"Crazed with the Love of the Light": Taiwan’s Sunflower Activists as Transgressive Teachers

by

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ABSTRACT

Taiwan’s 2014 Sunflower Movement is scrutinized from a perspective neglected in both popular and academic literature, namely, Sunflower activists as teachers. Building on ---’s (2019) THERE model, which unites five streams of literature that inform transgressive pedagogy ("T eacher as Outlaw"; "H ow Courses Fit"; "E xpand Problem Space"; "R eveal ZOPED"; and "E ngage Real World"), three actions engaged by the Movement ("Appendectomy Project"; "Afterwards, it is our task"; and "Island's Sunrise") are mapped onto the THERE model, revealing three themes for transgressors: (1) no matter how they jump about, solutions lie within one's reach; (2) calling on the past isn't enough—what one adopts has to be updated (carefully); and (3) from your wardrobe, you can never wear too many hats. The first theme is applied to a contemporary awareness-raising project in social activism: gender identity and protection under Federal law.

KEYWORDS: SOCIAL ACTIVISM, SUNFLOWER MOVEMENT, TAIWAN, THERE MODEL, TRANSGRESSIVE PEDAGOGY
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Portami il girasole impazzito di luce.
("Bring me the sunflower crazed with the love of the light.")
-- Eugenio Montale

It was lessons taught and lessons learned. In 2014, Taiwan politics was in ferment, split between native Taiwanese, chiefly allied with the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), seeking independence from China; and late immigrants, primarily aligned with Kuomintang (KMT), seeking reunification.

On March 17, 2014, enmities erupted when KMT tried to push through the Legislature, in toto, the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) (Ho, 2015, pp. 76-79), skipping a clause-by-clause debate on its provisions, as previously negotiated (Clark & Tan, 2016, p. 336). CSSTA proposed relaxed guidelines for banking, tourism, publishing, and other sectors, including opening to investment and providing businesspeople with largely fluid visas, each for the other territory, making it easier for both shores to set up offices and sell larger stakes to investors (Brindle, 2016, p. 4).

Decrying KMT's "black box" debate tactics, on March 18, 2014, activists stormed the Legislative Yuan: "What was originally planned as a sit-in protest unexpectedly evolved into a political crisis, as the...Sunflower Movement occupied the plenary conference chamber for twenty-four days...(Ho, 2015, p. 69). (For a complete history, see the Daybreak Project [https://daybreak.newbloommag.net/]).

Although they took over the Legislative Yuan, Sunflower activists could not extend to a subsequent occupation of the Executive chambers:
...[The police] evicted demonstrators... during a 10-hour process... 150 people were injured and 61 arrests were made... On 30 March, a rally took place leading from the presidential office to the legislature aimed at pressurising [sic] President Ma into accepting the protesters’ demands. (Brindle, 2016, p. 5)

In negotiating terms for exiting the Legislature, and through police action clearing the Executive Yuan, the government must have thought matters resolved, with the lessons—in realpolitik, political hardball, and brute force—taught and learned.

On April 6, the Legislative Speaker met with protesters, vowing to inspect all cross-strait pacts before reviewing CSSTA (Ho, 2015, p. 70). For a KMT official to deal this way with lawless intruders was astonishing. In addition to the KMT, the Movement brought to heel the DPP, its close allies: "[The Movement] also dealt an embarrassing blow to the...[DPP], which was struggling to readjust its traditional pro-independence stance to the reality of a more assertive and powerful PRC..., especially after two consecutive defeats in presidential elections." (Ho, 2017, p. 70)

Public sympathy showed in Movement-influenced victories in subsequent elections and appointments, reconfiguring enduring political alliances:

...the KMT suffered a landslide defeat in the “nine in one” midterm local elections on November 29, 2014... KMT mayoral candidates lost their traditional northern strongholds... Popular DPP incumbents were handily re-elected in the south. The DPP earned 47.6 percent of the nationwide vote compared to the KMT’s 40.7 percent, not including Taipei, which elected an independent tacitly allied with the DPP-led “pan-green” coalition... Smaller Sunflower-affiliated parties... also won their first local seats. (Rowen, 2015, p. 18)

Lessons ostensibly taught went unlearned. Igniting stifled patriotism, Sunflowers showed that the schooling of the politicians had just begun. The
occupation became "ground zero" for emergent transgressions, when learners "crazed with the love of the light" saw their teachers become their students.

Still—except for allusions to actions like teach-ins (Ho, 2017, p. 8)—no one has chosen to view the activists as teachers. Since commentators called events "student protests" (Ho, 2015; Rowen, 2015) perhaps it was hard to see them otherwise, even though the Movement included many non-students (by one estimate [Chen, 2014], about 44%).

I see Sunflowers as models for transgressive teachers (Freire, 2005; hooks, 1994) and I unite transgressive foundations in the THERE model (-----, 2019). The nascent Sunflower teachers present inspiring archetypes for how others, vision and goals in place, can break rules, even laws, to combat injustice.

In the following, I review the rise of transgressive teaching; explain the THERE model; map three Movement actions to the model (extracting themes for teachers facing impasses in social justice struggles); and apply one theme to a case of social justice activism: declaring gender identity as legally protected.

**RISE OF TRANSGRESSIVE TEACHING**

Learning models have evolved through stages, each leading teachers from seeing students as passive vessels for knowledge and more as co-constructors of learning. The progression is from behaviorism (Skinner, 1974); to cognitivism (Mandler, 2002); to constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978); to experiential learning (Kolb, 2014); to social learning (Bandura, 1971); to transgression (Freire, 2005; hooks, 1994). Each stage confers more authority on learners, until in the transgressive mode resistance is pushed furthest, encouraging transgression to change the
world, "...a way of fostering critical examination of social stratification and inequity, promoting social justice, and encouraging responsible citizenship" (Elwood, 2004, p. 55).

**THE THERE MODEL**

Considering this, --- (2019) unified several influences on transgressive learning, stimulated by a one-credit, eight-week honors course, creating an experiential learning space where students trained to consult for organizations in the pet adoption sector. --- unified five perspectives to form the *THERE* model (*T* eacher as Outlaw, *H* onors Courses Fit, *E* xpand Problem Space, *R* eveal ZOPED, *E* ngage Real World) (---, 2019, p. 31). He mapped student and teacher activities onto the model to reveal transgressions shaping the course, yielding an account surfeit with lessons on sensibly violating classroom convention, demonstrating how honors courses could sometimes benefit more from breaching standards than heeding the rules.

Noting that transgressive pedagogy uses defiance to actualize real-life socially desirable goals, I observed three points: (1) how Sunflower activists acted as teachers; (2) how their acts seemed chosen for their transgressive moment; and (3) how the *THERE* model levels mapped and illuminated Sunflowers' behavior.

Since the original model's second level—"Honors Courses Fit"—is unrelated to this analysis, in Figure 1 (below) it is "How Courses Fit." Two further notes: (1) bi-directional arrows go from center to periphery, and vice versa, meaning interaction among levels is non-linear, so one can move among levels, even cross them, to create strategies; and (2) multi-directionality is shown by dual nomenclature—for
example, T1 ("teacher as outlaw") is also T5 ("T" for "transgression"), depending on how one traverses levels. I turn now to an explanation of each level.

**T1/T5: Teacher as Outlaw.** The model's first level focuses on authority in the learning environment (Pace & Hemmings, 2007). While the question of how much control teachers can or should claim has seen endless wrangling, recent polemic comes from those like Giroux, who says that teachers must be, in current slang, "woke." To transgressive educators, conventional classrooms can seem an impalpable straitjacket, applied from all quarters, so that "woke" teachers are bound, no matter their ideological orientation (Giroux, 1986).

![Figure 1: THERE Model of Interactive Realms of Transgressive Pedagogy](image)

The model suggests that transgressive freedom comes from incursion—if the rules are dicey, then, relying on training, instinct, legitimacy, and faith in students, outlaws *make* the rules. Transgressive teaching icon bell hooks (1994) puts it well: "Teaching is a performative act...that offers the space for change, invention,
spontaneous shifts, that can serve as a catalyst drawing out the unique elements in each classroom" (p. 11). Transgression requires nerve to take risks; for Sunflowers and others resisting authority this means storming the citadel.

Sunflowers made a first step from T5/T1. The occupation was odd in several ways, but in no way more than that it was so, well, "un-Taiwanese": "According to a comparative study on East Asian countries, the Taiwanese showed only slightly more willingness to participate in social movement activities...than the renowned law-abiding Singaporeans, and much less than the Japanese and South Koreans..." (Ho, 2015, p. 70).

Faced with Ma's overtures to China, protesters did not take action casually, but from deep senses of national identity: "The extent to which political resistance against Chinese interests succeeded...and the magnitude of anti-Sinoist sentiments expressed became measures of how strong the Taiwanese national identity grew."

(Au, 2017, p. 7) Sunflower teachers doing the unheard-of made them outlaws, causing a situation destined to develop in numerous surprising ways.

One sees this in reverse by probing "real world" effects on how Sunflowers became outlaws. One way was when matters locked over cultural identity, creating what Engeström (1987) calls a springboard, when a problem-solving process seems to reach a stalemate, demanding adjustment and a new model for future activity (p. 189).

As the occupation continued, the activists, far from being publicly excoriated, for many evolved into heroes, hailed for sticking to their principles:

Unexpectedly, ...[events] evolved into a political confrontation that lasted for twenty-four days. During that period, the Sunflower activists
were able to enjoy broad public support and launched a rally of half a million participants on 30 March. The Sunflower Movement ended peacefully; though the government stood firm in its defense for the free-trade agreement, the protestors at least succeeded in preventing its immediate ratification…(Ho, 2017, p. 3)

The so-called external world also doubled back to favor Sunflowers through social media, which, taking FireEX’s theme, "Island's Sunrise," reproduced it live and in videos, making it the Movement’s anthem (Chang, in press). These performances will be tackled subsequently in navigating the model according to trajectory three.

*T2/T4: How Courses Fit.* At level two, teachers choose transgressive methods. The original model examined transgression in honors curricula, widely seen as comprising more difficult coursework. The hardest task in the course inspiring that earlier work was to shoehorn an atypical course into a staid honors curriculum, given that honors students avoid classes outside their career paths (---, 2019, p. 33)

What faced Sunflowers was easier and harder than what conventional teachers face. It was easier because, in choosing methods, Sunflowers seemed to have more freedom than conventional teachers *appear to have.* That qualification needs emphasis, because, in line with Engeström’s idea of the springboard, the lack of freedom in conventional settings is often more illusory than real.

What made their selections harder is that the methods they picked were, in many cases, being tried for the first time (quite common in social movement organizations), increasing the risks severalfold. Indeed, some strategies seemed so tricky that one is tempted to say that only teachers "crazed with the love of the light" would consider them, far less use them to achieve something.
**T3/T3: Expand Problem Space.** Problem spaces (Newell & Simon, 1972) are conditions in problem solving involving an initial (current) state; a goal state; and all states in between, with operators (actions) to move from one state to another. Problem spaces involve all resources needed to devise solutions. In Engeström’s (1987) formulation, problem spaces are analogous to his triangle of activity’s object node, the raw resources toward which activity is directed, "adjustable by physical or symbolic tools as internal or external mediating instruments" (---, 2019, p. 34) (see also Wells, 2002, p. 47).

**T4/T2: Reveal ZOPED.** ZOPED (ZPD) is a ubiquitous term introduced, though not fully developed, by Vygotsky; simply, it is the difference between what a learner can do without help, and what they cannot do. T4/T2 spans the landscape between T3/T3 and T5/T1 (---, 2019, pp. 34-35), especially telling if one sees the ZOPED as Gutiérrez (2008) does, as a bridge between current and future states:

> If the zo-ped involves the reorganization of the past and present for future psychological functions—what Cole...calls a dialogue with the future—then we can see how models, for example, can work to facilitate this process by orienting students toward possibility. (p. 157)

These observations take on more significance as we deal with the implications of trajectories of Movement actions across the THERE model’s terrain.

**T5/T1: Engage Real World.** Accepting a dubious depiction of what is "outside" transgressive teaching, one meets the chaotic "real world," "though, obviously, everything in the [THERE] model is the 'real world'" (---, 2019, p. 32). T4/T2 is where one finds links to bring together problem spaces and the world beyond.
Their first full exegesis coming in T3/T3, tools to propel movement outward, stimulated by mental effort in exposing the ZOPED, push transgressive elements toward the "real world" (T5/T1), the ultimate target of transgressive teaching (Motta, 2013). Though it is thought that "real world" influence is the goal of all teaching, transgressive or not, in no other form is this goal so adamantly stated. To transgressive teachers, T5/T1 is the *sine qua non* of critical pedagogy:

The leaders of the [critical pedagogy] movement...insist that education is always political, and that educators and students should become "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988), “cultural workers” (Freire, 1998) capable of identifying and redressing the injustices, inequalities, and myths of an often oppressive world (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 3) (see also Motta, 2013).

**NAVIGATING THE THERE MODEL: THREE SAMPLE TRAJECTORIES**

*Trajectory One: Appendectomy Project.* The Movement embraced numerous groups (those formed during, and predating, the occupation are noted at https://daybreak.newbloommag.net/). These and others emanate from the center, viewed symbolically as spreading sunflower seeds (Rowen, 2015, pp. 16-19).

Democracy Kuroshio (*minzhu heichao*), a student organization...started a series of street demonstrations at the local offices of KMT lawmakers from April 4 to 9. A netizen-initiated organization called Appendectomy Project (*gelanwei*)...created Internet platforms (a website and app) to collect signatures in an attempt to recall some KMT lawmakers. Beez (*xiaomifeng*) was a decentralized organization formed on April 3, with more than 100 cells (which they called “beehives”) all over Taiwan. (Ho, 2015, p. 88)

Critical pedagogists know the results of forays into the unknown, a hallmark of transgressive strategies (Newman, 2006). One appropriate to our analysis is Appendectomy Project (AP), begun in jest but turned into *realpolitik*: manufacture a
website, plus Internet applications, to recall lawmakers: "...Appendectomy Project aimed at collecting signatures to recall KMT lawmakers..., [helping] the movement to tide over the treacherous ebb by opening up new battlefronts." (Ho, 2017, p. 9)

Mapped to the model, AP seems to fit T1/T5, "teacher as outlaw." Movement activists, tasked with inciting awareness and action, had to wake people with difference, but what they created was more than just a novel approach.

Perhaps intuitively, they made the occupation a first stage of scaffolding (Verenikina, 2003). Scaffolding, derived from the ZOPED, focuses on moving learners through stages of ever greater grasp and freedom, building methods on prior outcomes, which are then discarded as advanced stages are reached.

For Sunflowers the first scaffolding stage could be seen as the occupation (T2/T4, choose a first teaching method); this done, the next stage was to expand the problem space (T3/T3) by broadcasts of music and video to rouse citizens, then proceed to direct action (T4/T2) to bring the resources from expanding the problem space in the real world (T5/T1). During the occupation’s latter stages, and afterwards, Sunflowers launched the Appendectomy Project:

Some felt that it was the right time for the movement to end while others thought that doing so equaled surrendering their leverage over the government. In response to this vigorous debate, a new project started to gain momentum. The Appendectomy Project is an online platform designed to rally supporters to impeach legislators who have lost the confidence of the public...Despite the fact that the requirements for impeachment are rigorous, the residents of certain electoral districts are still pursuing this course for targeted politicians (Cheng, 2015, p. 93).

In this simplified three-stage account of occupation and aftermath, scaffolding increases in complexity and payoff, confirming links among model
levels. This event arose from melding mob actions set off when protesters, after the attempt to pass CSSTA, breached cordons and took over the legislative chambers, blocking doorways with furniture. When authorities opted not to forcibly enter the chambers, full occupation, to last nearly a month, coalesced.

As with any collision of complex elements in sociohistorical circumstances, this trajectory is one of several; another had Sunflowers trying to take the Executive Yuan, causing police to recapture the chamber by force:

...its quick and violent suppression by riot police under the order of Premier Jiang elevated the movement to a national crisis. Over 150 activists were injured and many hospitalized. A student leader of the campaign, Dennis Wei, was arrested and ultimately released from detention, only to face charges later. Despite the failure to hold the building, indelible images of bloodied students may have played into the protesters [sic] hands by raising public sympathy...Though the Executive Yuan campaign ended with mixed results for both sides, the occupation of the Legislative Yuan was to continue for several more weeks. (Rowen, 2015, pp. 11-12)

During the occupation, relying on what, in light of the THERE model, we can now see as expanding problem spaces (T3/T3) and links to the "outer world" (T5/T1) across the ZOPED (T4/T2), activists elaborated; expanded; adjusted, in light of circumstances; and disseminated stages of scaffolding displaying mature awareness of where the Movement came from, stood, and was headed.

In conventional terms, Sunflowers' learning objectives needed a more apposite lesson; in transgressive teaching, this means not just creating a method, but inter-weaving environment and the engagement arena. Experienced teachers might hesitate to acknowledge such aptitudes in novices, but for Sunflowers the shoe fit perfectly.
Those running recall schemes like AP knew what they faced: Taiwan’s Civil Servants Election and Recall Act is appropriately touted as the world’s toughest. Still, enough votes were cast to put some targets in at least one of the stages needed to remove them (Chang, in press, p. 7). To get around the obstacles, APers invented ways to expand the problem space. As --- (2019) notes, ”Problem spaces provide resources to shape solutions. Expanding problem spaces means recasting problems to involve more resources or reconfiguring existing ones...” (p. 34).

Expanding problem spaces means seeing more paths from problem to solution.

They chose a metaphor, the grisly image of appendectomy. Social problems are not cast as such, but arise from making sense of demanding situations, based on metaphors (Schön, 1993). APers targeted those so firmly with KMT that they would be hard-pressed to support reviewing CSSTA, far less backing independence.

Expanding the problem space, APers used a novel (generative) metaphor to denote what they see as treating a diseased system by expunging its parts. The successful generative metaphor forces one to fit metaphor to problem, stimulating creative shifts in thinking. Appendectomy is an excellent choice to fulfill this role. First, it suggests something is so wrong (diseased) with some lawmakers that only their excision will suffice. Second, appendectomies answer urgent needs (i.e., appendicitis), implying function is impossible unless the ailing element is removed.

Besides its origins in the "outlaw" level, and central role in expanding the problem space, AP teachers gained entrée into the zone of proximal development (ZOPED), "the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined
through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86, emphasis added).

That "capable peers" emphasis confirms AP teachers' activities as transgressive, since most views of ZOPED involve "adult guidance," which is not surprising, since ZOPED emerges from, and is inextricably connected to, learning in children (Bernicot, 1994). Clearly, AP "youngsters" needed no "adult guidance," except concerning laws about recall. AP teachers used individual- and group-initiated action to bridge T3/T3 and T5/T1, spanning and assimilating T4/T2.

Driving this analysis is a process I call "fanning." The labels for the model's levels, drawing together five traditions related to transgressive teaching/learning, are shorthand summarizing ideas that each grow out of their own traditions. While previous discussion focused on overall explanations of each level, these explanations—applied separately to specific sociohistorical circumstances—benefit from elaboration by riffling through results in the literatures underlying each one—fanning—just as one might fan embers to raise their temperature. One is thus able to return repeatedly to each literature, fanning fresh ideas there to a sizzling glow.

As an example, ZOPED was just mentioned as an abstract idea. Through fanning, we saw that Vygotsky's ZOPED, particularized only generally in his own work, pointed us to those describing scaffolding, stages of graduated learning in young children (Bernicot, 1994). Fanning ZOPED literatures made us think more inclusively of teachers as participants in the learning process who also taught adults. Neither scaffolding nor adult learners were aspects of our original thinking, based on the general description of ZOPED. Through fanning broader descriptions,
we came to deeper awareness of choices Sunflowers used as transgressive teachers. Down the road, we will employ more fanning as we map the other two trajectories.

AP shows that model trajectories weave via levels as they span, reverse, and leapfrog, due to "...freedom of movement from linking the levels with and across each other, plus the fallback that being stymied in transgressing at one point only means you have numerous other avenues to stage a sortie..." (---, 2019, p. 49).

By one path, Trajectory 1—occupation connecting with, modifying, and feeding on reaction from sociohistorical environment—went from T1/T5 all the way out to T5/T1, pausing at T2/T4 to capture a provocative surgery metaphor. These seemed conditioned by comprehensive sociopolitical, "real world" concerns (T5/T1). Kept aware of the goal—motivating publics at T5/T1—APers had to expand the problem space (T3/T3) and dig out the ZOPED (T4/T2); a twisty path, to be sure, and just one among many.

It is facile to attribute such unions to happenstance, though some do place such actions in this framework. Yet how much more benefit is it if one, using the THERE model, remains flexible and open to dynamic growth, taking conscious control of the process, rather than leaving actions and explanations to chance? To reify findings into a single dictum, I refer to this as one of three "themes for transgressors" (an alliterative shout-out to Alinsky’s "rules for radicals"!). The first theme? No matter how they jump about, solutions lie within one's reach.

Trajectory Two: "Afterwards, It Is Our Task." Despite previous points (Ho, 2015) about Taiwanese being less apt to engage in overt political protest, Taiwan has known its share of dramatic political confrontations, usually regarding
contentious relations with China. Also, the Sunflower Movement did not emerge spontaneously; as pointed out on the Daybreak Project site and elsewhere, there were at least two other notable student uprisings: the Wild Lily Movement of 1990, a sit-in of some 22,000 promoting democracy for Taiwan (Wright, 1999); and the Wild Strawberry Movement (2008), where a group of about 400 protested mainland official Chen Yunlin’s visit by flying Taiwan’s flag and singing songs in Taiwanese, actions banned in honor of Chen’s visit (Kaeding, 2015, pp. 210-211). While these groups achieved some goals (the Wild Lily clash won substantial concessions from the President [Wright, 1999, pp. 1004-1007], where the Sunflower Movement did not), one protest looms over all others: the self-immolation of publisher and pro-democracy activist Cheng Nan-jung.

Cited for insurrection for printing a call for a constitution, Cheng refused to appear in court. When police came for him on April 7, 1989, he burned his offices and himself to death (Chen, 2008). Earlier, Cheng's wife asked what she and their daughter would do should he kill himself—he replied, "Afterwards, it is your task." Since he would no longer be there to fight, it was up to others to continue. Rephrased as, "Afterwards, it is our task," the avowal became a rallying cry for the Sunflower Movement.

While the first trajectory, despite twisty turns it took in our speculative path across the THERE model, remained situated in the rough and tumble of real-world Taiwan legislative dicta, the second trajectory is more difficult to pin down. Motives for political martyrdom, particularly self-immolation, have long histories and have proven very difficult to grasp (Michelsen, 2015). However, since we join
the historical track of Cheng's sacrifice some three decades on, we can begin at the point where it joins deep, often obscure, beliefs about identity shared by many Taiwanese. It is likely, given the activist bent of Movement groups, that mere recitation of the phrase would be enough to provoke profound emotions. Coupled with this is that the phrase marks a turning point and—via the word "afterwards"—suggests a future trajectory.

Given the place of "afterwards, it is our task" in Taiwanese consciousness, we could start our path description at T1/T5. We can provisionally exclude some levels not appearing to be useful for mapping. Neither T3/T3 nor T4/T2 seem suitable in mapping, since there is no process of discovery bringing one to realize how the target phrase affects Taiwanese: it exists, it is important and it is part of Taiwanese identity.

However, there is connection to T1/T5 (teacher as outlaw). No matter how one feels about what Cheng did, he was unquestionably an outlaw and a teacher. He faced imprisonment or worse, and in committing suicide abrogated mores revered in Taiwan, such as those about providing for one's family. By connecting T5/T1 to T1/T5, and vice versa, Movement organizers offered an updated image of a classic, albeit ghastly, reminder of what authorities can do in terms of violence toward freedom of expression.

Earlier we vaulted over T3/T3, but now, seeing the connection between levels one and five, we can return to that third level. Once connected to Taiwan's history, fanning allows us to explore a range of manifestations of elements which vivify "afterwards, it is our task." We could turn to the idea that a powerful expression,
especially an enduring one, has multiple meanings and multiple connections that leads people to see whatever best suits their needs, due in part to the fact that it opens spaces for emotion in activist undertakings (Brown & Pickerell, 2009).

Fanning T3/T3 literatures, armed with readiness to note manifold meanings, we are attuned to historical developments in KMT and Taiwan. That 1989's KMT is not 2014's KMT invites expanding the problem space. Appropriating a quixotic episode like Cheng’s suicide, one can expand its original meaning, importing it to different contexts. Although in 2014 Taiwan was markedly freer than in 1989, following the 1987 end to martial law, the specter of reunification, embodied in CSSTA, evoked a different era when KMT could and did exert strict control over thought and speech.

Going back further, and drawing from T5/T1 and T1/T5, Cheng's suicide was to many a reminder of the "White Terror" (Chen, 2008), the period from 1947 to 1987, when tens of thousands of Taiwanese were imprisoned or executed for opposition to the KMT (Schafferer, 2003). The "White Terror" was initiated by the 228 incident (February 28, 1947) where anti-government uprisings led to brutal suppression by the KMT-led government, resulting in mass deaths (5,000 to 28,000, by some estimates [Forsyth, 2006]).

Again, pursuing a non-linear path, we can speculate about Sunflower activists searching Taiwan's history (T5/T1) for an outlaw image, but updating it to the needs of the present. In transgressive teaching, to reach back into one's history to summon resources for a sortie might not be enough; instead, one can work from the outside in, then revert to fanning center levels (three and four). Thus, linking
macro- to micro-realm may not get you the best of what history has to offer, but it can take what you find and make it the first step in a trajectory to produce useful ideas. Again, while this process can occur naturally, even accidentally, without the model, the ideal is to proceed in generally systematic fashion to generate resources for a host of situations needing social redress. The second theme? **Calling on the past isn't enough. What one adopts has to be updated (carefully).**

_Trajectory Three: "Island's Sunrise."_ Undeniably the most identifiable, striking symbol of the Movement was its theme song, "Island's Sunrise." Sustaining thematic clusters about the sun, suggesting warmth and growth, it evokes strong emotions:

_Dawn is near. Let's sing it out loud,_
_Until the rays of hope shines [sic] upon everyone on the island._
_Dawn is near. Let's sing it out loud._
_Once the sun reaches the mountain,_
_Then it's time to go home._
_Today is the day for the brave Taiwanese._ (Lin & Um, 2017, p. 161)

As with the youth-centric of any culture, Taiwanese seek individuality in music, which provides bases upon which to anchor individuals in a quest for identity in an increasingly chaotic, political, media-saturated world (Lin & Um, 2017).

Following trespass of the legislature, Da-zheng Yang of the Kaohsiung-based indie band “Fire EX,” entered the chamber on March 21, and wrote “Island’s Sunrise,” recording and releasing it online on March 23: "...compared with the usual production process of carefully crafted mainstream pop music ‘Island’s Sunrise’ was produced and released online within three days, closely linked to a social movement...[and] recognized as the movement’s anthem." (Lin & Um, 2017, p. 161)
To say the song had an impact beyond the occupation is an understatement. In her meticulous exploration of performances of the song, Chang (in press) notes:

...the song was quickly reproduced and performed by people in different ways, at different sites, and through different performances. It cascades (Laitin, 1998) ... to plant seeds in various spots in the fertile soil of Taiwan's civil society, helping to strengthen Taiwanese identities that have waited to be reasserted... (p. 2)

A truncated list of performances includes several music videos (one an animated version), most posted on YouTube and other public sites; versions in English and other languages; instructions on Facebook for performing the song; assurances of support from nations, such as Ukraine, in situations similar to Taiwan's; documentaries, including a "particularly noteworthy" (Chang, in press, p. 28) one in Japanese; flash mobs, some based on the Mockingjay of *Hunger Games* fame, including an especially striking version at the Taipei Railway Station; live choral and orchestral performances at several Taiwan universities; development of an artists' collective as an NGO; and group performances in secondary schools and at rallies, with the most poignant and emotional at a rally on March 30:

The day’s rally ended with the singing of "Island’s Sunrise," with an extremely emotional manifestation: more than 500,000 protestors held their cell phones to form a fluorescent beacon to light up the sky along Ketagalan Boulevard, while swaying to the melody of the song, as they sang, "Dawn is near, and [we] are already braver people." (Chang, in press, p. 15)

Using our process of situating the start of "Island's Sunrise" at a provisional locus on the model, we could again begin at T1/T5, appropriate given Fire EX's history in the southern city of Kaohshiung, traditionally a DPP stronghold. Fire EX has produced other songs adopted by activists; during the occupation, their
popular "Good Night Taiwan" was played inside and outside the Legislative Yuan. Thus it was no surprise when Sunflower activists took to the band's Facebook page to get them to write a song valorizing the movement (the band Mayday withdrew their anthem, citing backlash from fans in China [Chang, 2017]), nor when the band joined the protest outside, later to be allowed into the chambers. Movement outlaws called out to their own.

However, the model presents other possibilities for pinning a start to a journey around the levels. First, because trajectories emanating from song composition are chosen from a bewildering array of expressions, made more challenging because of the increased, and increasing, availability of affordable production software and equipment, one might begin at T2/T4, how courses, or in this context, teaching strategies, fit. I often remark in my classes that some things in modern media mixes seem so complex that only people as young as my students can understand them. Thus, to place the largely youthful, student members of the Sunflower Movement in a position to sort out the diverse array of possibilities for producing media is not amiss. Finally, and related to the previous, because choices about how to perform a song come from a hodge-podge of what is available, a fitting beginning might be T3/T3, an expansion of the problem space to analyze sociohistorical circumstances, sieving what is available to see what is appropriate.

The first three levels are connected and conjoin the fate of activists, who, student or not, seem progressive and optimistic in ways not associated with those who are older. With this array, one could begin with any of the first three levels. I start with T3/T3, because expansion of problem space ties to "real world" (T5/T1)
across the ZOPED (T4/T2). So choices, growing from outlaw status and rooted in verdicts about teaching (T2/T4), are getting ready to expand the problem space (T3/T3).

An added difficulty is that the song, accepted by Sunflower activists, had to be pitched to others from different walks of life. Fire EX's music is often labeled "indie," a genre with roots in punk rock's entangled foundations. This perception might be baggage the band bears in trying to more widely spread its message.

Scrutinizing the challenge to Sunflower teachers, T4/T2 reflects a process of finding links between results of expanding the problem space (T3/T3); bringing together teaching methods (T2/T4); then connecting to the world beyond the Legislative Yuan (T5/T1). Recalling Vygotsky's ZOPED as the distance between actual and potential developmental level as guided by adults or more capable peers, Fire EX is clearly more "capable peers" than "adults," and, experienced in protest actions and music, able to determine how to connect "actual development level" (pre-music orientation of audiences to Movement principles) to "independent problem solving" (decision by audiences to endorse Movement principles).

Fanning T4/T2 literatures to reveal insight into options for Fire EX, one learns that, while Vygotsky did not fully elaborate ZOPED during his career, he did have opinions on the subject of art (Vygotsky, 1971). Predictably, Vygotsky explained artistry, including dissemination of art products to audiences, based on its collaborative nature, focusing on writing but applicable to other art forms:

Vygotsky's theory of art...[relates] (a) the writer’s intentions, era, and background; (b) the form, content, and symbolism of the literary piece; and (c) the readers' experience and interpretation of the work, all to one another, and including this in the analysis. According to Vygotsky,
all these aspects are important if we are to understand the role art plays in our lives. (Lindqvist, 2003, p. 246)

On this view, Fire EX had to amplify one or more aspects in the process of advancing their art and having it interpreted. Their strategy, consciously or not, contributed to all three. With the first, intention, era and background of the writers, the band did several atypical things. Although Fire EX is known for edgier rock music, the top videos of "Island's Sunrise," though having semi-hard openings, segue into softer ballads. While they have done ballads, Fire EX's reputation as a band performing a song explicitly advocating rebellion might seem more suited to a "harder" performance, like the cuts dominating their more recent albums.

As to the second feature—form, content and symbolism—Fire EX performed the anthem in Hokkien, which would once have been an actionable offense:

Although Taiwanese Hokkien, more widely referred to as Taiyu, is a language many speak, due to the history of KMT hostility to languages other than Mandarin lyrics in Hokkien were less frequent in mainstream popular music until the late 1980s. (Lin & Um, 2017, p. 160)

Fire EX thinks less about language ("...when you're at a live show, there's a particular energy that surpasses all that" [Chang, 2017]). Yet singing of freedom in Taiyu, while illicitly occupying a government building, is defiant. It coalesces intention, era and background, confirming Vygotsky's points about creation and display. Also, production at the protest site inspired a torrent of interpretations.

The choice that made all versions possible—the third element of Vygotsky's triad, audiences' experience and interpretation—rested in the band's visionary decision not to copyright "Island's Sunrise":

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...Since Fire EX granted free copyright to "Island Sunrise" and "Goodnight, Taiwan"...to people supporting the Sunflower Movement, videos in many languages have been produced and shared, including [some in] Mandarin and Hakka, and non-Chinese languages such as English and Japanese...indeed, the students occupying the Legislative Chamber divided themselves into eight language groups to more efficiently translate to spread the information all over the world.

(Chang, in press, p. 24)

In allegorically planting sunflower seeds, one sees, as a result of decisions by Fire EX to cover the triad cited by Vygotsky, a cascade of meanings (Laitin, 1998) beyond anyone's expectations, since the dynamic interplay of forces in the previous discussion result in breathtaking materializations that cannot and should not be anticipated. The third theme? *From your wardrobe, you can never wear too many hats.*

**CONCLUSION: TAKING IT TO THE STREETS (AGAIN)**

I pledged to use our results to look at an unrelated social issue, showing how our themes can aid activists in planning tactics. I picked the issue of whether gender identity discrimination should be Federally prosecutable. Since no such law exists (Stern, Oehme, Stern, Urbach, Simonsen, & Garcia, 2018), I adopt the stance of activists who want to see it enacted. At the neutral site isidewith.com, based on almost a million votes, division on the question is 55% for, 45% against.

For this analysis, I invoke theme one (*no matter how they jump about, solutions lie within one's reach*), launching a path across levels to gain an edge in kindling reform. Since a goal is to get publics to accept legal action against gender identity discrimination, it may be unwise to suddenly don—as Sunflowers did—an outlaw mantle (T1/T5), which might arouse futile antipathy. Also, unlike
Sunflowers, there is no point in diving into T2/T4 methods without knowing more of the vagaries of public opinion.

T3/T3 may be an embarking point. A difficulty in fighting for gender identity rights lies in misperceptions about gender identity, involving extensive distortion (Mayer & McHugh, 2016), a situation fairly crying out to expand the problem space. Notice I point to, not stale knowledge spread via the "usual suspects" (blogs, PSAs, Twitter), but the fanning of problem space literatures for new approaches. A source of inspiration, from T3/T3 bases, lies in work on signs and activity. Wells (2002) notes that signs, through dialogue, become resources to alter activity systems:

...[A sign's] function is to contribute to the construction and exploration of a "possible world"...collaboratively undertaken through the successive contributions that the participants make to the emerging co-constructed text...[and] in most forms of dialogue, is negotiated rather than unilaterally imposed. (Wells, 2002, pp. 49-50)

This is beyond looking at terms with ostensibly fixed meaning. In such disputes, this means that, due to individual contumacy, those diverging ideologically may get so entrenched that they cannot abandon deep-held meanings. Indeed, here, disputes often boil down to what the terms "female" and "male" mean.

In a brilliant stroke, another "fanned" scholar, Mikhail Bakhtin, demolishes the idea that words have set meanings communicators can "claim" in discourse:

The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes one's "own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this... the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language... (Bakhtin, 1992, p. 294)

Accepting that no utterance can be privately claimed, it is risky to assert ownership (though many do). Fanning T3/T3's foundations, we can focus on
meanings of terms in the debate, not as discursive elements grasped and defended against change by one or another "side," but as *unavoidably* contested, powerful stimulants to debate. Given the power of social media, it seems better to try to alter readings of terms, than to dive headlong into the more difficult (impossible?) tasks of challenging ideology, party affiliation, and so on. Indeed, something like this has been undertaken, as odd words like cisgender, heteronormativity, and so on, are brought into public discourse (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). Still, such terms, striking at conventional views of sex, where heterosexuality is taken for granted as a consequent of biological sex (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009, p. 443), can create discord. But if no one owns discourse, activists can claim a space where ostensibly adversarial meanings can shape new connotative paths. Contrary to what Sunflowers did, it might be better to engage in dialogue than pick a fight.

Space limitations prevent further exploring links between model themes and challenges faced by folks struggling to wake the public about gender identity. Readers can conjoin the other two themes (or alternatives to the first one) to numerous examples of discourse about gender identity, to generate useful, creative, effective action supporting social justice, just as the heroes of the Sunflower Movement did. In fact, I just started my next project, a full-on offensive, using the entire model, to do for the quest for gender identity education what I have here been able to do only partially. As those in the Sunflower Movement discovered, that is the thing about being crazed with the love of the light:

It’s catching.
REFERENCES CITED


