

# KHARIS TEMPLEMAN

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## POSITION

Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, **Stanford University**, September 2020 – present

Adviser to the Project on Taiwan in the Indo-Pacific Region, Hoover Institution,  
**Stanford University**, July 2019 – Aug 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 (2<sup>nd</sup> 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

Forthcoming. *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.

### Articles and Book Chapters

Forthcoming. “When Do Elections Help Autocrats? The Plight of Palestinians under  
SNTV in Jordan” (with Ella Gao). Conditional acceptance at *Electoral  
Studies*.

Forthcoming. “Taiwan: Raising the Bar,” in *Electoral Malpractice in Asia: Bending  
the Rules*.

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**

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**

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. “Taiwan’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 Projects**

*Governing Taiwan: Making Democracy Work.*

*Distorted Democracies: Party System Asymmetry and the Sources of One-Party Dominance.*

**Working Papers**

“Threats, Alliances, and Electorates: Why Taiwan’s Defense Spending Has Declined as China’s Has Risen.”

“At a Dead End: China’s Taiwan Policy and America’s Response.”

“The Origins of Dominant Party Systems.”

**Datasets**

*Electorally Contested Regimes Dataset (ECRD)*. In progress. Data to measure ruling party duration in electoral autocracies and democracies, 1950-2022. Companion to *Distorted Democracies* book project.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

**Research and Policy Presentations and Testimony (since 2013)**

- “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.
- Presentation, “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.
- “Comparing Hong Kong’s Democracy Movement to Taiwan’s.” Panel on 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*, Zoom webinar, 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.
- “Countering Chinese Influence Campaigns against Taiwan: The 2020 Elections and Beyond,” Institute for National Defense and Security Research, Taipei, Taiwan, October 2019.
- “The Political Economy of Defense Spending in Taiwan,” Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, RAND, Santa Monica, CA, July 2019
- “The Dynamics of Taiwan’s Party System,” Taiwan Studies Programme Conference, University of Nottingham, June 2019
- “Threats, Alliances, and Electorates: The Politics of Defense Policy in Taiwan,” Asia Policy Assembly, Washington, DC, June 2019
- “The Politics of Defense and Security in Taiwan,” Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, HI, February 2019
- “Indigenous Representation in the Taiwanese Legislature,” Conference on Beyond Numbers: Comparing Mechanisms for Substantive Representation of Ethnic Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, McMaster University, December 2018
- “Taiwan’s 2018 Local Elections: What Happened?” APARC, Stanford University, November 2018
- “Up, Down, or Out?: Evaluating the Tsai Administration’s Progress and Prospects at Midterm,” Institute for Taiwan Studies, Rosemead, CA, November 2018
- “Authoritarian Legacies, Party System Institutionalization, and the Quality of Democracy in Taiwan,” World Congress of Taiwan Studies, Taipei, Taiwan, September 2018
- Panelist, “Taiwan and the World,” Chapman University, April 2018
- “Taiwan and the Evolving Trade and Security Environment of East Asia,” AmCham Taipei, March 2018
- “Taiwan’s Democratic Consolidation: Achievements and Remaining Challenges,” Stanford Alumni Club of Taiwan, December 2017
- “Threats, Alliances, and Electorates: Solving the Puzzle of Taiwan’s Defense Spending,” National Sun Yat-sen University, December 2017
- “Indigenous Representation in the Taiwanese Legislature,” School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Taiwan Studies Programme, September 2017
- “Why the KMT Eliminated Electoral Fraud under Martial Law,” American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference, September 2017
- “Taiwan’s Domestic Political Regime under Tsai Ing-wen and the DPP,” University of St. Thomas, Houston, TX, April 2017
- “Taiwan’s 2016 General Election: Realignment or Deviation?” University of South Carolina, September 2016
- “Reflections on Taiwan’s Democracy during the Ma Ying-jeou Era in Taiwan,” Roundtable Panel, Association of Asian Studies, April 2016
- “Taiwan’s 2016 Presidential and Legislative Elections,” CDDRL, Stanford University, January 2016
- Panelist, “New Era in US-Taiwan Relations,” Ketagalan Media, Taipei, January 2016
- “Domestic Challenges and Opportunities Facing Taiwan’s Next President,” George Washington University, December 2015
- “Why Taiwan’s Defense Spending Has Fallen as China’s Has Risen,” CDDRL, Stanford University, May 2015; also at American Association of Chinese Studies Annual Conference, Houston, TX, October 2015
- “The Goldilocks State: State Capacity and Democratization in Taiwan,”

workshop on State Capacity and the Quality of Democracy in East Asia, McGill University, September 2015

- “The Origins, Evolution, and Consequences of Separate Aborigine Constituencies in the Taiwanese Legislature,” at International Political Science Association, Montreal, July 2014; at American Political Science Association, Washington DC, September 2014
- “Explaining Dominance: The Sources of Long-Lived One-Party Rule in Electorally Contested Regimes,” CDDRL, Stanford University, May 2014
- “After the Revolution: Ruling Party Survival in New Electorally Contested Regimes” at Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 2014
- “One-Party Dominance as Ruling Party Duration: An Empirical Investigation” at American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2013

### **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.

*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)** annual program grant, \$240,000; renewed 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018

*As Doctoral Student*

- Rackham One-Term Dissertation Fellowship, 2011
- Dissertation Writing Fellowship, Sweetland Writing Institute, 2010
- Summer Collaboration Research Grant (w/ Allen Hicken), Rackham Graduate School, 2008
- Dissertation Summer Research Grant, Dept. of Political Science, 2008
- Dissertation Fellowship, **Taiwan Foundation for Democracy**, 2007
- Graduate Student Research Grant, Rackham Graduate School, 2007
- Graduate Seminar on Global Transformations Pre-Dissertation Research Grant, Advanced Study Center, 2007
- Pre-dissertation Research Grant, Rackham Graduate School, 2007
- Univ. Michigan-Peking University Beijing Joint Summer Seminar Grant, Center for Chinese Studies, 2006
- Summer Collaboration Research Grant (w/ Allen Hicken), Department of Political Science, 2005

### **Other Research Activities**

- Participant, Hoover National Security Task Force, 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 – present
- “State Capacity and The Quality of Democracy in East Asia” project participant (Aurel Croissant and Olli Hellmann, Principal Investigators), 2015-2019.

### **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 (East Asian Studies), **Stanford University**
- Taiwan Security Issues, Fall 2020 (East Asian Studies), **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 at Stanford University**

- 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)
- Lecturer and student adviser, Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University

### **Teaching Assistant at University of Michigan**

- Globalization and International Security, Fall 2009 (P. Potter)
- The Challenges Facing Public Research Universities in America, Winter 2009 (P. Courant, J. Duderstadt, E. Goldenberg)
- Comparative Analysis of Government Institutions, Fall 2008 (G. Tsebelis)
- A Game-Theoretic Approach to West European Politics, Fall 2008 (G. Tsebelis)
- Government and Politics of Southeast Asia, Fall 2008 (A. Hicken)
- China’s Evolution under Communism, Winter 2008 (M. Gallagher); Fall 2006 (K. Lieberthal)
- Introduction to Comparative Politics, Fall 2004 (M. Woo-Cumings)

### **Teaching Awards at University of Michigan**

- Kingdon Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award, Dept. of Political Science, 2009-2010 (three awarded yearly)
- Sweetland Writing Center Junior Fellow, 2009-2010
- Undergraduate Honors Program Junior Fellow, College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, 2007-2008

## SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

**Journal and Book Referee**, *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Asian Perspective*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Brookings Institution*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *Governance*, *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*, *International Political Science Review*, *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *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*, *Party Politics*, *Representation*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Routledge*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*

### Selection Committee Member

- Chiu Scholarly Exchange Program in Taiwan Studies, Oregon State University, 2023-24.
- CEAS Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Chinese Studies, 2023-24.
- Stanford Global Studies Taiwan internships, 2023.
- 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)

- “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
- Kaohsiung Mayor Han Kuo-yu visit to Stanford University, April 15, 2019
- “Monitoring the Cross-Strait Balance: Taiwan’s Defense and Security,” Taiwan Democracy and Security Project (TDSP) Annual Workshop, Stanford University, March 4-5, 2019
- Former New Taipei Mayor Eric Chu visit to Stanford University, February 19, 2019
- Former ROC (Taiwan) President Ma Ying-jeou visit to Stanford University, April 11, 2018
- “Taiwan’s Place in the Evolving Security Environment of East Asia,” TDSP Annual Workshop, Stanford University, March 5-6, 2018
- “Electoral Malpractice in East and Southeast Asia,” American Political Science Association mini-conference, September 2, 2017
- “Taiwan as Practice, Theory, and Method,” North American Taiwan Studies



- Association Annual Conference, Stanford University, May 25-27, 2017
- “Taiwan’s Democracy in the Ma Ying-jeou Era,” Taiwan Democracy Project (TDP) Annual Conference, Stanford University, March 9-10, 2017
- “Taiwan at a Crossroads: Options and Prospects for Constitutional Reform,” TDP Annual Conference, Stanford University, October 26-27, 2015
- DPP Chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen visit to Stanford University, June 8, 2015
- Videoconference with ROC (Taiwan) President Ma Ying-jeou, June 2, 2015
- “The Politics of Polarization: Taiwan in Comparative Perspective,” TDP Annual Conference, Stanford University, October 17-18, 2014
- “Conference on Dominant Party Systems,” May 9-10, 2014, at University of Michigan
- Videoconference with ROC (Taiwan) President Ma Ying-jeou, April 9, 2014
- “The Trans-Pacific Partnership and Taiwan’s Future Development Strategy,” TDP Annual Conference, Stanford University, October 11-12, 2013

#### **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
- APSA 2015, discussant, CGOTS panel
- Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) 2012 annual conference, chair and discussant, “Dominant Party Regimes: Formation and Transformation”

#### **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  
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Anna Grzymala-Busse, Professor  
 Department of Political Science  
 Stanford University  
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