

Ming-sho Ho

何明修

Distinguished Professor

Department of Sociology

National Taiwan University

Last updated: 2025/12/30

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

Australian National University Centre on China in the World Visiting Fellow (2026)

Rikkyo University, Visiting Researcher (2025)

Waseda Institute for Advanced Study, Visiting Researcher (2025)

Research Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, National Science and Technology Council, Director (2021-2023)

Eduard B. Vermeer Prize for the Best Article (China Information, 2022)

Sumitomo Foundation Grant (2020)

Academia Sinica Scholarly Monograph Award in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Academia Sinica, Taiwan) (2019)

NATPA Prof. Liao Memorial Award Fund (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

Political sociology, 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

2025, with Wei An Chen, “Tactical Choices of Diaspora Movements: Comparing Hongkonger, Thai, Burmese, and Ukrainian Mobilizations in Taiwan.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 48(16): 3222-3244.

2025, with Chun-hao Huang, Yun-chung Ting, and Thung-Hong Lin, “Reactivating a Movement Legacy: Taiwan’s Political Protests from Sunflowers to Bluebirds.” *Social Movement Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2025.2481049.

2025, “From Mobilization to Aftercare: Movement Trauma and Care Work for Exiled Hongkongers.” *Journal of Civil Society*, DOI: 10.1080/17448689.2025.2500358.

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

2025, *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

2025, “Taiwan’s Labor Movement,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, ed. by Gunter Schubert. London: Routledge, pp. 273-291.

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 Contention 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-Straits 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 Democracy-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

2025, “Book Review of *Insurgent Communities: How Protests Create a Filipino Diaspora*.” *American Journal of Sociology* 131(2): 483-485.

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.