University students and socialization : comparative study between South Korea, Portugal and France

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The system of each university, with its own modalities of selection, academic formalities, and everyday life conditions, generates a specific type of social experience which actually represents the most essential part of the student's process of socialization. Beyond the logic of their graduation system and that of the scientific services they offer, universities, as spaces of socialization and education, can be at the same time associated (or not) with the urban entity and with the shaping of student's identity and personal experience.

My research will take into account various domains such as the social morphology of a specific population (the students), the history and present evolution of an institution (the university) and that of university and urban areas (the university, the city). And all these aspects will have to be reconsidered according to the specific historical, geographical, cultural and social context of each case : Seoul in South Korea, Coimbra in Portugal and Toulouse in France.

The student's relationship with his environment and studies depends on the characteristics of the country, the region, the city and academic system observed. The place of education in society, the functioning of the academic system, the influence of religion (Confucianism, Buddhism, Catholicism) and the weight of history, of social morals and habits, of geographical, political and economical circumstances as well as the cultural life, represent fundamental elements. The comparative analysis of those elements in different cases, two in Europe and one in Asia (can they be considered as models?) suggests heterogeneous readings which, meanwhile, can also present similar landmarks.

Through the compared analysis of those three forms of student's socialization process, we want to bring to light a new approach to the sociology of academic systems, that is to say by studying what they "produce" : types of social actors.

Preface

I am really glad getting the chance to write this first essay ? as I am just starting my first year of thesis in Korea ? and submit it to some critics, so I can review my research (method, content and form). In this paper I will focus on my three months (March-May) here in Korea, and on the very first aspects that naturally came to my mind as very different from what I experienced in France and Portugal. As I cannot write in depth about

all the different axes that take place in this project because of my short research-field study in Seoul National University, I may not be very specious, but I will stay seven months more here to develop, complete, refine some of the aspects I am writing about. So I am inviting the reader to consider this paper as an essay in perpetual evolution.

What brings one to make a comparative research in a specific area, and between two or three countries is first of all a personal interest, and also opportunities. And then, experimenting how rich is one's study, particularly if for the same topic differences are various and numerous one from the other. In my opinion, a comparative study should not be considered by the only rational choice ? which means one's mind already guesses or knows about some intellectual results. One has also to be guide (and I would say that is the most important) by its personal interests and feelings. I have been brought to the student subject when I went to study in Coimbra university (Portugal) within the scope of a european exchange program, ERASMUS. As a foreign student, I have been particularly interested by the socialization of Portuguese students, involved in local student custom, so I decided to work on that process for my DEA dissertation.

In September 2000, I had the opportunity to visit Korea; since I had a good feeling about this experience, I decide to attend a korean anthropology class in Paris (EHESS) to know more about korean culture and civilization. Then I have been proposed by the professor in charge of this class to apply for a fellowship program in Korea, organised by The Korea Foundation. They accepted my proposal, and I arrived in Seoul by the end of February 2002. I am affiliated to the Seoul National University anthropology department (Cross Cultural Studies) under the guidance of Mr Professor KIM Kwang-Ok. I am submerged in my research-field, which is an important reason for employing an ethnographic methodological approach to collect data. Ethnographic methods were selected for two other reasons. First, ethnographic research is well suited for studying students in a holistic social context. Secondly, it offers a detailed and comprehensive description of culture ? an account of the behaviour, beliefs, attitudes, and values of the people under study. To elicit cultural knowledge from natives, ethnographic study requires direct observation; it requires being present on the field, and it requires interviewing, supported by observation. Then, participant-observation is the practice of living among the people one studies, coming to know them, their language, and their way of life through intensive and nearly continuous day-to-day interaction with them. It offers the additional advantage of allowing a researcher to see the world as the subject see it.

Leading a research in a foreign country has some advantages, like having a plastic (malleable) status. Some things can be told without any second thought to a French student : it is not like having a conversation with a researcher or a professor. And my expectations keep a certain *naivete*. The interest I show about my field-research and my enthusiasm, and the curiosity that Koreans show about me allow a kind of complicity. The most attractive aspect of my "foreignity" (foreign status) is having a fresh eye on what is around me, and observing things that generally escaped natives as they are so used to them. If to distinguish what is implicit from what is explicit is not easy, it is still one appeal of the research.

On the other hand, being an outsider of the country and the studied group is double-edged : if the local population is a preferential informant, it may also show a lack of interest. Trying to go in depth in my research, I sometimes collide with the informant's superficiality, as s/he does not want to open-up her/his mind and heart to a foreigner.

Koreans are usually very reluctant to reveal personal information to strangers ; but as I am a "supposedly" young French student, my peers and the academic group in general share lots of information with me. Then the subtleties of the language, wrapped in behaviours, can interfere in the understanding of the whole society and student culture. But these obstacles reinforce the interest I have for my topic and the different countries I am researching on, instead of putting me of. The English language is the main language I used to communicate with people in Korea, mixed with a few Korean words. Then I rediscovered primary communication, by signs or even drawing ! As I said, some Koreans show curiosity towards me, and they overcome their shyness in order to talk in English with me. Having some talks means of course that I am not allowed to access in a really deep part of themselves. What they want to express and/or share, and I want to know and learn about is undermined by frustration. But it is already very useful for my investigation, which might be very rich even considering only the english written literature on this theme. Maybe this first investigation, held for a comparative study, would leave the door open to other PhD candidates considering researches in depth in korean high education and its sociological aspects.

I yield to evidence, as it is already not easy to study students, that I could not impose myself at the beginning of my research, invading the student campus with questionnaires and tape recorder for interviews. It takes time to set up an appropriate relation between the students and the investigator that authorise the research study, with the cooperation of the students. That's why during these first months in Korea I gave more time to my own socialization, to get to know better about the student rythm (spaces and times), to grow my relationship networks, to understand more about korean culture and education, etc. I keep on having informal talks with students and people met by circumstances, regarding any kind of subjects related to the korean society and traditions, academic life, students interests; I also consult literature about those different themes. This oral data ? collected by an intensive participant-observation is very important for my nascent comparative research : words give sense and tonality that lead to an internal view of the student, they complete the external perception which is the investigator's one by questionnaires or literature readings. Words are personal, intimate, intrinsic (they concern the student's own vision and experience), but not necessarily independent (as the student is the object of various influences, for example the presence of peers during the talks). So we are careful with this information, preciously retranscribed on our research-field notebook.

Introduction

Studying a topic like the students involve various areas such as geography, history, culture, religion, education, etc. The very first theme we've been confronted to, for understanding students' socialization, was culture and then tradition. Before becoming a student, s/he is a child, then a pupil. Her/his socialization started from birth and continues when entering university and thereafter. If in my study in Portugal the curriculum was important, it appears that on this study regarding Seoul National University students, it is much more important to take care with it. What is the pupil's life before entering university ? What is the relationship between the pupils/students and their parents, and the society ? How the parents' pressure and parental role in education, relating to the Confucianism tradition, have an effect on the student status and identity ?

Educators have focused on the school, its organization, teaching practice, the curriculum, and classroom life. Sociologists have examined the influences of socio-economic and ethnic status, parents' education, age, sex, and other demographic variables. Psychologists have investigated the effects of intelligence, personality, motivation, and cognitive functions on school performance. I will not separate the factors influencing affective, behavioural, and cognitive learning, like the pupil aptitude variables, the instructional variables, the educationally stimulating, psychological aspects of the home environment, the classroom or school environment, the peer group environment, use of out-of-school time, etc. Students' socialization is the result of numerous variables, including individual attitude, inter-personal relationships in and out of university, and several other environmental factors intrinsically tied.

The importance of the family in influencing pupils' academic performance is one of the most important factor of the Seoul National University students' socialization : if their academic performance wasn't as good as required, they wouldn't be students in this prestigious and selective university. Among the students socialization, there is all their background, mainly familiar and scholar. The family environment is one of the most important influences in the development of a child's socialization and cognitive abilities (which ones will bring children to a good university). The term "family environment" refers to such characteristics of the family as the norms and values espoused by parents and the quality of the relationships among family members. In general, the home learning environment is created through complex interactions between parents and children. Children are socialized to engage in education through interpersonal experiences with their parents and family members ("home socialization"), and parents train their children to adapt to the social order with which the parents identify. Children learn about the nature of the world in which they live through socialization. Therefore, parents have an important role in children's schooling. It is commonly believed that since Korean families are much more tightly knit by tradition and custom than other western families, Korean parents have a larger effect on their children's work, and thereby have a correspondingly greater influence on their schooling. Then parent-child interactions and parental involvement in children's schooling serve to implement parental values and expectations within the family structure. How much time parents spend helping their children with school related work and non-academic tasks facilitates school achievement as well as influences children's school performance, and then further academic success such as entering a good university.

Formal education is considered as a vital agent enabling students to participate in korean structure. Because of their common belief that diligence and superior performance in school would empower them to overcome impediments, parents concentrate on the schooling of their children. Intense parental enforcement applied consistently to them from early grades. Parents imposed on their children their educational expectations stemming from their own life experience in Korea. Parents, especially mothers (as they are usually housewives), deploy a measurable degree of control over their children involving shared practices : close supervision of studies at home, monitoring of children's allocation of time to various activities, enrolment of children in private lessons and academies, personally devised forms of punishment, and collective sanctions imposed on deviant, low-performing children. This last point show the importance of the community in schooling, usually introduced by parents.

Evidence suggests that parental support through community participation enhances school performance with parents' social networks playing an important role in shaping the children's educational socialization. The extent to which parents participate in social networks outside of the family influence their children's schooling. For example, the church serves as the fulcrum for the management of their children's schooling as well as the most cherished centre of social association. It is through the social networks in the church that parents develop their level of expectations of children ? parental linkages that play a vital role in enhancing children's academic success. Then parental involvement in schooling and others parallels activities for their own socialization is a critical factor in children's school success.

Christian churches are one of the most important social and cultural institutions for Koreans. Even on university campuses they are prominent, much more than on french or portuguese campuses where religion is quasi-non-existent inside academic activities, though christianity was strong and old in those countries. Christianity ? which was involve with the birth of universities in Europe, keeps stains in symbolic traditions in certain old universities. But psychologists or social workers help students in french and portuguese universities, rather than chaplains who today are very few. The main difference between France/Portugal and Korea is that church not only responds to the spiritual needs of the community, but also performs a variety of secular functions. It is the focal point of social interaction for members and the centre of their community life. Church activities are such a social mechanism. Through church meetings, members make friends, seek relief for loneliness, and exchange information on job, business, social service benefits, their children's schooling, and so on. Additionally, the church provides programs for youth and language education through the Sunday school or language school ?which provide also good socializing opportunities for the young through extra-curricular activities such as group camping, dances, picnics, (summer) retreat programs, and special sermons for adolescents.

Cultural values and believes

Cultural values, which parents communicate to their children, are important factors in determining children's scholastic achievement. Those values ? as thrift, education, and sacrifice for their children, are affected by their beliefs about social status and mobility. These beliefs constitute a cultural model that promotes or discourages reliance on education as a means of socio-economic advancement. Such a cultural model develops over time in response to occupational opportunities and social experiences in the society.

Values of Korean family are characterised by mutual dependence and hierarchical social relations, controlling one's feelings, saving one's face, and "_nunchi_" (judging the contexts by experiences). Korean parents strongly desire and expect their children to show traditional korean values and behaviour traits at school ? including obedience, self-discipline, respectful deference to adults, and a generally passive stance toward the learning experience, which is different from the Western classroom where children are expected to ask questions, speak out, and generally initiate much more communication with the teachers. Culture affects various aspects of human behaviour (covert, directional

universal, & tacit); culture also exerts a powerful influence on the ways an individual person act in response to external conditions and situations.

The most pervasive belief in asian culture is that effort is the major avenue for improvement and accomplishment. And it is assumed that children may work harder if they believe that achievements depends on effort. On the contrary, if parents believe that success in school depends on ability, they are less likely to foster participation in activities related to academic achievement that would elicit strong effort toward learning on the part of children, such as doing homework, attending after-school classes, and receiving tutoring. We are far from the french case : regarding education, many children are left on their own, especially when both of parents are working. That may explain in a way the actual crisis in french schools, where violence grow. Because of parents' disinvestment, and the appearance of the notion of 'child' that substitutes the one of 'pupil', the school became an institution where discipline is much debated ? as parents want at the same time teachers do their own educational 'job' but not becoming substitute. The teachers are asked to teach discipline that parents don't do anymore, but they have no rights to put it into practice. Teaching takes a second place in an institution that becomes less an institution than an organization… If parents still keep in mind that school is important for their children's future, they are much less involved in schooling than korean parents, and much more inclined to trust ability. Western pupils are usually encouraged in their efforts by parents, even if grades are low; so in a way, many pupils just sit back on their previous success. Only parents who are familiar with scholar rules and norms (parents that have been involved in higher education, or scholars) care about education and push their children to study hard. Asian parents (especially mothers) are not easily satisfied by good grades, as their children can always do better. Parents often show deception and sadness related to their children school's performance to push them to study harder and harder, to exceed their own capability and limits. If their children bring home a low grade, it is a "*chosangnal*", the mourning day, the hardest time of the child's life. For children, it seems that their parents push them to study hard, not just for the purpose of their self-realization, but for their parents' own self-fulfilment. Socio-cultural norms and parents' perceptions of their children's comparative standing in the community are important factors in determining parents' satisfaction with their children's performance. But many pupils internalised their parents' expectations and reflect this internalization in their study habits. Various affects encourage them to study hard. Children's perceptions of parents' educational expectations affect their self-expectation ? for example, the most frequently given reason by students for attending university are the ability to make money, and to get a better job than their parents. Peer groups' educational expectations affect children's self-expectation of educational achievement. Parent's ability to control children's behaviour affects children's study habits. Teacher backgrounds, teaching goals, teaching methods and disciplinary practices affect children's study habits. Peer group's classroom behaviour affects children's study habits. Children's educational self-expectations and study habits lead to their actual academic achievement.

Asian parents have higher educational expectations and standards for their children because of the traditionally high value they place on education for self-improvement, self-esteem, and family honour and because of their determination to overcome occupational discrimination through investments in education in limited fields such as medicine, engineering, science, computer science… These high educational expectations

are successfully transmitted to children as part of a cultural tradition which emphasises filial piety, obedience to parents, and close family ties.

The high educational self-expectation of asian children becomes actualised through the behaviour of their parents out of school and the way they are treated in school. At home, asian parents closely monitor their children's use of time outside of school. Mothers, as housewives, are available to keep an eye on their children's homework and school duties. After school they provide more quality time for study. Asian students spend more time than their western peers on homework or other activities associated with school such as leisure reading, and take lessons in music, computers, martial arts, language, etc. In high-school, they prepare so hard the university's entrance examination, studying at school during the day and in "*hagwon*" (inescapable private institution cohabiting with the Korean educational system) in mornings and/or evenings, studying at home or in libraries, having private tutoring, etc. so that they don't have free time for free interests (out-of-school spare-time activities).

Confucianism and family toward education

Under the influence of Confucianism, Koreans traditionally hold a strong sense of obligation to the family and sought the glory of the family. Filial piety, respect for the elderly and teachers, and subordination to one's parents were great social virtues and strongly emphasised in the Confucian tradition. Each family member had to sacrifice personal desire for the good of the family (as well as they had to sacrifice personal desire for the good of the society) and to devote effort to the betterment of the family. According to LEE, upholding the family honour and fulfilling parental wishes have remained strong educational motives among Koreans. Since students perceive their success as not only for themselves but for their whole family, they usually acknowledge their responsibility to work hard in school. In western countries, parents try to make their children aware of their study responsabilities by letting them know they are studying not for parents' contentment, but for themselves, for their own future. Koreans are much more involved in the 'pride and shame principle', whereby individual behaviour reflects on the entire family. Highly valued individual achievements such as academic or occupational success serve to promote the family welfare and are source of shared pride among family members. To succeed, to discharge their moral obligations to their parents, and to meet their parents' expectations, children exert maximum effort in school work and use all available resources. Pupils recognised their parents' expectations and sacrifices; they are usually very sensitive to their parents' worries about low grades. They experience feelings of guilt or failure, which become even more intense if the pupils believes that their parents had undergone, great financial burden and sacrifice. The most sensitive are good students, as they have to keep their high position. It seems that few children felt sorry for themselves before feeling sorry for their parents. Even some children are frightened to have discussions about school things, or are frightened to come back home with a low grade. Children think they have to compensate their parents' sacrifice. If they also believe that parents' educational enthusiasm for children comes from their own selfishness, they feel indebted to their parents for sacrifices. Many students regard their parents' discipline and supervision of their school work as a means of future success and improvement. Most students believe that their parents push them to study to ensure a better future. Pupils perceive that if they study industriously, they can get into a good university, and in turn they will have a better chance to get a better job and have a descent life in the future. Pupils themselves believe in the utilitarian value of schooling to

go to a good university and qualify for better jobs. Parents regard educational credentials as a *sine qua non* for success. Education is a survival strategy.

Because of the Confucian influences historically observed among Koreans in Korea from ancient times, well-educated people have been highly respected among Koreans regardless of their wealth or social position. A good education is considered to be the most viable means of gaining respect and is highly valued for self-esteem. According to LEE, opportunities for education were once restricted to the Confucian-oriented ruling class which tended to impose cruel corporal punishments, forced labour, property confiscation, and other unjust oppression upon people engaged in commerce and technical industries. This discrimination made the lower classes acquire educational aspirations for their children, a process which has continued to affect the social value of education in modern times. In modern Korean society, the amount of education is a determinant of social status, and Koreans are keenly aware that acquiring a high level of education (in best school and university) is the surest road to success.

Since education is considered to be the only gateway to success and high status, parents rarely leave their children's educational success to chance. They do everything possible to make their children succeed. Children are subjected to intense pressure to study. When educational credentials are regarded as the most valuable instrument to individual upward mobility, it is quite natural to seek the highest credentials at any cost. Korea has experienced many socio-political changes, including the demise of the kingdom, Japanese colonial rule, liberation and division of the country, U.S. military control, the korean war, and much political unrest. With this history of frequent wars and episodes of foreign control, it is quite natural for Koreans to consider political power, social position, or even economic fortune to be ephemeral. They may think that "well-educated children are a most lasting value than all the other factors in a society prone to chaos". As a result, Koreans have come to regard education as the most formidable instrument for success under rapidly changing circumstances. Parents invest their human capital in their children's education, because they think education is the single best investment in future stability, for their children as well as for themselves in their old days.

Social structures in Korea have also contributed to the shaping of educational values of Koreans. According to PARK, Koreans' high educational motivation has derived in part from the state examination system designed in the 10th century to recruit candidates for the government. Since it was a sure way to high office and success, all educational efforts ultimately aimed toward this examination. While the examination system for government position disintegrated by the end of the 19th century, the traditions and values associated with it have been translated in modern times into a focus on the college entrance examinations. Because a good formal education is still crucial for socio-economic success, the majority of students and their parents focus their attention on getting into university. As LEE maintained, schooling in Korea is geared toward the entrance examinations ("Exam Hell"), jobs are based on it, and families are preoccupied with it. Parents in Korea were brought up in a society in which attention was centred on entrance examinations. (Prestigious) University is the dream of many parents and students. Koreans prefer the name value, they want their children to go to well-known and expensive university. They want to pay the price : the more expensive, the better is.

The effect of parental expectations on children's tendency to strive to fulfil their parents' wishes and aspirations for their educational achievement has psychological

ramifications. Psychologically, Koreans' educational zeal has its roots in oppressive social structures instituting and maintaining severe class oppression during Confucian rule and other periods of historical occupation. During most of Korea's history there has been only limited access to educational opportunities. According to LEE, subordinate classes in Korea have developed a strong zeal for the education of their children because these opportunities have been denied them for so long. The lower classes could not have access to high positions which required high levels of formal education. The ruling classes dominated the educational system and successfully excluded the subordinate classes.

Furthermore, the educational discrimination by the Japanese during the Japanese occupation caused Koreans lasting regret with regard to education. When the Japanese invaded Korea in 1910, they began systematically to remove any evidence of korean culture, language, and history from the korean school system. Additionally, access to higher education was almost entirely restricted to the Japanese occupying Korea. This historical memory of systematic denial and discrimination on the basis of nationality in regard to education has added greater cultural meaning to education for Koreans. This situation played a role in bringing about the emotional self-realization of parents through the education of their children. This eagerness for education has led some Koreans to make almost any sacrifice to see that their children are properly educated. Korean society abounds with stories of parents who sold their houses, and even their ancestral farms, for the education of their children, not to mention the sacrifice of economic or recreational comfort. Parents willingly promote their children's education and go to great lengths to provide financial support, emotional encouragement, and a positive educational environment at home. But in spite of their sacrifices, the majority of parents still feel guilty for not providing sufficient support.

Importance of the community in Korean education and socialization process

The literature suggests that community participation helps school performance : social networks shape children's educational socialization, and the extent to which parents participate and relate to their peers in those social networks outside of the family ? especially in church and work groups and the extended family, greatly influences the process and outcome of the children's schooling. In such community alliances, parents find ways to bolster their children's achievement, while similar participation by their children in the community also helps to elevate levels of academic success, by comparison, stimulation, study as well as other pupils, and better than they do. The community is also a way to share and obtain information about educational opportunities : the most important benefit cited for attending church is access to social capital ('privileged information') available to church members.

BOURDIEU defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition ? or in other words, to membership in a group- which provides each of its members with backing of the collectivity ? owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word."

These relationships exist as a network of connections which results from individual or collective investment consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short and long term. These relationships have the potential to be transformative of contingent relations, such as those of the neighbourhood, the workplace, the community, or even kinship relationships.

In a same way, university students develop their networks in a particular academic community, often named "circle". In those circles, they share a same interest in a special activity, friendship, spare time and occasionally study times, academic and socio-cultural information, meals and beers, etc. But interaction between those circles are quasi-non-existent : circles are somewhat closed. Even if a member participate to various circles, they would rarely mixed friends on a special time. They strictly separate friends from this or this circle or network, as they have no special occasion to let each other know themselves. Koreans students are more intimate in their relation than french students. Of course the French students bring out special and close relationships (especially with classmates or old friends), but they are also inclined to meet new friends through their networks and networks' friends. For example, a student will organise a meeting somewhere (restaurant, apartment, parent's house, friend's apartment/house, etc.), and will inviting many friends from various networks ? old friends, sports friends, spare time friends, classmates, etc., asking them to bring their friends, and friends of their friends, and so on, as it is open to anybody who wants to enjoy the party. Then participants provide some drinks and snacks ? or pay for their meal at the restaurant. (Home) Party's are common in France, they allow students to increase their networks by meeting new people, while Korean students prefer to enjoy their friends separately. This might be one of the reason why blind-dates are so popular in South Korea, as it is rare in France and Portugal. In the university of Coimbra the watch-word in the academy society is "convivio", conviviality/social interaction/user-friendliness between students, usually in a bar, around cafes and beers. The sense of student community was strong in Coimbra : the glory of the past (as Coimbra was the only university of Portugal until 1911, it was a prestigious place, famous for training the Elite and for its political manifestations) is still a common identifier, but the increasing number of universities and students in Portugal (and also socio-economical changes) led the Coimbra university to heterogeneity and progressive dissolution of this student community. Today its visibility is only external and symbolic, through the academic dress ("*capa e batina*") and rituals. The feeling of being one and of being everything reappeared in special times, such the "*Festa das Latas*" and the "*Queima das Fitas*", as students are together, right in the middle of the Tradition (dress, events, rituals, etc.). The atomization of that previous and idealised student Community, despite aggregative practices (such as "*Festa das Latas*", or "Membership Training"), is a process similar to the Seoul National University students community, with the nuance that the korean university is shaped by the society and tradition focusing on education ; an atomization which has become stronger with, as I previously said, the increasing number of students, and the evolution of the socio-economic context, that led to competition and (in-group) comparisons, to individualism, as high education in Korea seems to be a positive key that may minimise the struggle for life.

Community represents a great deal of social pressure and social sanctions : pupils identified as departing from the 'model student image' are referred to 'misbehaving'. Pupils' appearance, behaviour, and academic performance are all continuously and closely monitored by their parents and peers in the social network of the community to

evaluate adherence to social norms. Together this cluster of external attributes, internal dispositions, and personal behaviour is reified into the stereotype of the korean pupil. This stereotype provides a cultural shorthand by which parents and students can quickly determine whether to include or ostracise a new pupil or outsider in their peer group. If pupils do not do well, others, especially parents, will regard them as being abnormal. If they are unable to do well academically, they will be stigmatised socially. If pupils do not do well in school, they are excluded by their classmates. Then low achievers suffer one kind of social stigma or another. So parents do their best to save their honour through their children. Strict discipline (and restrictions, on the use of the telephone for example) is enough, they usually do not necessarily use physical punishment. Strict discipline starting in the early age, mainly for girls rather than (eldest) boys. Parents, even cherishing a first-born son, seems to be more concerned with their daughters rather than their sons (for example, relating to the sexual part). Girls are encouraged to show feminine attributes ? as well as fashion, make-up, cooking, housekeeping, etc. There is a big parental pressure regarding marriage. Girls are pressed to go onto high education and obtain a certain level which is favourable for a good marriage. She may marry a high-level student, who may find a good job and then will take good care of his family. Studies are a sure way for a sure marriage, as well as university might be a sure place to find a husband; girls and boys are usually separated in school, until the entrance of university where they are free from strict scholar rules and norms, free from the costume, free to express themselves by their appearance, especially girls (dyed-hair, dressing, shoes, accessories, make-up, etc.). The visibility of the body (which have been hiden until now under the school uniform) become a crucial question at the university entrance, it reveals a certain need of seduction with the other sex which is not well-known.

Militarism as intensification of Confucianism values

The gender's relation-ship between young people is basically an effect of the Korean tradition and Confucianism in politic and administration ; but militarism comfort this behaviour. The Korean society seems to be very militaristic, following this message : "if it is possible, make it possible" (from President Chung-Hee Park's "*Andoemyon Toegehala*", "if it is impossible, make it possible"). Schooling in the shadow of the Korean war intensified the military aspect of schools that still stigmatises the schooling such as separate schools for girls and boys, short hair-cut for boys, school uniform. Nowadays girls are not training to become military nurses or identify North-Koreans spies anymore. The 'sacrosanct national defence' is now reduced to the military service and its 'virile circularity'. Things have changed, and the students of the 80's, as well as the one's of the 90's seems, for the actual university students, to be issued from another world. Each year, in April and May, students commemorate various demonstrations such as the "student revolution" (student uprising) for democracy (19th of April ?1960), the Kwangju massacre (18th of May ?1980), but most of the students are not interested by politic or any political activism. There is also less "circles" or main organization that unify political actions and resistance. Still now some students are afraid of the Seoul National University administration power. As it becomes more difficult to find a good job even coming from Seoul National University, students are more involved in their studies rather than activism (they prefer passive resistance ? like petitions). They are discreet regarding that kind of activities and administration power.

The 90s South Korea political culture insist on that young men should be willing to serve in the army for the sake of national defence; all young men in the korean nation should be treated equally by the sta'␣s conscription authorities; fathers should share the responsibility of insuring that sons maintain a positive, accepting attitude towards compulsory military service. Actually all able-bodied men (above the age of 18) are required to serve 26 months in the army or 28 months in the Navy or the Air Force. Korean researchers working within military institutions have portrayed the military as a secondary national educational institution for male citizens and as an institution providing back-up forces to cope with national calamities. It has been noticed, among the students, that ex-conscripts are different from pre-conscripts, the formers being very masculine, disrespecting and sexualising women and treating pre-conscripts as kids who are still 'sucking mommy'␣s milk'. Things are changing (as Koreans used to say), but still the effect of the military service on the students behaviours is strong. If they do not have the *macho*'␣s physical aspect, they act as "male chauvinist pigs". Conscription has been a crucial system in constructing 'normal' and 'adult' masculinity. Acquiring a trained muscular body and male maturity. People acknowledges that the military service time serves to change young conscripted soldiers into responsible men who can support their families and cooperate (obey) in organised civil society. An honourable discharge means the end of adolescent wandering and resisting social order. Therefore, the continuous revisiting of regrets about being a man when joining the army or when suffering from violent discipline and hard work in the military, culminates in being reborn as a proud and real korean man. Military service play an important role in the male socialization process, as well as for the female'␣s one. Their identity, already build on the gender differentiation since their childhood, and even mixed to their common student identity, shows the inking of a strong Confucian patriarchal culture, as well as military culture. Military culture is very hierarchical, bureaucratic, and inconsiderate of independent opinions of participants, a military culture which is reflected in education as well as in the whole of korean society.

Conclusion

If my PhD is not really starting, as I have already done a dissertation on the process of Coimbra university students' socialization (Portugal), my comparative research is beginning with my coming to Korea. It takes time to set up the research and hypotheses. As I cannot generalise about korean students' socialization with the only case of the Seoul National University which is very particular, I first choose, through participant-observation, to progress from descriptive observation to focused observation and from focused observation to selected observation : from the korean society to Seoul National University. I have had a few experiences in Korea and Yonsei universities, and I noticed that between them, and even more so with Seoul National University, there are differences in the process of socialization. But before catching the particularity of Seoul National University and trying to give some analysis and comparatives data with Coimbra (Portugal) and Toulouse (France) universities, I outline some aspects, as they are particular and fundamental to my western point of view for understanding students socialization'␣s mechanism. To understand the cultural dynamics inside the university students' socialization (whatever university), I need to look at the childhood and young adulthood of those students. Then I may be able to give much more details about Seoul National University students' socialization or "non-socialization" ? as Seoul National University

students (and Seoul National University academic system ?) are reluctant to integrate students that came from other universities.

Compare to the French and Portuguese societies, Korean parents make a difference in school and university achievement, because of their implication and influence ? their pressure, their formation of high educational expectations, and their cultural and social experiences :

  -Confucian beliefs in human malleability, and the value of self-improvement led the parents to put a strong emphasis on a personal effort in educational endeavours and helped to ensure that children worked hard and diligently. The children were inculcated with the belief that change was possible and that change should begin with themselves and their relation to their families.

  -The legacy of social class discrimination in Korea contributed to a high valuation of education. Since education has traditionally been considered a gateway to success and high-status, the parents rarely left educational success to chance. Success at any cost, even after their entrance in a good college/university. On that point the Korean university student is likely (in general) to be one who has money (or means) to pursue higher/university education : education fees are very important.

  -Their legacy of status oppression and discrimination in Korea affected the formation of parent's psychological attitudes toward their children's schooling. This class oppression had its origins under the bureaucracy in Korea under the rigidity of Confucian Rule during the Japanese occupation and other historical periods. As a result, the parents exhibit a clear tendency to look to education as a path toward vicarious upward mobility through their children's academic and social progress. This psychological dynamic has encouraged parents to invest their human capital in their children's education. Their children's education is the single best investment in stability, growth, and development for the future. The need to fulfil family and social obligations, and respect for education help foster the academic effort of students. And also, the combination of Confucian culture based on a strict gender hierarchy and a militaristic hierarchical culture has formed military culture which is reflected in education.

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