

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 (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.

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*.

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

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)

- 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.
- 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
Tel: 734.615.9154

Anna Grzymala-Busse, Professor
Department of Political Science
Stanford University
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Tel: 650.723.4270