# Jeffrey P. Clemens

# **Contact Information:**

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# **Academic Positions:**

2018-	Associate Professor: UC San Diego, Department of Economics
2012-2018	Assistant Professor: UC San Diego, Department of Economics
2016-2017	Visiting Assistant Professor: UT Austin (Harrington Fellowship)
2015-2016	Visiting Assistant Professor: Stanford (SIEPR)
2011-2012	Postdoctoral Fellow: Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research

### **Academic Affiliations:**

2023-	Adjunct Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
2021-2023	Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution
2021-	Research Associate: National Bureau of Economic Research (HC Program)
2018-	Research Associate: National Bureau of Economic Research (PE Program)
2013-2018	Faculty Research Fellow: National Bureau of Economic Research (PE Program)
2019-	CESifo Research Network Fellow
2016-2019	Affiliate: Economic Self-Sufficiency Policy Research Institute at UC Irvine

### **Editorial Positions:**

2020-	Journal of Public Economics. Co-Editor
2020-	Journal of Health Economics. Co-Editor
2019-	American Economic Journal: Economic Policy. Associate Editor
2019	Journal of Health Economics. Associate Editor

# **Education:**

2006-2011	Ph.D., Economics, Harvard University
2001-2005	BA, Harvard University (magna cum laude with highest honors in economics)

# **Research and Teaching Fields:**

*Primary:* Public Finance *Secondary:* Health Economics, Labor Economics

# **Published and Forthcoming Articles:**

Demand Shocks, Procurement Policies, and the Nature of Medical Innovation: Evidence from Wartime Prosthetic Device Patents (with Parker Rogers). *Review of Economics and Statistics*. Forthcoming

- How Did Federal Aid to States and Localities Affect Testing and Vaccine Delivery? (with Philip Hoxie, John Kearns, and Stan Veuger). *Journal of Public Economics*. Forthcoming.
- Spatial Spillovers and the Effects of Fiscal Stimulus: Evidence from Pandemic-Era Federal Aid for State and Local Governments (with John Kearns, Beatrice Lee, and Stan Veuger). *Spatial Economic Analysis*. Forthcoming.
- How Important are Minimum Wage Increases in Increasing the Wages of Minimum Wage Workers? (with Michael R. Strain) *Contemporary Economic Policy*. 2023.
- Do Higher Minimum Wages Decrease Union Membership in Minimum-Wage-Intensive Industries? (with Michael R. Strain) *Applied Economics Letters*. 2023.
- Understanding "Wage Theft": Evasion and Avoidance Responses to Minimum Wage Increases. (with Michael R. Strain) *Labour Economics*. December 2022.
- Does Measurement Error Explain the Increase in Subminimum Wage Payment Following Minimum Wage Increases? (with Michael R. Strain) *Economics Letters*. 2022.
- Politics and the Distribution of Federal Funds: Evidence from Federal Legislation in Response to COVID-19. *Journal of Public Economics*. 204(C). 2021. (with Stan Veuger)
- When Is Tinkering with Safety Net Programs Harmful to Beneficiaries? *Southern Economic Journal*. First Published Online September 19, 2021. (with Michael J. Wither)
- How Do Firms Respond to Minimum Wage Increases? Understanding the Relevance of Nonemployment Margins. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 35(1): 51-72. 2021.
- Medicaid and Fiscal Federalism During the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Public Budgeting & Finance*. 41(4): 94-109. 2021. (with Benedic Ippolito and Stan Veuger)
- Dropouts Need Not Apply? The Minimum Wage and Skill Upgrading. *Journal of Labor Economics*. 39(S1): 107-149. 2021. (with Lisa B. Kahn and Jonathan Meer)
- How Would Medicare for All Affect Health System Capacity? Evidence from Medicare for Some. *Tax Policy and the Economy* Volume 35. Forthcoming. (with Joshua Gottlieb and Jeffrey Hicks)
- Implications of the Covid-19 Pandemic for State Government Tax Revenues. *National Tax Journal*. 73(3): 619-644. 2020. (with Stan Veuger)
- Implications of Schedule Irregularity as a Minimum Wage Response Margin. *Applied Economics Letters*. 27(20): 1691-1694. 2020. (with Michael R. Strain)
- Cross-Country Evidence on Labor Market Institutions and Young Adult Employment through the Financial Crisis. *Southern Economic Journal*. 86(2): 573-612. 2019.

- Uncompensated Care and the Collapse of Hospital Payment Regulation: An Illustration of the Tinbergen Rule (with Benedic Ippolito) *Public Finance Review* 47(6): 1002-1041. 2019.
- The Minimum Wage and the Great Recession: Evidence of Effects on the Employment and Income Trajectories of Low-Skilled Workers. *Journal of Public Economics*. 170(February): 53-67. 2019. (with Michael J. Wither)
- Implications of Medicaid Financing Reform for State Government Budgets. *Tax Policy and the Economy*, Volume 32. 2018. (Joint with Benedic Ippolito).
- The Short-Run Employment Effects Of Recent Minimum Wage Changes: Evidence from the American Community Survey. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 36(4): 711-722. 2018. (Joint with Michael R. Strain).
- Do Health Insurers Innovate? Evidence from the Anatomy of Physician Payments. *Journal of Health Economics*, 55C: 153-167. 2017. (with Joshua Gottlieb and Timea Molnar). Also circulated as *NBER Working Paper 21642*.
- In the Shadow of a Giant: Medicare's Influence on Private Payment Systems. *Journal of Political Economy*. 125(1): 1-39. 2017. (Joint with Joshua Gottlieb). Also circulated as *NBER Working Paper 19503*.
- Medicare Payment Cuts Continue to Restrain Inflation. *FRBSF Economic Letter*, 2016-15, May 2016. (Joint with Joshua Gottlieb and Adam Shapiro)
- Risks to the Returns to Medical Innovation: The Case of Myriad Genetics. *Contemporary Economic Policy*. 35(2): 345–357 (Joint with Stan Veuger).
- Redistribution through Minimum Wage Regulation: An Analysis of Program Linkages and Budgetary Spillovers. *Tax Policy and the Economy*, Volume 30. 10°6. Ed. Jeffrey R. Brown
- Regulatory Redistribution in the Market for Health Insurance. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 7(2): 109-34. 2015. Also circulated as *NBER Working Paper 19904* and *SIEPR Discussion Paper 11-011*.
- Who Pays for Public Employee Health Costs? Journal of Health Economics, 38C: 65-76. 2014. (Joint with David Cutler).
  Also circulated as NBER Working Paper 19574.
- How Much Do Medicare Cuts Reduce Inflation? *FRBSF Economic Letter*, 2014-28, September 2014. (Joint with Joshua Gottlieb and Adam Shapiro)
- Do Physicians' Financial Incentives Affect Medical Treatment and Patient Health? *American Economic Review* 104(4): 1320-1349. 2014. (Joint with Joshua Gottlieb).

An Analysis of Economic Warfare. *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings*, 103(3): 523-527. 2013.

**Note:** A fuller treatment of the topic, including a detailed empirical analysis and additional conceptual extensions, can be found in "Evaluating Economic Warfare: Lessons from Efforts to Suppress the Afghan Opium Trade."

- The Rise of the States: U.S. Fiscal Decentralization in the Postwar Period. *Journal of Public Economics*, 96(11-12): 1079-1091. 2012. (Joint with Katherine Baicker and Monica Singhal)
- Fiscal Policy Multipliers on Subnational Government Spending. American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 4(2): 46-68. 2012. (Joint with Stephen Miran)
   Note: Previously circulated as "The Effects of State Budget Cuts on Employment and Income" and "The Role of Fiscal Institutions in Analysis of Fiscal Policy"
- Opium in Afghanistan: Prospects for the Success of Source Country Drug Control Policies. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 51(3): 407-432. 2008.
- Capping the Mortgage Interest Deduction. *National Tax Journal*, 60(4): 769-785. 2007. (Joint with John Anderson and Andrew Hanson)

#### **Working Papers:**

- The Heterogeneous Effects of Large and Small Minimum Wage Changes: Evidence over the Short and Medium Run Using a Pre-Analysis Plan (with Michael R. Strain). National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 29264. 2021.
- Was Pandemic Fiscal Relief Effective Fiscal Stimulus? (with Philip Hoxie and Stan Veuger). 2022.
- Public Policy and Participation in Political Interest Groups: An Analysis of Minimum Wages, Labor Unions, and Effective Advocacy (with Michael R. Strain). *NBER Working Paper* 27902.
- Medicare and the Rise of American Medical Patenting: The Economics of User-Driven Innovation (with Morten Olsen). *CESifo Working Paper 9008*.
- The Minimum Wage, Fringe Benefits, and Worker Welfare. (with Lisa B. Kahn and Jonathan Meer). *NBER Working Paper 24635*.
- The Effect of U.S. Health Insurance Expansions on Medical Innovation. *NBER Working Paper 19761; SIEPR Discussion Paper 11-016.* 2013.
- The Minimum Wage and the Great Recession: Evidence from the Current Population Survey. *NBER Working Paper 21830*.

- Estimating the Employment Effects of Recent Minimum Wage Changes: Early Evidence, an Interpretative Framework, and a Pre-Commitment to Future Analysis. (with Michael R. Strain). *NBER Working Paper 20384*.
- The Low-Skilled Labor Market from 2002 to 2014: Measurement and Mechanisms. *SIEPR Discussion Paper 16-016.* 2016.

### Supplemental Minimum Wage Analyses with Replication Archives Available on Request:

- Additional Evidence and Replication Code for Analyzing the Effects of Minimum Wage Increases Enacted During the Great Recession. (with Michael J. Wither).
- Pitfalls in the Development of Falsification Tests: An Illustration from the Recent Minimum Wage Literature.
- The Minimum Wage and the Great Recession: A Response to Zipperer and Recapitulation of the Evidence.

### **Supplements:**

- The COVID-19 pandemic and the revenues of state and local governments: An update (with Stan Veuger). *AEI Economic Perspectives*. September 2020. Available at: https://www.aei.org/research-products/report/the-covid-19-pandemic-and-the-revenues-of-state-and-local-governments-an-update/
- US fiscal federalism during the COVID-19 pandemic. (with Benedic Ippolito and Stan Veuger) *AEI Economic Policy Working Paper Series* 2020-16. 2020. Available at: https://www.aei.org/research-products/working-paper/us-fiscal-federalismduring-the-covid-19-pandemic/
- Just the Facts: Demographic and Cross-Country Dimensions of the Employment Slump (with Michael J. Wither). Available on SSRN: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2531192
- State Fiscal Adjustment During Times of Stress: Possible Causes of the Severity and Composition of Budget Cuts. Available on SSRN: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2170557
- Evaluating Economic Warfare: Lessons from Efforts to Suppress the Afghan Opium Trade. Available on SSRN: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2201172

#### **Instructional and Policy Writing:**

- Minimum Wage Hikes Bring Trade-offs beyond Pay and Jobs. Book Chapter for <u>The War on</u> <u>Prices</u>. Cato Institute. Forthcoming
- The COVID-19 Pandemic and Challenges Facing State and Local Governments. Article in the NBER Reporter. No. 2. June 2023. Available at: https://www.nber.org/reporter/2023number2/covid-19-pandemic-and-challenges-facing-state-and-local-governments
- Lessons from COVID-19 Aid to State and Local Governments for the Design of Federal Automatic Stabilizers. (with Stan Veuger) Chapter in Economic Policy in a More Uncertain World, Aspen Institute. January 2023. Available at: https://www.economicstrategygroup.org/publication/lessons-from-covid-19aid/
- We Gave States Too Much COVID Relief: How to Avoid Over-Stimulating the Economy in the Next Crisis. (with Stan Veuger) The Bulwark. January 25, 2023. Available at: https://www.thebulwark.com/we-gave-states-too-much-covid-relief/
- Covid-19 Federal Assistance to State and Local Governments and Its Consequences. (with Philip Hoxie and Stan Veuger). VoxEU. July 2022.
- Remarks on the Fiscal Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Prepared for the ASHEcon Plenary Session titled "The Economics of the COVID-19 Response: What Worked, What Went Wrong and What's Next?" June 28, 2022. Available at: https://econweb.ucsd.edu/~j1clemens/pdfs/ClemensASHEconRemarksFinal.pdf
- The economy is still in pandemic shock. But some state governments are flush with cash. Washington Post. Monkey Cage. December 15, 2021. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/12/15/state-government-cashpandemic-bailout/
- An Unforced Error: How US Attempts to Suppress the Opium Trade Strengthened the Taliban. Modern War Insitute. August 31, 2021. Available at: https://mwi.westpoint.edu/an-unforced-error-how-us-attempts-to-suppressthe-opium-trade-strengthened-the-taliban/
- Opium Suppression in Afghanistan Was a US-led Failure. (with Jeff Miron and Pedro Braga Soares). Reason. August 24, 2021. Available at: https://www.cato.org/commentary/suppression-afghanistan-was-us-ledfailure
- Fiscal federalism and the COVID-19 shock in the US. (with Stan Veuger). AEIdeas Blog. February 2, 2021. Available at: https://www.aei.org/economics/state-and-local-government-budgets-are-inbetter-shape-than-expected/

Cash talks: The need for incentives in vaccine delivery. (with Joshua Gottlieb). The Hill. February 1, 2021. Available at: https://thehill.com/opinion/healthcare/536703-cash-talks-the-need-forincentives-in-vaccine-delivery?rnd=1612144901&rl=1

How the Civil War drove medical innovation – and the pandemic could, too. The Conversation. September 2020. Available at: https://theconversation.com/how-the-civil-war-drove-medicalinnovation-and-the-pandemic-could-too-144181

- Expanding Health System Capacity in a Time of Crisis-Driven Demand: Policy Priorities Rooted in Economic Insights from Historical Experience. (Mimeo.) Available at: https://econweb.ucsd.edu/~j1clemens/pdfs/ExpandingHealthSystemCapacity.pdf
- Procurement regimes and medical innovation (with Parker Rogers). VoxEU. March 2020. Available at: https://voxeu.org/article/procurement-regimes-and-medical-innovation

Making Sense of the Minimum Wage: A Roadmap for Navigating Recent Research. CATO Institute. Policy Analysis NO. 867 May 14. 2019. Available at: https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/making-sense-minimumwage-roadmap-navigating-recent-research

A warning on health-care price setting as envisioned by AB3087 (Joint with Benedic Ippolito) San Francisco Chronicle. April 24, 2018. Available at: https://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/openforum/article/A-warning-onhealth-care-price-setting-as-12861591.php

New Working Paper Set: Interpreting Recent Research on the Effects of Minimum Wage Increases Enacted During the Great Recession. Medium. June 14, 2017. Available at: https://medium.com/@esspri\_uci/new-working-paper-set-interpretingrecent-research-on-the-effects-of-minimum-wage-increases-4d750d8516bd

Medicaid Reform: The Elephant in the Room (Joint with Benedic Ippolito) *Real Clear Health*. January 4, 2017. Available at: http://www.realclearhealth.com/articles/2017/01/04/medicaid\_reform\_the\_elephant\_in\_th e\_room\_110358.html

Repeal of the Medicare Sustainable Growth Rate: Direct and Indirect Consequences. (Joint with Stan Veuger) *AMA Journal of Ethics*. Volume 17, Number 11: 1053-1058. November 2015.
Available at: http://journalofethics.ama-assn.org/2015/11/pfor1-1511.html

Expanding Medicaid may also help to improve the coverage of Obamacare's health insurance

exchanges. USAPP (The London School of Economics blog on American Politics and Policy). June 2, 2015.

Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2015/06/02/expanding-medicaid-may-also-help-to-improve-the-coverage-of-obamacares-health-insurance-exchanges/

The Minimum Wage and the Great Recession: Evidence of Effects on the Employment and Income Trajectories of Low-Skilled Workers. (Joint with Michael Wither) Briefs in Economic Policy No. 22. Available at: http://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economicpolicy/minimum-wage-great-recession-evidence-effects

- The Minimum Wage and the U.S. Employment Slump. (Joint with Michael Wither) Voxeu. January 14, 2015. Available at: http://www.voxeu.org/article/minimum-wage-and-us-employment-slump
- Why State Decisions About Expanding Medicaid Matter For The Success Of Their Insurance Marketplaces (Scholars Strategy Network, Key Findings Brief, September 2014). Available at: http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/content/why-state-decisionsabout-expanding-medicaid-matter-success-their-insurance-marketplaces
- Who Pays for Public Employee Health Costs? (Joint with David Cutler. Cato Institute, Research Briefs in Economic Policy No. 6. July 23, 2014.) Available at http://www.cato.org/publications/research-briefs-economic-policy/whopays-public-employee-health-costs
- How Medicare Shapes the U.S. Health Sector. (Economics in Action, Spring 2014) Available at http://economics.ucsd.edu/economicsinaction/issue-10/headline.php.
- Health Reform and the Future of Medical Innovation (Scholars Strategy Network Key Findings Brief, January 2014.) Available at: http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/scholar-profile/428
- Implications of Physician Ethics, Billing Norms, and Service Cost Structures for Medicare's Fee Schedule. (Written for UCSD's course Economics 140: The Economics of Health Care Producers.) Available on SSRN: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2331103
- Can Financing Reforms Reduce Costs While Improving Health Care Quality? (SIEPR Policy Brief, January 2012.) Available at: http://siepr.stanford.edu/publicationsprofile/2379

#### **Professional Activities:**

Referee: American Economic Review, American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics, Economic Inquiry, American Journal of Agricultural Economics, American Journal of Health Economics, Econometrica, Economic Inquiry, Economic Journal, Health Affairs, Health Economics, ILR Review, The Independent Review, International Economic Review, Journal of Health Economics, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Industrial Economics, Journal of Law and Economics, Journal of Macroeconomics, Journal of Money Credit and Banking, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Risk and Insurance, Journal of Urban Economics, Journal of the European Economics Association, Milbank Quarterly, National Tax Journal, Public Choice, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Review of Economic Dynamics, Review of Economic Studies, Review of Economics and Statistics, Southern Economic Journal, Spatial Economic Analysis

### Organizing Activities:

- Co-lead of Public Economics for the 2023 Meetings of the European Economics Association.
- Campbell Fellows workshop on Public Finance. Hoover Institution. May 2023.
- Campbell Fellows workshop on Health Care. Hoover Institution. June 2022.
- Campbell Fellows workshop on Fiscal Federalism and the Economics of State and Local Governments. Hoover Institution. May 2022.
- Paper Selection Committee (chair) for the NBER's Public Economics group at the 2021 Summer Institute
- Paper Selection Committee for the NBER's Public Economics group at the 2020 Summer Institute
- Chair of Graduate Admissions Committee (2019-2020 and 2020-2021 academic years)
- Paper Selection Committee for the NBER's Public Economics group at the 2019 Summer Institute
- Program Committee for the 2019 Meetings of the National Tax Association
- Paper Selection Committee for the NBER's Public Economics group at the 2019 Summer Institute
- Program Committee for the 2017 Meetings of the National Tax Association

• Organizer of the May 2017 "Symposium on Issues in the Economics of Health Reform," featuring speakers from Stanford, Harvard, the American Enterprise Institute, the Vancouver School of Economics, and Indiana University Bloomington.

### **Grants, Honors, and Fellowships:**

2020	Campbell Fellow (Hoover Institute at Stanford University)
2018	American Economic Review Excellence in Refereeing Award
2018	Emergent Ventures Fellowship Award
2016-2017	Harrington Fellowship (awarded by UT Austin)
2015	Arrow Prize for Research in Health Economics (awarded by IHEA)
2013	Academic Senate Research Grant (\$5,419)
2006-2011	Harvard University Graduate Fellowship
2009-2011	Humane Studies Fellowship
2009-2010	Rumsfeld Foundation Fellowship
2009-2010	Taubman Center Research Award
2006-2009	Department of Homeland Security Graduate Fellowship

### **Invited Seminars:**

2022-2023 Academic Year: Arizona State University, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, University of Rochester (Simon School of Business), Singapore Management University 2021-2022 Academic Year: Federal Reserve Bank of New York, University of Copenhagen, Ottawa Applied Micro Lab, Seoul National University, Stanford Economics Department, Stanford Hoover Institution

2020-2021 Academic Year: University of Rochester (Economics Department), McMaster University, HEC Montreal, UC Davis, Rand Corporation

2019-2020 Academic Year: UNLV (Business School).

2018-2019 Academic Year: UT Austin (McCombs School of Business), Center for Economic Studies (Munich)

2017-2018 Academic Year: UC Santa Cruz, San Diego State University, Harvard Business School, Harvard Medical School, UC Santa Barbara, University of Southern California (Schaeffer Center)

2016-2017 Academic Year: Federal Reserve Board, UT Austin, Ohio State University, Columbia University (tax policy colloquium), Wharton (BPUB), UC Irvine, University of Houston, Olin School at Washington University in St. Louis, Yale University

2015-2016 Academic Year: SF Federal Reserve, University of Utah (Finance), Marquette University, Columbia University, Chicago Federal Reserve, North Carolina State, London School of Economics, UC Berkeley

2014-2015 Academic Year: Cornell (PAM), Brown University, Texas A&M University, University of Pennsylvania (LDI Seminar Series), Stanford University (Health Economics Seminar)

2013-2014 Academic Year: UIUC (CBPP), IU (SPEA), UIC (IGPA), San Francisco Federal Reserve, USC (Schaeffer)

2012-2013 Academic Year: UC Davis, Brown University

2011-2012 Academic Year: RAND Corporation, Stanford University, UC San Diego, US Naval Postgraduate School 2010-2011 Academic Year: Congressional Budget Office, Harvard University, Purdue University, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, UC San Diego, UC Los Angeles (School of Public Policy), University of Maryland

### **Conference Presentations (Including Scheduled):**

2022-2023 Academic Year: Minnesota Big Data Institute Minimum Wage Conference 2021-2022 Academic Year: ASHEcon Plenary Session Panelist; Hoover Institution Health Economics Workshop 2020-2021 Academic Year: NBER Tax Policy and the Economy 2019-2020 Academic Year: Meetings of the National Tax Association, Meetings of the Southern Economic Association, NBER Summer Institute (Public Economics) 2018-2019 Academic Year: Insights in Health Policy (Princeton), Junior Health Economics *Summit (Whistler, BC)* 2017-2018 Academic Year: Meetings of the National Tax Association 2016-2017 Academic Year: Health Economics and Policy (Hoover Institute, Stanford *University*) 2015-2016 Academic Year: All California Labor Economics Conference, Meetings of the National Tax Association, NBER TAPES Conference (Social Insurance; Mannheim) 2014-2015 Academic Year: Duke University Applied Microeconomics Jamboree, NBER meeting on Retirement & Health Benefits in the Public Sector, International Health Economics Associations 2013-2014 Academic Year: Meetings of the American Economic Association, American Society of Health Economists, Southern California Applied Microeconomics Conference, NBER Summer Institute (Health Care); NBER Spring Meetings (Public Economics) 2012-2013 Academic Year: Annual Health Economics Conference, Meetings of the National Tax Association, Meetings of the American Economic Association, International Health Economics Association 2011-2012 Academic Year: American Society of Health Economists 2010-2011 Academic Year: Meetings of the National Tax Association, International Health

Economics Association

2009-2010 Academic Year: *Meetings of the National Tax Association, NBER TAPES Conference* (*Fiscal Policy; Milan*)

2005-2006 Academic Year: NBER Summer Institute (Economics of National Security)