



**TECHNIUM**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL**

**Vol. 12, 2020**

**A new decade  
for social changes**

[www.techniumscience.com](http://www.techniumscience.com)

ISSN 2668-7798



9 772668 779000

## **When Numbers Make Laws: A Study of the Effect of Social Movements on Legislative Action and Related Concerns**

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**Abstract.** With a recent surge in demonstrations and social movements, it is necessary to identify and acknowledge the potential problems that may arise from introducing legislation based on social movements. Case studies of legislation, ranging from minor to major reforms, demonstrate that even if a social movement achieves its immediate goals of changing the legislation, it may be ultimately unsuccessful. If the reformed law fails to bring about effective change to the society or entail hugely problematic side-effects, the social movement could not be considered as an entirely successful one. Following the analysis of a few case studies, this article explores psychological phenomena to address potential concerns over the irrationality of collective behaviour, with a consideration of the different nature of social movements between the US, an individualist culture, and South Korea, a collectivist culture. This article identifies the potentially problematic aspects of social movements and urges legislators to deliberate over changes to the law explicitly demanded by the public. It is not intended to condemn social movement itself- it simply wishes to demonstrate that social movements are not necessarily good legislators, and that careful consideration of social movements is essential to bring about truly effective changes to the society.

**Keywords.** social movements, legislation, collective behaviour, irrationality, social change

### **1. Introduction**

How democratic should we be? This paper attempts to study the influence of social movements on legislative action, specifically legal reforms, and creation of new laws. With the introduction of social media and the facilitation of spreading ideas and issues, social movements and large demonstrations are increasing by day. As their frequency and influence increases, it is essential to identify its effects on our society, especially its influence on legislative action since laws systemise and structure our society. In addition, as social movements' influence increases, we must also assess the risks and potential consequences which entail legislation heavily influenced by social movements. To clarify, 'Numbers', as used in the title, signifies the number of individuals who collectively form a social movement.

The main goal of this paper is to identify social movements which have led to legislative action and assess how successful they were, in order to discuss and identify the risks and downsides of the influence of social movements. This paper is not intended to condemn social movements; it is simply intended to inform against potential concerns over the influence of

social movements. If there is a clear disparity between the nature and effects of social movements in Korea and the US, further evaluation of the differences will also be done.

This paper begins by defining what a social movement is. Among the varying definitions, I have chosen to adopt Charles Tilly's definition as it categorises key aspects of a social movement, allowing for more precise identification of a social movement. The second section explores several different social movements and the laws which have been created as a result of them. I have chosen to explore a mix of South Korean and American case studies to assess the potential differences between individualist and collectivist societies regarding social movements. The final section evaluates how successful a legal reform was and discusses the potential concerns over the influence of social movements.

## **2. Body**

### *2.1 Defining a social movement*

Sociologists have long debated over the definition of a social movement. I will adopt Charles Tilly's characterisation of social movements to identify social movements. Tilly stated that social movements seek to challenge the people in our society who hold power. He identifies three essential components of a social movement: 1) campaign 2) repertoire, and 3) WUNC (worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment) displays. The first component of a social movement, the campaign, is defined as "a sustained, coordinated series of episodes involving similar claims on similar or identical targets" (Tilly, 2008). The repertoire refers to the expression of claims and challenges through means of protests, rallies, and petitions. Finally, Tilly argues that a demonstration of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment is required to make a social movement sufficiently convincing to bring about change. Tilly argues that these characteristics are what distinguish 'true' social movements from electoral politics or a one-time protest. In summary, "a social movement would be a sustained campaign of claims on power holders using a distinct repertoire designed to display collective worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment." (Kriesi, 2009) Although definitions between sociologists differ, most theories share a common element of changing certain aspects of society through collective behaviour.

### *2.2 Case Studies*

A South Korean bill concerning the revision of traffic laws in school zones, commonly referred to as the 'Min-sik Law' provides an excellent example of legal reforms fueled by social movements. The bill became known as the 'Min-sik Law' as the movement was sparked by the story of a 9-year old student, Min-sik Kim, who was hit by a car and passed away as he was crossing a road in a school zone. The parents started a campaign calling for reforms to the Road Traffic Act so that children's safety and protection could be guaranteed. Ultimately, the revised bill, which was enacted on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2020, states that "A driver who kills a child [in a school zone] can be sentenced to more than three years and up to life in prison. A person convicted of causing injury to a child by recklessly driving a car in a school zone can be fined up to 30 million won (US\$24,000) or imprisoned up to 15 years" (Go, 2020).

As mentioned earlier, this reform was largely fuelled by social movements. The death of a 9-year old's death drew huge interest from the public. Min-sik's parents started a petition on the government's national petition page explaining the accident and demanding a reform in the Road Traffic Act. This petition had more than 400,000 signatures (Office of President, 2019), testifying to the huge public interest in the incident. Such huge attention from the media and the public can largely be attributed to Min-sik's parents' appearance on a nationally televised question-and-answer session with President Moon, which had a rating of 22.1% and has over a

million views on YouTube. As a result, over 80% of Koreans are familiar with the law. (Kim, 2020)

The speed with which the reform was introduced, the coinciding periods of huge public attention, and the labelling of the law with the name of Min-sik clearly indicates that the enactment of the law was largely influenced by a social movement. With regard to Tilly's criteria for a social movement, the campaign would be the introduction of harsher laws concerning traffic accidents near school zones. The repertoire would be the parents' plea on social media as well as their direct request to President Moon, with displays of WUNC done largely through petitions and social media.

Another example is shown by the tightening of government control over environmental matters in Korea. According to the Korea International Trades Association's report of the research on the 'Rationalisation Plan of Environmental Regulation Through Site Visits of Companies' (Jang & Lee, 2019), 509 new regulations were implemented by the Ministry of Environment between 2008 and 2018, with around 30-80 new regulations introduced every year. In addition, the report states that the number of closures of facilities regarding which enforcement measures were initiated by the government increased by 64.6%, when the number of companies which breached regulations had only increased by 5.5%. The report attributes the reinforcement of environmental regulations on incidents such as the humidifier disinfectant scandal, which increased the public's concerns over environmental regulations. The humidifier disinfectant scandal rose to the surface in 2006 when hospitals noted that an unknown cause was giving rise to pneumonia. Despite this observation, no thorough assessments were done by officials to identify the cause of pneumonia. Only in 2011 was it revealed that a chemical in humidifier disinfectants was the unknown cause of pneumonia. In a report released by the Korean Supreme Prosecutors' Office (2019), it was reported that around 1,267 people were killed due to inhalation of disinfectants. The scandal gained huge public attention due to both the number of deaths and the lack of adequate response by authorities. 999 articles were published regarding the issue, 735 of which were published in 2016. Of the 999 articles, 49.1% reported factual details and 44.1% were critical of how the issue was being handled. (Lee, 2016) Reporting of this issue was not limited to print journalism. An episode of 'Geugosi Algo sipda' (Note 1), which dealt with the incident, was broadcasted on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015 and had a rating of 6.9%. (Nielsen, 2015) A report of a survey published in January 2019 by Asian Citizen's Centre for Environment and Health stated that of the 95.2% of responders who were aware of the issue, 69.1% thought that the scandal was not being resolved effectively. 57.8% of the responders thought that the incident was the corporations' fault and another 40.5% blamed the government. (*Asian Citizen's Center for Environment and Health, 2019*) As a consequence of the incident, the Ministry of Environment announced that it would introduce a general biocidal management system, and also started a complete enumeration of biocides, which explains why there was such a significant increase in the number of closures of companies.

A comparison could be made with the environmental movement in the US in the 1960s. Sparked by the publication of Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' in 1962 which warned of the long-term dangers of pesticide usage, several books such as Stewart Udall's 'The Quiet Crisis' and Ralph Nader's 'Unsafe at Any Speed' were published and widely read in the succeeding years. These books acted as stimulants in spreading the idea of environmentalism, with Carson's 'Silent Spring' selling more than two million copies. (Griswold, 2012) These publications coincided well with contemporary affairs; the general social unrest over civil rights and the Vietnam War provided an audience receptive to ecological activism. In addition, highly visible environmental disasters such as the oil spill in Santa Barbara and burning of the

Cuyahoga River in Ohio attracted huge attention from the media and the public. The Santa Barbara Oil Spill has been labelled by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (2014) as “one of the largest environmental disasters in U.S. waters” but some say that it had “helped create the modern environmental movement”. (Hamilton, 2019) The combination of these factors allowed environmental organisations to secure a broad base of support, increasing the number of organisations from 700 to over 3000 by the end of the 1970s. (Colignase, 2001) The Earth Day celebration held on April 22, 1970, labelled as the “largest one-day outpouring of public support for any social cause in American history” (Colignase) with an estimate of twenty million participants, demonstrates the popularity of the environmental movement in the 1960s and 70s. With huge pressures from the environmental movement, on January 1, 1970, President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act to “encourage...harmony between man and his environment; to promote efforts which will prevent or eliminate damage to the environment.”( 42 U.S. Code § 4321.) In addition, Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency to consolidate the “federal responsibility for administering most of the nation’s pollution control law”.(Colignase, 2001) Fourteen major environmental statutes were passed between 1970 and 1977, (Note 2) and established what, to this day, remains to be “virtually the entire environmental regulatory system in the United States”.(Colignase)

### *2.3 Assessment of social movements*

Whilst identifying social movements may be a challenge, to assess their success may be even more challenging. Social movements concerned with changes of societies as a whole (as opposed to changes in individuals) can largely be divided into two groups: reformative and transformative. “reformative movements... seek limited but focused changes in the social system... and transformative movements... are akin to value-oriented and revolutionary movements.”(Snow, 2013) The examples discussed in this paper can be categorised as reformative movements, as their main aim is to reinforce pre-existing values, such as further tightening of environmental regulations or increasing the punishment of a perpetrator involved in an accident within school zones. Before analysing the success of social movements, it is important to address the question of how we define the success of a social movement. This is because social movements, despite successfully achieving their aims in terms of legislative action, may fail to bring about genuine change to the society hoped for, or entail problematic side-effects. These three criteria must be assessed when holistically evaluating the success of a social movement: changes to the law, genuine change brought about in society, and the side-effects of the change caused by the social movement. A social movement which brings changes to the law and to the society, whilst minimising side-effects (since it is near impossible to have no side-effects), would be considered as a totally successful social movement.

The US environmental movement in the 70s is an example of a social movement which, despite initiating legislative action, failed to bring about fully effective changes to a society. Some may argue that the decrease in the per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Ritchie & Roser) from 22.13 tonnes in 1973 to 16.21 tonnes in 2017 demonstrates the success of environmental statutes. Further, the fact that America’s total greenhouse gas emission has only increased by 3% between 1990 and 2016 gives support to this claim. (Note 3) The rise in green consumerism, especially among millennials and Generation Z (Note 4), also suggests that environmental movements across the world, not only those of the 1960s and 70s but contemporary movements, have been effective. The increase in public concern for environmental issues since the Earth Day of 1970 (Kim & Choi, 2005) also supports the claim that the movement for ecological conservation was successful. However, data indicate that the annual CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of the United States increased from 4.33 billion tonnes to 5.42 billion tonnes between 1970 to 2018,

a 25% increase overall. This starkly contrasts with the United Kingdom's 42% decrease in annual carbon emissions from 652.58 million tonnes to 379.04 million tonnes in the same period. Thus, despite the positive impacts of environmental movements such as decreasing the CO<sub>2</sub> emission per capita and raising awareness among the public, the movement cannot be considered as an entirely successful movement.

The case of 'Min-sik Law' provides an example of a social movement which resulted in legislative action and effective changes to the society, but also hugely controversial side effects. Some have criticised the bill, arguing that it is the only (Korean) law which can sentence someone to at least three years and up to life in prison regardless of intentionality. (Rahn, 2019) This means that a rapist would receive the same punishment (Article 297 of the Criminal Act) as a driver who accidentally killed a child in a school zone, leading many to argue that 'Min-sik Law' breaches the principle of proportional justice. As testimony to people's frustration, over 350,000 people signed a petition on the government's national petition page requesting the new law to change and reduce the weight of the punishments. The petition describes 'Min-sik Law' as a "nonsensical law brought about as a result of public opinion and abuse of legislative power" (Office of President, 2020). A separate study confirms the hostile attitude in Korea. It shows that around 70% of the public think the law is disadvantageous to drivers, whilst also being overly harsh, with 76% thinking that the law blames the driver for unavoidable accidents, clearly demonstrating the dramatic change in the public's attitude towards the law before and after it was instated. (Kim, 2020)

#### *2.4 Comparison between the US and South Korea*

In recent years, South Korea has seen a sharp increase in the awareness of air pollution, especially concerning the concentration of particulate matter. A report published by the Korea Environment Institute in 2019 showed that 92.3% of Koreans felt that the concentration of particulate matter has increased greatly in the past decade (Korea Environmental Institute, 2019). In addition, two thirds of responders reported that they access information concerning the concentration of particulate matter daily. Crucially, regarding the question of how air pollution should be tackled, 'the government's introduction of new measures' was the most popular choice with 35.4%. (Korean Environmental Institute) Additionally, the report of 'Public Opinion Poll for Solving the Issue of Particulate Matter' published by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism demonstrates that 78.4% of responders agreed that a growth model taking the environmental and other long-term future into account, even with slower economic growth, is important, clearly showing the public's desire for a change and improvement of air pollution. Responding to the growing concerns, the Korean Government released a "Comprehensive Particulate Matter Control Counter Measures" on 26 September 2017, stating that it will 'reduce the public's concern for particulate matter' in the title. The plan aimed to reduce particulate matter by 30% (relative to levels in 2014) by 2022. The objectives included the closure of 7 coal power plants which are over 30 years old by 2022. (South Korean Government, 2017)

A parallel example can be seen in the US. The Clean Air Act of 1970 was one of the 14 environmental statutes introduced by former President Nixon. As mentioned above, it was largely owing to the influence of the environmental movement of the time. The law authorised the Environmental Protection Agency to establish National Ambient Air Quality Standards while advising each state to develop its own State Implementation Plans (SIPs) to meet the new standards.

The Clean Air Act and the Comprehensive Particulate Matter Control Counter Measures share some similarities. They were both heavily influenced by a growing awareness of the

environment and air pollution among the public, and they both contain elements of tighter restrictions and monitoring of air pollution levels. However, there is a stark contrast between the two countries' expression of concern. The environmental movement in the US was far more vocal and active than in Korea. Beginning with the publication of Carson's 'Silent Spring', the environmental movement quickly became a mass social movement. Clubs, such as the Sierra Club, soared in membership, with Sierra Club's membership increasing from 16,000 in 1960 to 114,000 in 1970 with club chapters across all 50 states. Songs, such as Tom Lehrer's 'Pollution' were performed, and the topic was discussed among top officials, with President Lyndon Johnson warning of the build-up of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere in a "Special Message to Congress on Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty." (Johnson, 1965) Contrary to the vocal and active movement in the US, the Korean environmental movement was far more implicit. Citizens responded to increasing levels of particulates by trying to adapt to the situation, buying more masks and more air cleaners. In a report released by the Medical Convergence Textile Center in Gyeongbuk Techno Park (2018), the sales of masks increased by 762 percent between 2014 and 2017, increasing in sales from 5 billion won in 2014 to 381 billion won in 2017.

There are many attributes which could have led to the different responses in the two cultures. One could be the development of social media and the reduced role of organisations and books in spreading and promoting environmentalism. Another factor could be the different circumstances of the two countries when the laws were introduced. Relative to Korea in the 2010s, the US in the 1960s and 70s was in a politically tumultuous state. As mentioned earlier, the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement had created an atmosphere that embraced the environmental movement very readily, allowing it to be spread widely and actively promoted. This movement also took place in conjunction with several environmental disasters such as the Cuyahoga river fire of 1969, the nuclear issues in the early 60s and the Santa Barbara oil spill in 1969, which made people much more alert to and emotional about protecting the environment.

In addition to these factors, the fundamentally different nature of the two societies must also be considered. South Korea, with a score of 18 on the individualism scale of the Hofstede model, is considered a collectivist culture. The US, with a score of 91 on the individualism scale of the Hofstede model, is considered as one of the most individualist cultures in the world. Therefore, we might be able to attribute the different responses to the difference between individualist and collectivist cultures. South Korea, with more of a collectivist culture, is associated with "indirect and passive communication, such as the obliging styles of handling conflicts" whereas the US, an individualist culture, "is associated with direct and active modes of expression", (Wei, Yuen, & Zhu, 2001) which may explain why the two different cultures responded in different ways over concerns for the environment.

### *2.5 A psychological approach to evaluating social movements*

In addition to being potentially ineffective, legislative action which have been heavily influenced by popular movements are prone to biases and irrational behaviour. This is due to the influences of spontaneous collective action. One potential source of such irrational behaviour could be availability cascade. "An availability cascade is a self-reinforcing process of collective belief formation by which an expressed perception triggers a chain reaction that gives the perception of increasing plausibility through its rising availability in public discourse". It rests on the assumption that most people "have little reliable information of their own about the claim in question" (Kuran & Sunstein, 1999) and rely on knowledge that is openly available or trust which is placed in the judgement of selected others, as opposed to

seeking pertinent information on their own. An availability cascade is far less significant when concerned with topics which have clear downsides. (Kuran & Sunstein) For example, despite the extensive evidence of the risks associated with x-rays and cars, changes based on those reports have been generally limited since the costs of giving them up are self-evident. It is in cases that the costs are ambiguous, such as Brexit or climate change, where availability cascades can have a large impact. (Kuran & Sunstein) The disproportionate coverage of topics which are immediately engaging, such as incidents with multiple victims, terrifying assailants or sympathetic victims, may contribute to this phenomenon, leading to ignorance and dismissal of genuine danger, or to strong convictions among the public without accounting for the costs associated with a certain action. (Kuran & Sunstein) The case of 'Min-sik Law' is a primary example of this. The law was enacted with insufficient consideration of the costs involved, fuelled by the huge media exposure of a story of a 9-year old child who was tragically killed in a road accident. This case also reveals the highly volatile nature of public opinions as demonstrated in figure 3, and therefore one must be even more careful and sceptical with social movements which have formed rapidly.

The Bandwagon effect may also warn against the potential irrational nature of mass opinion. The term "bandwagon effect" describes a phenomenon where "individuals' decisions about whether or not to participate in collective action are influenced by the number of people currently involved in those efforts" (Gavious & Mizrahi, 2001) An example of this in a political context would be where a leading candidate's popularity increases simply after a survey demonstrating his lead is published. As a result, the bandwagon effect, in combination with availability cascade, may lead to more individuals agreeing and participating in collective action simply because 'others are doing so'. These effects may be more severe in collectivist cultures compared to individualist cultures as conformity is more prevalent in relatively collectivist societies than in highly individualistic societies. (Bond & Smith, 1996)

Another problem with large scale social movements is that "the majority of men, especially among the masses, do not possess clear and reasoned ideas on any subject whatever outside their own speciality. The leader serves them as guide." (Le Bon, 1895) The significance of this trait grows as more and more information is consumed through social media and private platforms. The public being swayed by the simplified words of a leader has long existed before the introduction of Social Media and this is arguably an inevitable social phenomenon simply because not everyone can be experts in everything. The real problem arises, however, with the rise of social media, and its growing influence on professional news stations. (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013) Social media and the normalisation of fake news by amplification where "algorithmic filters amplify real events far beyond their actual importance" (Peck, 2020) only increases the potential of spontaneous collective action mentioned earlier such as the availability cascade, since an incident may be far more available and visualised, leading people to believe it is more significant than it actually is. The algorithmic and non-exclusive nature of social media also means that anyone, even those who are lack expertise to be 'leaders', may become the forerunners of spreading ideas and opinions. Evidently, this is far more likely to result in social movements which are unfounded and irrational.

### *2.6 An evaluation of other factors which influence legislative action*

The problem of social movements, however, should not mean that we dismiss democratic societies where social movements wield a lot of influence. This is because other societies, democratic or not, where the influence of social movements is minimal, are also problematic. In systems with high power distances, where power distance is understood as "the extent to which the members of a society accept that power in institutions and organizations is distributed

unequally” (Hofstede, 1985), valuable contributions from the lower staff members may decrease, either worsening the situation or stifling progression. Some of the most notorious events in human history, such as the Soviet Famine of 1932-33 and Mao Zedong’s campaign of the ‘Great Leap Forward’, occurred in systems with high power distances. The interaction in a cockpit reveals why such hierarchical systems often fail. In ‘Outliers’, Malcolm Gladwell argues that the high rate of plane crashes of Korean Airlines in the 1990s can be attributed to the extremely rigid hierarchy with high power distance seen in Korean culture (Gladwell, 2011). This culture meant that the co-pilots, even when the (main) pilot had made a mistake, did not correct the mistake, leading to several avoidable crashes. As shown in the example of Korean Airlines, a system with a large power distance may prove problematic.

It must also be acknowledged that even within the context of democracy, alternative forces which shape legislative action can be problematic. One such force is politicians’ desire to be elected. In his presidential campaign, Donald Trump promised to bring back the coal industry and revitalise the dying coal industry, (Murray, 2020) a clear appeal to the electorate of states which have very strong roots to the coal industry. As evidence, a comparison between the regions in which Trump was victorious in the 2016 election overlap with regions where the coal industry is most prominent in the US. This policy is an example of how the nature of modern politics -heavily focused on winning votes- may lead to inadvisable legislative action initiated by politicians themselves. Although the livelihoods of coal miners and their families are important, completely disregarding the evidently increasing problem of climate change and promising something that would worsen the current situation, cannot be considered as wise nor prudent.

Another problematic and biased factor which influences legislative action is the influence of lobbyists and interest groups. Following the Sandy Hook elementary school shooting in December 2012, President Obama proposed a plan to reduce gun violence via stricter gun control. Some of the reforms included “closing background check loopholes to keep guns out of dangerous hands”, “[limiting] ammunition magazines to 10 rounds”, and “[reinstating] and [strengthening] the ban on assault weapons” (The White House, 2013). Obama’s proposal, however, failed to secure the 60 votes that it needed in the Senate to be enacted. (Zeleny, Millerm Parnass, & Good, 2013) A survey conducted by Gallup in 2013 showed that 58% of Americans thought that gun control should be made stricter, with 34% thinking that it should be kept as it is, and only 6% thinking that it should be less strict. (Gallup, n.d.) Clearly, many senators did not reflect public opinion in their opposition to Obama’s stricter gun control plan, giving way to the “powerful gun lobby” (Zeleny et al., 2013). Although measuring the precise influence of interest groups is challenging, the case of gun control measures suggests how influential lobbyists can be. It is estimated that around \$41.9million were given by gun rights groups in direct spending to candidates since 1989, a huge sum compared to the \$4.2 million given by gun control groups.(Schoen, 2018) This huge imbalance of support will inevitably influence legislative action that appeal to certain interest groups, potentially dismissing key values of our society, such as the public’s opinion or consideration for long-term benefits, in order to attain the interest groups’ goals.

### **3. Conclusion**

From relatively minor reforms such as a change in traffic law to major reforms such as the 14 environmental statutes in the US, social movements are intertwined with legislative action. With the development and popularity of social media and online platforms, social movements and ideologies spread faster than before, making social movements more prominent and influential in modern-day society. Although the law, in general, should reflect the society’s

opinions and progress with the society, one must be aware of the potential downsides of social movements' influence on law. Social movements are subject to biases and spontaneous collective action, meaning they may misrepresent the public's opinion or simply lead to ineffective or problematic laws. These problems may increase as ideas spread online, allowing fake news to proliferate.

Social movements are good indicators of the public sentiment and the direction in which society should progress, but they are not necessarily good legislators. Therefore, only after careful assessment of the validity of the campaign, especially those which have emerged and attracted support rapidly, should legislation be reformed based on social movements. Such precautions will minimise the chances of ineffective reform and problematic side-effects whilst allowing room for important progressions of humanity.

On an endnote, it is essential to highlight the limitations of this paper. This paper explores a limited number of case studies which have been selected to illustrate the negative implications of social movements' influence on legislative action. It must be acknowledged that many of humanity's most significant progressions regarding important aspects of humanity, such as basic human rights and justice, have originated from social movements, and that this paper in no way is calling for a complete abolition of social movements.

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## Notes

\*I would like to express my great gratitude to the following individuals for providing valuable advice and guidance regarding this paper: William P. Alford, the Vice Dean for the Graduate Program and International Legal Studies, Jerome A. and Joan L. Cohen Professor of East Asian Legal Studies, Director of East Asian Legal Studies at Harvard University and Jihwan Lee, Graduate from Amherst College and Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Note 1. translated to 'Want to know that'

Note 2. The list is from: Coglianese, Cary. "Social Movements, Law, and Society: The Institutionalization of the Environmental Movement" (2001). Faculty Scholarship. Paper 1404. The 14 statutes include: National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Pub. L. No. 91-190, 83 Stat. 852 (codified as amended at §§ 4321-4370d (1994)); Clean Air Act of 1970, Pub. L. No. 91-604, 84 Stat. 1676 (codified as amended at 42 U.S.C. §§ 7401-7671q (1994)); Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972 ("Clean Water Act"), Pub. L. No. 92-500, 86 Stat. 816 (codified as amended at 33 U.S.C. §§ 1251-1387 (1994)); Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, Pub. L. No. 92-583, 86 Stat. 1280 (codified 'as amended at 16 U.S.C. §§ 1451-1464 (1994)); Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act of 1972, Pub. L. No. 92-516, 86 Stat. 975 (codified as amended at 7 U.S.C. §§ 136a-136y (1994)); Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act of 1972, Pub. L. No. 92-532, 86 Stat. 1052 (codified as amended at 33 U.S.C. §§ 1401-1445 (1994)); Noise Control Act of 1972, Pub. L. No. 92-574, 86 Stat. 1234 (codified as amended at 42 U.S.C. §§ 4901-4918 (1994)); Endangered Species Act of 1973, Pub. L. No. 93-205, 87 Stat. 884 (codified as amended at 16 U.S.C. §§ 1531-1544 (1994)); Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974 Pub. L. No. 93-523, 88 Stat. 1660 (codified as amended at 42 U.S.C. § 300f (1994)); Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-579, 90 Stat. 2744 (codified as amended at 43 U.S.C. §§ 1701-1784 (1994)); National Forest Management Act of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-588, 90 Stat. 2949 (codified as amended at 16 U.S.C. §§ 1601-1614 (1994)); Resource Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-580, 90 Stat. 2796 (codified as amended at 42 U.S.C. §§ 6901-6992k (1994)); Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976, Pub. L. No. 94-469, 90 Stat. 2003 (codified as amended at 15 U.S.C. §§ 2601-2692 (1994)); and Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977, Pub. L. No. 95-87, 91 Stat. 447 (codified as amended at 30 U.S.C. §§ 1201-1328 (1994)).

Note 3. All of the data for CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are from: Ritchie, Hannah, and Roser, Max. "CO<sub>2</sub> and Greenhouse Gas Emissions." Published online at OurWorldInData.org. <https://ourworldindata.org/co2-and-other-greenhouse-gas-emissions>

Data concerning CO<sub>2</sub> emission rather than the entirety of greenhouse gases were used as there is far more data for CO<sub>2</sub> than for greenhouse gases. Since CO<sub>2</sub> constitutes 76% of the greenhouse gas emissions, carbon dioxide emissions will give a fair representation of changes to the atmosphere.

Note 4. Generation Z refers to the generation born between 1995 and 2015.