**HANS NOEL**

Associate Professor

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Georgetown University

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**I. ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE**

**Georgetown University** Washington, D.C.

Department of Government

* Chair of Doctoral Admissions, Fellowships and Placement (2020-present)
* Associate Professor (2013-present)
* Faculty Member in Residence, Ville Le Balze, Fiesole, Italy (Spring 2018)
* Assistant Professor (2006-2013)

**University of Michigan** Ann Arbor, Mich.

Robert Wood Johnson Scholars in Health Policy Research

* Scholar (2008-2010)

**Princeton University** Princeton, N.J.

Center for the Study of Democratic Politics

* Research Fellow (2005-2006)

**University of California, Los Angeles** Los Angeles, Calif.

Department of Political Science

* Instructor, Teaching Assistant/Associate/Fellow, Research Assistant (1998-2005)

**Universiteit van Amsterdam** Amsterdam, The Netherlands

* Researcher (August 2000)

**Market Opinion Research International (MORI)** London, England

* Researcher (July 2000)

**II. EDUCATION**

**University of California, Los Angeles** Los Angeles, Calif.

Department of Political Science

Ph.D. 2006 (M.A. 1999)

**Northwestern University** Evanston, Ill.

Medill School of Journalism

BSJ 1994

**III. RESEARCH**

1. **Books**

Masket, Seth and Hans Noel. 2021. **Political Parties**. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Noel, Hans. 2013. **Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America**. New York: Cambridge University Press.

* *Winner of the Leon Epstein Outstanding Book award, from the APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section.*

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2008. **The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1. **Peer-Reviewed Articles**

﻿Hopkins, Daniel J. and Hans Noel. 2022. **Trump and the Shifting Meaning of ‘Conservative’: Using Activists’ Pairwise Comparisons to Measure Politicians’ Perceived Ideologies**. *American Political Science Review*

Croco, Sarah, Elizabeth Suhay, Rachel Blum, Lilliana Mason, Hans Noel, Jonathan Ladd and Michael Bailey.† 2019. **Student-Run Exit Polls 101** *PS: Political Science & Politics.*

Noel, Hans. 2018. **The Activists Decide: The Preferences of Party Activists in the 2016 Presidential Nominations**. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. Vol. 28. No. 2. pp. 225-244. DOI: 10.1080/17457289.2018.1441845

Cohen, Martin, David Karol, Hans Noel, John Zaller. 2016. **Party versus Faction in the Reformed Presidential Nominating System**. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. October 2016, Vol. 43 No. 4: 701-707.

Noel, Hans. 2013. **Which Long Coalition? The Creation of the Anti-Slavery Coalition**. *Party Politics*. November 2013, Vol. 19 No. 6: 962-984.

* *Winner of the APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section/Party Politics Best Paper Award at the APSA Annual Meeting (as conference paper).*

Bailey, Michael, Jonathan Mummolo and Hans Noel. 2012. **Tea Party Influence: A Story of Activists and Elites**. *American Politics Research*. September 2012. Vol. 40: 769-804.

Masket, Seth and Hans Noel. 2012. **Serving Two Masters: Using Referenda to Assess the Relationship between Voters and Legislators**. *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 65. No. 1: 104-123.

Noel, Hans. 2012. **The Coalition Merchants: The Ideological Roots of the Civil Rights Realignment**. *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 74, No. 1: 156-173.

Bawn, Kathleen, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2012. **A Theory of Parties: Groups, Policy Demanders and Nominations in American Politics**. *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 10. No. 3: 571-597.

* *Winner of the APSA Heinz I. Eulau Award for best article published in Perspectives on Politics.*
* *Winner of the APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section Jack Walker Award for best article on political parties.*

**B. Peer-Reviewed Articles CONTINUED**

Noel, Hans and Brendan Nyhan. 2011. **The “Unfriending” Problem: The Consequences of Homophily in Friendship Retention for Causal Estimates of Social Influence**. *Social Networks*. Vol. 33. No. 3: 211-218.

Koger, Gregory, Seth Masket and Hans Noel. 2010. Cooperative Party Factions in American Politics. American Politics Research. Vol. 38, No. 1: 33-53.

Koger, Gregory, Seth Masket and Hans Noel. 2009. **Partisan Webs: Information Exchange and Party Networks**. *British Journal of Political Science*. Vol 39, No. 3: 633-653.

I follow a norm of listing authors alphabetically for all publications, except where indicated with †, for which authors are listed in the order of their contribution.

**C. Select Papers Under Review or in Preparation**

Banda, Kevin K., John Cluverius, Lilliana Mason and Hans Noel **A Distinction with a Difference? Investigating the Difference between Liberals and** **Progressives.**

Hans Noel. **NOMINATE Scores Do Not Measure Ideology, But They Can be Used to Study It: Disentangling Ideology from Party in Roll Call Data**

Hans Noel. **Creative Synthesis: A Model of Reflective Equilibrium and Ideology Formation**

Kroenig, Matt, Miriam Krieger and Hans Noel. **Dare to Fail: Nuclear Superiority, Threat Initiation, and Compellent Success**

Blum, Rachel and Hans Noel. **Nominations and Party Factions: Detecting Party Coalitions in Network Data**

**D. Editor**

Noel, Hans. Ed. 2019. Special Issue: **Political Parties in Modern Democracies** *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties.* Vol. 29. No. 4. (December 2019)

**E. Reviews and Edited Articles**

﻿Banda, Kevin K., John Cluverius and Lilliana Mason and Hans Noel. 2022. **Ideological Divisions Within the Democratic Primary Electorate**. in *Polarization and Political Party Factions in the 2020 Election*. Jennifer Lucas, Tauna Sisco and Christopher Galdieri (eds.). Lexington Books.

Masket, Seth and Hans Noel. 2022. **Writing about a Party System under Duress and in Dispute**. *PS: Political Science*.

Noel, Hans. 2019. **Bridging American and comparative research on political parties**. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties.* Vol. 29, No. 4.

Noel, Hans. 2019. **Ideology and its Discombobulations.** *Journal of Politics*. Volume 81, No. 3 (July 2019)

**E. Reviews and Edited Articles CONTINUED**

Noel, Hans. 2017. **What we learn from unusual cases: Review of Azari and Gelman’s “19 things we learned from the 2016 election.”** in *Statistics and Public Policy*. Vol. 4 No. 1. pp. 1-3. DOI: 10.1080/2330443X.2017.1399844

Noel, Hans. 2017. **Review of The American Political Pattern: Stability and Change, 1932-2016, by Byron Shafer.** *The Forum*. Vol. 15 No. 4. pp. 771-777

Noel, Hans. 2017. **Keith Poole and the Legacy of NOMINATE.** *The Legislative Scholar*. Vol. 2. No. 2 Fall 2017. pp. 24-26.

Noel, Hans. 2016. **Ideological Factions in the Republican and Democratic Parties**. in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Larry Bartels, ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications. pp. 166-188.

Noel, Hans. 2016. **Critical Dialogues (between The Promise of Party in a Polarized Age by Russell Muirhead and Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America by Hans Noel).** in *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 14. No. 3: 847-851.

Koger, Gregory, Seth Masket and Hans Noel. 2016. **No Disciplined Army: American Political Parties as Networks**. in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*. Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery, and Mark Lubell, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.

Noel, Hans. 2015. **How Ideological Activists Constructed Our Polarized Parties**. in *Political Polarization in American Politics*. Daniel J. Hopkins and John Sides, eds. New York: Bloomsbury.

Noel, Hans. 2014. **What The Parties Stand For**. in *Guide to United States Political Parties*. Marjorie Hershey, Barry Burden and Christina Wolbrecht, eds. Washington: CQ Press.

Noel, Hans. 2014. **Escape from the Bowling Alley: Traditional Organizations as the Antagonist in Popular Film**. in *Hollywood Raises Political Consciousness: Political Messages in Feature Films*. Michael Haas, ed. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Noel, Hans. 2013. **Political Parties and Ideology: Interest Groups in Context**. in New Directions in Interest Group Politics. Matt Grossmann, ed. New York: Routledge.

Noel, Hans. 2013. **Coalition-building and Ideology in 2012 and Beyond**. in *Winning the Presidency 2012.* William Crotty, ed. New York: Paradigm Publishers.

Noel, Hans. 2010. **Ten Things Political Scientists Know That You Don’t**. *The Forum*. Vol.8, No.3, Article 12.

Noel, Hans. 2010. **Review of The Dynamics of Two-Party Politics: Party Structures and the Management of Competition, by Alan Ware**. *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 125, No. 3. pp. 515-517.

Noel, Hans. 2010. **Methodological Perspectives on Studying Parties**. in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*. L. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 57-76 Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2008. Political Parties in Rough Weather. The Forum. Vol.5, No.4, Article 3.

Noel, Hans. 2007. **Listening to the Coalition Merchants: Measuring the Intellectual Influence of Academic Scribblers**. *The Forum*. Vol.5, No.3, Article 7.

**E. Reviews and Edited Articles CONTINUED**

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2007. **The Invisible Primary in Presidential Nominations, 1980-2004**. in *The Making of the Presidential Candidates, 2008*. William Mayer, ed. Rowman and Littlefield.

Noel, Hans. 2004. **Fahrenheit Red, Fahrenheit Blue**. *The Forum*. Vol.2, No.3, Article 8.

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2003. **Pols or Polls? The Real Driving Force Behind Presidential Nominations**. *Brookings Review*. Vol.21, No.3 pp. 36-39.

**F. Select Other Publications**

﻿Hopkins, Daniel J. and Hans Noel. 2021. **How Trump Has Redefined Conservatism**. *FiveThirtyEight.com*. June 24, 2021.

Masket, Seth and Hans Noel. 2021. **Five Myths About Political Parties**. *The Washington Post*. October 11, 2021.

Noel, Hans. 2021. **Republicans can agree to disagree about democracy**. *The Atlantic Monthly*. January 25, 2021.

Noel, Hans. 2020. **We should have a 'contested convention' every four years**. *The Washington Post*. March 1, 2020.

Cohen, Martin, David Karol, Hans Noel and John Zaller. 2020. **The party no longer decides**. *Politico* Feb. 3, 2020.

Democracy Fund Voter Study Group. 2017. **Executive Summary**. https://www.voterstudygroup.org

Noel, Hans. 2016. **The Best Way To Avoid Future Trumps?** *The New York Times*. July 20, 2016

Noel, Hans. 2016. **Why Can’t the G.O.P. Stop Trump?** *The New York Times*. March 1, 2016

Masket, Seth and Hans Noel. 2011. **Don't Look to a Third Party Candidate.** *Los Angeles Times*. August 10, 2011. p. A15.

**I. Dissertation**

**The Coalition Merchants: How Ideologues Shape Parties in American Politics**

Ph.D. committee: John Zaller (chair), Kathleen Bawn, Jeff Lewis, Andy Sabl (public policy)

**IV. HONORS**

1. **Select Academic Awards**

* National Science Foundation grant for Political Parties in Comparative Perspective conference
* APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section Leon Epstein Outstanding Book Award (2014) for Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America.
* APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section Jack Walker Award (2014) for best article on political parties, for “A Theory of Parties: Groups, Policy Demanders and Nominations in American Politics” (with Bawn, Cohen, Karol, Masket and Zaller)
* APSA Heinz I. Eulau Award (2013) for best article published in Perspectives on Politics for “A Theory of Parties: Groups, Policy Demanders and Nominations in American Politics” (with Bawn, Cohen, Karol, Masket and Zaller)
* Emerging Scholar Award, APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section (2009)
* APSA Political Organizations and Parties Section/Party Politics Best Paper Award (2005) for “Ideology, Parties and the Origins of the Anti- Slavery Coalition.”
* APSA Presidency Section Founders Best Paper Award (2003) for “Same Rules, Different Game: A General Model of Presidential Primaries, 1972 to 2000,” (with Cohen and Zaller)
* APSA Public Opinion and Elections Section Best Paper Award (2001) for “Beating Reform: The Resurgence of Parties in Presidential Nominations, 1980 to 2000,” (with Cohen, Karol and Zaller)

**B. Select Fellowships and Grants**

* National Science Foundation grant for Political Parties in Comparative Perspective conference (2018)
* Book Incubator Grant, Department of Government, Georgetown University (2016)
* Georgetown University Summer Academic Grant (2016)
* Georgetown University Junior Faculty Research Fellowship (2011)
* Book Incubator Grant, Department of Government, Georgetown University (2011)
* University of Michigan, Robert Wood Johnson Scholars in Health Policy Research Fellowship (2008-10)
* Georgetown University Summer Academic Grant (2007)
* Princeton University, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Fellowship (2005-06)

**V. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

**A. Select Service to the Discipline**

* Task Force on American Electoral Reform (2021-present)
* Advisory Council, Guarini Institute for Public Affairs, John Cabot University (2019-present)
* Advisory Board, Cambridge Elements Series in American Politics (2018-present)
* Advisory Board, Democracy Fund Voter Study Group (2016- present)
* Program Committee, Political Parties Section, SPSA (2022)
* Award Committee Chair, Political Organizations and Parties Section Leon Epstein Outstanding Book Award (2021)
* Program Committee, Electoral Politics Section, SPSA (2020)
* Secretary, Political Organizations and Parties Section, APSA (2016-2020)
* Award Committee, EPOVB Best Paper in Political Behavior Award (2019)
* Award Committee Chair, Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award, MPSA (2019)
* Award Committee Chair, Best Paper in Political Behavior, MPSA (2018)
* Division Chair, Political Organizations and Parties Section, APSA (2016)
* Section Chair, Voting Behavior Section, MPSA (2015)
* Council Member, National Capital Area Political Science Association (2014-2016)
* Section Chair, Open Discussion Section, MPSA (2014)
* Award Committee, Political Organizations and Parties Walker Award, Best Article (2012)
* Executive Committee, Political Networks organized section of APSA (2010-12)
* Membership Committee, Political Networks organized section of APSA (2009-10)
* Award Committee, Political Organizations and Parties Emerging Scholar Award (2010)
* Award Committee, Political Organizations and Parties/Party Politics Award, Best Paper at APSA (2006)

**B. Service to the University**

**1. Department of Government**

* Chair of Doctoral Admissions, Fellowships and Placement (2020-present)
* American Government Field Chair (2014-2017, 2018-2020)
* Admissions and Fellowship Committee (2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2018-2019)
* Methods Subfield Coordinator (2012-2013, 2014-2017, 2018-present)
* American Government Search Committee (2007- 2008, 2018)
* Organizer, Villa Le Balze Conference on Political Parties in Comparative Perspective (2018)
* American Government Speaker Series Coordinator (2007-2008, 2010-2014, 2015)
* Organizer, Georgetown University Conference on Political Activists in a Polarized Age (2015)
* Placement Director (2013-2015)
* Admissions and Fellowship MA Program Subcommittee (2010-2011, 2012-2013)
* American Gov’t Visitor Search Committee (2008)
* Promotions and Budget Committee (2007-2008)

**2. Georgetown College and Georgetown University**

* Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Executive Committee (2021-present)
* Healy Fellowship Award Committee (2021)
* Academic Steering Committee, Villa Le Balze, Fiesole, Italy (Spring 2019-present)
* Lecture, Georgetown Alumni Club of Boston (October 2018)
* Faculty Member in Residence, Villa Le Balze, Fiesole, Italy (Spring 2018)
* Lecture/Panel, Parents Weekend (2016, 2020)
* Department representative, College Executive Committee (Fall 2011 - Fall 2013)
* Lecture, Georgetown Alumni Club of Orange County (October 2012)
* Delegate, Georgetown University-China Central Party School Conference, Beijing, China (May 2012)
* Dissertation Fellowship and Travel Awards Committee (2007)

**3. Courses Taught**

**Undergraduate:** GOVT 020: Introduction to the U.S. Political System

GOVT 201: Analysis of Political Data 1

GOVT 233: Political Parties

GOVT 244: Italian Democracy in Comparative Perspective *(at Villa Le Balze)*

GOVT 334: Ideology in America

GOVT 357: Evolution of Ideology

GOVX 442:  Presidential Nominations Lab

**Graduate:**  GOVT 700: The Practice of Political Science

GOVT 701: Quantitative Methods 1

GOVT 702: Quantitative Methods 2

GOVT 703: Quantitative Methods 3

GOVT 723: American Government Workshop

GOVT 627: Political Parties (MA/Ph.D.)

GOVT 727: Political Parties (Ph.D.)

**4. Advisees**

**Ph.D.**

**Committee Chair**

**Rachel Blum**. Government. “The Tea Party: A Party Within A Party.” Defended with Distinction, March 2016. Currently Assistant Professor, University of Oklahoma

**Tranae Hardy**. Government. “Managing the Brand: Party Responses to Scandal.” In Progress

**Justin Koch**. Government. “Follow the Party: Super PACs and the Political Party Network.” Defended January 2019.

**Patrick McSweeney**. Government. “Youth Activism and the Democratic Party.” In Progress.

**Jack Santucci**. Government. “Three Articles on Proportional Representation in American Cities.” Defended May 2017. Currently Assistant Teaching Professor at Drexel University.

**Renu Singh**. Government. “The Politics of Obesity: Preventative Health Policy in Comparative Perspective.” Defended August 2020. *(co-chair with Jeff Anderson)* Currently Research Assistant Professor, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology.

**Committee Member**

**Xiaodong Fang**. Government. “Anti-China Rhetoric, Presidential Elections and U.S. Foreign Policy towards China.” Defended May 2016.

**Ikuma Ogura**. Government. “Three Papers on Ideology in Political Behavior Research.” Defended April 2022.

**Chris Schorr**. Government. “White Nationalism and the Transformation of the American Right.” Defended August 2020.

**George Sparling**. Liberal Studies. “Peter Viereck and the Demise of New Conservatism.” Defended December 2015.

**Master’s and Honors Theses**

**Principal Advisor**

**Thania Tsimpiri**. Government Undergraduate Honors. “Are You for Real? Truth, Reality, and Democracy in the Digital Age.” Defended May 2022.

**Kathryn Paravano**. Government Undergraduate Honors. “Taxation with Subjugation: Why D.C. Statehood Matters Beyond the Right to Representation.” Defended May 2021.

**Bryana Michael**. Government Undergraduate Honors. “Swing, Swing from the Tangle of American Politics: A look into what variable most affects U.S. citizens’ political knowledge.” Defended April 2015. **Adam Pijanowski**. Government Undergraduate Honors. “Brrrr! The Chilling Effect of Polarization on Voter Turnout in the United States.” Defended with Distinction April 2017.

**Emmanuel Hampton**. Government Undergraduate Honors. “Blue Dogs, Old Tricks: The Efficacy of Particularized Benefits and Strategic Position Taking in Enhancing Democratic Incumbent Performance in Strongly Republican Districts” Defended April 2011.

**Committee Member**

**Micha Rieser**. Communication, Culture & Technology Master’s. “What Can Come of Just Hanging Out? The Power of Politically Oriented Social Groups” Defended 2007.