

Max Warner

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May 2026

Employment

2025 - Senior Research Economist, Institute for Fiscal Studies
2020 - 2025 Research Economist, Institute for Fiscal Studies

Other Affiliations

2025 - Honorary Research Associate, Imperial College Business School
2020 - 2025 Visiting Researcher, Imperial College Business School

Education

2021 - 2023 MSc Economics (Distinction), University College London
- 90% overall mark, Dean's List for academic performance
2017 - 2020 BA Economics (1st Class), Churchill College, University of Cambridge

Professional Service

2025 - Department of Health and Social Care's External Scrutiny Panel for the NHS 10 year workforce plan
2026 - Institute for Government's Performance Tracker advisory group

Peer-Reviewed Publications

- Propper C, Stoye G, Warner M. The Effects of Delayed Remuneration on Doctor Labour Supply: Evidence from the English NHS. *Journal of Health Economics*. March 2026.
- Warner M & Zaranko B. Future challenges for health and social care provision in the UK. *Invited contribution to Oxford Review of Economic Policy*. Spring 2025.
- Stoye G & Warner M. The Effects of Doctor Strikes on Patient Outcomes: Evidence from the English NHS. *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organisation*. August 2023.
- Warner M, Burn S, Stoye G, et al. Socioeconomic deprivation and ethnicity inequalities in disruption to NHS hospital admissions during the COVID-19 pandemic: a national observational study. *BMJ Quality & Safety*. November 2021. *Included in the journal's top 10 articles of 2021 (#4)*.

Working Papers

- Off to the shops? Outside job opportunities and care worker labour supply (with Ben Zaranko). IFS Working Paper.

Selected Policy Publications

I have written more than 50 IFS policy briefings and reports, see ifs.org.uk/people/max-warner for a full list. Some highlights are:

- Why isn't hospital productivity growth bringing down the waiting list more quickly? (with Olly Harvey-Rich) IFS Comment, December 2025

- UK defence spending: composition, commitments and challenges (with Bee Boileau). IFS 2025 Green Budget Chapter, September 2025
- The outlook for public sector productivity (with Olly Harvey-Rich). IFS 2025 Green Budget Chapter, September 2025.
- Can the government achieve its 18-week elective waiting time target? (with Olly Harvey-Rich). IFS report, March 2025.
- NHS hospital productivity: some positive news (with Olly Harvey-Rich and Ben Zaranko). IFS comment, November 2024
- Options for the 2024 Spending Review and beyond (with Bee Boileau and Ben Zaranko), IFS 2024 Green Budget Chapter, October 2024.
- Implications of the NHS workforce plan (with Ben Zaranko). IFS 2023 Green Budget Chapter, August 2023.
- How much public spending does each area receive? Local authority level estimates of health, police, school and local government spending (with Kate Ogden and David Phillips). IFS Report, August 2023.
- NHS funding, resources and treatment volumes (with Ben Zaranko). IFS Report, December 2022.
- Factors associated with staff retention in the NHS acute sector (with Elaine Kelly and George Stoye), IFS Report, August 2022.

Online Tools

- Where and how does the government spend its money? April 2025.
<https://ifs.org.uk/calculators/where-and-how-does-government-spend-its-money>
- How much was spent on public services in your area in 2022-23? August 2023.
<https://ifs.org.uk/calculators/how-much-was-spent-public-services-your-area-2022-23>
- What could happen to NHS waiting lists in England? August 2021, February 2022 & February 2024. <https://ifs.org.uk/calculators/what-could-happen-nhs-waiting-lists-england>
Winner of Harding Prize for Trustworthy Communication in 2022

Media

- Work covered by all major UK outlets, including BBC, Sky News, The Times, The Financial Times, The Telegraph, The Guardian
- 30+ live and pre-recorded media interviews, including for BBC News, BBC Breakfast, Sky News, ITV News, Channel 4 News, Radio 4, Radio 5, Times Radio

Presentations (including forthcoming)

2026: University of Kent, NHS England

2025: Health Economics Study Group (HESG), Office for Budget Responsibility, Department of Health and Social Care, Health Foundation

2024: York Centre for Health Economics Workshop, Health Foundation

2023: Health Economics Study Group (HESG), NHS England Roundtable, NHS England Conference, EuHEA Seminar Series, European Association of Labour Economists (EALE) Conference

2022: American European Health Economics Study Group, European Association of Labour Economists (EALE) Conference, Department of Health and Social Care x3, NHS England Roundtable

Recent Public Events and Podcasts

2026: The tough fiscal reality facing the UK government. IFS Podcast
Spring Forecast 2026: IFS Analysis
Why isn't the NHS improving faster? IFS Podcast

2025: Can the UK afford to fight a war? Chatham House Event
The end of the peace divided? UK defence in a changing world. IFS Podcast
How ambitious are the government's plans for public sector productivity? IFS Event
Spending Review 2025: IFS Analysis
IFS public economics lecture day
Lecture on social insurance and healthcare at Oxford and Cambridge universities

2024: York Centre for Health Economics Policy Forum: Living with long waiting times: approaches to prioritising patients
Can the new government fix the NHS? IFS Podcast
The NHS waiting list: when will it come down? IFS Podcast
Scottish Budget 2024-25: IFS Analysis
Lecture on social insurance and healthcare at Oxford and Cambridge universities

Prizes

- Harding Prize for Trustworthy Communication 2022, Winton Centre for Risk & Evidence Communication, University of Cambridge
- Mitsuhashi Hara Prize for best college economics performance, 2018 and 2020

Refereeing

- Journal of Political Economy, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, Labour Economics, Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organisation, Health Economics, Social Science & Medicine, European Journal of Health Economics, Health Policy, Industrial Relations, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Economics and Finance

Technical Skills

- Primary programming languages: Stata, R, JavaScript/HTML/CSS, Java
- Past experience with many other languages, server administration, etc.