

Solidarity? Discord?: Controversy of the Political Participation of Overseas Koreans in Korean Politics under the New Overseas Election Law

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Introduction

Regarding various previous diasporas studies, it tells us that overseas citizens maintain an understandably a low incentive in involving any social or political issues in their motherland. Their sense of socio-political connectedness with their homeland is only occasionally aroused when crisis happens or following the current affairs apathetically every day.

Overseas Koreans (재외 한국교포) are without exception. It's normally observed that they're politically inactive and show tiredness on the endless homeland's political quarrel. Without strong political orientation, a more unified atmosphere is unexpectedly maintained inside the overseas Koreans community. However, in order to re-engage the overseas Koreans in South Korea domestic issue, the overseas Koreans voting arrangement is revised in 2012. Overseas Koreans are now granted the right to vote on both national assembly and presidential election registered as overseas voters. It's expected this shift of policy will bring critical changes on the relations between overseas Koreans with their homeland, the long political apathy of the overseas Koreans and the internal dynamics inside the community of the overseas Koreans as well.

Therefore, in regards to these new phenomenon coincides with the limited academic works in this field, in this research, with specific referring to the Korean community in Sydney, 3 sets of questions will be raised and discussed: Firstly, a general overview of the South Korean government policy and the history on managing its relations with the overseas Koreans will be discussed. By specific focuses on the long ignored political aspect of the overseas Koreans community, I will elaborate how political parties and other groups in South Korea involve in extending their influence in Sydney after the new election law is enacted, and also how the overseas Koreans participate in the social or political issues in their motherland from overseas in order to express their national attachment on the motherland's issues. Lastly, by drawing from the 20 interviews of the overseas Koreans in Sydney conducted in July 2012, a deeper analysis on the influence of the new election law on the political attitude, participating in the political affairs in South Korea from abroad, and the long-maintained unity among the Korean community in the overseas because of transferring the domestic political dispute into the overseas environment will be discussed.

Part I: Review of the South Korean Government Policy towards the Overseas Koreans

Government Policy towards Overseas Koreans

1. Establishing the Overseas Koreans Act

Although South Korean government has had intentions to set administrative management of overseas Koreans since the 1960s, it repeatedly frustrated because of the obstacles from internal and external reasons mentioned as above. However, drastic changes of South Korea's international relations and its rapid economic growth increase the necessity of managing overseas Korean affairs. Particularly, South Korea's economic growth attracts overseas Koreans to return their place of origin. Similarly, their descendents are getting to possess positive image to their ethnicity.

For example, the Committee for Counseling Overseas Korean Policy in 1985 worked in order to discuss 1) support for Korean immigrants' settlement in their immigrating nations, 2) improvement of overseas Koreans' legal and social status, 3) pursuing overseas Koreans' close connection with South Korea, 4) support for overseas Koreans' economic activities inside and outside South Korea and 5) other supports for protecting and improving overseas Koreans' rights inside and outside Korea. Historically, discussions over overseas Korean policies have been done under this concept.¹

When Kim Young-sam, a long time opposition leader, became the first democratically elected opposition leader president in South Korea, he openly declared a New Overseas Koreans Policy would be commenced not long after his inauguration. Since then, this new arrangement on the government policy towards the diasporas was included in his globalization policy (Segyehwa), which was a national program to keep Korea in overcoming the new global challenges and to build a stronger Korea under the tide of globalization.

Under this newly revised policy, the Kim Young-sam administration came up with a policy blueprint entitled 'Plan for the Invigoration of Overseas Koreans Society', which included improvements to the visa status of kin-foreigners and liberalization of their economic activity in Korea.² This policy trend was largely inherited by the Kim Dae-jung administration inaugurated in the midst of the Asian Financial Crisis. As a matter of fact that the triumph of President Kim in the presidential election was strongly benefitted by support from the overseas Koreans in the United States, it pushed Kim administration in the early days of his office in revising the treatment and conditions of the overseas Koreans under the South Korea domestic perspective. Therefore, eventually, there was a significant revision on the legal arrangement on the treatment of overseas Koreans, such as setting up the Acts and subordinate statutes on overseas Koreans, which included the 「Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans (or widely known as Overseas Koreans Act (OKA)」, 「Registration of Korean Nationals Residing Abroad

¹ Woong-ki, Kim. 2008. *Global Korean Community: How Is It Launched?* Available at <http://www.ikorea.ac.kr/congress/upload/politics_economy2-kim_woong-gi.pdf>

² Chulwoo, Lee. 2003. "Us" and "Them" in Korean Law: The Creation, Accommodation and Exclusion of Outsiders in South Korea, In Arthur Rosett, Lucie Cheng & Margaret Y. K. Woo eds., *East Asian Law Universal Norms and Local Cultures*. Routledge: Curzon.

Act」, 「Act on Special Cases Concerning the Establishment, Correction and Adjustment of the Family Relation Register for Korean Nationals Residing Abroad」, 「Act on Educational Support, etc. for Korean Nationals Residing Abroad」, 「Overseas Korea Foundation Act」, 「Constitution of the Republic of Korea」, 「Nationality Act」, 「Immigration Control Act」, and such.³ Under all these legal frameworks, the Overseas Korean Policy Committee, Overseas Korea Foundation, and Korea Foundation for International Healthcare, etc. have been established accordingly.

Regarding the OKA, in 1997, the Korean Government established the Overseas Koreans Foundation (OKF) under the announcement of the ‘Overseas Koreans Foundation Legislation’ passed on March 1997. OKF, regarded as the first Korean governmental branch to handle all diasporic matters, is a non-profit organization affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The foundation had a clear development mandate from the outset. Its primary goal is to ‘utilize the capabilities of overseas Koreans for national development in line with its globalization policy’.⁴ Besides, all of its efforts have been focused on various cooperative programs, since the government thought that these initiatives would be a great help to overseas Koreans and serve as a driving force for the Korean community. Moreover, the Overseas Koreans Foundation also targeted to help overseas Koreans to maintain a sense of national fellowship among them and live as exemplary citizens in the nations where they are residing.

In order to accomplish its mission, the Foundation took every measure to complete the construction of the Overseas Koreans Center, with the goal of providing exclusive service for Koreans living abroad when they pay a visit to their ethnic homeland. In this context, it gives support to diaspora's radios, newspapers, TV stations, language and cultural centers, etc. In terms of a personal exchange program, the foundation offers various homeland visit programs to elderly Koreans and juveniles. In reverse, it gives South Korean high school and university students' visit and voluntary activities in the compatriots' village, organizations or centers during their vacation. In addition, to support the maintenance of national homogeneity it created the cyber Korean community *Hanminjok* Network, and established the Korean business network as an integrated hub for those overseas Koreans engaged in the fields of commerce, trade, information technology, science and technology.⁵

Meanwhile, apart from the new law called for establishing the Overseas Koreans Foundation, after the Overseas Koreans Act was formally promulgated in December 1999, the programs for overseas Koreans are institutionally administered by five government agencies: Office of Government Policy Coordination, Office of the Prime Minister; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade; Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development; Ministry of Justice; and Ministry of Culture and Tourism.⁶

³ One Click Practical Law. 2012. *Overseas Korean*. Available at:

<<http://m.law.go.kr/MOM/CnpClsMain.laf?csmSeq=505&ccfNo=1&cciNo=2&cnpcClsNo=1>>

⁴ Overseas Korean Foundation. 2012. *About*. Available at: <<http://www.okf.or.kr/portal/OkfMainView.do>>

⁵ Chong-jin, Oh. 2007. *Role of Homeland in Preserving Diaspora Identity: The Case of Korea and Turkey's Engagements with the Korean and Ahiska Turkish Diasporas in Central Asia*. OAKA, p. 163

⁶ Jean-young, Lee. 2002. Korea's Policy for Ethnic Koreans Overseas. *Korea and World Politics*, Winter 2002 Available at :<http://www.koreafocus.or.kr/design1/layout/content_print.asp?group_id=411>

2. Re-defining the Legal Status of Overseas Koreans

Besides establishing the OKF, the newly implemented Overseas Koreans Act also legally defines the status of overseas Koreans in relation to the South Korean state.⁷ As an attempt to re-connect overseas Korean community to the new South Korean nation-building processes, which were undergoing a critical transformation due to the economic crisis at that time, the law granted quasi-dual citizenship rights to selected groups of overseas Koreans, mostly Korean Americans and pro-South Korea Korean residents in Japan. Under the law, qualified overseas Koreans could enjoy many privileges afforded to South Korean national insiders, such as property ownership.

According to the OKA, the eligible overseas Koreans consist of two groups with different legal status: Korean nationals abroad and ethnic Koreans who are citizens of foreign countries. Since the former are Korean citizens, they should be unquestionably entitled to the privileged rights of South Korean citizens. However, the latter one only covers those who either once possessed South Korean nationality or are the direct offspring of former South Korean nationals, which limited to those who maintained national affiliation and formal citizenship after the establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK) on August 15, 1948. Therefore, it means that around 2 million Korean-Chinese, 520,000 ethnic Koreans in the former Soviet Union, 120,000 Korean residents in Japan who obtained North Korean citizenship, and some 10,000 early emigrants to the United States, were excluded in this category. Drawing this ethnic line aroused deep discontent from the two ethnic groups and they suspected it's because the Korean government feared it might open the door to unskilled ethnic Koreans from these countries.⁸

As a result, South Korean Constitutional Court ordered the administration to duly amend the existing law effectively discriminated against those ethnic Koreans who emigrated and obtained citizenship from foreign countries prior the establishment of the Republic of Korea, and it's seen as a conflict with the principle of equality provided by the Article 3 of the Constitution. After the court's ruling, several government agencies, the National Assembly, and various civic organizations offered suggestions on ways to amend the act and enforcement decree. But, the revised decrees and regulations on overseas Koreans had created an even more complicated situation, such as the announcement of a two-month 'grace period' during which time illegal foreign nationals could register with the government, paved a double-standard on different preferential treatment on the ethnic Koreans in different regions and with different generations.

3. Re-granting the Voting Rights for Overseas Koreans

As aforementioned, though the new South Korean government under Kim Dae-jung administration largely transformed the government policy towards its overseas nationals and attempted to re-connect the linkage between Seoul and the Korean diasporas, challenge on the inadequate and unfair government legal treatment between local citizens and the overseas Koreans has already contributed to a massive ethnic outcry. Besides the constitutional challenge on the unequal treatment of different ethnic Korean diasporas in different regions, rounds of challenges on the law on excluding the voting rights to non-resident citizens or a temporary

⁷ Jung-Sun, Park and Paul Y. Chang. 2005. Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community: The Case of the Overseas Korean Act. *The Journal of Korean Studies* 10, 1: 2.

⁸ Gi-Wook, Shin. 2003. The Paradox of Korean Globalization. *Asia/Pacific Research Center Paper*. Available at: <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/20125/Shin.pdf> >, p11

absentee was occasionally raised and debated by the Korean nationals living abroad in the last decade.

Originally, an overseas voting system existed in South Korea during the late 1960s and early 1970s. It has been argued that it's the aim of granting the suffrage for South Korean troops serving in Vietnam, who were allegedly supporters of Park Chung-hee's authoritarian government.⁹ But, since the end of the Vietnam War and the return of the overseas troops back to South Korea, coincided with the growing of overseas Koreans gradually transformed into a powerful supporting base for pro-democratic opposition force, the legal arrangement was abolished after 1972.

In 1997, apart from the over 100 non-residents citizens petitioned the National Assembly for voting rights, nine Koreans in Japan and two Koreans in France also launched two constitutional challenges to the constitutional court. But, the court ruled that it was not unconstitutional not to provide for absentee voting abroad, given that the non-resident citizens failed to bare the same duties as the residents, such as military service and tax payment.¹⁰ In 2004, in a new effort to revive the issue, ten Koreans in Japan and five from the United States filed constitutional complaints. Meanwhile, the opposition Grand National Party (GNP) also submitted a bill to allow Korean citizens residing abroad to vote in national elections through absentee voting. However, these actions were rejected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT), fearing the heaven burden of administering out-of-country voting.¹¹

After years of appealing, finally on 28 June 2007, with five suffrage bills pending in the National Assembly, the constitutional court made a judgment on the petitions filed by Korean expatriates. In this ruling, the court over-turned its 1999 decision, declaring that denying voting rights to overseas Korean nationals was against the Constitution and urging the National Assembly to revise the appropriate laws by the end of the following year.¹² Though the court decision principally support to return the voting right to the overseas Koreans, differences between the ruling and opposition party on the specifics of the law, especially whom should be entitled to suffrage without any restrictions, remained as a major hurdle in delaying the legal procedure to revise the original Public Official Election Act. Eventually, considering the importance of the issue, the National Assembly formed the Special Committee for Political Reform in January 2009, to discuss the granting of voting rights to overseas Korean nationals.¹³ On January 29, 2009, the Committee passed the decision to revise the election law and introduce the overseas voting system and granted the overseas Korean nationals to vote in the National Assembly and Presidential Election in 2012.

Part II Korean Community in Sydney and their Political Participation in Korean Politics

⁹ Kalicki, Konrad. 2009. Ethnic Nationalism and Political Community: The Overseas Suffrage Debates in Japan and South Korea. *Asian Studies Review* 33, 2: 184.

¹⁰ Chul-woo, Lee. South Korea: Transformation of Citizenship and the State-Nation Nexus. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 40, 2: 241

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Lee, Dong-Heub. 2007. *Recent Important Decisions: Case Concerning the Voting Rights of Koreans Nationals Residing Abroad*. Seoul: Constitutional Court of the Republic of Korea. p. 2

¹³ Ibid

Topics related to overseas Korean nationals occupied as one of the most noticeable and rising issues since the last decade coincided with the South Korean government revised its diasporas policy. But, most of the researches on the overseas Koreans community conducted previously were predominantly either related to the economic contribution of the overseas Koreans on the Korean national economy or discussing the uniqueness of the management and business culture behind the successful stories of the overseas Koreans businessmen, for example as Jock Collins and Joon Shin recently published a research in revealing that Korean immigrants have the highest rate of entrepreneurship in Australia. Thanks to their innovative, planning future changes to improve their business or deciding to move into other business that are more profitable, their businesses create substantial employment in Sydney, according to the report illustrated.¹⁴

However, besides the economic contribution of the overseas Koreans to the host and home country, their political ideology and policy inclination towards the socio-political issues in their homeland is entirely ignored by not only the scholarly works but also the media concerns. Yet, as aforementioned that since July 2007 the Korean Constitutional Court ruled that disallowing Koreans living abroad to vote was an infringement of their equal political rights as those Koreans living in the homeland. Seoul government subsequently re-introduced the overseas election system for the overseas Koreans voters in 2009. Since then, it's widely expected that this revised legal arrangement will cause substantial affect on the long sustained peaceful and political quarrel-free environment of the overseas Korean community and therefore negatively damaged the solidarity of the diasporas groups.

In the following part, through referring to the case in Sydney, a discussion on the development of the overseas Koreans community in Sydney will be firstly introduced as a background. Thereafter, with specifically focuses on the 'political-heat' occurred after newly revised overseas election arrangement, I will analysis how the South Korean government departments, political parties and the overseas Korean nationals in Sydney politically involve in re-connecting the distance between Seoul and Sydney.

History and Development of the Korean Community in Sydney

Overseas Koreans community in Australia is currently ranked as the sixth largest Korean community outside of South Korea.¹⁵ In 2006, there were 57,761 Korean immigrants living in Australia and the community has groomed rapidly in the last two decades. Although Australia's foremost individual Korean arrivals were mostly to Melbourne, the most sizable and visible evidence of 'organized community' among Koreans is located unquestionably in Sydney. In 1971, there were only 500 Korean-born immigrants in the whole of Australia, most in Sydney.¹⁶ In 1981, the number rapidly increased to 3,099 in Sydney. This grew to around 15,000 in 1991 and reached 26,928 in 2001. From the latest data available, 32,124 first-generation Korean immigrants lived in Sydney, or 56% of the 57,761 living in Australia as a whole.

Earlier than the first wave of Korean nationals influx into Australia, the Korean Society of Sydney (as the first Korean diasporas association in Australia) was established in Redfern in

¹⁴ UTS Newsroom. 2012. *Report Reveals Koreans are Sydney's Most Entrepreneurial Community*. Available at: <<http://newsroom.uts.edu.au/news/2012/05/report-reveals-koreans-are-sydneys-most-entrepreneurial-community>>

¹⁵ Collins, Jock and Joon Shin. 2012. *Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Sydney Restaurant Industry*. Sydney, UTS Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre, p. 10.

¹⁶ Joy J, Han and Gil-soo Han. 2010 *The Koreans in Sydney*. *Sydney Journal* 2, 2: 25

December 1968. Stated as their major missions, the non-profit organization serves the needs of Korean-Australians in Sydney, protects the rights of local Koreans, assists them in overcoming any possible difficulties they may encounter, and coordinating community activities, educational and cultural activities, and social services for the Korean-Australia community.¹⁷ Throughout the last few decades, there's a growing trend of witnessing a stronger and further solidified Korean community in Sydney.

Back to the old days in the 1970s, especially during 1972-75, it was the first wave of Korean migrations to Australia triggered by the end of warfare in Vietnam. South Korean troops were ordered to perform their duty in Vietnam during the Vietnam War. But, after the war was officially called-off in 1975, rather than returning back to Korea, many of these Koreans sought work and opportunity in Australia.¹⁸ Though most of them were using their tourists-visa illegally stayed and worked in Australia, thanks to the Whitlam Labor government policy in 1974, amnesty was introduced to 500 Koreans and they were able to obtain residency.¹⁹ Since then, many more overseas Koreans were attracted to migrate from lesser developed countries, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Paraguay and Argentina, to Australia for working opportunity. Most of them were luckily to be granted permanent residency by the 1980 amnesty.

In the year following 1980, the Korean community in Sydney also gradually groomed because of the arrival of the skilled, educated and business-looking migrants. Since the late 1970s as the re-tightened of immigration regulation of the Australian government on illegal immigrants, coincided with the rapid growth of the Australia's manufacturing sector, it provided a favorable condition in attracting the influx of skilled migrants and their families of the Korean community to Australia. As a result, in the late 1980s, business migration accounted for over 40% of Korean migration to Australia.²⁰

But, the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis badly hit on South Korea and it also brought tremendous change on the socio-economic background of the migrants from Korea to Australia. The collapsed of Korean won and followed by the Kim Dae-jung government waving for the financial help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) discouraged the overseas investment atmosphere and even travelling. There were no longer mostly business-oriented, skilled and educated and even university students migrating to Australia, but instead the newly unemployed, bankrupt or otherwise dislodged citizens of Korea who decided to settle in Australia. Consequently, as the competition for jobs and business opportunity became further intensified after the crisis, the Korean community in Sydney witnessed not only the closure of many of its businesses and a fall in wages, but also it aroused the tension between the Korean community's new and old migrants.

As conditions in Korea improved and meeting with the policy of promoting a globalized Korea in order to re-juvenile its national image, Sydney's Korean community also occurred a significant shift from permanent migration into dependent more on temporary migration. Among all, the number of working holiday visas granted to Koreans has mushroomed, with a 243%

¹⁷ The Korea Society of Sydney Australia. 2012. *About*. Available at: <<http://www.koreanet.org.au/>>

¹⁸ Joy J, Han and Gil-soo Han. 2010 *The Koreans in Sydney*. *Sydney Journal* 2, 2: 26.

¹⁹ C.Rhodes, 1986. Amnesty for Illegal Aliens: The Australian Experience. *Review of Policy Research* 5, 3: 568.

²⁰ C Inglis and C.T. Wu, 1992. The 'New' Migration of Asian Skills and Capital to Australia. In C Inglis, S. Gunasekaran, G. Sullivan and C.T. Wu, eds., *Asians in Australia: The Dynamics of Migration and Settlement*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p.199.

increase between 2003 and 2008.²¹ This trend indicates that the growth of the Korean community is undergoing another major transformation, which is solidifying a more temporary than permanent-oriented community.

Part III: Political Engagement of the Korean Community in Sydney under the Overseas Election Law

As discussed in the previous section, it's been a historical blind-spot that Korean diasporic studies only limitedly focused on the economic and business contributions of the overseas Korean community on their motherland's economic development. But, since the constitutional court in South Korea promulgated a revised election arrangement which re-granted the voting rights towards all the Korean nationals living abroad in the National Assembly and Presidential election in 2012, how the overseas election law politically stimulates the interactions and discussion of the overseas Korean community becomes an interesting topic to study. Therefore, in the following section, I will discuss how did the South Korean government and its embassies, and the political parties in South Korea engage in promoting the political atmosphere in the overseas Korean community in Sydney, and the overseas Korean community participated in the political issues in South Korea in this election year.

South Korean Government and Its Embassies

Since the National Assembly amended the election regulation and granted the overseas Koreans with the rights to cast their votes on the April National Assembly election and the December Presidential election, the National Election Commission of South Korea (NEC) took the responsibility in setting up the rules, regulations and producing promotion materials in explaining the new policy to the overseas nationals. In order to build a centralized promotion strategy, NEC established specifically a separate body called 'Overseas Voting' to handle all the issues related to the overseas voting. Meanwhile, NEC also required the different embassies and diplomatic offices' staff to form a position called 'Chairperson of the overseas election commission' so as to organize and communicate the necessary preparation works before the overseas election with the NEC directly. Moreover, NEC also organized trial election for staff training on accustoming the new system and invited overseas citizens to understand the voting procedures as well.

For the South Korean Consulate in Sydney, one of the major responsibilities on the National Assembly and the upcoming Presidential election is to dispatch formal and official information to all the overseas Koreans in Sydney in order to help them to better understand the voting mechanism of the newly implemented overseas voting system in South Korea. Through using the electronic method to share the news and information to all the Korean nationals living in Sydney, e-leaflet, e-notice and press release are the primary means of communication between the consulate and the overseas Koreans.

²¹ Joy J, Han and Gil-soo Han. 2010 The Koreans in Sydney. *Sydney Journal* 2, 2: 29

Promotion of Elections

Roughly speaking, there are two rounds of promotion period, one is on the registration period, and another one is the election period. In each period, the consulate delivered the information through 3 different ways, including notice, press release and reminder. Standard information are provided in every message, including election date/registration date, time and duration, venue, and items to bring while voting/registration. According to table 1, we can understand there are only limited promotions on the last April National Assembly election provided by the consulate. In total, only 2 press releases and one registration reminder is shared through the consulate in 2011. Comparatively speaking, the consulate apparently weights heavier in promoting the upcoming presidential election. Until the end of August, there are 3 notices, 5 press releases and also another 5 reminders dispatched by the consulate on the December presidential election, according to the table 2.

Table 1: Promotion of 2012 National Assembly Election by Consulate General of Korea in Sydney

Form of Message	Date of Promotion (2011)
Press Release	9/9, 28/9
Registration reminder and instruction	4/5

Source: Consulate General of Korea in Sydney

Table 2: Promotion of 2012 South Korean Presidential Election by Consulate General of Korea in Sydney

Form of Message	Date of Promotion (2012)
Notice	17/7, 1/8, 27/8
Press Release	16/7 (1), 16/7 (2), 1/8, 22/8
Registration reminder and instruction	21/6 (1), 21/6 (2), 22/6, 4/7

Source: Consulate General of Korea in Sydney

Besides directly provided by the consulate, the consulate is also making through the indirect channels, such as sharing the news and information via the civilian groups, such as Christians groups and the Korea Society of Sydney Australia. As Christianity occupies a large part of social life in the overseas Koreans community in Australia, and over 60 percent of Koreans in Australia attend church each week, making church the primary site for ethnic gathering in the Korean community, and one of its most important institutions.²²The Consulate shares the official news

²² Korean Christianity in Multicultural Australia: Is It Dialogical or Segregation, p114

and information on the two elections by the this channel, including the Christian Community of Holy Sydney²³, Sydney Cheil organization²⁴ and Sydney Grace Full Gospel Church²⁵.

Korea Society of Sydney Australia also functions as a information sharing channel on behalf of the Consulate in delivering the official news on the elections to the overseas Koreans in Sydney.

Sharing promotion video produced by the National Election Commission in mobilizing the overseas Koreans in supporting to register as an overseas voters in the coming two elections in 2012.²⁶ In addition, during the preparation period, Consulate also made use of the online forum in the Korea Society of Sydney in disclosing the progress of the arrangement of the overseas voting in Sydney, visits of the representatives of the National Election Commission in Korea to Sydney in demonstrating their huge attention on the development.²⁷

Mock Election Arrangement

In order to 'warm-up' the overseas Koreans in preparing for any political mobilization for the upcoming two elections in South Korea, the Overseas Voting Department of the National Election Commission arranged two mock elections to check and build an continuous development mechanism on the National Assembly election in April 2012. In 14-15th November 2010, the Consulate of South Korea in Sydney, closely collaborated with National Election Commission, publicly organized the first mock election in Sydney so as to run the pilot test of the election and to catch the overseas Korean community's attention on their political participation. However, there were totally only 424 overseas Koreans registered for this mock election, and eventually 90 of them cast their votes in the consulate, ie. 12.3% of voting rate.²⁸

After the first unsuccessful pilot election, National Election Commission considered to hold another round of trial election six months later in checking the progress of the preparation on the two elections. On 27th June, 2011, the second mock election was organized. With even smaller number of registers this time, only 59 overseas Koreans in Sydney have participated in the election and 36 of them have voted, ie. 61% of voting rate.²⁹ But, as according to the reply made by the National Election Commission, the major goal of this round of mock election is to check

²³ Christian Community for Holy Sydney. 2010. *How to Vote in the Overseas Election*. Available at: <http://www.hsydney.com/?doc=bbs/board.php&bo_table=event&page=14&wr_id=460>

²⁴ Sydney Cheil Church. 2012. *Voting in the National Assembly Election*. Available at: <<http://www.sydneycheil.org/wakcgi/75458>>

²⁵ Christian Today. 2012. 시드니 한인회 단체장 주요 안건 논의. Available at: <<http://au.christiantoday.co.kr/view.htm?id=20440>>

²⁶ The Korea Society of Sydney Australia. 2010. 한표의바람-재외국민 투표권(중앙선거관리위원회). Available at: <http://skorean.zzum.net/js/bbs/board.php?bo_table=01_9&wr_id=52&page=8>

²⁷ The Korea Society of Sydney Australia . 2011. 재외참정권.. 2012 새로운 선거역사. Available at: <http://skorean.zzum.net/js/bbs/board.php?bo_table=01_01&wr_id=7&page=>>

²⁸ Imaeil. 2010. 모의 재외국민 선거 투표율. Available at: <http://www.imaeil.com/sub_news/sub_news_view.php?news_id=46497&yy=2010>

²⁹ Hoju Ilbo. 2011. 총 영사관, 2 차 재외 모의선거 실시 - 결과는 한국 이송 후 8 일 개표. Available at: <<http://www.hojuilbo.com/2781>>

the computing system, which determines a person's eligibility to vote based on personal data, and that they didn't recruit many people to take part.³⁰

Diplomatic Meeting with Political Delegate from South Korea

Apart from promoting the elections through various official and unofficial channels, and holding two rounds of mock elections to the overseas Koreans, the Consulate of Korea in Sydney also arranged different diplomatic meetings with the National Assembly members and delegates in order to engage back into the South Korean political circles and theirs' political discussion. Creating political atmosphere among the Korean community in Sydney, the South Korea Consul General met the South Korean parliamentarians and its delegation in different occasions starting from 2012.

In the dawn of the election year (2012), a Korean national assembly delegation from Foreign Affairs, Trade and Unification, Trade and Unification Committee visited Australia and New Zealand. Through visiting to the memorial places in recognizing the collaborating history of Australian and Korean during the Korean War, the delegation aimed at reinforcing the historical ties and friendship between two countries.³¹ Meanwhile, an official dinner meeting with the Consul General of Korea in Sydney was also organized on 2nd January. After the National Assembly election in April, another parliamentary delegation from Climate Change and Green Special Committee also arrived in Sydney officially met with Consul General for a dinner meeting. (See Table 3)

Most recently, on 17th August, a group of Democratic United Party members on their official visit to Sydney in meeting the Consul General in Sydney and the Korea Society in Sydney as well.³²

Table 3: Meeting with National Assembly members from South Korea by the Consul General of Korea in Sydney

Date	Meeting	Objective
17-8-2012	2 members of Korean National Assembly	Check the process of registering voter list for overseas voting
15-8-2012	Korean national assembly	Exchange program of young political leaders of Australian

³⁰Intellasia News. 2011. *Korea to Hold Second Mock Elections for Overseas Voters*. (23-6-2011). Available at :<<http://www.intelasia.net/korea-to-hold-second-mock-elections-for-overseas-voters-160975>>

³¹ The Startup and Business Journal. 2012. 국회 외교.통상 통일위원회 위원장 참전비 방문. (13-1-2012). Available at: <<http://queensbiz.kr/community/?action=view&menuid=908&no=231>>

³² The Korea Times Australia. 2012. 민주통합당 시드니서 발대식. (20-8-2012). Available at: <<http://www.koreatimes.com.au/detail.php?number=6049&thread=05r01>>

	delegation	political exchange council
24-5-2012	Korean national assembly delegation from the Climate Change and Green Special Committee	Official dinner meeting
2-1-2012	Korean national assembly delegation from Foreign Affairs, Trade and Unification Committee	Official dinner meeting

Political Parties

After the National Assembly officially passed the revised overseas election law with re-granting the voting rights towards the overseas Koreans, how to capture the vote from the overseas Koreans community became one of the major political missions and decisive factors for the political parties in South Korea to win in the elections. Overall speaking, there are about 2.23 million Koreans living abroad will be allowed to cast ballots in the two elections in 2012.³³ It's expected that their voting will be decisive in determining successful candidates in some constituencies that are seen as being too close to call. In the 2002 presidential election, the gap between President-elect Roh Moo-hyun and the runner-up Lee Hoi-chang was just 570,000 votes.³⁴ So, during the election year, every political party in South Korea began to re-establish their campaign network and promotion channel in the overseas community so as to assist them to better equip to capture the votes from the overseas Koreans.

As the ruling party in South Korea, Saenuri Party actively re-engaged the overseas Korean community in Sydney by sending their delegates in meeting the academic, civic and official community. On 26th April 2012, the newly-elected parliamentarian with North Korean defector background, Dr Cho Myung-chul, visited Sydney and arranged several rounds of meeting with the academic circles and civic society groups in Sydney. During the academic seminar, he largely expressed his scholar view on the North-South Korea relations, incorporated with his North Korean defector background. Also, he delivered a speech among the Korea Community in expressing his concern on the political situation in South and North Korea.³⁵

Besides Saenuri Party, Unified Progressive Party, an opposition party in South Korea, also visited Sydney on 27-28th April. In this visit, the joint-leader of the Unified Progressive Party,

³³ Yonhap News. 2012. Registration of Overseas Voters to Begin for S. Korean Presidential Election. (19-7-2012). Available at:

<<http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/topics/2012/07/19/90/460400000AEN20120719003000315F.HTML>>

³⁴ Si-soo, Park. 2010. *Election Law Violators Overseas Face Sanctions*. (11-8-2011) . Available at:

<http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2011/05/113_75965.html>

³⁵ Sydney Korea Herald. 2012. [종합] 조명철 전 통일교육원장 강연 최연소 청중의 소감 - '보라색' 태극기. (3-5-2012). Available at: <http://www.koreanherald.com.au/bbs/board.php?bo_table=news&wr_id=11211>

Mr. Rhyu Si-min, represented the party in visiting the University of Sydney and also arranged some meetings with the community leaders in Sydney as well.³⁶

Civil Participation in South Korean Socio-Political Issues

Overseas citizens have always been regarded as politically-inactive and conservative for homeland socio-political issue. However, recently, the political discussion among the overseas Korean community was re-invigorated after the installment of the overseas election law and the Koreans living abroad began to develop interest in their homeland political issues again. The Korean community in Sydney is undoubtedly re-established the energy in participating the socio-political issues in South Korea in Sydney, such as demonstration and other forms of movements.

Anti-FTA

Supporting Anti-Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between South Korea and the United States occupied as the most eye-catching issue in the overseas Korean community in Sydney. In 8th December 2011, Korean civic group in Sydney organized 3-day candlelight-vigil in the Hyde Park in Central Sydney in requesting an immediate abolition of the US-Korea FTA and asking for the step down of President Lee Myung-bak.³⁷ On early January 2012, group of voluntary Korean citizens organized another candlelight vigil in Strathfield, Sydney. There were 30 members of the voluntary protest group and they arranged a street sign exercise and candlelight vigil in demonstrating against the South Korean in signing the US-Korea FTA, which will largely damage the sovereignty and other industries' development.³⁸

After the trial received tremendous support from the Korean community in Sydney, the civic group organized another round of activities on 23rd February. They arranged a cultural Festival in the form of singing performances, poetry readings, dancing, performances, etc in Strathfield.

Forming Political Group

Besides participating in the anti-FTA movement abroad from Sydney, several progressive Korean citizens in Sydney also actively cooperated with the progressive camps in South Korea and set up a political group in Sydney in supporting the political actions from abroad. On April 2012, in responding to the political connection with the Democratic Unified Party and Unified Progressive Party in South Korea, group of Korean citizens in Sydney established a supporting organization called "Korean Democratic Union in Australia".³⁹ Establishing this union, as indicated by the organizers, is a reaction by the progressive Korean community in Sydney so as to re-develop the momentum and properly focused the direction after the slight defeat of the progressive parties in the National Assembly election. The Union, after its establishment, would

³⁶ Hoju Donga. 2012. "안철수 원장, 대선 민주당 입당 최선". (30-4-2012). Available at: <<http://www.hojudonga.com/kor/?p=20089>>

³⁷ Hoju Donga. 2011. 한미 FTA 반대 촛불집회. (8-12-2011). Available at: <<http://www.hojudonga.com/kor/?p=14739>>

³⁸ Hoju Donga. 2012. 한-미 FTA 무효 촉구 촛불 집회 . (26-1-2012). Available at: <<http://www.hojudonga.com/kor/?p=16370>>

³⁹ Hoju Donga. 2012. 호주한인민주연합, "제대로 보고 듣기 위해" 창립. (19-4-2012). Available at: <<http://www.hojudonga.com/kor/?p=19663>>

position itself as a liaison between the progressive Korean citizens in Sydney and the opposition groups in South Korea in order to have a direct channel in sharing the views and opinions of the Korean citizens residing in Sydney back to South Korea, and eventually to pressure government. Members of the union came from various backgrounds, but most of sharing a similar level of engagement with the democratic movement in South Korea back to 1970-80s.

One of the very first and important connections between the union and the political parties in South Korea is to organize meeting for the two groups to discuss and better arrange for the promotion of the overseas voting in Sydney. Democratic Unified Party and Unified Progressive Party National Assembly members occasionally visited the union in Sydney and communicated with the union members on the voting arrangement in Sydney. Recently, a group of national assembly members of the two progressive parties in Korea visited Sydney in supporting the voting preparation of the coming presidential election in December.⁴⁰ Thus, setting up this overseas supporting union in Sydney means a start of re-connecting the party-to-civic group in overseas community will be resulted.

Supporting Labour Movement in South Korea

Not only purely political issue, progressive Korean citizens in Sydney but also deeply interested in supporting the labor movement in South Korea from abroad. In 2011, the Hanjin Heavy Industries in South Korea controversially fired a 52-year-old Ms. Kim and sacked Hanjin other employees and ended with an 8-months of strike in the company. Following and supporting the workers action from Sydney, progressive civic groups in Sydney organized a discussion meeting and video sharing with other former labor movement supporters in Korea, now residing in Sydney, on 11st August 2011 to discuss and support the strike in Korea.

In South Korea, the labor movement of the Hanjin Heavy Industries organized an event called 'Bus of Hope Movement', which began on June 11th when the famous poet Song Young-Dong led 600 people on buses from Seoul to the Hanjin shipyard. In order to support this action, the labor supporting groups in Sydney mentioned they hope to bring the Hope Bus to Sydney as well. Also, as Busan and Sydney also are being recognized as a port city, supporters in Sydney expressed a sharing concern with the workers in Hanjin Heavy Industries and all the participants ended with recording a video by saying a few cheerful words to the workers in the industries in supporting them.⁴¹

⁴⁰Yellow Korea. 2012. 민주당, 호주지역 대선투표 참여운동 발대식. (25-8-2012). Available at: <http://www.yellowkorea.net/display/detail.html?no=25084&no=25084&area_series1=&code=car&PHPSESSID=7738cef1e88116ee96422ff5b83b332e>

⁴¹ Ohmynews. 2011. 시드니 '희망버스'에 호주 진보 단체들 뭉쳤다. (28-8-2011). Available at: <http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0001618254>

Part IV: New Election Law and its Effect on the Korean Community in Sydney

2012 is widely regarded as an important year for the political development in South Korea. There are two elections will be held in South Korea, one is the National Assembly election on 11st April, and another one is the presidential election on 19th December. As aforementioned, with the newly revised overseas election law aims at re-granting the voting rights to those Korean nationals living abroad, the chemical reaction on the overseas Korean community behind this legal enactment becomes an interesting issue to study. It is widely anticipated that the new overseas election law will transfer the domestic political clashes (local issue) to the Koreans population residing abroad, and thus it will harm the long maintained solidarity and dispute-free environment in the overseas Korean community.

Yet, despite the overseas voting division of the National Election Commission paid a lot of efforts to install the overseas election system smoothly, the number of overseas Koreans expected to vote remains extremely low, with only 5.57 % of the eligible voters have signed up for overseas voting registration, which ended on Feb. 11. During the days of the National Assembly election took place in the overseas, it is said that 56,456 out of 123,571 registered overseas Koreans participated in the six-day voting that took place at 158 diplomatic missions in 107 countries worldwide, marking a turnout of 45.7 percent.⁴²

The overseas vote for the National Assembly elections took place at Australia from 28th March 2012 to 2nd April 2012 for 6 days in two balloting places in Sydney and Canberra. There were totally 2,862 Koreans national living in Australia registered as an overseas voter before the election, with only 780 of them have voted eventually, ie. 26%. Specifically in Sydney, 2,183 of eligible Koreans have registered, but only 611 of them have voted, ie. 28% of voting rate. This figure showed Korean citizens living in Australia was one of lowest participation continents, while Europe was the highest at 57%, followed by Africa at 56.8% and the Middle East at 50.9%. By country, 44.8% of Koreans in the U.S. voted, followed by those in China at 32.9% and in Japan at 52.6%.⁴³

Base on the curious of the low turnout rate of the Korean nationals in Sydney, in the following part, by referring to the 20 interviews on the Koreans nationals now residing in Sydney that I have conducted during June to July 2012, several questions will be studies: Does the years of migration matter on their political participation/voting/ political ideology? Does the new overseas election law encourage Korean nationals in Sydney (1) to discuss the political issue with friends/family (2) to involve more on the South Korean socio-political issue? Does their interest in Korean politics after the migration, matter on the way/frequency of receiving news on Korean politics matter on and what specific South Korea political issue they're most concerning now?

⁴² Seok-won, Song. 2012. *How to Make Overseas Voting Work*. (15-2-2012). Available at: <<http://koreajoongangdaily.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2948462>>

⁴³ The Korea Times. 2012. *Turnout Low for Korea's Overseas Voting in New York*. (4-3-2012). Available at: <http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/04/116_108238.html>

Table 4: Details of the 20 Interviewees of the Overseas Koreans in Sydney

	Age	Education	Occupation	Citizenship	Years of Migration
1	Mid 50s	High School	Clearer	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	5 Years (2007)
2	Mid 50s	High School	Tiling Business Person	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	13 years (1998)
3	Mid 60s	University	Tiling Business Person	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	22 years (1989)
4	Mid 50s	University	Union Organizer (construction Union)	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	11 years (2000)
5	Mid 40s	---	Mart Owner (construction Union)	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	12 years (1999)
6	Mid 40s	University	Builder	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	17 years (1994)
7	Mid 40s	University	Builder	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	8 years (2004)
8	Mid 50s	High School	Welder	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	3 years (2012)
9	Late 20s	University	Hairdresser / Working Holiday Maker	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	5 years (2012)
10	Late 20s	University	Kitchen Hand/ Working Holiday Maker	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	One and half year (2011)
11	Late 40s	University	Cleaner	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	19 years (1992)
12	Late 50s	---	Worker (Sydney Korean Society)	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	25 years (1986)
13	Late 50s	University	CEO	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	25 years (1986)
14	Late 60s	University	Cleaner	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	30 years (1981)
15	Early 50s	University	Painter	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	10 years (2002)
16	Early 50s	University	Carpenter	Overseas Korean with	17 years (1995)

				Australian Passport	
17	Mid 40s	University	Realtor and Journalist	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	11 years (2001)
18	Early 50s	University	Cleaner	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	4 years (2008)
19	Late 40s	University	Retail Shop Worker	Overseas Korean with Australian Passport	20 years (1992)
20	Late 20s	University	Student/Cleaner	Overseas Korean with Korean Passport	1 year (2011)

According to the 20 overseas Koreans that I have interviewed in Sydney, all interviewees come from different backgrounds and age groups. For the age distribution, most of them are at fifties (8), while there are 7 of them are from 40s. Besides, there are also 3 from 20s and 2 from 60s. On education level, except 2 out of the 20 refuse to answer, more than 80% of them have received their university degree, while the remaining 3 are high school graduates. In term of nationality, 9 of the 20 are Overseas Koreans with Australian passport, while 11 of them are currently still on-holding their Korean passport.

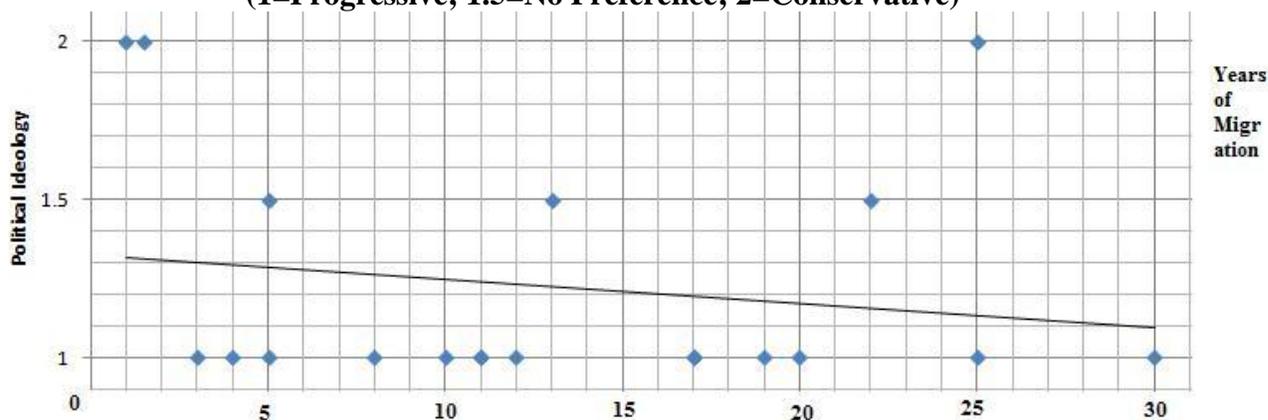
Years of Migration and the Political Participation /Voting/ Political Ideology

Regarding through figure 1, it's illustrated that correlating the years of migration with their political ideology. Base on my interview record, I have interviewed the overseas Koreans in Sydney with various years of migration, starting from 1.5 years to 30 years (show in Y axis). The mean of their years' of migration is 13.

On the X-axis, it's showing a spectrum of political ideology in South Korea, varies between conservative (2), progressive (1) and no preference (1.5). The conservative-progressive split is a relatively new phenomenon in South Korea. During the country's military dictatorship and even during the initial years after the transition to democracy in 1987, there was no true competition among distinctive political viewpoints. Because of the ever-present and imminent threat that North Korea posed to postwar South Korea, only the stability of conservative ideology—anti-North Korean and pro-American—was considered legitimate, and thus it monopolized South Korean politics. The authoritarian government's suppression of the merest hint of a leftist ideology on national security grounds further reinforced this notion.⁴⁴ But, since the first opposition leader Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun became the South Korean presidents during the late 1990s and 2002, there was a rise of progressive camp in South Korea, with the strong idea on promoting peaceful dialogue with North Korea, anti-United States, and supporting welfare development in South Korea

⁴⁴ Haesook, Chae and Steven Kim. 2008. Conservatives and Progressives in South Korea. *The Washington Quarterly* 31, 4: 78.

Figure 1: Years of Migration and Political Ideology
(1=Progressive; 1.5=No Preference; 2=Conservative)

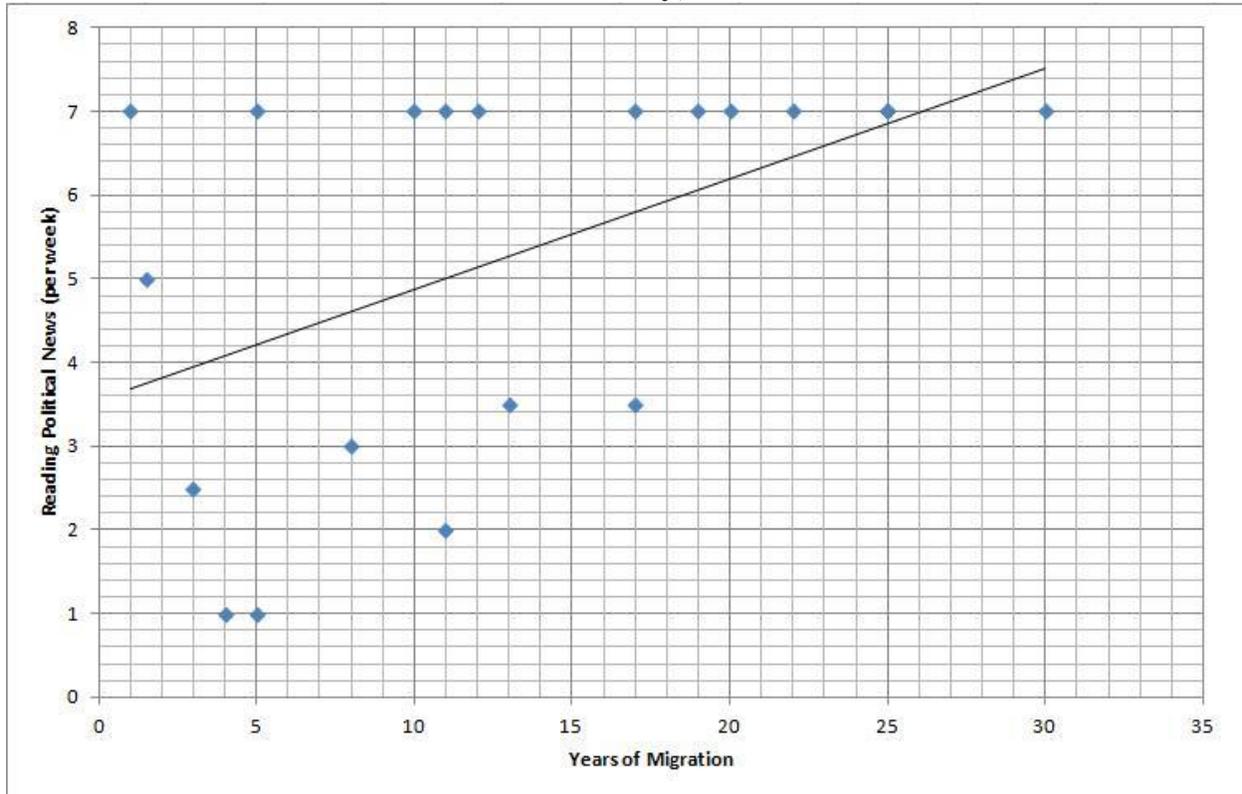


It's believed that there are two different discourses on the political ideology of the overseas Koreans. One is generally accepted that some of the Korean diasporas are used to be former political activists during the democratization era in the 70s-80s, and they supported the movement from abroad by organizing protest and demonstration in the overseas. Therefore, most of them still maintained a strong sense and sentimental affiliation with the progressive camp in South Korea, as some of them are their former partners in the movement. On the contrary, most of the critics commented that Korean nationals are tired on the time-consuming political fight between the progressive and conservative camp in South Korea, and become apathy on the political development in their homeland.

Base on my pilot study in Sydney, it's illustrated that there is a weak correlation between years of migration with the political ideology. Apparently, most of them interviewees are having a progressive affiliation, with more than 65% of the 20 interviewees are the supporters of the progressive camp, but 8 of them are less than 15 years of migrants; while 5 of them are around 20-30 years of migration. Thus, Korean nationals living in Sydney are generally affiliated with progressive political ideology, regardless the years of migration.

Not only their political ideology, the voting behavior of the overseas Koreans on the last National Assembly election and the forthcoming presidential election is also worth to study.

Figure 2: Years of Migration and Voting
(NA: National Assembly; P: Presidential)



In figure 2, it is observed that the overseas Koreans in Sydney are primarily active in reading political news disregards their years of migration. It shows that 12 out of the 20 who read newspaper every day, no matter through traditional printed newspaper or online newspaper. But, as the curve delivers a clear message that the longer the period he/she resides in Sydney, the more frequent he/she will read the political news in overseas.

However, their concern on political situation (election) is only limited to reading habit, but not to the real voting behavior. Referring to table 5, though majority of the eligible voters read political news more than 3 times per day, yet most of them haven't voted in the last National Assembly election. But, it's a mainstream expression that more than 95% of the eligible voters, regardless how many time/s he/she read news every week, will vote in the coming presidential election.

Table 5: Reading Political News and Voting Behavior
(NA: National Assembly; P: Presidential)

Reading news (per week)	Vote in NA	Vote in P
7	N	Y
3.5	N	Y
7	N	Y
3	N	Y
2.5	Y	Y
1	N	Y
5	N	Y
7	N	N
7	Y	Y
1	Y	Y
7	Y	Y

Effect of the New Overseas Election Law on the Korean Nationals in Sydney

Discuss the political issue with friends/family

Since the new overseas election law is implemented, one of the most widely expected effects it would bring on the overseas Korean community is the negative damage on the solidarity of the community. Without the voting rights and a political debate-free environment, the overseas Korean community maintains a more stable, peaceful and static atmosphere for decades. Therefore, it's obvious that a new policy which brings the South Korea domestic political debate to the overseas Korean community will inevitably damage their solidarity.

But, in referring to my interviews, the new installment of the overseas election rights may not increase the Korean nationals living in Sydney the chance to discuss publicly the political issue with their friends or family. In table 6, there are only 35% of the interviewees express the new legal arrangement will encourage them to discuss the political issue with friends or family. In contrast, more than 65% of the interviewees denounce they will engage in a more heated debate with friends or family on the South Korean political issue. It's therefore illustrated that the original and pessimistic expectation on the negative damage on the solidarity of the Korean community in Sydney is not valid.

Table 6: New Election Law and Political Discussion

New election law encourages you to discuss the political issue with friends/family	
Yes	7/20 = 35%
No	13/20 = 65%

Involve on the South Korean Socio-Political Issue

Besides political discussion, it's also essential to study how the new election law brings any effect on the political participation of the Korean nationals residing overseas. Base on one of the most direct and explicit reasons of initiating this revised legal arrangement, granting the voting rights towards the overseas Koreans is to reconnect the political gap between the overseas nationals and their homeland, and eventually to create a new sense and form of global Korean nationalism.⁴⁵

However, in accordance to the interview result that I gathered, it shows a contradictory finding to the preliminary expectation. In the 20 interviewees' responses, only 10% of the Korean nationals living in Sydney express the new election law will encourage them to involve more on the South Korean socio-political issue, while 90% of them disagree they will participate more on the South Korean socio-political issue.

Table 7: New Election and Political Participation

New election law encourages you to involve more on the South Korean socio-political issue	
Yes	2/20 = 10%
No	18/20 = 90%

⁴⁵Hyun Ok, Park. 1996. Segyehwa: Globalization and Nationalism in Korea. *The Journal of the International Institute* 4, 1: 2

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, under the era of globalization, promoting nationalism is not a popular and mainstream mission as the concept of citizenship is now transformed into a more global and international dimension. However, as East Asian international relations is still largely and potentially dominated by the clashes of nationalism and countries are also deeply worried with the identity crisis among the nationals, South Korean government picked nationalism as a governing tool to re-build the core values of the 'Korean-ness' and maintain Korean's specialties. Thus, how to re-connect the overseas citizens and their relations with the homeland becomes one of the major overseas policies of the South Korean government to implement starting from the last decade.

Base on the revised government policy intention in re-engaging its overseas nationals, granting the voting rights to the Korean nationals living abroad illustrates as an important policy tool to develop a new form of Korean nationalism among the overseas Korean community. Though it's apparently that the low registration and voting rate explicitly demonstrate this policy fails to bring a sense of belonging of the overseas Koreans and reveals there is a two contrasting version of Korean nationalism in domestic and abroad, the limited political quarrel and fight in the overseas Koreans community in Sydney positively justified the new election law will not bring a large-scale of disintegration of the community and potentially damage the solidarity of the overseas Korean community.