

MIRANDA YAYER

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

University of Pittsburgh

Assistant Professor of Health Policy and Management 2024-

Department of Political Science (Courtesy) 2024-

School of Public and International Affairs (Courtesy) 2025-

Wheaton College

Assistant Professor of Political Science 2022 - 2024

Oberlin College

Visiting Assistant Professor of Politics 2021-22

University of California, Los Angeles

Postdoctoral Scholar in Health Policy and Management 2019-21

Tufts University

Lecturer in Political Science 2018-19

Yale University

Lecturer in Political Science 2016-17

EDUCATION

Columbia University

Ph.D. in Political Science 2015

- Major Subfield: American Politics (comprehensive exam in August 2012); Minor Subfield: Methodology (comprehensive exam in January 2014)
- Dissertation: “When Do Agencies Have Agency? Bureaucratic Noncompliance and Dynamic Lawmaking in United States Statutory Law, 1973-2010.”
 - Dissertation Committee: Gregory Wawro (Chair), Ira Katznelson, Michael Ting, Sean Farhang, Sanford Gordon

M.Phil. in Political Science 2014

M.A. in Political Science 2013

University of California, Berkeley

B.A. in Political Science, Honors 2009

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

American Political Economy Summer Academy at UC Berkeley, 2023.

Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM) program at UC Berkeley, 2013.

HONORS AND AWARDS

AcademyHealth Champions for Health Services and Prevention Research Program, 2025-26.

Roosevelt Institute Author-in-Residence, 2025.

Tobin Project Graduate Student Fellow in Democracy and Markets (\$1,500), 2013-14.

Nominee, CQ Press Award for Best 2012 APSA Paper on Legislative Studies.

ISERP Fellow, Columbia University, 2011-12.

GRANTS

Consortium on American Political Economy Research Grant (\$4,000). 2024.

Wheaton College Arnold Summer Research Grant (\$3,000). 2023.

Oberlin College Grant-in-Aid (\$4,300). 2021.

UCLA Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Grant (\$1,000), 2019. 2020.

Columbia University Department of Political Science Summer Research Grant (\$1,000), 2013.

PUBLICATIONS

“Divided Government and the Fragmentation of American Law” (with Sean Farhang). 2015. *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2): 401-17.

“Congressional Assertions of the Spending Power: Institutional Conflict and Regulatory Authority.” 2015. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. 32(2): 272-305.

Review: *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy in the U.S. Government: How Congress and Federal Agencies Process Information and Solve Problems*, by Samuel Workman. 2016. *Perspectives on Politics* 14(2): 27-29.

Review: *Recalibrating Reform: The Limits of Political Change*, by Stuart Chinn. 2016. *Law and Politics Book Review* 26(7): 125-128.

“Depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation among graduate students in doctoral degree programs: systematic review and meta-analysis.” (with Alexander Tsai et al). 2021. *Scientific Reports* 11: 14370.

“Rationing by Inconvenience: How Insurance Denials Induce Administrative Burdens.” 2024. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 49(4): 539-565.

“Administrative Burdens and Inequities in COBRA Take-Up.” 2025. *World Medical & Health Policy Journal*.

“Firearm Laws and Pediatric Mortality” (with Jeremy Faust, Ji Chen, Shriya Bhat, Onyekachi Tochi Otugo, Benjamin Renton, Alexander Chen, Zhenqiu Lin, and Harlan Krumholtz). 2025. *JAMA Pediatrics*.

“Trump’s first hundred days: Evaluating the impact on the United States health system” (with Scott Greer, Holly Jarman, and Rachel Kulikoff). 2025. *Lancet Regional Health-Americas* 48.

BOOK PROJECTS

Coverage Denied: How Health Insurers Drive Inequality in the United States. Book project on how health insurers’ coverage denials induce health and economic inequality through the imposition of administrative burden. Utilizes original survey evidence and 111 semi-structured interviews. *Forthcoming with Cambridge University Press, Spring 2026*.

Justice Denied: The Legal Architecture of Health Insurance Inequity. Book project on how ERISA, though ostensibly aimed at helping American workers, causes irreparable harm by denying legal recourse to patients in the workforce who have been denied coverage by their self-insured health plans.

UNDER REVIEW

“The Health Politics and Missed Opportunities of ERISA Reform.” (Under review at *Studies in American Political Development*)

“Patient Administrative Burden: A Scoping Review” (with Michael Anne Kyle, Kimberly Feng, and Carrie Wade). (Under review at *Health Affairs Scholar*)

“The Long Road to Choice: Administrative Burdens in Abortion Access.” (Under review at *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*)

UNDER ACTIVE REVISION

“Neonatal Deaths in Texas After SB8, a Cardiac Activity-Based Abortion Ban,” (with Jeremy Faust et al.)

“The Limits of Health Policy Compliance: State Health Agency Non-Responsiveness to Federal Health Regulators.”

“State-Level Implementation of Prior Authorization in Managed Medicaid Settings.”

“Health Policymaking Via Direct Democracy” (with Stuart Case)

“The Hidden Inequities of Medicare Choice: Burden, Barriers, and Coverage Discontinuities” (invited book chapter)

“Optimizing Consumer Choice in Selection of Health Insurance” (with Dave Anderson and Risha Gidwani)

“Health Federalism and the OBBBA.” (invited contribution to *Publius*)

OTHER WRITING (SELECTED)

“Good Luck Getting Health Care in Donald Trump’s America.” *Guardian* op-ed, November 30, 2016.

“The Potential Costs of Tom Price as HHS Secretary.” Article in *The Conversation*, December 8, 2016.

“Tom Price, Author of Long Proposal to Replace Obamacare, Short on Specifics in Hearing.” Article in *The Conversation*, January 20, 2017.

“States with more Planned Parenthood clinics have fewer teen births and sexually transmitted diseases.” Article in *The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, March 27, 2017.

“Republicans’ Secretive Health Care Plan.” *The New York Times* op-ed. June 9, 2017.

“What’s Next in the Health Care Debate?” *Public Seminar* op-ed. August 5, 2017.

“If Trump Plans to End HIV Outbreak, He’ll Have to Address His – and Pence’s – Recent History.” *Rewire News* op-ed. February 5, 2019.

“The ‘Pro-Life’ Response To A Stillbirth In ICE Custody Is... Nonexistent.” *Bustle*. February 27, 2019.

“Republicans Are Working to Undermine Direct Democracy.” *Medium*. March 1, 2019.

“The New Supreme Court LGBTQ Rights Cases Are Way More Consequential Than You Think.” *Bustle*. April 24, 2019.

“The Frustration of Being Elizabeth Warren.” *Public Seminar*. March 10, 2020.

“In Some States, Coronavirus Measures Are Effectively Banning Abortion.” *The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, March 31, 2020.

“Social Justice Is More Important Than Social Distance.” *Public Seminar*. June 19, 2020.

“The Fifth Circuit halted Biden’s vaccine mandate. Here’s what the lawsuits are arguing.” *The Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog*, November 9, 2021.

Contributor of policy briefs on COVID-19 for Brief-19 research team (2020-21).

“This nightmare delay and denial shows why patients need a bill of rights.” *The Hill*, January 13, 2025.

“Why appealing an insurance denial is so overwhelming.” *STATNews*, January 23, 2025.

“My \$30,000 health insurance claim was denied. Then I tweeted about it.” *The Guardian*, February 26, 2025.

“Medicaid cuts will harm rural Republican communities most” (with Michael Shepherd), *The Hill*, June 2, 2025.

“Medicaid cuts would devastate mental health, substance use treatment services in red states.” *STATNews*, June 12, 2025.

“Will States’ Rights Go the Way of Medicaid Funding?” *MedPage Today*, June 14, 2025.

“Republicans are trying to turn their attacks on Obamacare into self-fulfilling prophecies.” *MSNBC*, July 21, 2025.

“Cutting Medicaid Funding Isn’t the Only Worrisome Change to the Program.” *MedPage Today*, July 31, 2025.

“Kennedy is gutting health advisory panels to weaken the Affordable Care Act” (with Elizabeth Jacobs). *The Hill*, August 12, 2025.

“Dr. Oz’s new plan to root out Medicare ‘waste’ is actually a recipe for disaster.” *MSNBC*, September 7, 2025.

“If Trump wants to cut health spending, he’s defunding the wrong agency” (with Alex Sunderman). *The Hill*, September 11, 2025.

MEDIA APPEARANCES (SELECTED)

Guest on France 24: The Debate, discussing the Trump Administration’s unsuccessful efforts at regulatory reforms. July 19, 2017.

Guest on France 24: The Debate, discussing President Trump’s State of the Union Address and immigration policy. January 31, 2018.

Guest on France 24, discussing Brett Kavanaugh’s confirmation to Supreme Court. October 6, 2018.

Guest on France 24, discussing the Trump White House’s staffing turnover. March 7, 2018.

Guest on France 24, discussing President Trump’s State of the Union Address and presidential powers. February 6, 2019.

Guest on CBC News, discussing the Mueller Report. April 18, 2019.

Guest on France 24, discussing the Super Tuesday primary election results. March 5, 2020.

Guest on Slate’s The Gist podcast, discussing the Supreme Court and voting amid coronavirus. April 14, 2020.

Guest on CBC News, discussing Black Lives Matter protests. June 3, 2020.

Guest on The House of Pod podcast, discussing women's health amid coronavirus. September 29, 2020.

Guest on Australian Broadcast Corporation, discussing the Amy Coney Barrett Supreme Court confirmation hearing. October 12, 2020.

Guest on France 24, discussing the 2024 U.S. presidential election. September 2, 2024.

Guest on NPR Morning Edition, discussing health insurance coverage denials and the role of AI in health insurance, December 11, 2024.

Guest on Houston Matters, discussing health insurance coverage denials, December 16, 2024.

Guest on CNBC, discussing health insurance barriers on "How rising health care claim denials are hurting Americans" segment. February 23, 2025.

CONSULTING WORK

Health policy consulting on policy briefs for Everything Policy, a nonpartisan group informing citizens about contemporary policy issues including health care costs and mental health. 2023-24.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (SELECTED)

Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2013: "Legal Fragmentation and the American State" (with Sean Farhang).

American Political Science Association Conference, 2013: "Bureaucratic Noncompliance in the United States: The Case of the EPA."

Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, 2013: "Divided Government and the Fragmentation of American Law" (with Sean Farhang).

Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2014: "Bureaucratic Punishment in the United States." Discussant on "Litigation and Implementation" panel.

American Political Science Association Conference, 2014: "Party and Authorship on the U.S. Court of Appeals," (with Sean Farhang and Greg Wawro), "Estimating Policy Consequences of Bureaucratic Noncompliance in US Statutory Law, 1973-2006."

American Political Science Association Conference, 2015: "Democratic Responsiveness in State Policy Implementation" (with Doug Spencer). Discussant on "Bureaucratic Policymaking" panel.

Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, 2015: "Selection Bias and Ideal Point Estimation on the United States Supreme Court."

Southern Political Science Association Conference, 2016: "Inter-Agency Learning in Policy Implementation." Discussant on "Political Control and Agency Budgets" panel.

Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2020: "Coverage Denied: Identifying the Causes and Consequences of Americans' Denial of Health Insurance Coverage." Discussant on "Social Welfare in the American States" panel. Participant on "Public and Engaged Scholarship During the Trump Administration" roundtable. *Conference cancelled due to coronavirus.*

Academy Health Conference, 2020. "Claims Denied: Identifying the Causes and Consequences of Americans' Health Claims Denials." Poster Presentation.

American Political Science Association Conference. 2020. "Claims Denied: Identifying the Causes and Consequences of Americans' Health Claims Denials." Discussant on "Health Equity and Democracy" and "Unilateral Power and Emergency Power" panels.

Midwest Political Science Association Conference. 2023. "ERISA: Teaching An Old Law New Tricks."

American Political Science Association Conference. 2023. “Damages Denied: The Impact of ERISA’s Statutory Design on Patients’ Access to Health Care.” Discussant on “Variations in Abortion Access and Perception” panel.

Midwest Political Science Association Conference. 2024. “COBRA and Administrative Burdens.” Discussant on Health Care Policy panel.

Midwest Political Science Association Conference. 2025. “Administrative Burden of Abortion Access Post-*Dobbs v. Jackson*,” “Health Policy on the Ballot” (with Stuart Case). Discussant on “Health Communication” panel.

American Political Science Association Conference.. 2025. “Administrative Burdens of Abortion Access.” Discussant on “Author Meets Critics” panel.

INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCES

William and Mary College, Schroeder Center for Health Policy, October 2025.

New York City Department of Public Health, August 2025.

Yale University, American Political Economy eXchange, April 2025.

University of Pittsburgh, Department of Political Science, September 2024.

Judicial Politics Symposium, Washington University in St. Louis School of Law, September 2023.

Boston University, Department of Health Policy, Law, and Management, November 2022.

Bowling Green State University, Department of Political Science, February 2022.

Congress and History Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison, June 2020.

Department of General Internal Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles, May 2020.

Political Economy and Public Law Conference, Cornell University, June 2016.

Political Economy and Public Law Conference, New York University, June 2015.

Political Economy and Public Law Conference, University of Rochester, May 2014.

Lectures on United States statutory law and policymaking for Site for Students study abroad program on law and politics, December 2013 and August 2014.

Political Economy and Public Law Conference, Washington University in St.Louis, June 2013.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Pittsburgh:

- Introduction to Health Policy and Management; The Politics of Health Policy; Administrative Burden and Inequality in U.S. Health Care

Wheaton College:

- Introduction to American Politics; Constitutional Law: Civil Rights and Civil Liberties; Judicial Politics; Research Methods in Political Science

Oberlin College:

- Introduction to Policy Analysis, Constitutional Law: Civil Rights and Civil Liberties; Law and Public Policy; Health Law and Politics; Constitutional Law: Separation of Powers

Tufts University:

- Congress, Bureaucracy, and Public Policy; Constitutional Law; Law and Public Policy

Columbia University Summer Program for High School Students:

- U.S. Constitutional Law; The Best Democracy Money Can Buy?

Yale University:

- Introduction to Statistics; American Politics III: Institutions; Courts, Media, and Politics

RESEARCH AND STATISTICAL SKILLS

Microsoft: Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Access.

Statistical Analysis: STATA, R, SAS.

Database/Research Tools: Voter Activation Network (VAN); PACER; LexisNexis; Westlaw; CQ.

Other: LaTeX, FileMaker Pro, Moveable Type.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

University of Pittsburgh Committee Service: Member, Bachelor's in Education Committee (School of Public Health, 2024-). Elected member, Government Relations Committee (University of Pittsburgh, 2025-).

Scholars Strategy Network: Central Pennsylvania Chapter Co-Leader, Medicaid Working Group Co-Leader

Defending Public Health: Coordinating Committee member, Health Systems/Health Insurance Working Group Co-Leader

Member: American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association.

- APSA Section membership: Health Politics, American Political Economy
 - Health Politics Section Treasurer (2025-)
 - Health Politics Section Leonard S. Robins Prize Award Committee Members (2020)

Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law: Social media editor and editorial board member (2025-)

Referee: *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, *SSM-Population Health*, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, *SSM Mental Health*, *World Medical and Health Policy*, *Political Behavior*, *Milbank Quarterly*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Public Performance & Management Review*