KHARIS TEMPLEMAN

Hoover Institution
434 Galvez Mall,
Stanford, CA 94305-6003

Tel. 734.502.2125 (m)
kharis@stanford.edu
http://www.kharistempleman.com

POSITION

Research Fellow and Program Manager of the Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, **Stanford University**, 2020 – present

Adviser to the Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, **Stanford University**, 2019 – 2020

Program Manager, Taiwan Democracy and Security Project, and Social Science Research Scholar, Freeman Spogli Institute, **Stanford University**, 2013 – 2019

Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies, International Institute, **University of Michigan**, 2012 – 2013

EDUCATION

University of Michigan, Ph.D. in Political Science, 2012
Dissertation: "The Origins and Decline of Dominant Party Systems: Taiwan's Transition in Comparative Perspective"
Examination Fields: Comparative (major), American (minor), Methods (2nd minor)
Committee: Allen Hicken (co-chair), William Clark (co-chair), Anna Grzymala-Busse, Mary Gallagher, Daniel Little (sociology)

University of Rochester, B.A. in Political Science, 2002; *Magna cum laude* with honors in political science

Middlebury College, Chinese Summer Language Program, 2000

PUBLICATIONS

Books

2023. *Electoral Malpractice in Asia: Bending the Rules,* ed., with Netina Tan. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing.

2020. *Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years,* ed., with Yun-han Chu and Larry Diamond. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing.

2016. *Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-bian Years*, ed., with Yun-han Chu and Larry Diamond. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing.

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

2026. "Taiwan's Deadlocked Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 37(4): 115-129.

2024. "Taiwan's Transition to Democracy and Beyond (1986-2024)," in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, 2nd Edition, ed. Gunter Schubert. London: Routledge, 51-67.

2023. “When Do Elections Help Autocrats? The Plight of Palestinians under SNTV in Jordan” (with Ella Gao). *Electoral Studies* 86: 102627.

2023. “Taiwan: Raising the Bar,” in *Electoral Malpractice in Asia: Bending the Rules*, ed. Netina Tan and Kharis Templeman. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 65-88.

2022. “How Democratic Is Taiwan?: Evaluating Twenty Years of Political Change,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy,* 18(2): 1-24.

2021. “Xi Doesn’t Need Taiwan,” *Foreign Affairs* 100(5): 223-225.

2020. “How Taiwan Stands Up to China.” *Journal of Democracy* 31(3): 85-99.

2020. “The Party System Before and After the 2016 Elections,” in *Dynamics of Democracy in Taiwan: The Ma Ying-jeou Years,* ed. Kharis Templeman, Yun-han Chu, and Larry Diamond. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 105-129.

2020. “After Hegemony: State Capacity, the Quality of Democracy, and the Legacies of the Party-State in Democratic Taiwan,” in *Stateness and the Quality of Democracy in East Asia*, ed. Aurel Croissant and Olli Hellmann. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 71-102.

2020. “Politics in the Tsai Ing-wen Era,” in *Taiwan: The Development of an Asian Tiger,* ed. Hans Stockton and Yao-yuan Yeh. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 67-96.

2019. “Blessings in Disguise: How Authoritarian Legacies and the China Factor Have Strengthened Democracy in Taiwan,” *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 2(2): 230-263.

2018. “When Do Electoral Quotas Advance Indigenous Representation?: Evidence from the Taiwanese Legislature.” *Ethnopolitics* 17(5): 461-484.

2017. “The China Model: How Successful is the Chinese Regime?” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 177-201.

2014. “Old Concept, New Cases: One-Party Dominance in the Third Wave.” *APSA Annals of Comparative Democratization* 12(3): 2+.

2012. “The Myth of Consociationalism?: Conflict Reduction in Divided Societies,” with Joel Selway. *Comparative Political Studies* 45(12): 1542-1571.

Policy Reports and Papers

2026. “Thinking Through America’s Baseline Priorities on Taiwan,” in *Cross-Strait Crossroads: Pathways for America’s Taiwan Policy,* Brookings Institution, March, pp. 9-18.

2023. “Deepening US-Taiwan Cooperation through Semiconductors,” with Oriana Mastro, in *Silicon Triangle: The United States, Taiwan, China, and Global Semiconductor Security,* ed. Larry Diamond, James O. Ellis Jr., and Orville Schell, Hoover Institution Press, July, pp. 187-225.

2020. “Democracy under Siege: Promoting Cooperation and Common Values in the Indo-Pacific,” Issue Brief, Atlantic Council, January.

2019. “Taiwan’s 2020 Elections,” New Geopolitics of Asia Policy Paper Series, Brookings Institution, December.

2019. “Monitoring the Cross-Strait Balance: Taiwan’s Defense and Security – Workshop Report,” Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, September.

2018. “Taiwan’s Place in the Evolving Security Environment of East Asia – Workshop Report,” Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, July.

2014. “The Politics of Polarization: Taiwan in Comparative Perspective – Conference Report,” Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, December.

2013. “Trans-Pacific Partnership Conference Report,” Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, December.

Other Publications

2026. “Bilateral Recommendations in the Post-Tariff Agreement Era,” *From 'Made in Taiwan' to 'Made with Taiwan' White Paper*, International Artificial Intelligence and Law Research Foundation and Commonwealth Lab, July 2026, pp. 48-55.

2025. “Taiwan after the ‘Great Recalls’: Toward a New Political Equilibrium?,” U.S.-Taiwan Quarterly Analysis Series, Brookings Institution, August 15.

2023. “Chen Shui-bian,” in *Encyclopedia of Taiwan Studies Online*, ed. Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao. London: Brill.

2022. “The 2022 Elections in Review: How Taiwan Failed to Adapt Voting for a Pandemic,” *Taiwan Insight*, December 18.

2022. Book review of *Taiwan and International Human Rights: A Story of Transformation*, edited by Jerome Cohen, William P. Alford, and Chang-fa Lo, Singapore: Springer, 2019. *The China Quarterly*, 249 [March], 298-300.

2022. “Taiwan Is Not Ukraine: Stop Linking Their Fates Together,” *War on the Rocks*, January 27.

2020. “China’s Military Incursions around Taiwan Aren’t a Sign of Imminent Attack,” *The Diplomat*, October 22.

2020. “Can Tsai Ing-wen Avoid the Second Term Curse?” *Taiwan Insight,* June 23.

2019. “Is Taiwan’s Party System Headed for a Crackup?” *Taiwan Insight,* September 23.

2018. “The 2018 Taiwan Local Elections: What Happened?” *Global Taiwan Institute Brief*, November 28.

2018. "The 2018 Local Elections: Five Questions for Election Night," *Taiwan Insight,* November 23.

2018. "Response to 'The State of the Field of Global Taiwan Studies Institutions: A Time for Pessimism or Optimism?'" *International Journal of Taiwan Studies,* 1(2): 371-394.

2018. "Political Reform under Tsai Ing-wen: A Disappointing Record," *Taiwan Insight,* May 29.

2018. "Institutional Profile: The Taiwan Democracy Project at Stanford University," *European Association of Taiwan Studies Newsletter*, January.

2016. "Third Force Parties in the 2016 Election," *Global Taiwan Institute Brief,* November 2.

2016. "Tsai Ing-wen's Pingpuzu Aborigine Challenge," *Ketagalan Media*, August 16.

2014. "The Real Essence of Taiwan's 2014 Elections," *Ketagalan Media*, November 26.

2014. "Crafting a Better Democracy in Taiwan," *Ketagalan Media*, October 15.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Book Project
The Taiwan Party System: Origins, Evolution, and Consequences

Working Papers
"Threats, Alliances, and Electorates: Why Taiwan's Defense Spending Has Declined as China's Has Risen."

"The Origins of Dominant Party Systems."

"At a Dead End: China's Taiwan Policy and America's Response."

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Research and Policy Presentations and Testimony (since 2020)

- "The Future of U.S. & China Conference 2026: A Shifting Global Order," Asia Society of Northern California, January 22, 2026.
- "Sovereign AI Forum," Taiwan Tech Summit in Santa Clara, CA, with Hans Wang and Sergey Sanovich, September 20, 2025
- Panelist, "Taiwan: the U.S.-China Tipping Point?" Chicago Council on Global Affairs, with Rory Daniels and Damien Ma, June 12, 2025
- "Deadlocked: Can Taiwan Make Divided Government Work?" University of Toronto (virtual talk), March 17, 2025
- Panelist, "Pulse Check on Taiwan's Democratic Resilience," Sigur Center, George Washington University, November 18, 2024
- "Post-Election Insights: Taiwan's Future in 2024 and Beyond," Taiwan and Asia Program Conference, Sam Houston State University, October 26-27, 2024.
- UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C., January 30-31, 2024

- "Taiwan's 2024 Presidential and Legislative Elections: What Happened and What It Means," Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, January 25, 2024
- "2024 Future of U.S. and China Conference," Asia Society of Northern California, January 18, 2024
- "Unpacking Taiwan's Election and Global Reactions," Network 20/20, January 16, 2024
- "Taiwan's 2024 General Elections: The Campaign So Far," Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, November 29, 2023
- Panelist, "Making Waves: Taiwan's Presidential Election 2024 Roundtable Discussion," University of Washington, November 1, 2023.
- Panelist, "What Does the Future Hold for Taiwan?" Brookings Institution, May 25, 2023
- "Taiwan's Local Election Results: What Happened and What It Means," Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution, November 29, 2022
- Panelist, "Taiwan's Local Elections: Domestic Politics, Global Implications," Jamestown Foundation, November 29, 2022
- Panelist, "2022 U.S.-China Subnational Symposium," National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, University of Michigan, November 14-16, 2022
- "Can Peace Be Preserved across the Taiwan Strait?" Peninsula Chapter of World Affairs, Los Altos, CA, November 2, 2022
- Panelist, "Prospects and Challenges for Taiwan in the Years Ahead," Brookings Institution, May 26, 2022
- Panelist, "Defending Democracy Worldwide: Strengthening Taiwan's Democratic Resilience," Atlantic Council, December 9, 2021
- Panelist, "The Whole-of-Government Approach: Risk Management and Strategic Communication," INDSR Taipei Security Dialogue, September 24, 2021
- Panelist, "Comparing Hong Kong's Democracy Movement to Taiwan's." Past and Present Movements in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Myanmar, George Washington University, June 28, 2021
- "Tensions over Taiwan: Implications for U.S. – China Relations," Network 20/20, February 25, 2021
- "Political Calculations underlying Cross-Strait Deterrence," testimony before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, February 18, 2021
- Panelist, "COVID-19 in Asia: Approaches and Different Impacts in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan," Portland State University, May 2020
- "Taiwan's 2020 Elections: Results and Implications," Institute for Asian Studies, Portland State University, January 2020; University of South Carolina, February 2020
- Panelist, "Critical Vote: A Taiwan Post-Election Roundtable," Taiwan Studies Program, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, January 2020
- Panelist, "Post-Election Outlook for Taiwan and Beyond: Stability or Uncertainty?" Fulbright Taiwan & Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taipei, Taiwan, January 2020
- "Taiwan's 2020 Presidential and Legislative Elections," Hoover Institution, Stanford University, December 2019

Research Fieldwork
As Stanford Research Scholar:

- Taiwan: March 2013, December 2013, August 2014, December 2014, September 2015, January 2016, August 2016, December 2016, March 2017, December 2017, March 2018, September 2018, September-October 2019, January 2020, March-April 2023, August 2023, January 2024, September 2024, July 2025

As Doctoral Student:

- Taiwan: June 2006, August 2006, April-December 2007, March 2008, June-July 2008
- Beijing, P.R. China: July 2006

Research Grants and Fellowships

As Stanford Research Scholar:

- **U.S.-Taiwan Next Generation Working Group**, Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley, 2020-2023.
- **Taiwan Fellowship**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs fieldwork research grant, Fall 2019 (declined)
- **National Asia Research Program (NARP) Research Fellow**, National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), 2019
- **Taipei Economic and Cultural Office** (TECO) program grant, $240,000; renewed annually 2014 – 2023.

Other Research Activities

- Participant, Global Policy and Strategy Initiative, Hoover Institution, 2020 – present
- Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, regional manager for Northeast and Southeast Asia, 2012 – present
- "Pre-Electoral Manipulation in Asia" project participant (Netina Tan, Principal Investigator), 2016 – 2023
- "State Capacity and The Quality of Democracy in East Asia" project participant (Aurel Croissant and Olli Hellmann, Principal Investigators), 2015-2019

Consulting Activities

- U.S. Department of State
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy
- Batbridge Entertainment
- Sundance Institute (Humanities Sustainability Fellowship Advisor)
- Gerson Lehrman Group
- Tegus
- Kirkoswald Capital Partners

Translation

- Election Study Center, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, 2004-2007
- Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Taipei, Taiwan, 2007
- LawInfoChina.com, Peking University, Beijing, P.R. China, 2000

TEACHING

Principal Instructor

- Taiwan's Democratic Evolution, Spring 2016 (Political Science); Spring 2017, Winter 2019, Winter 2022, Winter 2023, Spring 2025 (East Asian Studies), **Stanford University**

- Taiwan Security Issues, Fall 2020, Spring 2024, Winter 2026 (East Asian Studies) **Stanford University**
- "Flashpoint: Taiwan: U.S.-China Tensions in the 21st Century," Stanford Continuing Studies, Summer 2025, **Stanford University**
- Identity, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy, Fall 2012 (senior seminar, International Studies Program), **University of Michigan**
- Introduction to Comparative Government, Winter 2012 (Political Science) **Eastern Michigan University**
- Who Are 'We the People'?: Identity and Democratic Politics, Winter 2010 (freshman writing seminar), **University of Michigan**
- Parties and Elections in Comparative Perspective, Spring 2009 (Political Science), **University of Michigan**

Student Mentoring and Travel Study

- Lecturer and student adviser, Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University
- Faculty co-leader, Bing Overseas Study Program study trip to Taiwan, June-July 2025
- Faculty leader, Knight Hennessy Scholars study trip to Taiwan, December 2023
- Research fellow lead, Hoover Institution Veteran Fellows Program study trip to Taiwan, August 2023
- Adviser, Stanford Global Policy summer internship: 2015 (Formosa Television); 2016 (Taoyuan City Government); 2017-18 (Taiwan Foundation for Democracy); 2019 (Institute for National Defense and Security Research)
- Adviser, Stanford in Government summer internship: 2018 (Legislative Yuan, Office of Legislator Jason Hsu)

SERVICE

Journal and Book Referee, *American Journal of Chinese Studies; American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review; Asian Journal of Comparative Politics; Asian Perspective; British Journal of Political Science; Brookings Institution; Comparative Political Studies; Comparative Politics; East Asia Forum; Electoral Studies; European Journal of East Asian Studies; Governance; International Journal of Taiwan Studies; International Political Science Review; International Relations of the Asia Pacific; Issues and Studies; Journal of Asian and African Studies; Journal of East Asian Studies; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties; Journal of Empirical Legal Studies; Journal of Global Security Studies; Japanese Journal of Political Science; Journal of Politics; Lynne Rienner Publishing; Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Pacific Affairs; Pacific Review; Party Politics; Politics, Groups and Identity; Public Opinion Quarterly; Representation; Review of International Political Economy; Routledge; Studies in Comparative International Development; Taiwan Journal of Democracy, World Politics*

Selection Committee Member

- Stanford CEAS MA Admissions Committee, 2025, 2026
- Stanford Global Studies Taiwan internships, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026
- Stanford CEAS Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Chinese Studies, 2023, 2024
- Chiu Scholarly Exchange Program in Taiwan Studies, Oregon State University, 2023-24
- Stanford CDDRL Pre- and Post-Doctoral Fellows, 2014-15, 2015-16, 2016-

17, 2017-18, Stanford University
- APSA CGOTS proposal reviewer, 2016, 2017, 2018
- NATSA proposal reviewer, 2014, 2020

Conferences and Events Planned, (Lead or Co-Organizer, since 2020)
- "The FIMI Challenge: Countering Foreign Information Manipulation and Interference in Taiwan and the United States," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific, Quarterly Symposium, March 9, 2026
- "The International Dimensions of China's Lawfare against Taiwan," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific, Quarterly Symposium, November 14, 2025
- "Boom or Bust: Can Taiwan Secure the Energy Supplies It Needs to Meet Its High-Tech Aspirations?" Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Quarterly Symposium, April 10, 2025
- "Taiwan after the 2024 Elections," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Annual Conference, May 23-24, 2024
- "Meeting the Challenges of Governance," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region Annual Conference, May 22-23, 2023
- "Taiwan's Economic Security in a Changing Global Environment," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region Annual Conference, November 11-12, 2022
- "Changes in US-China Relations and Prospects for Cross-Strait Relations," joint INDSR-Hoover conference, co-organizer, October 19-20, 2021
- "Ensuring Peace in the Taiwan Strait," Hoover Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region Annual Conference, Stanford University, September 27-28, 2021

Other Recent Conference Activities
- American Political Science Association, Conference Group on Taiwan Studies (CGOTS), **Coordinator, 2016-2018**
- American Political Science Association (APSA) 2016 Annual Conference, discussant, Conference Group on Taiwan Studies (CGOTS) panel

Professional Affiliations
- American Political Science Association (APSA)
- Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA)
- International Political Science Association (IPSA)
- North American Taiwanese Studies Association (NATSA), **board member, 2016-17**
- American Association of Chinese Studies (AACS)
- Association of Asian Studies (AAS)

LANGUAGES

Mandarin Chinese (advanced)

REFERENCES

Allen D. Hicken, Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
E-mail: ahicken@umich.edu
Tel: 734.615.9105

Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow
Freeman Spogli Institute for Int. Studies
Stanford University
Email: ldiamond@stanford.edu
Tel: 650.724.6448

Mary Gallagher, Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Email: metg@umich.edu
Tel: 734.615.9154

Anna Grzymala-Busse, Professor
Department of Political Science
Stanford University
Email: amgbusse@stanford.edu
Tel: 650.723.4270