation)' (2025), *Australian Economic Review*, 58(3): 251-258.
92. 'Bumps and Breakthroughs: The Journey of Australia's Merger Reforms' (with Annalisa Heger and Jessica Kwong) (2025), *Competition and Consumer Law Journal*, 31(2): 185-202.
93. 'Using Numerical Anomalies to Test for Fraud in Colonial New South Wales Elections' (2024) *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 70(4): 834-837.
94. 'Using Artificial Intelligence for Economic Research: An Agricultural Odyssey' (2024) *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 68(3): 521-529.
95. 'Ten Lessons for Economic Policymakers' (2024), *Economic Papers*, 43(2): 105-111.
96. 'The Democratic Virtues of Randomized Trials' (with Ana Tanasoca) (2024) *Moral Philosophy and Politics*, 11(1): 113-140.
97. 'Advancing Deliberative Reform in a Parliamentary System: Prospects for Recursive Representation' (with Nardine Alnemr, Selen Ercan, Nick Vlahos, John Dryzek and Michael Neblo) (2023) *European Political Science Review*, forthcoming.
98. 'Evaluating Policy Impact: Working Out What Works' (2023) *Australian Economic Review*, 56(4): 431-441.
99. 'Competition and Artificial Intelligence: An Australian Policy Perspective' (2023) *CPI TechREG Chronicle*, December.
100. 'The Best Medicine: Lessons From Health for Policy Randomistas' (2024) *Evaluation Journal of Australasia*, 24(1): 6-13.
101. 'Data and Evaluation: A Match Made in Policy Heaven' (2024) *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 59(1): 20-28.
102. 'Market Power and Markups: Malign Markers for the Australian Macroeconomy' (2023), *Australian Economic Papers*, 62(3): 567-574.
103. 'A Zippier Economy: Lessons from the 1992 Hilmer Competition Reforms' (2023), *Economic Papers*, 42(3): 229-235.
104. 'Economic Dynamism: A Global Perspective' (2022) *Competition and Consumer Law Journal*, 29: 193-200.
105. 'A More Dynamic Economy' (2022), *Australian Economic Review*, 55(4): 431-440 (working paper version: IZA Policy Paper 193).
106. 'Assessing Australian Monetary Policy in the Twenty-First Century' (with Isaac Gross) (2022) *Economic Record*, 98(322): 271-295 (working paper version: IZA DP 15561).
107. 'Political Gold: The Australian Sports Grants Scandal' (with Ian McAllister) (2023) *Political Studies*, 71(4), 1110-1128.
108. 'Putting the Australian Economy on the Scales', 2021, *Australian Economic Review*, 54(1): 19-35.
109. 'Reply: Do firms that pay less company tax create more jobs?', 2018, *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 59, pp. 113-115
110. 'Do firms that pay less company tax create more jobs?' 2018, *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 59, pp.25-28.

111. 'How behavioural economics does and can shape public policy', 2015, *Economic and Labour Relations Review* 26 (2), 339-346
112. 'The Predictive Power of Political Pundits: Prescient or Pitiful?', 2013 (with Phillip Metaxas) *Media International Australia*, 147(1), 5-17 (CESifo Working Paper 4261)
113. 'How Much Did the 2009 Australian Fiscal Stimulus Boost Demand? Evidence from Household-Reported Spending Effects' (2012) *B.E. Journal of Macroeconomics*, 12(1) (Contributions), Article 4.
114. 'How Partisan is the Press? Multiple Measures of Media Slant' (with Joshua Gans) (2012) *Economic Record*, 88(280): 127-147
115. 'Can national infrastructure spending reduce local unemployment? Evidence from an Australian roads program' (with Christine Neill) (2011) *Economics Letters*, 113(2): 150-153
116. 'Do Output Contractions Trigger Democratic Change?' (with Paul Burke) (2010) *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 2(4): 124-157
117. 'Bias at the Ballot Box? Testing Whether Candidates' Gender Affects Their Vote' (with Amy King) (2010) *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(2): 324-343 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 625)
118. 'Does the World Economy Swing National Elections?' (2009) *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 71(2): 163-181 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 485)
119. 'Beautiful Politicians' (with Amy King) (2009) *Kyklos* 62(4): 579-593 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 616)
120. 'Is Voting Skin-Deep? Estimating the Effect of Candidate Ballot Photographs on Election Outcomes' (with Tirta Susilo) (2009) *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 30(1): 61-70
121. 'Are State Elections Affected by the National Economy? Evidence from Australia' (with Mark McLeish) (2009), *Economic Record*, 85(269): 210-222
122. 'Are Ballot Order Effects Heterogeneous?' (with Amy King) (2009) *Social Science Quarterly*, 90(1): 71-87
123. 'Bringing Home the Bacon: An Empirical Analysis of the Extent and Effects of Pork-Barrelling in Australian Politics' (2008) *Public Choice*, 137(1-2): 279-299
124. 'Estimating the Impact of Gubernatorial Partisanship on Policy Settings and Economic Outcomes: A Regression Discontinuity Approach' (2008) *European Journal of Political Economy*, 24(1): 256-268
125. 'Taxpaying Made Easy' (2007) *Agenda: A Journal of Policy Analysis and Reform*, 14(1): 81-86
126. 'Competing Approaches to Forecasting Elections: Economic Models, Opinion Polling and Prediction Markets' (with Justin Wolfers) (2006) *Economic Record*, 82(258): 325-340 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 502)
127. 'How Do Unionists Vote? Estimating the Causal Impact of Union Membership on Voting Behaviour from 1966 to 2004' (2006) *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 41(4): 537-552 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 516)
128. 'Happiness and the Human Development Index: Australia is Not a Paradox' (with Justin Wolfers) (2006), *Australian Economic Review*, 39(2): 176-184 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 505; NBER WP 11925)
129. 'Political Economy of Tax Reform in Australia' (2006) *Public Policy*, 1(1): 52-60
130. 'Economic Voting and Electoral Behavior: How do Individual, Local and National Factors Affect the Partisan Choice?' (2005) *Economics and Politics* 17(2): 265-296 (working paper version: ANU CEPR DP 489)

131. 'Three Tools for Forecasting Federal Elections: Lessons from 2001' (with Justin Wolfers) (2002) *Australian Journal of Political Science* 37(2): 223-40 (also Stanford GSB Research Paper 1723)

### **Popular Economics Writing**

- 'Market Power and Inequality' (with Joshua Gans, Martin Schmalz, and Adam Triggs), *Harvard Law School Forum on Corporate Governance and Financial Regulation*, 23 January 2019
- 'From bloodletting to placebo surgery' in John Pickrell (ed) (2018) *The Best Australian Science Writing 2018*, New South Books, Sydney.
- 'Halting the Havens', 2018, *Tax Policy Journal*, 3-6
- 'A Few Big Firms' (with Adam Triggs), *The Monthly* online, 17 May 2017
- 'Why Progressives Should be Pro-Growth' in Dennis Altman and Sean Scalmer (eds) (2016) *How to Vote Progressive in Australia: Labor or Green?* Monash University Publishing, Melbourne.
- 'Welfare myths and the luck of life', *Inside Story*, 28 May 2015.
- 'Does size matter? An economic perspective on the population debate', 2014, *Policy: A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas* 30(1), 3
- 'Evidence-Based Policy: Summon the Randomistas?' (2010) in *Strengthening Evidence-based Policy in the Australian Federation, Roundtable Proceedings*, Vol 1, Productivity Commission, Canberra, 215-226
- Response to Noel Pearson, 'Radical Hope' (2009), *Quarterly Essay* 36: 127-130
- 'True Blue View from the Red Centre' (with Joshua Gans) (2009), *The Walkley Magazine*, 58: 50
- 'Socio-Economic Correlates of Body Size Among Australian Adults' (with Michael Kortt) (2009) in Roger Wilkins, Diana Warren and Markus Hahn (eds), *Families, Incomes and Jobs, Volume 4: A Statistical Report on Waves 1 to 6 of the HILDA Survey*, Melbourne, Melbourne Institute, 180-187
- 'What Evidence Should Social Policymakers Use?' (2009) *Economic Roundup*, 2009(1): 27-43
- 'How Much of the Variation in Literacy and Numeracy Can be Explained by School Performance?' (with Hector Thompson) (2008) *Economic Roundup*, 2008(3): 63-78
- 'How Can We Improve Teacher Quality?' (2007) *Melbourne Review*, 3(2): 31-37
- 'Minimum Wages and Inequality' (2007) *Insights: Melbourne Economics and Commerce*, 1: 25-27
- 'Prediction Markets for Business and Public Policy' (with Justin Wolfers) (2007) *Melbourne Review*, 3(1): 7-15
- 'Unusual Days in Births and Deaths' (with Joshua Gans) (2007) *Melbourne Review*, 3(1): 72-79
- 'Diversity, Trust and Redistribution' (2006) *Dialogue*, 25(3): 43-49
- 'Teacher Quality' (with Chris Ryan) (2006) *Teacher Magazine*, 176: 14-19
- 'Growth Matters' (2006) *Aurora Magazine*, Issue 3, 9-11
- 'Three Ideas on Tax Reform' (2006) *Progressive Essays*
- 'Making the Grade' (2006) *Griffith Review* 11: 122-127
- 'The Progressive Case for Reforming Australia's Schools' (2005) *Progressive Essays*

- *Lifting Teacher Performance* (with Sara Mead) (2005) Policy Report, Progressive Policy Institute, Washington DC
- ‘Wage Distortion’ (with Caroline Hoxby) (2005) *Education Next*, Spring, 50-56 (to be reprinted in Paul E. Peterson, ed, 2005, *Using Competition to Improve America's Schools: Promises and Pitfalls*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD)
- ‘Race, Redistribution and Welfare’ (2004) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 76(6):35-38
- ‘For richer, or... for richer: The changing fortunes of top income earners in Australia over the twentieth century’, *ANU Reporter*, Spring 2004, 28
- ‘Economics, Experiments and Psychology’ (with Justin Wolfers) (2003) *Quadrant* 47(1): 46-47
- ‘The Best and Worst of the United States’ (with Justin Wolfers) (2003) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 75(5): 25-31
- ‘Fair Play from Foul’ (2002) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 74(3): 33-36
- ‘Globalisation and Deglobalisation’ (2001) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 73(1): 6-8
- ‘Moving to Opportunity’ (with Justin Wolfers) (2001) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 73(5): 31-32
- ‘Tackling Social Exclusion’ in Glenn Patmore and Dennis Glover (eds) (2001) *Labor Essays: New Voices for Social Democracy*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 128-145

## **Non-Economics**

### **Political Science**

- ‘A More Competitive Labor Party’, *Australian Fabians Review*, Issue 5, 2023.
- ‘A Victory Won by a Lost Battle’: What Eureka Means to Australians Today’ (with TW Gibbings) in David Headon and John Uhr (eds) (2015) *Eureka: Australia's Greatest Story*, Federation Press, Melbourne.
- ‘Love, Luck and Unreasonableness’ in Philip Crisp (ed) (2015) *So You Want to Be a Leader*, Hybrid, Melbourne
- ‘Power Readers’ (with Macgregor Duncan) (2010) *Australian Literary Review*, 5(2): 14-16 (3 March 2010)
- ‘Explaining Distrust: Popular Attitudes Towards Politicians in Australia and the United States’ in David Burchell and Andrew Leigh (eds) (2002) *The Prince's New Clothes: Why Do Australians Dislike Their Politicians?* University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 47-61
- ‘Trade Liberalisation and the Australian Labor Party’ (2002) *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 48(4): 487-508
- ‘Leadership and Aboriginal Reconciliation’ (2002) *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 37(2): 131-52
- ‘Factions and Fractions: A Case Study of Power Politics in the Australian Labor Party’ (2000) *Australian Journal of Political Science* 35(3): 427-448

### **Law**

- ‘Mandatory High Court Retirement System works in Australia’ (2006) *National Law Journal*, 6 February
- Entries on ‘Associates’ and ‘Judicial Tenure’ in Tony Blackshield, Michael Coper and George Williams (eds) (2001) *The Oxford Companion to the High Court of Australia*, Oxford University Press, Sydney, 34-35, 664-65

- ‘Behind the Bench: Associates in the High Court of Australia’ (2000) *Alternative Law Journal* 25(6): 295-298
- ‘Abortion and Crime’ (with Justin Wolfers) (2000) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 72(4): 28-30
- ‘The Successful Attorney-General – An Oxymoron?’ (1999) *Australian Law Journal* 73(2): 91
- ‘“Caveat Investor”: The Ethical Investment of Superannuation in Australia’ (1997) *Australian Business Law Review* 25(5): 341-350
- ‘Youth and Street Racing’ (1996) *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 7(3): 388-393
- ‘Patent Literalism or Inventive Reasoning? A Casenote on Philips v Mirabella’ (1996) *Australian Intellectual Property Law Bulletin* 9: 121

### **Social Capital**

- Entry on ‘Trends in Social Capital’ in Karen Christensen and David Levinson (general eds) (2003) *Encyclopedia of Community: From the Village to the Virtual World*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1273-1277
- ‘Reviving Community: What Policymakers can do to Build Social Capital in Britain and America’ (with Robert D. Putnam) (2002) *Renewal* 10(2): 15-20

### **Technology Policy**

- *Breaking Down Bureaucratic Barriers: The Next Phase of Digital Government* (with Robert Atkinson), Progressive Policy Institute, Washington DC, November 2001
- *Clear Thinking on the Digital Divide* (with Robert Atkinson), Progressive Policy Institute, Washington DC, June 2001
- ‘Customer Oriented E-Government: Can We Ever Get There?’ (with Robert Atkinson) (2003) *Journal of Political Marketing* 2(3/4): 159-181 (reprinted in Gregory Curtin, Michael Sommer, and Veronika Vis-Sommer (eds), 2003, *The World of E-Government*, Haworth University Press, New York, NY; and in *Projects and Profits* 3(10):18-30, 2003)

### **Other Articles**

- ‘These Are My Favourite Running Routes In Each Australian Capital City’, *Men’s Health*, 6 October 2022
- ‘Changing the Channel in Asia’ (with Macgregor Duncan and David Madden), *The Diplomat*, Oct/Nov 2005, 4(4): 34-36
- ‘Leadership and Political Structures’ (with Glenn Withers), Task Force Report, World Economic Forum Futures Summit, Melbourne, May 2005, Crawford School of Economics and Government DP 05-8
- ‘Reinvigorating the Australian Project’ (2005) *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 64(1): 3-7
- ‘Imagining Australia: Ideas for Our Future’ (with Macgregor Duncan, David Madden and Peter Tynan), *Australian Chief Executive*, December 2004, 30-31
- ‘Imagining an International Australia’ (with Macgregor Duncan, David Madden and Peter Tynan), *Griffith Review*, Summer 2004-05, 68-73
- ‘The Rise and Fall of the Third Way’ (2003) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 75(2): 10-15

- ‘Thinking Ahead: Strategic Foresight and Government’ (2003) *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 62(2): 3-10
- ‘Australian Politics 1983-2003’ (2003) *Let’s Go Australia 2004*, St Martin’s Press, New York, 100
- ‘Learning to Trust Ourselves First’ (1999) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 71(5): 30-31

### Book Reviews

- Review of Diane Coyle, ‘The Measure of Progress: Counting What Really Matters’, *Inside Story*, 25 September 2025.
- Review of Ezra Klein and Derek Thompson, ‘Abundance’, *Sydney Morning Herald & The Age*, 30 April 2025.
- Review of Michael Lewis, ‘Going Infinite’, *Sydney Morning Herald & The Age*, 14 November 2023
- Review of Jennifer Pahlka, ‘Recoding America: Why Government Is Failing in the Digital Age and How We Can Do Better’, *Inside Story*, 30 August 2023
- Review of Andrew Podger, Jane Hall and Mike Woods (eds), ‘More Than Fiscal: The Intergenerational Report, Sustainability and Public Policy in Australia’, 2023, *Economic Record*
- Review of Miranda Stewart, ‘Tax and Government in the 21st Century’, 2023, *Economic Record*, 99(324): 128-131.
- Review of Troy Bramston, ‘Bob Hawke: Demons and Destiny’, *Sydney Morning Herald & The Age*, 29 March 2022
- Review of Thomas Piketty, ‘Capital and Ideology’, 2020, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March 2020.
- Review of Tony Atkinson, ‘Measuring Poverty Around the World’, 2020, *Economic Record*, 96(312): 114-116.
- Review of Jono Lineen, ‘Perfect Motion: How Walking Makes Us Wiser’, 2019, *Sydney Morning Herald and Age*, 19 July 2019
- Review of Judith Brett, ‘From Secret Ballot to Democracy Sausage: How Australia Got Compulsory Voting’, 2019, *Sydney Morning Herald, Age and Canberra Times*, 30 March 2019
- Review of Alex Hutchinson, ‘Endure’, 2018, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 2018
- Review of Ed Caesar, ‘Two Hours: The Quest to Run the Impossible Marathon’, and Catriona Menzies-Pike ‘The Long Run’, 2016, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 2016
- Review of Dennis Trewin and Andrew Podger (eds) ‘Measuring and Promoting Wellbeing: How Important is Economic Growth?’, *Canberra Times*, 17 May 2014
- Review of Gregory Clark, ‘The Son Also Rises’, *Inside Story*, 18 April 2014
- Review of Thomas Piketty, ‘Capital in the Twenty-First Century’, *The Monthly*, June 2014
- Review of Paul Frijters and Gigi Foster, ‘An Economic Theory of Greed, Love, Groups and Networks’, 2013, *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 39: 441-442
- Review of Gordon Peake, ‘Beloved Land: Stories, Struggles and Secrets from Timor-Leste’, 2014, *The Spectator*, 9 August 2014
- Review of Ross Garnaut, *Dog Days: Australia After the Boom*, *Australian Financial Review*, Boss Magazine, 6 December 2013
- Review of Stuart Cunningham, ‘Hidden Innovation: Policy, Industry and the Creative Sector’, *Australian Book Review*, July-Aug 2013, 48-49

- Review of Ian McLean, 'Why Australia Prospered: The Shifting Sources of Economic Growth', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 51(3): 908-911, 2013
- Review of James Gilligan, 'Why Some Politicians Are More Dangerous Than Others' and Frank Zimring, 'The City that Became Safe: New York's Lessons for Urban Crime and Its Control', *Inside Story*, May 2012
- Review of 'Economic modelling of improved funding and reform arrangements for universities - Report by KPMG for Universities Australia', *ideaCHECK*, April 2009
- Review of Nan Lin and Bonnie Erickson (eds), 'Social Capital: An International Research Program' (2009) *Economic Record*, 85(268): 109-110
- Review of Barack Obama, 'The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 2007, S32-33
- Review of John Braithwaite, 'Markets in Vice, Markets in Virtue' (2006) *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 41(4): 649-650
- Review of Thomas Barlow, 'The Australian Miracle: An Innovative Nation Revisited', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 2006
- Review of John Formby, John Bishop and Hoseong Kim, 'Minimum Wages and Poverty: An Evaluation of Policy Alternatives' (2006) *Economic Record* 82(256): 97-98
- Review of William Rubinstein, 'The All-Time Australian 200 Rich List' and Graeme Hunt, 'The Rich List: Wealth and Enterprise in New Zealand 1820-2003' (2005) *Economic Record* 81(253): 185-187
- 'Continental Drift' (review essay discussing Alberto Alesina and Edward Glaeser, 'Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference'), *Australian Financial Review*, 3 December 2004, Review 11
- Review of Julian Le Grand, 'Motivation, Agency and Public Policy: Of Knights and Knaves, Pawns and Queens' (2004), *Policy*, 20(2): 56-58
- Review of Douglas Irwin, 'Free Trade Under Fire' and Jagdish Bhagwati, 'Free Trade Today' (2003) *Economic Record* 79(244): 151-52
- Review of Ronald Heifetz and Marty Linsky, 'Leadership on the Line: Staying Alive through the Dangers of Leading' (2003) *Leadership Quarterly* 14(3): 347-349
- Review of Don Watson, 'Recollections of a Bleeding Heart: A Portrait of Paul Keating PM' (2002) *Australian Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 577-578
- Review of Francis Fukuyama, 'The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order' (2000) *Australian Journal of Political Science* 35(2): 366
- 'Working Class Man' (review of Michael Thompson's *Labor Without Class*) (1999) *AQ: Journal of Contemporary Analysis* 71(6): 34-35
- Review of Thomas Friedman, 'The Lexus and the Olive Tree' (1999) *Sydney Law Review* 21(4): 708
- Review of Anthony Giddens, 'The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy' (1999) *Australian Journal of Political Science* 34(2): 295
- Review of Peter Drysdale and David Vines (eds), 'Europe, East Asia and APEC' (1999) *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 53(2): 214

### **Teaching (2004-2010)**

- *Economics for Government*, Crawford School of Economics and Government, Australian National University, 2006 (Overall Rating: 6.0/7), 2007 (Overall Rating: 5.5/7) and 2008 (Overall Rating: 5.6/7).
- *Economics and Public Policy*, Melbourne Business School, University of Melbourne, 2006 (Overall Rating: 4.3/5)
- *Policy Economics*, Crawford School of Economics and Government, Australian National University, 2005 (Overall Rating: 5.9/7)
- Short course on *Using Research Evidence*, Four-part lecture series for the Australian Treasury (2008)
- Short course on *Basic Principles of Market and Policy Economics*, Intensive Workshop, Department of Family and Community Services, 2005

### **PhD Supervision (2004-2010)**

- Committee member for Cathy Gong (completed 2008, first position at NATSEM, University of Canberra), Shane Worner (completed 2008, first position at the Australian Securities and Investments Commission), Alberto Posso (completed 2009, first position at RMIT University), Michelle Tan (completed 2009, first position at the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet), Paul Burke (completed 2010, first position at ANU), Declan Trott.
- Main supervisor for Dinuk Jayasuriya (completed 2010, first position at the World Bank), Daniel Suryadarma, Duc Dang (2009-10 only), Garth Day (2009-10 only).

### **Professional Involvement (2004-2010)**

**Editorial Boards:** Economic Papers, European Journal of Political Economy, Fiscal Studies

**Thesis Examination:** External PhD examiner for La Trobe University, Monash University and the University of Queensland. Honours thesis examiner for Queensland University of Technology.

**ANU University Administration:** Deputy Director Research, Research School of Economics (2010); University Executive Retreat (2010); Selection Committee Member for College of Business & Economics Chairs (2009); Selection Committee Member for College of Arts & Social Sciences History Position (2009); Chair of the College of Arts & Social Sciences Research Committee (2008); Member of the Research School of Social Sciences School Executive (2006-09); Theme Leader for the College of Arts & Social Sciences 'Productive Australia in the World Economy' theme (2006-09); Member of the Economics PhD Coordination Committee (2006-08); Editor of the Centre for Economic Policy Research discussion paper series (2005-10).

**Conference Organisation:** ANU Conference on 'The Economics of Intergenerational Mobility' (30 November 2009, 50 attendees); ANU Conference on 'The Economics of Happiness' (11 November 2009, 80 attendees); ANU Conference on 'The Economics of Child Care' (12 March 2009, 70 attendees); Economics and Democracy Conference (8-10 Dec 2008, 90 attendees); 'New Techniques in Development Economics' Conference (19-20 Jun 2008, 100 attendees); Australasian Labour Econometrics Workshop (25-26 Apr 2008, 50 attendees); ANU Economics Showcase (28-29 Nov 2007, 70 attendees); ANU Conference on 'The Economics of Teacher Quality' (5 Feb 2007, 70 attendees); ANU Conference on 'Inequality in Australia' (2 Nov 2006, 50 attendees); ANU Symposium on 'Social Capital in Australia' (29 Aug 2005, 90 attendees).

**Public Engagement:** Fortnightly columnist for the *Australian Financial Review* (2007-10); fortnightly radio segment on 'Wry-Side Economics' for ABC Radio National's *Life Matters* program (2009-10).

**Visiting Appointments (2004-2010)**

- Ford School, University of Michigan (Oct-Nov 2008)
- Research Institute of Industrial Economics (IFN), Stockholm (May 2008)
- Wagner School, New York University (Jul 2007)
- Melbourne Business School (Jan-April 2006)

**Grants (2004-2010)**

- \$80,850 from the Australian Research Council for research on 'Estimating the Impact of Fiscal Stimulus on Household Expenditure' (2010-11) (Linkage grant with the Australian Treasury). Following my election to parliament, the ARC declined a request to transfer this grant to other researchers, so it was not taken up.
- \$295,000 from the Australian Research Council for research on 'Economic Inequality: Trends, Causes and Consequences' (2009-11). Following my election to parliament, the ARC declined a request to transfer this grant to other researchers, so it ceased in July 2010.
- \$250,000 from AusAID for research on financial literacy (2008-10) (with Dean Karlan and Chona Echavez)
- \$172,000 from the Australian Research Council for research on 'The Impact of Crime on Mental Wellbeing' (2007-08) (Linkage International grant with Francesca Cornaglia and Christian Dustmann, who were also awarded £100,000 from the UK Economic and Social Research Council)
- \$210,000 from the Australian Research Council for research on 'Understanding and Improving Teacher Quality' (2006-08)
- \$60,000 from AusAID for a conference on 'New Techniques in Development Economics' (2008)

**Non-Academic Employment (1995-2009)**

- Principal Adviser, Australian Treasury (Jul-Sep 2008, Dec 2008-Feb 2009)
- Summer Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute, Washington DC (2001)
- Senior Adviser to Senator Peter Cook, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate (1998-2000)
- Admitted as a legal practitioner in the state of New South Wales (1998)
- Lawyer, Clifford Chance, London (1998)
- Associate (Law Clerk) to Justice Michael Kirby, High Court of Australia (1997-98)
- Lawyer, Minter Ellison, Sydney (part time in 1995-96, full time in 1997)