

Ming-sho Ho

何明修

Distinguished Professor
Department of Sociology
National Taiwan University

Last updated: 2024/11/1

Email : msho@ntu.edu.tw; mingshoho@gmail.com

Address : Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University, No. 1, Roosevelt Rd.
sec 4., Taipei City, 10617, Taiwan
(O) 886-2-33661227
(Fax) 886-2-23683531

Education

Ph. D. in Sociology, National Taiwan University (2000)
BA in Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University (1995)

Academic Honors/Services

Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, National Science and
Technology Council, Director (2021-2023)
Sumitomo Foundation Grant (2020)
Academia Sinica Scholarly Monograph Award in the Humanities and Social Sciences
(Academia Sinica, Taiwan)(2019)
Harvard-Yenching Visiting Scholar Grant (2018-2019)
Outstanding Research Award (Ministry of Science and Technology, Taiwan) (2015,
2021)
Dr. Wu Ta-yu's Award for Young Scholars (National Science Council, Taiwan) (2008)
Fulbright Postdoctoral Grant (2004-2005)
Ministry of Education's Grant for International Study (2004-2005)
The Best Ph. D. Dissertation Award, Taiwan's Sociological Association (2001)
Ph. D. Candidate Support Grant, Academia Sinica (1999-2000)
Visiting Scholar Grant, Chinese University of Hong Kong (1998)

Research Interests

Social movements, sociology of labor, environmental sociology

Teaching Experience

Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University (2009-now)
 Graduate Institute of Sociology, National Sun Yat-sen University (2008-2009)
 Department of Applied Sociology, Nanhua University (2001-2008)

Publications

Journal articles in English

2024, with Wei An Chen, "Tactical Choices of Diaspora Movements: Comparing Hongkonger, Thai, Burmese, and Ukrainian Mobilizations in Taiwan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2024.2372041.

2024, "Movement Meaning of Money: Monetary Mobilization in Hong Kong's Prodemocracy Movement." *Sociological Review* 72(2): 432-450.

2023, "Relational Tactics and Trust in High-risk Activism: Anonymity, Preexisting Ties, and Bonding in Hong Kong's 2019-20 Protest." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 65(4): 499-516.

2023, with Yun-Chung Ting, "Contentious Institutionalization of Protests under Democracy: The Evidence from Taiwan, 1986-2016." *Government and Opposition* 59(3): 825-844.

2023, "Hongkongers' International Front: The Diaspora Activism During and After the 2019 Anti-Extradition Protest." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 54(2): 238-259.

2022, with Yao-Tai Li, "'I became a Taiwanese after I left Taiwan': Identity Shift among Young Immigrants in the United States." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 30(2): 237-256.

2022, "Desinicizing Taiwan: The Making of a Democratic National Identity." *Current History* 121 (836): 211-217.

2021, with Wai Ki Wan, "Universities as an Arena of Contentious Politics: Mobilization and Control in Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Movement of 2019." *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 32(2): 313-336.

2021, "Aiming for Achilles' Heel: A Relational Explanation of the Ascendancy of Pro-Nuclear Activism in Taiwan, 2013-2020." *Social Movement Studies* 22(5-6): 628-647.

2020, "Changing Memory of Tiananmen Incident in Taiwan: From Patriotism to Universal Values (1989-2019)." *China Information* 36(1): 90-111.

2020, "How Protesters Evolve: Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Movement Learned the Lesson of the Umbrella Movement." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 25 (SI): 711-728.

2020, "From Unionism to Youth Activism: Taiwan's Politics of Working Hours." *China Information* 34(3): 406-426.

2019, "Taiwan's Road to Marriage Equality: Politics of Legalizing Same-sex

- Marriage.” *China Quarterly* 238: 482-503.
- 2018, “The Historical Breakthroughs of Taiwan’s Anti-Nuclear Movement: The Making of a Militant Citizen Movement.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 48(3): 445-464.
- 2018, “From Mobilization to Improvisation: The Lessons from Taiwan’s 2014 Sunflower Movement.” *Social Movement Studies* 17(2): 189-202.
- 2018, with Chun-Hao Huang and Chun-Ta Juan, “The Institutionalization of Social Movement Study in Taiwan: A State-of-the-field Report.” *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1(1): 115-140.
- 2017, with Chunhao Huang, “Movement Parties in Taiwan (1987-2016): A Political Opportunity Explanation.” *Asian Survey* 57(2): 343-367.
- 2016, “Making an Opportunity: Strategic Bipartisanship in Taiwan’s Environmental Movement.” *Sociological Perspectives* 59(3): 543-560.
- 2015, “The Dialectic of Institutional and Extra-Institutional Tactics: Explaining the Trajectory of Taiwan’s Labor Movement.” *Development and Society* 44(2): 247-274.
- 2015, “Occupy Congress in Taiwan: Political Opportunity, Threat and the Sunflower Movement,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(1): 69-97.
- 2014, “The Fukushima Effect: Explaining the Recent Resurgence of the Anti-Nuclear Movement in Taiwan.” *Environmental Politics* 23(6): 965-983.
- 2014, “Resisting Naphtha Crackers: A Historical Survey of Environmental Politics in Taiwan.” *China Perspectives* 2014/3: 5-14.
- 2014, “From Resistance to Accommodation: Taiwanese Working Class in the Early Postwar Era (1945-1955).” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 44(3): 479-499.
- 2012, “Beyond Tokenism: Institutional Conversion of Party-controlled Labor Unions in Taiwan’s State-owned Enterprises (1951-1986).” *China Quarterly* 212: 1019-1039.
- 2012, with Chen-Shuo Hong, “Challenging New Conservative Regimes in South Korea and Taiwan: A Comparison of the Anti-American Beef Protests.” *Asian Survey* 52(4): 643-665.
- 2012, “Sponsoring Civil Society: State and Community Movement in Taiwan.” *Sociological Inquiry* 82(3): 404-423.
- 2011, with Jane Hindley, “The Humanist Challenge in Taiwan’s Education: Liberation, Social Justice and Ecology.” *Capitalism, Nature and Socialism* 22(1): 76-94.
- 2011, with Jane Hindley, and Hua-Mei Chiu, “Introduction: Neoliberalism, Social Movements and the Environment in Taiwan.” *Capitalism, Nature and Socialism* 22(1): 18-21. [A special issue co-edited by the author]
- 2010, “Manufacturing Loyalty: Political Mobilization of Labor in Taiwan (1950-1986).” *Modern China* 36(6): 559-588.

- 2010, "To Co-opt Social Ties: How Taiwanese Petrochemical Industry Neutralized Environmental Opposition." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15(4): 447-463.
- 2008, "Contentious Democratization of Environment: Militarism, Conservation and Livelihood in a Taiwanese Community." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 36(2): 269-291.
- 2008, "Control by Containment: Politics of Institutionalizing Pollution Disputes in Taiwan." *Environment and Planning (A)* 40(10): 2402-2418.
- 2007, "The Rise and Fall of Leninist Control of Taiwan's Industry." *China Quarterly* 189: 162-179.
- 2006, "Challenging State Corporatism: Politics of Labor Federation Movement in Taiwan." *China Journal* 56: 107-127.
- 2006, "The Politics of Preschool Education Vouchers in Taiwan." *Comparative Education Review* 50(1): 66-89.
- 2005, "Taiwan's State and Social Movements under the DPP Government (2000-2004)." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 5: 401-425.
- 2005, "Protest as Community Revival: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Anti-Pollution Movement." *African and Asian Studies* 4(3) 237-269.
- 2005, "Weakened State and Social Movement: The Paradox of Taiwanese Environmental Politics after the Power Transfer." *Journal of Contemporary China* 14: 339-352.
- 2004, "Contested Governance between Politics and Professionalism in Taiwan." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 34(2): 238-253.
- 2003, "Democratization and Autonomous Unionism in Taiwan: The Case of Petrochemical Workers." *Issues and Studies* 39(3): 105-136.
- 2003, "The Politics of Anti-Nuclear Protest in Taiwan: A Case of Party-Dependent Movement (1980-2000)." *Modern Asian Studies* 37: 683-708.

Books in English

- Forthcoming, *Be Water: Collective Improvisation in Hong Kong's Anti-Extradition Protests*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- 2021, *Environmental Movements and Politics of the Asian Anthropocene*, co-edited with Paul Jobin and Michael Hsin-huang Hsiao. Singapore: ISEAS.
- 2019, *Challenging Beijing's Mandate of Heaven: Taiwan's Sunflower Movement and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- 2014, *Working-Class Formation in Taiwan: Fractured Solidarity in State-Owned Enterprises, 1945-2012*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Book chapters in English

2024, "Geopolitics in Taiwan," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Geopolitics*, ed. by Zak Cope. London: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-25399-7_38-1.

2022, "China's Influence Campaigns among Taiwan's Religious Organization," in *Global Civil Society in a Geopolitical Age: How Civic Activism Is Being Reshaped by Great Power Competition*, ed. by Richard Youngs. Washington DC: Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, pp.7-12.

2022, "The Lifting of Martial Law and the Rise of Taiwan's Independent *Labour Movement*," in *Proletarian China*, eds. by Ivan Franceschini and Christian Sorace. London: Verso, pp. 486-494.

2022, with Chun-hao Huang, "The War of Referenda in 2018: Analyzing and Interaction between Social Movements and Political Parties," in *Taiwan During the First Tsai Ing-wen: Navigating in Stormy Waters*, eds. By Gunter Schubert and Chun-yi Lee. London: Routledge, pp.142-166.

2020, "Watchdogs and Partners: Taiwan's Civil Society Organizations," in *Global Civil Society in the Shadow of Coronavirus*, ed. by Richard Youngs. Washington DC: Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, pp.11-16.

2020, with Chun-hao Huang and Liang-ying Lin, 2020 "The Sunflower Imagination: The Movement Perception and Evaluation from the Grassroots," in *Sunflowers and Umbrellas Social Movements, Expressive Practices, and Political Culture in Taiwan and Hong Kong*, eds. by Thomas Gold and Sebastian Veg. Berkeley, CA: University of California Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies, pp. 42-67.

2020, "The Religion-Based Conservative Countermovement in Taiwan: Origin, Tactics and Impacts," in *Civil Society and the State in Democratic East Asia between Entanglement and Contentious Space in Post High Growth*, eds. by David Chiavacci, Simona A. Grano and Julia Obinger. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 141-166.

2019, "The Road to Mainstream Politics: How Taiwan's Sunflower Movement Activists Became Politicians," in *After Protest: Pathways Beyond Mass Mobilization*, ed. by Richard Youngs. Washington DC: Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, pp. 61-68.

2019, with Thung-hong Lin, "The Power of Sunflower: The Origin and the Impact of Taiwan's Protest against Free Trade with China," in *The Umbrella Movement: Civil Resistance and Contentious Space in Hong Kong*, eds. by Ngok Ma and Edmund W. Cheng. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 279-310.

2018, "Electoral and Party Politics after the Sunflower Movement," in *A New Era in*

Democratic Taiwan: Trajectories and Turning points in Politics and Cross-Strait Relations, eds. by Jonathan Sullivan and Chun-Yi Lee. London: Routledge, pp. 83-103.

2018, "The Rise of Civil Society Activism in the Ma Ying-jeou Era: The Genesis and Outcomes of the Sunflower Movement," in *Hopeful Begin, Hopeless End? Assessing the Presidency of Ma Ying-jiu in Taiwan (2008-2016)*, eds. by André Beckershoff and Gunter Schubert. London: Routledge, pp. 109-131.

2017, with I-Lun Tsai. "A Tale of Two Offshore Islands: Anti-Casino Movements in Penghu and Mazu," in *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou*. London: Routledge, pp. 54-70.

2016, "Labor Movement," in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, ed. by Gunter Schubert. London: Routledge, pp.280-296.

2016, "State Corporatism," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, eds. by John Stone et al. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

DOI: 10.1002/9781118663202.wberen366.

2014, "The Resurgence of Social Movements under the Ma Ying-jeou Government: A Political Opportunity Structure Perspective," in *Political Changes in Taiwan Under Ma Ying-jeou: Partisan Conflict, Policy Choices, External Constraints and Security Challenges*, eds. by Jean-Pierre Cabestan and Jacques DeLisle, pp.100-119. London: Routledge.

2014, "The Political Ambiguity of Middle Class Activism in Taiwan: The Case of Urban Conservationists in Kaohsiung City," in *Chinese Middle Classes: Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and China*, pp. 215-233, ed. by Hsin-huang Michael Hsiao. London: Routledge.

2013, "Lukang Anti-DuPont Movement (Taiwan)," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, vol. II, pp. 701-703, eds. by David A. Snow et al. Oxford: Blackwell.

2012, "Politics of Labor Federation Movement in Taiwan (1994-2008)," in *From Unity to Multiplicities: Social Movement Transformation and Democratization in Asia*, eds. by Hee-Yeon Cho et al., pp. 113-138. Selangor (Malaysia): Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.

2011, "Manufacturing Manhood: The Culture of Hegemonic Masculinity in Taiwan's Labor Movement," in *Politics of Difference in Taiwan*, eds. by Tak-Wing Ngo and Hong-zen Wang, pp. 78-97. London: Routledge.

2011, "Environmental Movement in Democratizing Taiwan (1980-2004): A Political

Opportunity Structure Perspective,” in *East Asian Social Movements*, eds. by Jeffrey Broadbent and Vickie Brockman, pp. 283-314. New York: Springer.

2011, with Jeffrey Broadbent, “Introduction to Taiwanese Society, Culture and Politics,” in *East Asian Social Movements*, eds. by Jeffrey Broadbent and Vickie Brockman, pp. 231-235. New York: Springer.

2010, with Michael Hsin-huang Hsiao, “Civil Society and Democracw-Making in Taiwan: Reexamining its Link,” in *East Asia's New Democracies: Deepening, Reversal, and Non-liberal Alternatives*, eds. by Yin-wah Chu and Siu-lun Wong, pp. 43-64. London: Routledge.

2006, “Neo-Centrist Labour Policy in Practice: The DPP and Taiwanese Working Class,” in *What Has Changed? Taiwan Before and After the Change in Ruling Party*, ed. by Dafydd Fell et al., pp. 129-146. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Other Publications in English

2024, “Book Review of Social Forces in the Re-Making of Cross-Strait Relations: Hegemony and Social Movements in Taiwan.” *China Quarterly*, doi.org/10.1017/S0305741024000523.

2023, “Book Review of *Effective Advocacy: Lessons from East Asia's Environmentalists*.” *Global Environmental Politics* 23(2): 148-149.

2023, “Overseas Young Taiwanese' Search for Their Own Identity.” Identities Blog, <https://bit.ly/3R930Ju>, 2023/1/27.

2022, “Book Review of *Evolutionary Governance in China: State–Society Relations under Authoritarianism*.” Melbourne Asia Review, <https://bit.ly/3gt4Ve2>, 2022/11/23.

2022, “Exploring Worldwide Democratic Innovations: A Case Study of Taiwan.” A European Democracy Hub case study, <https://bit.ly/3OmmNCD>.

2022, “Where Have all the Sunflowers Gone? A Reflection on the Eighth Anniversary of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement” China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <https://bit.ly/3COPVhC>, 2022/3/16.

2021, with Wei An Chen, “Peddling the Revolution? How Hong Kong's Protesters became Online Vendors in Taiwan,” *Made in China Journal* 6(3): 94-99.

2021, ““Dried Mango””: Taiwan's Fiercely Democratic Young Voters,” *Journal of the European Association for Chinese Studies* 2: 197-203.

2021, “Is Taiwan Ready to Go Net Zero by 2050?” Taiwan Insight, University of Nottingham, Taiwan Study Programme, <https://bit.ly/2Yjgnjx>, 2021/11/4.

2021, “Review of Politics and Cultural Nativism in 1970s Taiwan Youth, Narrative, and Nationalism.” *International Journal of Asian Studies*, doi:10.1017/S1479591421000620.

- 2021, with Carnegie Civic Research Network, *Civil Society and the Global Pandemic: Building Back Different?*, <https://bit.ly/3menJwH>.
- 2021, "Review of Dafydd Fell's Taiwan's Green Parties: Alternative Politics in Taiwan." *China Quarterly* 247: 921-923.
- 2021, "Mountain Hiking as Taiwan New National Pastime." Taiwan Insight, University of Nottingham, Taiwan Study Programme, <https://cutt.ly/vQiDwtt>, 2021/7/28.
- 2021, "The Last Green Mile: Is Taiwan's Antinuclear Movement Gearing for a Final Confrontation." Taiwan Insight, University of Nottingham, Taiwan Study Programme, <https://cutt.ly/rQiDi7i>, 2020/3/23.
- 2021, "Taiwan's West Berlin moment." *Mekong Review*, 2021/6/24, <https://bit.ly/3gZ5oAT>.
- 2020, "Why Do Taiwan's Environmentalists Oppose Renewable Energy Facilities?" China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <https://bit.ly/3fsqg1B>, 2018/7/13.
- 2019, with Dana Triff, "'Restore Hong Kong, Revolution of Our Times': Pro-democracy Protests Are Once again 'occupying' Hong Kong." *Eastern Focus* 3: 74-81
- 2019, "Why Was the Sunflower Movement Successful?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 19(3): 309-311.
- 2018, "The Activist Legacy of Taiwan's Sunflower Movement." Carnegie Foundation for International Peace Research Paper, <https://goo.gl/MTMkaU>, 2018/8/2.
- 2018, "How the Grassroots Initiatives Will Shape Taiwan's Environmental Future." China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <https://reurl.cc/A1qbaj>, 2018/4/25.
- 2018, "The New Anti-Air Pollution Movement: Social Construction in Taiwan." Taiwan Insight, University of Nottingham, <https://goo.gl/CKifjX>, 2018/1/2.
- 2017, "Review of Simona A Grano's *Environmental Governance in Taiwan: A New Generation of Activists and Stakeholders*." *Asiatische Studien* 70(4): 144-1452.
- 2016, "The Umbrella Movement and Hong Kong's Legco Election." China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <http://goo.gl/9HOnbX>, 2016/9/16.
- 2015, "Review of Chinese Workers in Comparative Perspective, ed. by Anita Chan." *China Perspectives* 2015/4: 73-74.
- 2015, "The Sunflower Movement and Taiwan's Embattled Sociology." *Global Dialogue: Newsletter for the International Sociological Association* 5(4), <http://goo.gl/atdk1i>.
- 2014, "A Revolt against Chinese Intellectualism: Understanding the Protest Script in Taiwan's Sunflower Movement of 2014." *Mobilizing Ideas*, <http://goo.gl/isGj6L>,

2014/12/2.

2014, "Taiwan's Anti-Nuclear Protest Reenergized by Sunflower Movement." China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <http://goo.gl/YMcwUe>, 2014/9/23.

2014, with Kingshyon Lee, "The Maoming Anti-PX Protest of 2014: An Environmental Movement in Contemporary China," *China Perspectives* 2014/3: 33-39.

2013, "Democracy on Trial: Social Movements and Cultural Politics in Postauthoritarian Taiwan, by Ya-Chung Chuang." Book Review, *China Quarterly* 216: 1071-1073.

2013, "The Summer of Our Discontents." China Policy Institute Blog, University of Nottingham, <http://goo.gl/RLG1vr>.

2011, with Jane Hindley and Hua-Mei Chiu, "Introduction: Neoliberalism, Social Movements and the Environment in Taiwan," *Capitalism, Nature and Socialism* 22(1): 18-21.

2005, "Choosing Choice: School Choice in International Perspective, edited by David Plank and Gary Sykes." Book review, *Comparative Education Review* 49(4): 595-596.