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교육학석사학위논문

Competence Building
in Children's Consumption Practice
In the Light of Sustainability:

A mediated discourse analysis of

South Korean elementary school students

지속가능성의 관점에서 본 아이들의 소비실천 역량구축:

한국초등학생들에 대한 매개담화분석

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Competence Building
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In the Light of Sustainability:
A mediated discourse analysis of
South Korean elementary school students

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Abstract

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Interdisciplinary program of Environmental Education

The Graduate School of Seoul National University

This thesis contains the latest analysis how elementary school students evolve first habits of consumption and try to shed light on a connection of education with sustainable development. The survey, used in order to develop analysis in this research, had been based on the idea that children learn consuming as a form of competence. Recently the competence-based approach became more relevant in the discussions about education for sustainable development. However these approaches concentrate on normative ideas about what should be learnt but offer only insufficient explanation about the socio-cultural foundations of the socialisation process, which stand behind

learning. Therefore an epistemological scaffold was needed to elaborate an idea of how young children evolve competence in consuming.

The thesis takes a detour from first considerations on sustainability and consumption towards some recommendation for a competence based education for sustainable consumption. The detour will lead over the areas of a socio-cultural understanding of consumption as a mere practice and over Mediated Discourse Analysis as a way to deconstruct critically the discourse behind.

To analyse the children's first approaches towards consumption, we observed and interviewed children in shopping situations, where children shopped in groups and interacted in peers and with shopping clerks. These mediated actions we observed in social spaces concurred with the observation made by Scollon (2011), called a 'site of engagement'. This is the real-time window that is opened through an intersection of social practices and mediational means that make that actions the focal point of attention of the relevant participants.

The observations and the mediated discourse analysis showed, that children's consumption practices are formed socially. While one practice looks like showing positive possibility for sustainable consumption another one might be undesirable in the light of sustainability. This means that

practices can contradict and conflicts in sustainable development might derive from those differences between the practices. Particularly this becomes apparent when the power of one practice weighs more than other practices.

Children's consumption practices showed a lot of social interaction. As seen in one example, children made their choice with their friends during the shopping. They purchased something which their parents want them to purchase. A clerk in the shop gave them advices to choose something desirable. They interacted within a peer group and to the parents and the shop clerks. Children showed some consideration about the feeling of others involved in the consumption practices. It was often observed to share or bought things for others when they purchased for themselves. This empathy is thought (to be) a crucial action assembled inside of various practices of consumption and is one example for desirable actions for sustainability to be developed through education.

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**Key Words: Consumption, Education for Sustainable Development,
Practice, Mediated Discourse Analysis**

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Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables & Figures	viii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Consumption for sustainability	1
1.2 Mediated Discourse Analysis(MDA)	4
1.3 Research Purpose and Research Questions	8
2 Theoretical Background	10
2.1 Consumption as Practice	10
2.1.1 Discourse about consumption	10
2.1.2 Consumption as practice	12
2.1.3 Discourse and Practice	16
2.2 Sustainability in Consumption	18
2.2.1 Sustainability	19
2.2.2 Consumption education in ESD national curricula	26
2.2.3 Key Competence in sustainability	29
2.2.4 The necessity of a different approach.....	31

2.3 Competence in consumption for sustainability	3 5
2.3.1 Three dimensional competence model based on Swiss Curricular	3 5
2.3.2 The dimensions of competence	4 0
3 Methodology	4 8
3.1 Field Description	4 8
3.2 Mediated Discourse Analysis	5 0
3.2.1 Introduction to Mediated Discourse Analysis	5 1
3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	5 3
3.2.3 Practice in MDA.....	5 4
3.2.4 Applications of MDA	5 7
3.3 Data Collection.....	6 2
3.4 Data Analysis.....	6 4
3.4.1 Documentary Method.....	6 4
3.4.2 Data analysis in documentary method.....	6 6
3.5 Data Display	6 8
3.5.1 Scene Description (Scene 1~9)	6 8
3.5.2 Scene Description (Scene10~20)	6 9
3.5.3 An example of several steps by documentary method	6 9

4 Findings of children’s consumption practice.....	7	1
4.1 Site of Engagement	7	1
4.2 Practices	7	3
4.2.1 Practice A : Purchasing.....	7	3
4.2.2 Practice A: Interacting	7	5
4.2.3 Practice C : Valuing.....	7	8
4.2.4 Practice D : Having fun.....	8	4
4.2.5 Practice E: Using Disposals	8	6
4.2.6 Practice F : Spending money for others	8	8
4.2.7 Practice G : Not Spending Money.....	9	1
4.3 Nexus of Practice	9	5
5. Discussion	10	1
5.1 Connections between practice in MDA and competence in 3 dimensional competence model	10	1
5.2 Sustainability in children’s consumption practice.....	10	3
6. Suggestion for Teachers based on Findings	10	6
7 References.....	10	9

List of Tables & Figures

Table 1	Examples of five concepts (Handing)	61
Table 2	An example of Site of Engagement.....	70
Table 3	Information of Collected Data.....	72
Figure 1	Competence Sketch.....	36
Figure 2	Basic Structure of hamoS competence Model.....	39
Figure 3	Aggregated Categories of to do's from ESD expert team.....	43
Figure 4	A Typical paper & pencil item.....	46
Figure 5	Nexus of practices of Consuming, which I could identify in my survey.....	95
Figure 5.1	Choosing coffee milk.....	96
Figure 5.2	Looking around the shop.....	97
Figure 5.3	Asking how much it is.....	97
Figure 5.4	Consideration for others.....	98

1 Introduction

1.1 Consumption for sustainability

Why do we buy things? A simple answer would be 'because they are necessary'. Why people buy things more than necessary? In order to answer this question, the clarification between sustainability and consumption should be made. Consumption must be considered as a main requisite for sustainable future. Why do we dispose food after having left food in a refrigerator for long time? Why do I think that I do not have enough clothes to wear although my dressroom is full of clothes. Do we buy things because we really need? Then what is 'need' and how does it make? What is there between 'need' and 'consumption'?

I 'd like to find out this gap by observing children's behavior. Because children have not yet become full consumers but they are able to make their choices and buy things. Children's buying actions could be very first and relatively simple step for learning consumption in a daily life. Children do not fall into a consumer society but children are taking a step forward a consumer society. Children have learned about what is good consumption at school and also what is their favorite consumption in daily life. Young children already

are exposed to a consumer society. Although children never heard the word of sustainability, they have some idea about ‘sustainability’. They think there is correlation between consumption and sustainability and they don’t think this current society is a sustainable society.

The main action in a modern society, is not limited to production but it also includes consumption. For centuries we had known ourselves and others through what we produce. Now we identify ourselves and others through what we consumed (Lawson, 2009). It is within bounds to say that consumption is all for expressing ourselves. There are lots of theories about how it happened which includes Capitalism, mass media and neo-liberalism (Grauerholz & Bubriski-McKenzie, 2012). Consumption has become equated to quality of life. The authors around Kankyō (2010) explained in their book, sustainable consumption and production in the Asia-Pacific Region, how consumption is getting equated to quality of life. Before humans settled into villages and towns, possessions were limited to what could be carried on a nomadic individual’s back. The price of possessions gradually became a measure of personal worth or status, especially as the old feudal hierarchies were broken down and the pursuit of equality was equated with liberty. Over the time of “industry”, supported by advertising, has pursued a constant message that essentially says “the more you can consume, the more attractive you will

become and the happier you will be”, with luxury equated to liberty. In the past fifty years, the average consumption per person has nearly tripled (Kankyō, Kenkyū, & Kikan, 2010, p5).

Buying things is a very basic skill for leading a life and it looks like very natural. It is hard to imagine managing a life without buying things. Although purchase is the basic requirement in a modern life, it is neither natural nor inborn. Buying things is considered to be a habituation in daily lives, which needs a lot of time and repetition. The repetition enables to make buying things as a very natural and reasonable action. People feel buying things a natural action after lots of repetition. Macroscopically the habituation process is individual and the habituation process is made collectively. Habituation which is made collectively can be called a social practice. An analysis of consumer practices, in terms of style, taste, identity formation and maintenance, often informs a post-structural analysis of consumer culture. A consideration of the more historical or economic underpinnings of consumer practices or their more overtly political implications tends to inform a wider analysis of consumer society (Edwards, 2000). In order to find how social practice is composed, the ordinary action as buying things should be understood priorly.

There is an inseparable relationship between sustainability and consumption. Resource is limited and resource limitation means that we

should think about sustainability for the future. Otherwise we can not meet the future because of exhaustion of resource. Consumption is using limited resources and this practice(action) is responsible for sustainability. However it does not mean 'Green Consumption' for the reduction of CO₂. It is more related to find out, when they buy things, how they learn sustainability intentionally and even unintentionally. We do not know we want things until we know they're there and are encouraged and cajoled not just to want them but to need them (Lawson, 2009). A sustainable consumption mode would have to ensure that external conditions are maintained or created that allow those people living today and future generation to satisfy their needs.

To sum up, the analysis of the action of buying things shows both how social practice is made up and how children obtain competences for sustainability within their ordinary lives.

1.2 Mediated Discourse Analysis(MDA)

In order to analyze consumption as a learning process and social practice, 'Mediated Discourse Analysis' will be used as an analyzing method in this thesis. MDA is a discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the study of language in use. It is the study of the meanings we give language and the

actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts (Gee & Handford, 2012). It suggests however that you concentrate more on action and unsaid meaning than other discourse analysis. Mediated discourse analysis is a framework for looking at such actions with two questions in mind: What is the action going on here? How does discourse figure into these actions? (Scollon, 2001)

MDA is a proper method to find how people acquire consumption practice by observing their daily life. When we acquire a certain practice, it often happens under consciousness and we take certain actions unconsciously. If you had never shopping, you could not know how to buy things at a shop. You can buy things at a shop with no difficulty. Before you enter the shop, you do not think about what you are going to buy in a shop. In fact, the process you would take is 1) checking the shop whether it is open for business 2) opening the door 3) saying 'hello' to clerks 4) browsing around between display stands, 5) comparing products and prices, 6) paying the price. Albeit that you do not recognize what you do in details and even it is hard to explain what you do for buying in a shop. These serial actions are shown commonly (though some actions are missed, added or out of order) and nothing special. Everyone has different meaning for buying things and consequences of buying things may be various in accordance with when, where, who, why and how. It

is not enough to scope only discourses out in order to understand both exposed and unexposed meaning. Assertions that traditional interviews and surveys do not fully reveal how consumers live or interact with products, practitioners of this daily life research aim to uncover insights that we consumers cannot articulate because we are unaware of them (Schor, 2005). Mediated discourse analysis is a tool which seeks to keep all of this complexity alive in our analyses without presupposing which actions and which discourses are the relevant ones in any particular case under study (Scollon, 2001).

In addition, consumption practice if children will be analyzed through the frame of competence model in this study. Competence model is different from objective based view and it is made for understanding learning processes. It shows learning – practice cycle. When you meet very new things for you, you do not know what to do with them. After observing or experiencing how others use them, you can learn what to do with them or alternatively, just ignore them. This process can be said ‘learning’, ‘practice’ can be said internalized actions after learning. Learning and practice are not separated clearly in an action but between learning and practice, there is competence. Competence is recently understood as the prerequisite of a person or a group of individuals for acting appropriately in a specific situation (Balmer &

Tschapka, 2010). Competence is acquired through learning and practice cycle. Learning and practice cycle is based on actions. The starting point for analyzing competencies is the actions where a person in situation undertakes and the resources are required to perform those actions (Jonnaert et al, 2006). Competence is achieved when a person applies one's knowledge practically in a specific situation (Balmer & Tschapka, 2010).

The main point of both MDA and competence model is analyzing actions in the context of a specific situation. Therefore using a competence model helps understand a learning process as practice analytically and it matches methodologically with MDA.

MDA is a very suitable method to determine how practice is made up through their daily lives. By looking at discourse in practice, unspoken discourse is as important as spoken things in order to understand what people do and why people decide. If we focus on spoken discourse only, it is easy to miss hidden meanings. Although spoken discourse allows reflecting a speaker's thoughts, discourse itself cannot entertain the whole situation and history where the discourse is made in. It might be impossible to reveal the meaning of an action completely. We are able to speculate the true meanings of practice if we successfully utilize the MDA and competence model as an analysis tool.

1.3 Research Purpose and Research Questions

In the simplest sense, consumption refers to “the using up of goods and services having an exchangeable value” under Dictionary.com, but from a sociological perspective, consumption is much more complex and interesting (Grauerholz & Bubriski-McKenzie, 2012). If you have never had shopping, you could not know how buying things at shop. It indicates buying things could be the consequenc of a nurturing process. An objective of this study is on analyzing the social practice related to consumption with MDA. This analysis will be written under the viewpoint on sustainability. Especially my study is about children’s behaviors and their thoughts about their consumption pattern. As consumption practice is very complex, I decide to observe children’s consumption practice. Children take very early steps of consumption practice which is less complex than adults’ practice because children are not fully indulged in consumption. It would be effective to understand how consumption practice is made. Through their consumption styles as a specific action, it is revealed how they learn competence for sustainability or vice versa.

What I want show through this thesis is as follows

How are children's competence in sustainable consumption built through the concept of social practice:

1. In which way can consumption be examined to reflect sustainability as a social practice
2. In which way can concepts of competence help to emphasize practice a core aspect of consumption education
3. In which way does social practice approach serve for children's competence based on learning for sustainability in consumption

This paper joins an emerging body of work that critiques the behaviorist perspectives that currently dominate the field and specifically, a case is made for using conventions theory (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991) to complement the 'social practices' approach to consumption, sustainability and everyday life (Evans, 2011).

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 Consumption as Practice

Prior to initiating to the proces to understand the children's consumption practice, I wanted to know how I could understand children's practice. There are lots of discourses about consumption. I had to understand what discourse show about consumption first.

2.1.1 Discourse about consumption

The amount of consumer studies on understanding compulsive consumer behavior has increased during past decades (Neuner, Raab, & Reisch, 2005). The tendency of this increase is interpreted as means of compensation for stress, disappointment, frustration, or even a structural deficit, caused by a distortion of autonomy and experienced as a lack of self-esteem. In the USA, a research studysuggested that 5.9% of the general population may be at risk of becoming compulsive buyers (OGUINN, Lee, & Faber, 1986). Another research suggesting even 10% of the American population may be indicating

compulsive buyers (Trachtenberg, 1988). Excessive consumption cannot become an exceptional case any more. Hyperconsumption has been being regarded as usual social phenomenon and it is located within a culture (Dolan, 2002; Gorge, Herbert, zc,ag~lar-Toulouse, & Robert, 2015). This excessive consumption seems to be against sustainable consumption. Generally sustainable consumption is the concept of basic needs. The assumption is that once people consume over what they need. Hyperconsumption is caused by irrational, greedy, immortal, or manipulated behaviors (Dolan, 2002). However needs are mediated by prevailing a symbolic order, which is part of the cultural system. Because any attempt at universalizing a set of human needs is immanently and unavoidably ethnocentric (Dolan, 2002). Not only the excessive needs but also the most basic human needs are socially constructed (Phillips, 1997). Even some says that there is no correlation between the thing consumed and the consumption act itself (Kilbourne, McDonagh, & Prothero, 1997). That is why people want to buy brand-new products although they do not know what kinds of products exist before seeing them. Reisch (1998) argued that needs are not so simply defined and located outside of their social and cultural contexts of enactment. Needs are an unstable ground on which to found the prospects of sustainable consumption (Dolan, 2002).

In the simplest sense, if you type “consumption” at Dictionary.com, consumption refers to “the using up of goods and services having an exchangeable value”. From sociological perspective, consumption is much more complex and interesting (Grauerholz & Bubriski-McKenzie, 2012). An analysis of consumer practices in terms of style, taste and identity formation or maintenance often informs a more post-structural analysis of consumer culture. A consideration of the more historical or economic underpinnings of consumer practices or their more overtly political implications tends to inform a wider analysis of consumer society. Albeit that internal contradiction is present in contemporary society, almost no human need or activity avoids commodification, and consumer society is increasingly all-encompassing (Edwards, 2000). Consumption should be interpreted as the social and cultural phenomenon as stated above. This social and cultural phenomenon can be interpreted as practice which is embodied in the practitioner. (Røpke, 2009).

2.1.2 Consumption as practice

As Schaefer and Crane (2005) state, there are two different lenses for conceptualization of consumption. One is an information processing and choice-oriented view while another is more sociological/cultural view of consumption. In this thesis the latter is chosen in order to understand

consumption. Several studies of a theoretical and of an empirical nature emphasize the impact of social influence on consumption (Salazar, Oerlemans, & Stroe-Biezen, 2013). However it does not mean that you should focus hugely on discourse about consumption to understand the impact of social influence. Through the process of consumption, people are able to make visible the social and cultural differences between people. Consumption practices are framed or limited, or enabled by cultural (Dolan, 2002). Warde (2005) insisted practices, rather than individual desires create wants.

Practice can be explained under habitus concept. Habitus concept is material to determine 'macro' structure from 'micro' events. Social or political implication underneath consumption can be revealed only when we focus on daily lives and their embodied history. Bourdieu considered what individuals do in their daily lives. Bourdieu is, however, emphatic that social life cannot be understood as simply the aggregate of individual behavior (Jenkins, 1992).

The *habitus* – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. It is just that we do not directly feel the influence of these past selves precisely because they are so deeply rooted within us. They constitute the unconscious part of ourselves. The *habitus* is spontaneity without consciousness or will (Bourdieu 1990, p56).

Bourdieu(2005) also defines habitus as a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action. The habitus tends to generate all the ‘reasonable’, ‘common-sense’, behaviours (Bourdieu, 1990). It is not natural, inborn: being a product of history, which is of social experience and education (Bourdieu, 2005). The power of the habitus is derived from the thoughtlessness of habit and habituation, rather than consciously learned rules and principles (Jenkins, 1992). People can lead daily lives without consciousness in habitus. Because they internalize rules and principles through practice, through repeatedly having to act within specific kinds of social relation and context so that they acquire the appropriate dispositions (Sayer, 2009). Skills and knowledge are often learned by experience and training, and they become embodied in the practitioner (Røpke, 2009). The habitus disposes people to do certain tasks, so the surface appearance of decision-making is also a shadow or a reflection of what the habitus is doing away (Jenkins, 1992).

A “practice(Praxis)” is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, “things” and their use, a background knowledge in

the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge (Warde, 2004). Consumption should be considered as practice in regard that it is a routinized behavior in habitus. For understanding embodied history of consumption, taking attention to consumption as practice is needed. Applying social theories of practices to the analysis of consumption is meaningful (Shove, 2008; Warde, 2005). This approach shifts the analytical focus away from atomized products, technologies and individuals, towards an understanding of everyday practices, many of which include routinized activities (Sahakian, 2014). People in their everyday lives are engaged in practices such as cooking, eating, sleeping, looking after children, shopping, playing football, and working. Performing practice usually requires using various material resources. However, this aspect does not make people conscious of the fact that they are consuming resources in their daily activities (Røpke, 2009). Theories of practices emphasize the tacit and unconscious levels of knowledge and experience through which share ways of understanding and being in the world are established, through which purposes emerge as desirable, and norms as legitimate (Shove, 2008).

Neil Evernden (1985) suggests that the real authorities in a culture are unquestioned assumptions. Our guiding and stabilizing authorities are the values and beliefs that are buried so deeply in our belief systems and lifestyles

as to be transparent which is unrecognizable on a daily basis (Jickling, 2005). To make unrecognizable daily life questionable, traditional interviews and surveys are not enough. Companies are trying to find out consumer's daily life. Companies are searching for consumer habit that consumers are concerning oblivious through jibing into consumer's daily life (Schor, 2005). Understanding consumption needs to jibe into consumer's daily life for not only the profit in market but also the realization in practice study. According to Scollon, Mediated Discourse Analysis can give a hint for how jibe into consumer's daily life.

2.1.3 Discourse and Practice

Contexts around individual behavior are related to habitus and individual behaviors in habitus can be called practice (Bourdieu, 2005). Everyday practice which we do not recognize what we are doing is enacted automatically. Critical discourse analysis(CDA) takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power, society use (Rogers, 2004; Woodak, 2001). Fairclough (2003) said that there was no such thing as an 'objective' analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst. Our ability to know what is 'there' is inevitable. The questions we ask

necessarily arise from particular motivations which go beyond what is 'there'. We can understand what Fairclough said under 'habitus' concept from Bourdieu. Being the product of a particular class of objective regularities, the habitus tends to generate all the reasonable, common-sense, behaviors which are possible to do within the limits of regularities.

CDA gives a guide to find unrecognizable daily basis. Consumers do not act as atomistic independent decision-making units. Their behavior is shaped with a frame of reference produces by the social groups to which each individual belongs (Merton and Rossi, 1949). Consumption is not a personal taste. Consumption is clearly not simply a matter of style. It is also a matter of money and economics, social practice, social division, political policy and political implication (Edwards, 2000). The critical approach has its theoretical underpinnings in views of the relationship between "micro" events (including verbal events) and "macro" structures (Fairclough, 1995). By starting from observing 'micro' events like children's discourses and shopping actions. Finally macro level of consumption could be connected to the starting point in a spectrum.

Through analyzing children's discourse, we can extrapolate social implication of consumption by using CDA. However, analyzing discourse is not enough to find what is happening under the automatic actions. Mediated

Discourse Analysis(MDA) aims to establish the links between discourses and social actions where the focus of analysis is overtly upon action (Meyer, 2001). The focus of MDA is the mediated action – within a dialogical chain of such social actions as well as within a hierarchy of simultaneously occurring practices (Scollon & Scollon, 2005). Practice is defined as a count noun,practices, in the MDA. A practice is a historical accumulation within the habitus/historical body of the social actor of mediated actions taken over his or her life (experience) and which are recognizable to other social actors as “the same” social action (Scollon, 2001, p149). In this study, consumption is considered as practices under MDA¹.

2.2 Sustainability in Consumption

Consumption in this society is regarded as a hindrance factor of sustainability. Many countries try to develop consumption education teaching sustainability in their national curricular. Sustainability in consumption should be examined in order to plan how to make sustainable future.

¹ Refer to the section 3.2 in the theoretical background section in this thesis for more detailed information

2.2.1 Sustainability

Unsustainable consumption

Human has consumed more natural resources in the past five decades (Fien, Neil, & Bently, 2008).

McGregor(2013) stated, “The average person enters into at least a million consumer transactions in their life time,based on 75 years of consumption during ages 15-80 and 35 decisions each day, totaling 958,125. Many of these transactions are translated into unsustainable consumption due to the complexity of resource extraction, design and production, transportation, labour source, product use, service delivery and disposal issues”(p34).

Although consumption has been increasing in a world wide, the majority of consumption occurs in high income countries and densed population segments (Barber, 2005). The United States accounts for less than 5 percent of the world’s population and this fugure represents one-third of all consumption (Grauerholz & Bubriski-McKenzie, 2012). The complexity of the sustainability in relation to the interactions of economic viabiliyt, social equity and environmental impact was emphasized in the 2009 Copenhagen climate

conference. It has been observed that resources consumed in the world are not equally distributed. Hyperconsumption connotes consumption where the ecological referent is obscured, meaning that consumers are no longer aware of the natural resources used in the manufacture of goods (Dolan, 2002). Current consumption patterns are simply unsustainable and therefore need to be altered if we want to stay our life sustainable (Assadourian, 2010; Fien et al., 2008; D. A. Fuchs & Lorek, 2005).

Sustainability

The most accepted definition of sustainability is that it “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” (Thiele, 2013). Despite the widespread use of the Brundtland Commission’s definitions of sustainable development(SD), there is much debate over the concept’s scope (Landorf, Doscher, & Rocco, 2008). World leaders gathered at Rio in June 1992 to discuss the implementation of “sustainable development.” (Jickling, 1994). There is still great uncertainty about the use of the term ‘sustainable development’(SD) and its precise meaning (Rau & Fachy, 2013).

The concept of sustainability tends to be used with development in various literature The concept of sustainability however is solely used in this study to analyze the consumption practice. The main aim of this research is to

examine how sustainability is shown (or not) through children's consumption practice. Human never know what happens in the future, so sustainability has vagueness inherently. The meaning of sustainability can be changeable dependent on the situation . We cannot insist a specific aim for sustainability. The ambivalent nature of the concept of sustainability can be a major conceptual impediment but this vagueness has an enormous canvassing and heuristic capacity if it is systematically and systemically used as a starting point or operational device to exchange views and ideas. Sustainability is a vision to work towards (Wals & Jickling, 2002).

Future is unpredictable but it does not mean that we have nothing to do for the future. Sustainability is grounded in the responsibility we have to sustain the community that sustains us (Thiele, 2013). Sustainability can guide us what is the important values we should take for the future. Sustainability does not simply require an add-on to existing structures, but sustainability implies a change of fundamental epistemology in our culture (Sterling, 2004). However it is certain that sustainability is an ideology and therefore political because sustainability is contextual and its meaning is dependent on their applicable situation (Wals & Jickling, 2002).

Sustainability today has become a marketing tool. Sustainability is popular, even trendy (Thiele, 2013). Making or buying green products on

current structures does not help to make the sustainable future without exposing ideology of hidden sides of green products. Buying green products seems very attractive for the consumers who are interest in expecting sustainable future. Nevertheless hopes for green products also have been shifted by the perception that such products are lower quality or do not really deliver on their environmental promises (Ginsberg & Bloom, 2004). The same products continues to be produced, but green themes were added to promotional campaigns in order to take advantage of any environmental concerns of consumers (Crane, 2005). Sustainability is shown under certain contexts, certain contexts include people's different interests around sustainability. Sustainability is relationships between things, or the way in which they are structured (Huckle, 2011). Sustainability issues are situated in a field of tension between the personal and the political, as almost every 'private' decision has 'public' consequences. Social conditions affect individuals' freedom of choice (Poock & Vandenabeele, 2012). Sustainability can be political.

Nobody can convince what we should do for the sustainable future. It means that we need to discuss about our future. We cannot generate one conclusion, but we can try to draw a picture for sustainable society together. However, communicating between groups with different interests in

various situations is not achievable easily even under same premise, staying our life sustainable. The increase of consumption is a problem but the weighted consumption by wealthy portion is also a big problem. Both lack of natural resources and how they distributed should be the main issue in sustainability discourse. Therefore sustainability certainly has ethical components. It is essential in moral claims for the responsibilities and obligations of individuals and organizations (Thiele 2013). Responsibilities provide some clue for resolving ethical problems (Jickling & Wals, 2008; Sterling, 2010). Responsibility here has two meanings, caring for nature and each other (Fien & Tilbury, 2002). Meaning of caring for nature could be caring for both nature itself from the ecological point of view and resources from the anthropocentric view point. Meaning of caring each other should be between individuals from ethical view like social justice.

Environmental, social, cultural and economic sustainability with considering equity, interdependence and responsibility for action has expanded sustainability concept from the Brundtland definition (Lockley & Jarrath, 2013). Sustainability must also encompass human rights or social justice found in poverty, racism, inequity, democracy and peace (Landorf et al., 2008). A sustainable world cannot be created without the full and democratic involvement of all members of society; a sustainable world is difficult to

imagine without values including participation and democracy (Wals & Jickling, 2002).

Sustainable consumption

A sustainable consumption mode has to ensure that external conditions are maintained or (re-)created that allow those people living today and future generation to satisfy their needs (Fisher, 2012).

In 1994 at the Oslo Symposium, sustainable consumption was defined as “. . . the use of services and related products, which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life while minimizing the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle of the service or product so as not to jeopardize the needs of further generations” (D. A. Fuchs & Lorek, 2005, p261).

However the concept of sustainable consumption cannot be defined simply as the concept of sustainability is.

The critics of this mainstream version of sustainable consumption propose quite a different model, based upon a different set of assumptions and beliefs about the nature of the environment and society (Seyfang, 2006). The Oslo definition omits such specification for the social sphere (Barth & Fisher,

2012). Ecologically damaging patterns of consumption cannot be reduced to a problem of human behaviour because individual acts of consuming certain things and in certain ways need to be contextualized in relation to the ordering of social practices (Evans, 2011). Individuals do not consume for the sake of consuming. Rather, consumption occurs within practices and being a competent practitioner (Warde, 2005). Scholars of sustainable consumption have begun to ask important questions about power and change in complex socio-technical systems. Individual acts of consumption can be seen as the result of multiple factors combining across different levels and time, producing patterns of consumption which origins and drivers are murky. For instance to keep meat prices low and thus maintain and expand meat consumption, the forms of power make the system resistant to political, societal and economic challenges (D. Fuchs et al., 2015).

Consumer education needs to accomplish a balancing act between being both an instrumental approach that enables students to respond to today's consumption challenges in a sustainable way and an emancipatory mode that equips students with the overarching capability allows living a successful, self-determined life (Barth & Fisher, 2012). Sustainable consumption should be regarded as practices and be considered through two aspects that are similar to sustainability: the limit of natural resources (responsibility) and how

they distributed(justice). Sustainable consumption should focus on enhancing students' competences to "enact changes in economic, ecological and social behaviour without such changes always being merely a reaction to pre-existing problems " (Haan, 2006, p22). The competences are partly embodied in the practitioners. Competences are seen as part of practices and therefore social, in the sense that they are shared (Røpke, 2009).

2.2.2 Consumption education in ESD national curricula

Consumption seems to be getting a core theme in education. In Quebec curricula, "the consumption of goods and services is now an integral part of children's lifestyle and plays an important role in shaping their behaviour. It has a direct influence on health and well-being, interpersonal relations and the environment." (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2001, p43). The degree of description about consumption education has a large difference like the gap between just general mention and detailed how to do. Some region like Quebec and Wales take consumption as one of core themes in national curricula. "Environmental Awareness and Consumer Right and Responsibilities" is one of five broad areas of learning in the Quebec education program (Ministère de l'Éducation, 2001). Wales take "Consumption& Waste" as one of seven themes on the national curricula (Government, 2008). However some region like South Korea has just minor

references about consumption. Consumption education is shown as very small parts in the subjects like social studies and home. Consumption education of South Korea, in which study participants are, has more focus on personal aspects like consumer right than social aspects compare to other countries (EDUCATION, 2011).

I could find some overlapping parts from several national curricula. Netherlands, Australia, South Korea, U.K. and Wales referred about use of natural resources. Netherlands curriculum included “management of natural resources” as key topics of sustainable development (Remmers, 2008, p35). Australian curriculum shows that renewable resources are needed for change (Government, 2010). South Korean and Wales curricula show that using resources carefully is important (EDUCATION, 2011; Government, 2008). The office for standards in British education . emphasized recycling and reducing. Use of natural resources is a basic concept in many national curricula. How to use natural resources is also described as life style or making decisions in some curriculum. Choosing a lifestyle is described as an important issue in Quebec curricula. Wales curriculum (p47) says that learners should be given opportunities to catch “the difference between standard of living and quality of life.” How to use resources and lifestyle can be classified as a personal level for change of children’s behavior.

Social and political aspects are also found from national curricula. In South Korea, finding the balance of personal reference and the public interest is important to make a rational decision in the curricula (EDUCATION, 2011). In Quebec curricula (p47), “consumer’s choices based on respect for the quality of personal and social life” are suggested (Ministère de l’Éducation, 2001). The distinction between wants and needs is presented as a necessary requisite for making a decision for sustainability in Australia and Wales curricula (Government, 2010; Government, 2008). Wants and needs in their curricular look like social products which are decided in their communities. Ethical contents like citizenship and justice are not shown in many curricula. They take a large part in a Netherlands’s curriculum. Citizenship, justice, equality and democracy are shown as key topics of sustainable development (Remmers, 2008). Consumption practice is social practice as seen in 2.1. Social and political aspects should be included in consumption education.

These descriptions in national curricula are expectations of what students should learn for sustainability in consumption education. Consumption education is being enacted under the sustainability concept.

2.2.3 Key Competence in sustainability

Competences have been defined and interpreted within the framework of sustainability (Barth, Godemann, Rieckmann, & Stoltenberg, 2007; Haan, 2006). Sustainability is so uncertain and nobody knows what will happen in the future. Consequently it is impossible to teach what is good for the sustainable future. This assumption is suggesting guidelines of actions useless. What we can try is how we discuss and decide what to do about the future in a democratic way. Traditional goal-oriented education is not proper for the sustainability because conventional syllabuses and didactic approaches focus on input. Whereas competence-oriented educational concepts focus on output (Haan, 2006). Competencies are described as learnable but not teachable (Barth et al., 2007).

The use of the term competence still has a wide variety of definitions. Nonetheless, in all of these disciplines, competence is interpreted as a roughly specialized system of abilities, proficiencies, or skills that are necessary or sufficient to reach a specific goal (Weinert, 2001). Competence can be understood as “the dynamic organizing structure of activity that allows a person to adapt to a class of situations on the basis of her experience, activity and practice. Being competent is not simply a question of applying knowledge to a situation. It also involves organizing one’s activity in order to adapt to the

characteristics of the situation” (Jonnaert, Barrette, Masciotra, & Yaya, 2006, p15).

Discussion about key competence is animated. Key competence is considered the reference scheme for transparently evaluating student learning and teaching effectiveness (Wiek, Withycombe, & Redman, 2011). Encouraging the processes for changing awareness among individuals can only be accomplished through learning and major competencies are demanded in the encouraging process (Haan, 2006). Hidalgo & Fuentes (2013) discussed that all university students have to be trained in skills regarding sustainability and students should know how to deal with problems regarding unsustainability. OECD’s DeSeCo project defined key competencies as the things which people need to know and be able to do in order to live meaningfully in, and contribute to, is a well-functioning society (S. Rychen & L. Salganik, 2003). The implication is that these competencies are transferable across contexts and continue to develop across the lifespan (Hipkins, 2010). Key competences can be seen as relevant competences used to deal with the multiple challenges with which modern societies are now facing, such as globalization, modernization, social action, or sustainable development (S. Rychen & L. Salganik, 2003). Over the last few years, numerous article and reports have made a significant progress in conceptualizing key competencies in sustainability (Haan, 2006; Hidalgo & Fuentes, 2013; Wiek et al., 2011).

Most of these efforts are shown for the curricula and program development especially in higher education (Hidalgo & Fuentes, 2013; Sterling & Thomas, 2006; Wiek et al., 2011). It is the fully expected result as “Key competence” refers to competences relevant and useful for everybody and in different contexts (Lambrechts, Mula, Ceulemans, Molderez, & Gaeremynck, 2013). The concept of useful existence for everybody in different contexts is very attractive. If there is the substance of key competencies, there is no need in wandering to find out what should be learned for sustainability.

2.2.4 The necessity of a different approach

Different approaches have proposed to undertake the selection of key competences for sustainability. When competence is viewed in terms of the dialectical relations of a person in action and in situation, its multifaceted meanings emerge and provide a wide panorama on the real issues facing present-day reforms (Jonnaert, Masciotra, Barrette, Morel, & Mane, 2007). But the labeled as ‘key’ are seen to be universal rather than situation specific (Rychen & Salganik, 2003). The concept of ‘key competence’ represents the significance of certain competencies (Barth & Fisher, 2012). Competencies that are relevant or important for only some individuals are not deemed key competencies (D. S. Rychen & L. H. Salganik, 2003). However, sustainability

as contextual, its meaning is dependent on the situation in which it is used (Wals & Jickling, 2002). In this sense, a certain competence is needed for a certain person in a certain situation. Under that case, key competencies could have no meaning to the person in the certain situation. A person's actual competence in a situation is a function of the combination of a series of factors that evolve in situation and that usually cannot be predicted beforehand. Defining actual competence would be required, first and foremost, a thorough description of the situation in which the person is immersed. Actual competence is thus the competence in action and in situation (Jonnaert et al., 2007). If situation is not regarded as a main requisite in a competence approach, consumption as practice cannot be analyzed through a competence approach.

Some of the descriptions are less specific and abstract for applying competence to a certain practice. Haan (2006) described that “only this way can plans and actions be made ‘error-friendly’, and be corrected and revised when new insights appear and when conditions change(p24)” in explanation of one of the key competencies which are planning and implementation skills. A situation is not mentioned as a term in the explanation but it can be connected why a situation is important in competence based on a daily life. However it is treated only for one of key competencies. It is too broad and

essential concept to treat as one of key competencies. It is only in situation that a person develops his/her competence, and therefore the situation is the source of competence. The concept of situation thus takes on a central role in the learning process (Jonnaert et al., 2007). Competence implies that the only way a person can construct and develop competence is by using it in a situation (Tschapka & Balmer, 2010). Additionally a situation in competence gives meaning sustainable consumption as practice only if the practice can be shown under a specific situation – a daily life. Otherwise we cannot call consumption as practice.

Another key competence by Haan (2006) – the capacity for empathy, compassion and solidarity – also is too broad to treat as one of the key competencies and too normative to apply for building competence as well. He debated that all conceptions for sustainability aim to promote more justice, always call for a more just balance between the poor and the rich, the privileged and the disadvantaged, and strive to minimize or eliminate repression. First justice is too huge concept and it is a kind of social value. Although the fundamental assumption is that environmental problems are structurally anchored into a society and our ways of living (Jensen & Schnack, 1997), in order to build competence should it be started with considering what is the problem. Before teaching what you should do for justice why justice is

needed for sustainable future should be preceded.

Barth & Fisher (2012) shows the similar problems like Haan. One of key competencies from their study is 'to critically take on one's role as an active stakeholder in the market'. This statement defines the boundary in a people's starting point of the thought. The first step for building competence in this statement would be taking their role as stakeholders in the market. There will be no room for the introspection about the market itself.

The concept of key competence must be a very easy way for making an educational program or curriculum. It is however impossible to find a panacea for all different situations. Thus we need a different approach of competence apart from key competence to analyze practices in specific situations. It has been shown that key competences are not proper for all situations but it would be feasible and applicable if it is organized properly. Descriptions and levels of competencies are all different in the above table (need a table number) but in the further discussion of this study, they will be reorganized under three dimensional competence model based on the Swiss curricula in the next chapter.

2.3 Competence in consumption for sustainability

Key competence is not enough to reflect children's consumption practice into education. Another approach for building children's competence in sustainability should be needed. A three dimensional competence model can compensate the deficiency of key competence where it does not approach with a normative perspective. Competence building needs to have more focus on the process of acquiring practices in real situations than the suggestion of organizing learning materials for taking proper situations.

2.3.1 Three dimensional competence model based on Swiss Curricular

People cannot develop their competence outside of a situation and then expect to apply it in some situation or others in the future (Jonnaert, Masciotra, Barrette, Morel, & Mane, 2007). Competence necessarily develops in a situation. The concept of competence is understood as the prerequisite of a person or a group of individuals to act appropriately in a specific situation (Tschapka, 2012a). Being competent is different from simply applying knowledge to a situation. Being competent is intimate to organize one's activity in order to adapt to the characteristics of the situation. Competence

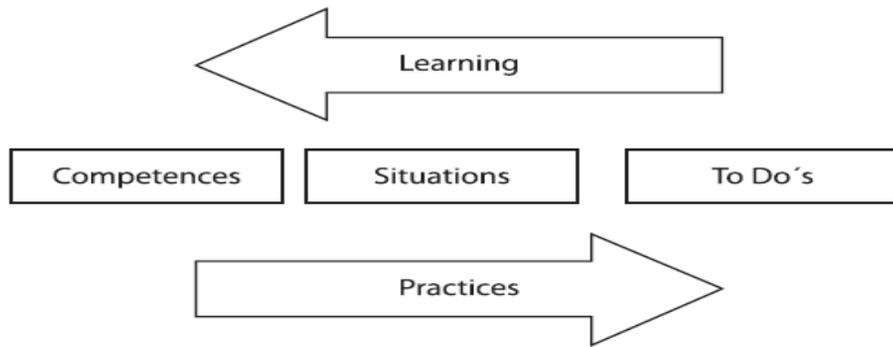


Figure 1 Competence Sketch (Tschapka, 2012a, p17) German in original

can thus be understood as “the dynamic organizing structure of the activity that allows a person to adapt to a class of situations on the basis of her experience, activity and practice.” (Jonnaert, Barrette, Masciotra, & Yaya, 2006, p15). The every practice of a person in a situation is intimately linked to the development of his/her actual competence as you can see the figure 1 (Tschapka & Balmer, 2010).

Situation is the starting point of building competence in this figure. It is only in the situation that a person develops his/her competence, and the situation is the source of competence (Jonnaert et al., 2006). For example, if someone who doesn't know English and goes theStates, going to the States is a situation for him/her. It is the starting point. You are going to need to speak

in English to live in the States. At first, you feel very uncomfortable in speaking English and you cannot easily develop your idea. This process can be called learning. However after you spend time on an English language course you feel comfortable at speaking English and you will not tend to translate word by word while you are speaking English. Feeling comfortable at speaking English can be matched with building competence. After that you will keep speaking English without consciousness of whether you are speaking English or your mother tongue. Now your speaking English can be called practice. Practice can be understood as a nexus of actions, which pupils undertake in learning and participating in a society (Tschapka, 2012b). While you are speaking English, you can realize that you are sometimes wrong in grammar or pronunciation. You will try to fix it with consciousness.

A next step in a learning circle is started when a new situation is encountered. A specific set of 'to do's' is needed as a tool for starting a new circulation. If you recognize something wrong in your speaking, you need to know what is wrong and how it should be fixed. You can ask other people about what is wrong or you can look up in a dictionary. The way how you try to fix your shortcomings can be called 'to do's' in the circulation. There are specific 'to do's' necessities for a person or a group of person to construct competences in specific situations and contexts. In their everyday lives,

students engage in practice that is constituted by socio-cultural ways of ‘to do’s’ (Tschapka, 2012b). ‘To do’s’ can be interpreted in certain actions. Actions in competence descriptions seems to be crucial for the successful introduction of ESD into a competence based curriculum (Tschapka, 2012b).

Key competence concept is not proper for reflecting situations in building competence. Under a key competence concept, initiation is key itself. After setting key competence first, a specific situation is constituted for building key competence. A matrix of a competent action should be not normative. Initiation of analyzing competencies is the action that a person in a situation undertakes and is the resources required to perform those actions (Jonnaert et al., 2006). A different approach to build competence is needed.

The three dimensional competence model can be proper for reflecting situations in building competence. The three dimensional competence model is shown in the project called HarmoS² (Harmonization of obligatory School) which develops education standards that are based on models of competence and the concept of competence follows of Weinert (2001). Competencies are

² A program in 2003 which is launched by the Swiss conference of cantonal ministers of education to improve schools, including the definition of education standards and the regular monitoring of the education standards and the regular monitoring of the education system.

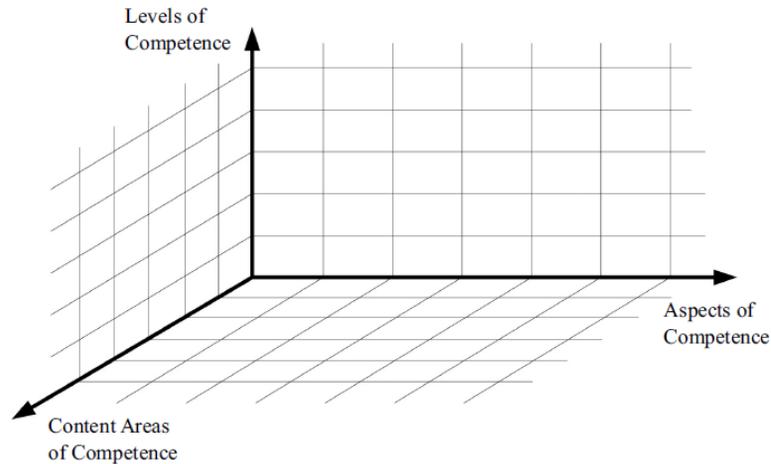


Figure 2 Basic structure of HarnoS Competence Model (Ramseier, 2008, p39)

learned and based on content-specific knowledge. They include motivational as well as ethical components (Ramseier, 2008). The competence model from the Swiss consortium HarnoS Science has decided on a three-dimensional model including the followings.

Axes consist of skills, domains, and levels (Labudde, Nidegger, Adamina, & Gingins, 2012). The ESD expert team of Swiss cantonal ministries also used the same three dimensional model (Tschapka, 2012b). The HarnoS competence model has three axes as seen in figure 2. Three axes are contents areas, aspects and levels of competence. In the model of ESD expert team,

three axes are shown under different names. Contents area changed into 'situations'. Aspects become 'to do's'. Additionally, the ESD expert team identified 'complexity' as levels, representing the idea of how pupils develop competencies at various learning stages (Tschapka, 2012b).

2.3.2 The dimensions of competence

X - axis : To do's (Aspects)

As Labudde (year) stated, the axis of the skills was declared as the primary axis due to two reasons. First, the consortium wanted to focus on the skills and not on the domains in order to avoid a mere catalogue of concepts. Second, the levels should be defined on the basis of this particular axis and not on the one of the domains (Labudde et al., 2012). This axis places major emphasis on output with verbs. The verbs indicated what the student or learner was expected to do with or to that content (Anderson, 2005). The first axis from the standard team in science education includes six skills: 1) to ask questions and to investigate, 2) to exploit information sources, 3) to organize, structure and model, 4) to assess and judge, 5) develop and realize, 6) to communicate and exchange views. Each of the skills is described in detail and consists of several sub-skills (Labudde et al., 2012). This is the axis which

describes processes, actions or aspects of competence, such as operations and calculation or reasoning and justifying in mathematics (Ramseier, 2008). The ESD expert team proposed seven categories of to do's as seen in figure 3 (Tschapka, 2012b). These seven to do's are derived from Weiner (2010)'s competence concept, the revised taxonomy of Bloom (Anderson, Krathwohl, & Bloom, 2001) and the development of the Swiss natural science standards (Balmer & Tschapka, 2011). The categories 'develop empathy' and 'assess and take responsibility' in seven to do's had singularity at that time (Tschapka, 2012b).

Balmer and Tschapka also concurred the explanation of ESD perspective on each to do's. For example, 'structuring' which is one of seven to do's embraces actions like classifying, categorizing, comparing, abstracting, concluding, separating from something, distinguishing. In a complex form it means to relate information, to recognise interrelations and to describe a cause and effect. 'Structuring' has the ESD perspective in ways that structure complex networks and interrelations are among decisive factors, to get an image how they have influenced on a society's development. 'Develop empathy' requires the activities, which prepare the ground for developing empathy. Activities are raising awareness to one's own feeling and those of others, taking the perspective of others. Feelings, motives and beliefs of others

can be explicitly described and distances to one's own estimated. In this domain of to do's, the values of others and one's own can be compared and questioned without devaluing future perspectives of others as illusionary. Alternatively, they are taken into account to enrich the discussion and to enable joint developments for sustainability. 'Assess and take responsibility' deals with broaching central issues, give reasons and decide rightly in the sense of ethics. This area embraces recognising the temporal and functional nature of truth and knowledge. This results into cautious weighting and deciding socio-cultural processes of negotiations and decisions. It is derived from the idea that democracy contains complexity for open and vague future for which one can take responsibility for his or her activities and preparing resiliency for the imponderable.

However to do's have no meaning without related situations and themes, but without the clearly distinguished usage of them competence descriptions are arbitrary (Balmer & Tschapka, 2011). By changing the saying 'a theory without practice is empty, practice without a theory is blind' one could say 'a skill without the a domain is empty; a domain without a skill is blind' (Labudde et al., 2012). In this study, the suitable to do's for analysis on consumption in sustainability will be shown based on these seven categories.

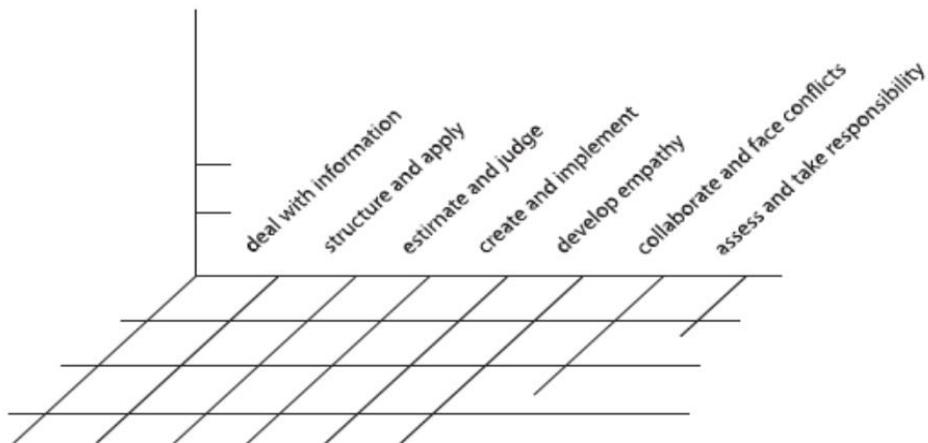


Figure 3 Aggregated categories of to do's from ESD expert team (Tschapka, 2012b, p418)

Y - axis : Situations (Content areas)

The competence is defined by reference to the action of the person in a situation. The context is taken into account. The major element that emerges from the analysis of all the mentioned definitions is the anchor of a competence in a category of situations and a context that gives it meaning (Idrissi, Bennani, & Hachmoud, 2009). The axis of domains from the standard team in science education comprises 1) planet earth, 2) motion, force and energy, 3) perception and regulation, 4) structures and changes of matter, 5) organism, 6) ecosystem, 7) human body, health and well-being, 8) nature,

society and technology. They however do not claim the list of domains to be final: a competence model is not the same as a core-curriculum (Labudde et al., 2012). This dimension describes contents areas, such as shape and space or numbers and variables in mathematics, or general activities like writing or listening for languages (Ramseier, 2008). Situations are occasions for individuals to enact themselves. Tschapka (2012b) explained the axes of competence model by comparing juggling. A juggler is competent because s/he becomes a juggler in the very act of juggling. In the first level s/he twists 2 balls. So the topic is a two ball and the to do's a simple circulating. The starting point for analyzing competencies is the actions that a person in situation undertakes and the resources required to perform those actions (Jonnaert et al., 2006). In a case of this study, topics will be extracted from children's daily consuming practice for this axis.

Z - axis : Complexity (Levels)

The last axis is the complexity. The degree of attained competence with levels characterized by typical cognitive processes or performances mastered at each level (Ramseier, 2008). Mastery of each "lower" category was a prerequisite for achieving mastery of the next "high" category (Anderson, 2005). It is intended that each level incorporates the level before it. The juggler who is competent with circulating two balls, should challenge another

technique to become a specialist. S/He can try to juggle with three or four balls or juggle on a big ball. S/he can try modified circulating instead of a simple circulation of two balls. The complexity is increased in both situations and to do's. Before challenging a new technique, the juggler should be mastered with a simpler technique first. The difference between an old and new technique can be explained with different complexity. This difference cannot be explained with frequency or rotations per minute. Complexity is a concept to include this difference. Complexity is degree of entanglement (Kwon, Cho, & Tschapka, 2014).

The authors around Labudde describe the dimension of complexity as a dimension of "Level" (Labudde et al., 2012). For example, the "to do" of 'to look at phenomena more attentively, to explore more precisely, to observe, to describe and to compare' had been explained differently for each of the grades 2 and 9. For grade 2, to do's is described that students can perceive and observe basic phenomena and describe them with everyday concepts. For grade 9, it becomes changed with two sentences: Students can perceive and observe phenomena with more than one sense. Students conduct specific measurements, gather, arrange and compare data in order to describe phenomena. The description becomes more complex.

To understand the dimension of complexity and its different levels the

weather forecast task of the standards can give you more explanation of its function.

In the first level we can expect that students describe what means when weather forecast speaks about a lot of sunshine, partly or little sunshine. They also can read temperature measures, which Celsius is displayed, and explain that sunshine leads to high temperature and little sunshine to lower temperature. In the second level we can expect students conduct basic measurements, e.g. gather temperature daily over the week, and rudimentarily compare data in the sense of high sunshine will lead to high temperature. In third level we expect students to conduct specific measurements including sunshine, temperature and humidity and compare data in order to explain why

What will the weather be like in the next days?					
In the schoolroom, two children display the weather forecast every week. For this purpose they cut out announcements out of newspapers and summarize them on a poster. This week the following details are on the poster:					
details	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
sunshine	a lot	a lot	partly	little	partly
temperature	14 ° Celsius	15 ° Celsius	16 ° Celsius	17 ° Celsius	16 ° Celsius
lowest / highest value	28 ° Celsius	30 ° Celsius	32 ° Celsius	23 ° Celsius	26 ° Celsius
air humidity	low	low	middle to very high	high	middle to low
Always name two days (with the abbreviations Mo, Tue, We, Thu, Fr)!					
1. Which are the sunniest days?					
2. Which are the hottest days?					
3. Which are the most humid days?					
4. On which days could there be the most rainfall?					

Figure 4 A typical paper & pencil item (Labudde et al., 2012, p17)

high temperature and high humidity will lead to thunderstorm and rain. There are different complexities among three levels. However the same observable behaviours may stand for very different levels of thinking in different contexts (Andrich, 2002). Therefore a situation should be taken into account in complexity axis as well.

The competence model can guide us how plan learning goal as we have seen above. However mostly competence models are developed and set without any empirical analyses (Labudde et al., 2012). Competence model should develop on empirical analyses. Empirical analyses can make competence model work to be competent in real situation.

3 Methodology

The main questions which guide this study are: 1) in which way children's consumption can be analyzed 2) how children's consumption performance can be linked to education 3) how to develop children's competence in consumption in the light of sustainability. In order to answer these questions, this research study focused on a population of children who started the action of a purchase independently. In order to analyze practice in habitus, the proper methodology is needed. Concrete actions are essential data to analyze practice. The methodology should be selected in light of how action can be revealed.

3.1 Field Description

I was in charge of the 4th grade (10 or 11 – year-old) students at elementary school when the research was begun. Then I thought the 4th grade students would be very proper for the research as beginners in consumptions. A study conducted in Australia focused on young people as the authors of the study believed that young people could become leaders of change in the promotion of sustainable lifestyle choices in the country. (Fien, Neil, & Bently, 2008). Since children are naïve in the field of purchasing, consumption

practice can be understood and analyzed easier within children in comparison to the complexity of adult's consumption.

A pilot study was conducted prior to the main study, in order to decide a participant's age group using a questionnaire. Twenty-five of 4th grade elementary students were recruited for a pilot study. The result of the pilot study demonstrated that eleven of twenty-five children received pocket money from their parents regularly. Fourteen of twenty-five students received money from relatives or parents on special days like traditional holidays. Eleven out of twenty-five children are therefore considered to be potential independent consumers. Students in the 4th grade seem to be in a transition period. Based on the preparatory works I picked one group of six children. Because all of them said that they got money from parents regularly.

All six children are females who attended public school. They were in the same class at their school. The elementary school is in Seoul. Most of students in the school lived in apartments and all six students were living in apartments, too. Their apartments are relatively expensive in Seoul. Their family's economic conditions are not bad. All their family's economic conditions are at least above the average in South Korea. I observed my participants six times and did interviews five times. The first observation was on November 23th, 2012. The last observation was made on February 21st, 2014. (see table 3)

The six students have friendly relations with each other. They knew each other well and hung out each other after school. Friendship was the main factor influenced on deciding the number of participants for the main study. Children can feel more comfortable in a close relationship than as an individual or in no relationship with me, their teacher. They can act more easily as what they do as usual with their friends.

Spoken consent was obtained from parents on behalf of children to participate this study prior to data collection including observation on their “action of a purchase” and interview. The observations and interviews were made and they are recorded by a camcorder. I tried to observe and record what they do in their real situation. Because the actions are important in this study and they will be the main materials for analyzing their practices. The action of a purchase is a primary outcome of this study.

3.2 Mediated Discourse Analysis

I utilized Mediated Discourse Analysis as an analytic frame of this study because practice can be said with the concrete actions. This method is adequate to capture children’s concrete actions in daily situations.

3.2.1 Introduction to Mediated Discourse Analysis

The principles of mediated discourse theory were first laid out by Scollon in the late 1990 (R. Scollon, 1997, 1998) and have subsequently been developed by a number of discourse analysts in a constellation of separate research projects and collaborations over the past ten years in Asia, North America and Europe (Norris & Jones, 2005). As a theoretical position, it focuses on linkages between discourse and action and how these play out in complex social situations. It examines two broad kinds of questions that have been left-theorized by other approaches. It investigates what part texts play in actions undertaken by social actors in the one hand and how texts arises as the outcomes of social interactive process of production in the other hand (S. W. Scollon & Saint-Georges, 2012).

Before introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis, discourse analysis is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language. This means that one productive way of doing social research is through a focus on language, using some form of discourse analysis. This is not a matter of reducing social life to language, saying that everything is discourse (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse is commonly used in various senses, including (a) meaning-making

as an element of the social process; (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g. 'political discourse'); (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (e.g. a 'neo-liberal discourse of globalization') (Gee & Handford, 2012). Discourse analysis focuses on knowledge about language beyond the word, clause, phrase and sentence that is needed for successful communication. It looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse. Discourse analysis examines both spoken and written texts (Paltridge, 2012). But there is no such things as an 'objective' analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst. Our ability to know what is 'there' is inevitably limited and partial. And the questions we ask necessarily arise from particular motivations which go beyond what is 'there' (Fairclough, 2003).

3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA), what is 'said' in a text is always said against the background of what is 'unsaid' - what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit and social events are casually shaped by (networks of) social practices (Fairclough, 2003). CDA focuses not just upon semiosis as such, but on *relations between semiotic and other social elements* (Gee & Handford, 2012). CDA, as one of the practice-theory approaches to language has let itself rest in the idea of habitus a bit too easily (Scollon & Scollon, 2005). MDA shares with CDA a concern with *hybridity*, with the ways multiple 'voices' interact in interdiscursive dialogicality (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). However, whereas the project of CDA starts with the idea that 'discourse opens a window on social problems', MDA seeks to open this window wider – broadening the 'circumference' of discourse analysis (Scollon, 2001b) to include things like objects, gestures, non-verbal sounds and built environments (Norris & Jones, 2005). 'Mediated Discourse Analysis(MDA) shares the goals of CDA, but strategizes to reformulate the object of study from a focus on the discourses of social issues to a focus on the social actions through which social actors produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives which is the ground in which society is produced

and reproduced' (Scollon, 2001a). There is no action without participating in such Discourse; no such Discourses without concrete, material actions in MDA (Scollon, 2001b). Mediated Discourse Theory(MDT) seeks to keep the focus upon the concrete, real-time social action and to see these social actions as fundamentally discursive. And MDT takes the point made by Bourdieu (1977, 1990) which must be conceptualized in a way that takes the sociocultural histories of our habitus. And habitus is understood in MDT as an enormously complex aggregation of practices and their linkages (Scollon 2001b). The concept of habitus lies at the heart of the matter. (Scollon & Scollon, 2005)

3.2.3 Practice in MDA

The every practice(in habitus) of a person in situation is intimately linked to the development of his/her actual competence (Tschapka, 2011). Habitus refers to the aggregate, cumulative, historical experience of the historical-biological individuals which consists of a very large number of social practices, their linkages, and their systematic incommensurability's as well. Social practices in this meaning are narrowly defined as actions with a history (Scollon 2001b). Competence building must take precedence to perform actions with a history in the way that agents can perform social practices with

their competence. Scollon (2001b) said even Chouliaraki and Fairclough(1999) emphasize that all practices have an irreducible discursive aspect and all practices involve use of language to some degree, but the ambiguity or lack of precise understanding of what constitutes a practice (as a count noun) or practice (as a mass noun) weakens the utility of such discourse analysis (Scollon, 2001b).

At the one end of continuum of the concept of 'practice', there is a mass noun which is seen to be a highly complex networking among 'practices' as a count noun which is seen to be very concrete and narrow. And practice theory must proceed now from a narrowly focused analysis of practices taken in the count noun sense of the concept (Scollon, 2001b). In this sense MDA can help analyzing consumption practice with the three dimensional competence model. To analyze competence building in children's consumption practice it is very helpful to regard practice as the count noun sense of the concept in MDA. Children's daily actions are interpreted as practice in habitus under this concept.

Scollon (year) believes we have to see social action as being grounded in the concrete day-to-day actions which are themselves produced at the intersection of practice, discourse, technology, and analysis. MDT brings together practice theory on the one hand and the close linguistic analysis of

social interactions on the other. MDA takes the position that social action and discourse are inextricably linked in the one hand but that on the other hand these links are sometimes not at all direct or obvious, and therefore in need of more careful theorization. MDT is considerably strengthened by seeking to theorize more clearly the relationship between human psychological process and social structure through the focus on mediated social action (Scollon, 2001b).

Central to mediated discourse analysis, then, is the desire to effect positive change by focusing on projects that help people to see beyond abstract notions of power and to start noticing the moment to moment workings of power in their everyday actions (Norris & Jones, 2005). The concern of MDT is to come to understand means produces situations of complex identity production by social actors who are negotiating equally complex identities across overlapping nexus of practice and communities of practice (Scollon, 2001b). The primary premise of MDA that human action is never a matter of individual agency, but instead a product of the ‘tension’ between the agenda of the individual and the agendas embedded in the mediational means made available in the socio-cultural setting and appropriated into the individual’s habitus as components of social practices. Agency is always distributed among human actors, mediational means and

the various discourse that circulate through them. It is always something that is negotiated between individuals and their social worlds (Jones & Norris, 2005a). Therefore MDA can help to find how sustainability is worked in children's everyday actions when everyday actions are read with three dimensional competence model. Building competence for sustainability happens through everyday practice in habitus. And a certain method is needed to understand how competence is built. MDA and three dimensional competence model have the same roots from understanding habitus and focusing on negotiation of between individuals and their social worlds.

3.2.4 Applications of MDA

Scollon(2001b) showed that the same action of the same person like 'handing' has a different meaning in a different situation. 'Handing' of one year old child looks like a very simple action but it could be used in different ways like pointing, opening up the conversation or blocking undesirable action, etc. It is also impossible for two human individuals to have the same story. But two agents can have sufficiently overlapping habitus can be considered members of the same nexus of practice. The practice is the aggregation, over a considerable period of time, of a history of concrete, specific acts of handing (Scollon, 2001b).

An interactional sociolinguistic view of mediated discourse focuses on action as social practice and then looks to ask what media (mediational means or cultural tools) are used, how those mediational means support or undermine the purpose of the participant within their community of practice (Lave 1988; Lave and Wenger 1991), and how those media bring into the situation the historical, cultural or social practices of the larger society in which these mediated actions take place. (Wertsch 1991; Scollon, 1998) A mediated discourse analysis gives central importance to five concepts: mediated action, site of engagement, mediational means, practice and nexus of practice (Scollon, 2001b).

- Mediated action : the unit of analysis of a mediated discourse analysis. That is, the focus is on social actors as they are acting because these are the moments in social world as social action, not simply as material objects (Scollon, 2001b). The focus of mediated discourse analysis is the mediated action – within a dialogical chain of such social actions as well as within a hierarchy of simultaneously occurring practices (Scollon & Scollon, 2005). The action itself is a mediated action. Scollon uses the phrase 'mediated action' to highlight the unresolvable dialectic between action and the material means which mediate all social action (Wertsch 1998).

- site of engagement : A mediated action occurs in a social space which

Scollon has elsewhere called a 'site of engagement' . This is the real-time windows that is opened through an intersection of social practices and mediational means (cultural tools) that make that action the focal point of attention of the relevant participants. The idea of the site of engagement takes from practice/activity theory(as well as from interactional sociolinguistics) the insistence on the real-time, irreversible, and unfinalizable nature of social action. A mediated action is not a class of actions but a unique moment in history (Scollon, 2001b).

- Mediational means : A mediated action is carried out through material objects in the world in dialectical interaction with structures of the habitus. Scollon takes these mediational means to always be multiple in any single action, to carry with them historical affordances and constraints, and to be inherently polyval, intertextual, and interdiscursive (Scollon, 2001b).

- Practice and social structure : For this mediated action to take place in this way there is a necessary intersection of social practices and mediational means which in themselves reproduce social groups, histories, and identities. A mediated discourse analysis takes it that a mediated action is only interpretable within practices. A MDA does not neutralize these practices and social structures as 'context', but seeks to keep them alive in our interpretations of mediated actions (Scollon, 2001b). Practice is a historical

accumulation of mediated actions-within the habitus of social actors – performed over a period of time, which are understood by other social actors to be ‘the same’ social action (Jones & Norris, 2005b).

-Nexus of practice : Mediated discourse analysis takes a tight or narrow view of social practice as social practices in the plural and so then sees as practices (as count nouns, not as a mass noun). These practices are linked to other practices, discursive and non-discursive, over time to form nexus of practice (Scollon, 2001b). The nexus is the regular, smoothly working set of linkages and sequences among practices that can be recognized by someone else in the vague sense of ‘doing the right thing’ (Scollon, 2001a). The concept of the nexus of practice is unbounded and takes into account that at least

most practices can be linked variably to different practices in different sites of engagement and among different participants. MDA takes the position that it is the constellation of linked practices which makes for the uniqueness of the site of engagement and the identities thus produced, not necessarily the specific and actions themselves (Scollon, 2001b). A nexus of practice is a network or matrix of linked practices which are the basis of the identities we produce and claim through our social actions (Scollon, 2001b).

In this current survey here I explored social consumption practices with

above concept of site of engagement. Below in chapter 3.5 I will show an example of how I made use of the site of engagements as meaning units for exploring practices.

Concepts	Meaning	Example
Mediated action	Action itself Concrete material action The unit of analysis	Holding out her hands Grasping objects Giving objects to the other
Site of engagement	Social space Real time windows opened through an intersection of social practices and meditational means	The moment of mediated actions
Mediatio nal means	Material objects in the world in dialectical interaction with structures of the habitus Multiple and carry histories and social structure	Pot / Spoon Juice / Milk Table / Hanger Balloon from book Pretend food
Practice	Use as a count noun a historical accumulation of mediated actions-within the habitus of social actors – performed over a period of time, which are understood by other social actors to be ‘the same’ social action	Handing Interacting Cajoling Body Care Nurturing
Nexus of practice	A network or matrix of linked practices	Care giving

Table 1 Examples of five concepts (Handing) (Scollon, 2001b)

Social consumption practices which link the complex interactions can be made visible in such common mediated actions through MDA. It is somewhat more difficult to see the linkages between the objects and the actions involved in their consuming and these world-wide social and institutional structures. I tried to decompose ‘consumption practice’ into a relatively set of closely defined and relatively discrete practices enter into the habitus and become available as the basis for subsequent actions.

3.3 Data Collection

Scollon(2001b) used participant observation for collecting the data of ‘handing’ in MDA. Participant observation is one among a number of methods that are used in anthropological fieldwork (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). Hence I followed this methodological idea and undertook observations and interviews which are proper for MDA.

Participant observation is most appropriate when the phenomenon of investigation is observable within an everyday life situation or setting (Jorgensen, 1989). Participant observation is taken in this study because this study starts from observing children’s everyday practice and interviewing children. The methodology of participant observation focuses on the meanings

of human existence as seen from the standpoint of insiders (Spradley, 1980). The world of everyday life as viewed from the standpoint of insiders is the fundamental reality to be described by participant observation. Put still differently, the methodology of participant observation seeks to uncover, make accessible, and reveal the meanings (realities) people use to make sense out of their daily lives (Jorgensen, 1989). Tacit aspects of culture largely remain outside our awareness or consciousness. It is the feeling of discomfort we have, for example, when someone stands too close to us or touches us in a way that seems too familiar. Participant observation is a way to collect data in a relatively unstructured manner in naturalistic settings by researchers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010).

Spradley(1980) described a continuum in the degree of participation. Under his description “Moderate participation” is taken for collecting data in this study. In “moderate participation” the researcher is present at the scene of the action but doesn’t actively participate or interact, or only occasionally interacts, with people in it. Participant observation is used to cover a mixture of observation and interviewing (Delamont, 2004). I have observed the children’s practice and done the interviews as well. You can see the children’s voice directly through the interview. Children voice was the secondary

outcome of this study as voice may guide the view of individual child on their practice.

3.4 Data Analysis

The data had been transcribed with the method of Scollon (see 3.2.4 above). I analyzed the transcript with documentary method in ways of offering an access to the pre-reflexive or tacit knowledge, which is implied in the practice of action (Bohnsack, 2010). Then I try to identify some important units to figure out larger picture of practices. “While much work in the analysis process consists of ‘taking apart’ (for instance, into smaller pieces), the final goal is the emergency of a larger, consolidated picture” (Tesch, 1990, p97).

3.4.1 Documentary Method

Developed by Bohnsack, the documentary method is situated towards the subjectivist end of the continuum. The method is a way of accessing human action and the system of meanings to which it belongs and representing the actor’s explicit and tacit interpretations of their world (Flint et al., 2012). The explication of this implicit or tacit knowledge is the task of the documentary method. Habitus, in the terms of Pierre Bourdieu, is the central subject of

documentary interpretation (Bohnsack, 2010). Documentary method presupposes the change from the question what social reality is in the perspective of the actors, to the question how this reality is produced or accomplished in these actors' everyday practice. The documentary method offers an access to the pre-reflexive or tacit knowledge, which is implied in the practice of action (Bohnsack, 2010). Relevant to the documentary sense of something said in words it that somebody does say something and how s/he says this something rather than what s/he says (Roth, 2013).

Bohnsack(2010) showed an exemplary interpretation through the several steps; transcript, reformulating, reflecting and comparative analysis. Transcript is the speaker's original expressions. Reformulating interpretation is subdivided in to the "topical structuring" and the "detailed formulating interpretation". Structuring of the subject matters means differentiation of paramount topics, subordinated topics and subsubordinated topics. And in the "detailed formulating interpretation" the researcher looks for topic changes and rephrases the text. The reformulating interpretation compresses the content and forces the researcher to think about what the interviewee is really saying (Flint et al., 2012). Reflecting interpretation is the researchers' own interpretations in reflection upon the implicit self-evident knowledge of those under research. It is the reconstruction of the framework of orientation, of the

habitus. Then comparative analysis looks at how the interviewees responded to certain questions, the way they tackled the problem or the issue and in which sequence they constructed their response.

By using these three steps the data will be interpreted in this study like below table. Documentary method is associated with revealing tacit knowledge in habitus and mediated discourse analysis as well. Documentary method and MDA are sharing the same base on focusing the practice in habitus, even though MDA has more center of action itself. However description of data interpretation in MDA is less systematic than documentary method. Thus borrowing the three steps from documentary method is useful for showing the result in this study.

3.4.2 Data analysis in documentary method

Data analysis brings all data together and then it progresses to reveal the contents of quality data, demonstrating an ongoing process of resolving the collected research data into its constituent components. Data analysis leads to putting the collected data into shape, and to suggesting how it might be analysed and interpreted. Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data (Marshall & Rossman,

1995). Data reduction and display are the part of data analysis. The prime objective of data reduction is to reduce the data without significant loss of information. “While much work in the analysis process consists of ‘taking apart’ (for instance, into smaller pieces), the final goal is the emergence of a larger, consolidated picture” (Tesch, 1990, p97).

In the middle stages, it happens through coding and memoing, and associated activities such as finding themes, clusters and patterns (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). I took several scenes which are related to sustainability from the whole observation (recordings) in order to catch meaningful real-time windows, site of engagement. Site of engagement is not a just chronological moment, it is a meaning unit in this study. I can find associated activities from the scenes. The associated activities are coded as a cluster of practices. Coding is both analysis and the specific and concrete activity, which starts the analysis (Punch, 1998). While coding happens, at whatever level, all sorts of ideas occur to the analyst (Ahmed, 2010).

3.5 Data Display

I selected associated moments which can be meaningful practices in the light of sustainability. The meaningful moments seemed to be scattered, so it needs to introduce the background of the moments. Scene Description would help you understand the selected moments.

3.5.1 Scene Description (Scene 1~9)

There are six children in the scenes. They have been to stationary shop and snack shop. I have been with them. I recorded what I observed then I organized it. The snack shop is not big. Most of customers take out the food, so the number of chairs is 6 only. There are only bar and chairs, no tables. So children sit on chairs which are in front of the long bar side by side. They face the clerks who are working behind the bar. Printed menus are hung on the wall and the position is quite high, very near the ceiling.

Six of the students have close relationship and spends their time together after school. They usually go to the stationary shop and the snack bar together. They buy something or order some food and pay for it with their pocket money.

3.5.2 Scene Description (Scene10~20)

Students want to know what I was doing. I explained that I wanted to write the thesis about children's consumption practice and invited them to SNU campus. While we were making a tour of the campus, we stopped at a stationary shop in the campus. I suggested that I bought them what they wanted under 5,000won in the stationary shop for a present.

The stationary shop is for students in the campus. All of 6 students visited here first time. I asked them to go into the shop two at a time. Because I wanted to record what they did in the shop.

3.5.3 An example of several steps by documentary method

I picked very concrete and meaningful moment from what I have observed and gave them SE(Site of Engagement) numbers. Each selected moment has a SE number with scene number. And each SE has transcript, action, reformulation and reflection part. I followed these steps by Bohnsack(2010) in documentary method. But I add action part because actions are the units of analysis in MDA.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
Clerk : Do you come with your friends?	Clerk : looking at SH SH : nodding her head. All except SH : with the food on their hands	○SH still doesn't say anything and stands. ○Everybody except SH is eating some food.
Reflection		
<p>◇ Reflection : Not spending money (SH)</p> <p>In the above scene SH is only child who didn't buy anything. Other 5 children were sitting on chairs and talking each other. But SH didn't sit down in the store and didn't tell anything. HY and EJ gave a sip of milk to JH and YJ even they didn't ask. But when SH asked it, they didn't want to give it to her. Finally HY gave a sip of milk to SH but it was not willingly.</p>		

Table 2 An example of Site of Engagement

4 Findings of children's consumption practice

What is important to see at this stage of the analysis is that in each case we cannot assert that the structural features of 'consuming' (as a generalized social practice) are present within the habitus of the child. In each case consuming is jointly constructed in a variety of actions involving the child and others. If consuming as a social practice is seen in these transcripts, it is presented as a socially distributed action, not as the action of separate individual actors.

4.1 Site of Engagement

A mediated action occurs in a social space which Scollon has elsewhere called a 'site of engagement'. This is the real-time window that is opened through an intersection of social practices and mediational means (cultural tools) that make that action the focal point of attention of the relevant participants. The idea of the site of engagement takes from practice/activity theory (as well as from interactional sociolinguistics) the insistence on the real-time, irreversible, and unfinalizable nature of social action (Scollon, 2001b).

I organized what I observed with documentary method. In documentary method, data is interpreted through several steps; transcript, reformulating, reflecting and

No	date	place	data	members
1	2012.11.23	Stationery shop & snack shop	observation recording	6(EJ,HY,MJ, YJ,JH,SH)
2	2012.12.05	Hoya (snack shop)	observation	2(YJ,MJ)
3	2012.12.11	Classroom & snack shop	observation recording	3(EJ,HY,MJ)
4	2012.12.12	Snack shop & street	observation recording	4(EJ,HY,MJ, YJ)
5	2012.12.31	SNU (stationary shop & classroom)	observation recording	6(EJ,HY,MJ, YJ,JH,SH)
6	2013. 1. 17	Classroom	interview recording	2(HY,YJ)
7	2013. 1. 21	Classroom	interview recording	3(HY,MJ,SH)
8	2013.1. 28	Classroom	interview recording	2(YJ,SH)
9	2013.08.07	Classroom	interview recording	2(HY,SH)
10	2013.08.19	Cafe	interview recording	2(HY,SH)
11	2014.02.21	SNU	observation	2(HY,SH)

Table 3 Information of Collected Data

comparative analysis. I followed these steps and add action part separately. Transcript is what children said and action is what children acted. Reformulating is for helping what children really said and acted. It is supplement of transcript and action. Without reformulation it is very hard to understand what is going on in the site of engagement. Circumstance cannot be shown enough in transcript and action. After each site of engagement I shows what the researcher sees from the site of engagement. It is interpretation of the researcher. Comparative analysis which is the next step in documentary method will be shown in 5.

4.2 Practices

Site of engagement is used as a meaning unit for analyzing children's consumption practice in this study. I gave the number to the each meaningful moment. The each meaningful moment is assembled under a certain practice. After data analysis I found 7 practices from the site of engagements. Each practice includes detailed actions.

4.2.1 Practice A : Purchasing

Purchasing is the main practice among several practices in my

observation of children's consumption. Children couldn't take the role as much as adults do yet. However children look to be familiar with purchasing things.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
MJ: How much is it? Clerk : 3,700won	MJ : putting 1,000won bills one by one on the counter and counting coins one by one, too.	MJ counts the amount for paying.

Site of Engagement 1 /1 (from scene 1)

MJ know how the purchasing procedure is going. She knows to whom she asks the price and where she can pay.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY : Two coffees, then 200 won, 200 won. EJ : Give me the two coffees	HY : handing money to the clerk. Clerk: handing two milk cartons	○HY decides to have coffee and buy 2 coffee milk cartons.

Site of Engagement 2 / 3 (from scene 3)

Exchanging money and the product is a main action in purchase practice. Children know that the purchase is made through the exchange.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY: It can be put in my bag.	HY: puts the felt-tip pen set in her bag	HY checks the size of pen set to carry it in her bag.

Site of Engagement 3 / 18 (from scene 18)

HY thought about how she could carry it. Before buying something HY can think about how she takes the product. Purchasing procedure includes carrying the products.

Children already knew how they could pay for the products. They can purchase what they want to buy. Actually purchasing practice includes serial actions like going to a certain shop, picking the product, going to the counter, counting money, handing money, taking the product, checking the price and carrying. Children followed the steps without hesitation.

4.2.2 Practice A: Interacting

Children didn't make decision alone during the shopping. They interacted each other mostly. Sometimes they interacted with a clerk or family. They did make same decision or different decision with their friends. They exchanged their opinion. They listened to others' suggestion.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
Clerk : Coffee? How about other thing?	Clerk : looking HY.	○ Clerk recommends other thing with handing them.

Site of Engagement 4 / 1

Coffee is a drink for adult in South Korea. That's why the clerk suggested another drink. The clerk and children have interaction in selecting menu.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
Clerk : EJ, your mom has not been here for bread these days. EJ: Why? Should my mom come here?	Clerk : looking EJ. EJ : looking clerk.	○ Clerk mentions EJ's mom.

Site of Engagement 5 / 9

Children do the shopping the place their parents know. It can make more interaction between the clerk and children. The clerk can affect children's choice or give information.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
MJ : Would you buy it? EJ : No. MJ : How about this? EJ : Do you want for me to buy the same thing? MJ : Yes.	MJ : picking a sticker MJ : picking another one. MJ, EJ : keep looking at the stickers. They keep turning the rotating	○ MJ and EJ exchange opinions about what they should buy. ○ There are lots of stickers on the rotating frame. What they are looking are stickers

----- MJ : Shall I buy it? EJ : Which one do you want?	frame with stickers. MJ : keeps turning the stickers with no answer.	with characters from Disney animation. ○ MJ and EJ ask each other's opinion and keep saying pretty.
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Site of Engagement 6 / 12

They share their thought about what they will buy. In order to make decision children need to have opinion of peer group. They cannot decide what they will buy without other's opinion. They keep interacting about their decision.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY: I want to buy this. I think you'd better buy it, too. SH: Okay.	HY : pointing the pen set.	○ SH doesn't have enough time to look around because she has been out. However SH accepts HY's suggestion.

Site of Engagement 7 / 15

This site of Engagement also shows strong interaction between children. They are not just exchange their opinion. They affect materially each other. They choose something because their friend want it.

Children go to the shop and buy things together with friends. They interacted with a clerk, mom or friends. They want to know others' choices. They buy the same thing with their friends and give up together. Even they don't choose the same thing they exchanges the opinion about products. They

want to know what other friends choose. They don't make decisions their own selves. They make decisions with their friends. Sometimes these decisions are made together. Sometimes someone made decision first and the others followed it. I asked them that why they made the same decision with your friends.

SH : I just want to buy the same thing with my friend. No reason.

HY : I have a good mind to be a couple with my friend.

(20121231 Interview)

SH: I prepared snacks so decided to spend no money. However, finally I bought something when I saw my friends bought.

(20121211 Interview)

They cannot explain why they want to make decision. But they know they want to make the same decision with their friends.

4.2.3 Practice C : Valuing

When children buy things they judge what kind of products have value for spending money. They want to choose something they think not waste of money.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>EJ : All things are pretty.</p> <p>MJ : This, this, this is pretty.</p> <p>EJ : All of them are pretty. There are luminous stickers, too.</p>	<p>MJ : pointing a sticker.</p> <p>MJ, EJ : looking at the stickers and pointing these and those stickers.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MJ says pretty. ○ EJ says pretty.

Site of Engagement 8 / 11

They said pretty many times during the shopping. They want to buy pretty things. How much pretty is their important value for choosing.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>EJ : This side is the best.</p> <p>MJ : Shall I buy this?</p> <p>EJ : No. Alice is prettier.</p> <p>MJ : Both are pretty.</p>	<p>MJ : stops in front of the rotating frame and picking a sticker from the side EJ chose.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There are lots of stickers on the rotating frame. What they are looking are stickers with characters from Disney animation. ○ MJ and EJ ask each other's opinion and keep saying pretty.

Site of Engagement 9 / 12

Pretty things are often correspond with commercial characters for children. They chose Disney characters among lots of stickers. Standard of judging value on pretty is related on commercials.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>MJ : 5,800won. No.. It's very pretty, but 5,800won. MJ : It is probably expensive. 9,800 won.</p>	<p>MJ : picking up a purse and checking the price MJ : picking up another purse and checking the price</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MJ says pretty and checks the price. ○ MJ guesses it will be expensive before checking the price.

Site of Engagement 10 / 13

The pretty items which children want to buy are too expensive for children. They are getting to judge how much the product will be. The valuing starts from this point.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>MJ : Hung.. hung.... I : Why? MJ : Nothing. There are lots of things to buy... MJ : There are stickers. I : Lots of things to buy, then? MJ : Lots of things to buy but it's hard to choose. I : Why is it hard? EJ : All things are pretty.</p>	<p>MJ : turning her face to stickers.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MJ has difficulty to choose something to buy. MJ says there are lots of things to buy because they are pretty.

Site of Engagement 11 / 11

Pretty things are regarded as things to buy for children. Children said “pretty” many times. Saying “pretty” is the first reaction when they find what

they like. Then they checked the price. After they have had this step several times, they started to guess the price first before checking the price. Then they recognize the gap between what they want and what they cannot have. Children should judge the value of product with their standard.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY: Many pretty things, but the high price is the problem. I don't mean there're not lots of pretty things. But I don't have enough money... I can't buy them.	HY : talks to herself.	○ HY wants to buy pretty things but there are so many pretty things. HY can't afford it.

Site of Engagement 12 / 16

It is little bit different from MJ (See site of engagement 11 / 11). MJ found the problem from lots of pretty things. HY found the problem from the high price. HY was recognizing the gap between what she wants to buy and what she can buy. In this situation children can value on the products to make a decision.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY : Madam HY : How about asking water? I : What did you say? EJ : HY said how about asking water to the clerk. I : Why did you say that such a low voice? EJ : I don't know.	Clerk : doing other things with no answer HY : putting her face very close to EJ. HY : not answering with smile.	○ Water is free and clerk doesn't seem to listen HY's asking. HY speaks with a very low voice.

Site of Engagement 13 / 7

When HY ask free things to a clerk, she spoke with low voice. It seems that children feel sorry when they ask free things. They judge how much value the products have then decide something to buy. They don't pay for free water. Free water is something which has more value than they paid. I think that is why HY showed gingerliness in this site of engagement.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY : Three straws, please. Clerk : Three?	HY: looking at MJ MJ: nods and receiving one can of mango juice with one straw.	○ Clerk gives 1 straw first but HY asks 2 straws more. The children think they need 3 straws for 3 people with even one can of drink.
HY : 2 more, please.	HY : covering her mouth with a hand and smiled bashfully.	

Site of Engagement 14 / 8

HY asked 3 straws very actively different from water case. This time HY already paid the juice. There is no reason to feel sorry for the clerk. The straws are not free thing in this site of engagement.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY : It's the same as MG's. It's 4,000 won. It's cheap. SH: What? Cheap? It's expensive. HY: I think that is comparatively cheap. HY: Wow. It looks expensive. It's 13,000 won.	HY : picking up a set of felt-tip pens. HY : taking a diary up and putting it back in its place.	○ SH has different opinion with HY about the price.

Site of Engagement 15 / 14

Their judgments on the same item are different. The valuing is different on the same item depending on who values it. Even though children discuss about the products and buy things together, the valuing can be different.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>JH: What are you looking at? YJ: A pencil sharpener, a mini tape and a punch. Is it better to buy these? How much is it? 5,000 won. Just 5,000 won. ... YJ: It is somewhat wastes of money.</p>	<p>YJ: looking the things on her hand, talking about things inside the plastic bag then checking the price. YJ : puts the chain she has chosen in its place. ---- YJ : touching the phone chains</p>	<p>○ YJ looks a stationery set and. After checking the price she said ‘just 5,000 won’. - ○ YJ wanted to buy the phone chain first but she changed her mind. She says that it’s somewhat wastes of money.</p>

Site of Engagement 16 / 20

Children evaluate the value of the products with their own criteria. They try to make better choice.

Children think something is expensive and something is pretty. They showed different attitudes when they asked free service in different situations. They have their own criteria on valuing the products. Sometimes they show different opinion about the same item. They spent money on something with their criteria. There are lots of things to buy. Buying something can be a waste of money. Children want to buy something which they think valuable.

Children think something they want is cheap is valuable in their respective.

SH: Cheap and something I want to eat. (20121211 Interview)

4.2.4 Practice D : Having fun

Having fun looks like main reason for shopping for children. They have fun with friends during the shopping and find fun from the shopping itself. Children usually don't buy daily necessity during the shopping.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
EJ : Yeah? Coffee milk? Are you gonna drink coffee? Hmm...	EJ : looking at me HY : looking at EJ	○EJ looks at me after HY points the coffee milk.

Site of Engagement 17 / 1

Coffee milk is not recommended drink for children. Children wanted to have coffee milk but they knew that it is not desirable. Doing something not desirable with friends can be fun for children.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
HY : Do you want some? JH : Ye.. HY : Give it to YJ. EJ : I drunk much. SH : Give me some.	HY : looking at JH with giggling. JH : drinking HY's coffee milk without touching her mouth to the carton. HY : looking at EJ	○ HY makes EJ give coffee milk to YJ. And EJ gives the coffee milk to YJ.

Site of Engagement 18 / 3

They share this very small deviation with their friends by sharing coffee milk.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
MJ : Shall we look around?	MJ, EJ : go back to the purse place.	○ MJ and EJ go around few minutes more after deciding what to buy.

Site of Engagement 19 / 13

Children keep going around the shop after making decision. They know they won't buy anything more. They still go around the shop with looking the products. Going ground the shop and looking at the products are not for buying. It is just for fun or spending time.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
	HY, SH : go back to notebook side with holding their felt tip pens. SH : heading to another shelve and looking and touching things there.	○ They decide what they will buy but still go around the shop.

Site of Engagement 20 / 18

Here you can see that children keep looking around the shop after making decision again.

Children did a small deviation with their friends. Children wanted to keep looking around even though they would not buy anything. Shopping is not just for buying for children. They just want to have a look what is new or pretty. It is not directly related to buying things.

HY : I often go to the stationary shop for seeing what is new.

HY : I wonder if there is something new or pretty.

20130121 (Interview)

4.2.5 Practice E: Using Disposals

Using disposals is regarded as a typical unsustainable practice. I can find using disposals in children's practice.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>----- Clerk : I will open it.</p>	<p>Clerk : giving the toast in vinyl coated paper to HY HY : receiving the toast ----- HY : As soon as it opens, she puts a straw.</p>	<p>○The clerk uses vinyl coated paper. ○HY puts a straw with no hesitation.</p>

Site of Engagement 21 / 4

Even though the children ate toasts in the bar, the clerk served toasts the same as taking out. There was no option for customers to choose what kinds of containers they could use. HY put a straw in her milk as soon as she received it. However a milk carton was designed not to need a straw. Disposals are used beyond the needs.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>Clerk : Do you want a straw? HY: Yes. Thank you. HY: Do you want to drink it?</p> <p>HY : Three straws, please. Clerk : Three?</p> <p>HY : 2 more, please. EJ : Give different colors Clerk : Here, skewers. Clerk: Yellow? EJ: Yellow one for me. MJ: Blue. HY: Pink Lady.</p> <p>MJ: Delicious.</p>	<p>HY: handing money to the clerk. Then turning to MJ and laughing</p> <p>HY: looking at MJ MJ: nods and receiving one can of mango juice with one straw.</p> <p>HY : covering her mouth with a hand and smiled bashfully. Clerk : handing one yellow straw. EJ : extending her arm toward the yellow straw. MJ : extending her arm and getting blue one.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ HY offers the mango juice to her friends and ask three straws for one can of mango juice. ○ Clerk gives 1 straw first but HY asks 2 straws more. The children think they need 3 straws for 3 people with even one can of drink.

	<p>MJ: checking the color of a straw</p> <p>Three: moving closer to the beverage</p> <p>HY: drinks a sip first</p> <p>MJ : has a sip</p> <p>EJ : also has a sip.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The owner sips first and others drink later.
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Site of Engagement 22 / 8

Children seem to take using straws for granted. Children did not use straws every time. They did not use straws while they were sharing drinks (see site of engagement 18/3). They know how to drink without straws. They did not care about using straws. They could not recognize they were using disposals. It is taken for granted without awareness.

4.2.6 Practice F : Spending money for others

Children spend their money for others. They buy snacks for friends. They share what they buy with their friends. They sometimes hand money to their friends.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>HY : Then you buy me. I will have pizza toast.</p> <p>MJ : Yes.</p>	<p>HY: looking MJ.</p> <p>MJ: with very small voice.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ HY asks MJ to buy pizza toast. ○ MJ accepts HY's demand.

<p>-----</p> <p>MJ: I haven't money. A rice cake skewer. EJ: A rice cake skewer, too. MJ: Choose one. HY: Then I'm going to eat other thing.</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>MJ: looking in her wallet.</p>	<p>-----</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MJ says she hasn't money but it was very low voice. It seems that nobody listen it. ○ HY changes a toast (2,400won) to a cheaper skewer (800won).
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Site of Engagement 23 / 6

The girl accepted her friend's asking although she did not have enough money. Spending money for others is very commonly observed in children's consumption activities. Finally her friend changed the menu to the cheaper one, the girl chose cheaper one to buy more expensive one for her friend.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>HY : Do you want some? JH : Ye.. HY : Give it to YJ. EJ : I drunk much. SH : Give me some.</p>	<p>HY : looking at JH JH: drinking HY's coffee milk without touching her mouth to the carton. HY : looking at EJ</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ HY makes EJ give coffee milk to YJ. And EJ gives the coffee milk to YJ. HY buys the coffee milk to EJ.

Site of Engagement 24 / 3

The practice, spending money for others, is for others. Sometimes it is not for others. HY who paid the coffee milk instructed EJ to give it to other girl. EJ did not want to give it. The girl who paid the coffee milk gave the milk to EJ. However she still acted like the owner of the coffee milk after handing it. The child who spends money looks more powerful in their relation.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>HY : I'll give you 1,000won.</p> <p>I : What are you doing? Are you lending money?</p> <p>HY: MJ is buying that us.</p>	<p>MJ: counting coins one by one.</p> <p>MJ: taking 1,000 won bill from HY. And putting the changes in her purse.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ HY hands 1,000won to MJ and MJ counts coins one by one. ○ HY says MJ is buying snacks to them.

Site of Engagement 25 / 6

HY gave money to MJ. MJ bought snacks for friends with the money HY gave. HY paid more money than she picked, but she thought MJ bought snacks to her. Giving money and buying snacks are totally different and irrelevant meaning for them.

Spending money for others is very commonly observed. One of the girls said she felt sorry about not buying snacks for friends. Buying things for friends and sharing the food with friends can be common practices for children.

HY: Sometimes I bought them, and sometimes they bought me.

(20121211 Interview)

HY: If I eat only, I feel sorry to friends.

(20121211 Interview)

Lending or giving money has a different meaning from buying things for

friends. Giving and buying are the same as a result in the way of spending money for others.

HY :I don't lend money to SH because she might not pay back, so I just buy her. (20130121 Interview)

Buying snacks is not just handing over snacks to friends. It includes showing closer friendship.

MJ : I buy snacks for only close friends and friends who would like to get to know more. (20121211 Interview)

4.2.7 Practice G : Not Spending Money

This practice is related to practice F : Spending money for others. Not spending money can have meaning only when comparing with practice F : Spending money for others. This practice is sometimes shown just because children have to get their parent's permission. Children who spend money can

make a friend who does not spend money alienated.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
YJ : Teacher, I set aside 200 won because my mom wants it.	YJ: looking at me	○YJ mentions her mom while she is buying things.

Site of Engagement 26 / 2

YJ needs to have her mother's permission about spending money. The child could not decide how to spend money on her own yet.

Transcript	Action	Reformulation
<p>HY, EJ : overturn, overturn, spread, spread, sprinkle, sprinkle</p> <p>HY : Will you spread both of two? Then all of four?</p> <p>EJ : What are JH and YJ doing?</p> <p>YJ : Teacher, I set aside 200 won because my mom want it.</p> <p>Mild one</p> <p>Clerk : Do you want this?</p> <p>YJ, JH : Yes</p>	<p>SH : standing behind the friends.</p> <p>going to the door side and getting her phone.</p> <p>HY,EJ : facing each other and keep touching each other's hands.</p> <p>Sitting.</p> <p>SH : moves next to EJ and looks them.</p> <p>HY, EJ : looks toasts is making.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Clerk : looking at SH</p>	<p>○SH stands behind the friends but the others sit on chairs. SH is only one who doesn't spend money in the shop.</p> <p>○SH says nothing to her friends after coming in the snack bar.</p> <p>-</p> <p>○SH still doesn't say anything and</p>

<p>-----</p> <p>Clerk : Do you come with your friends?</p> <p>(After going out the snack bar)</p> <p>HY : Do you want some?</p> <p>JH : Ye..</p> <p>HY : Give it to YJ.</p> <p>EJ : I drunk much.</p> <p>SH : Give me some.</p> <p>JH : SH said that she wanted to have it.</p> <p>EJ : Yummy.</p> <p>SH : I want it, too.</p> <p>JH : SH said she wanted it.</p> <p>EJ : How do you think about coffee milk?</p> <p>YJ : SH wants it, too.</p> <p>EJ : I haven't enough, how much is yours left?</p> <p>HY : I haven't enough, either. You should give it to SH.</p> <p>EJ : Why?</p> <p>YJ : Do the rock-</p>	<p>SH : nodding her head.</p> <p>All except SH : with the food on their hands</p> <p>HY : looking at JH</p> <p>JH : drinking HY's coffee milk without touching her mouth to the carton.</p> <p>HY : looking at EJ</p> <p>YJ : drinking EJ's coffee milk without touching her mouth to the carton.</p> <p>EJ : looking at JH</p> <p>EJ : looking at JH</p> <p>HY, EJ : don't the rock-paper-scissor</p> <p>Anybody doesn't say anything for seconds.</p> <p>HY : handing the</p>	<p>stands. ○Everybody except SH is eating some food.</p> <p>○HY makes EJ give coffee milk to YJ. And EJ gives the coffee milk to YJ.</p> <p>○SH wants to have the coffee milk but receives no reaction from the friends who have the milk. And SH asks one more time.</p> <p>○HY wants to EJ give the milk but this time EJ rejects it.</p> <p>○ YJ suggests the rock-paper-scissor to give the milk to SH. But HY and EJ don't do it.</p> <p>○ HY gives her milk to SH after few seconds of silence.</p>
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<p>paper-scissor. EJ : I won't. JH : Rock-paper-scissor YJ : Rock-paper-scissor HY : SH, have mine. YJ : Let's go.</p>	<p>milk to SH SH : having a sip</p>	
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Site of Engagement 27 / 2

SH who did not buy anything was ignored. Children kept rejecting SH's favors. SH is alienated in the group because she did not spend money. Children could not understand why SH did not spend money. Practices have different influences in the group who share the practices. Some are more powerful, some are less powerful. Not spending money seems to be less powerful practice than spending money for others. SH knows she doesn't spend money for others. Her friends also know it. However SH and her friends don't try to communicate about it each other. They are conscious of it and that's all.

SH : I don't buy snacks for friends much. (20121211 Interview)

HY : SH asks to buy snacks even though she has the money. Sometimes we add up our money for buying snacks. SH doesn't add her money. I don't know why she does like that. (20130121 Interview)

4.3 Nexus of Practice

The social practice that I have analyzed here is associated with or linked to a variety of other practices. A nexus of practice is a network of linked practices (Scollon, 2001b). I borrowed Scollon's figure in his book, *Mediated Discourse*, about nexus of practice for summing up my results. I could identify consuming as what Scollon called a nexus of practice. The nexus of practice, consuming includes 7 practices : purchasing + interacting + valuing + having fun + spending money for others + using disposals + not spending money (see Figure 5).

Each line in the figure 5 means a practice. A practice includes serial concrete actions. For example, practice A: purchasing includes actions like opening the

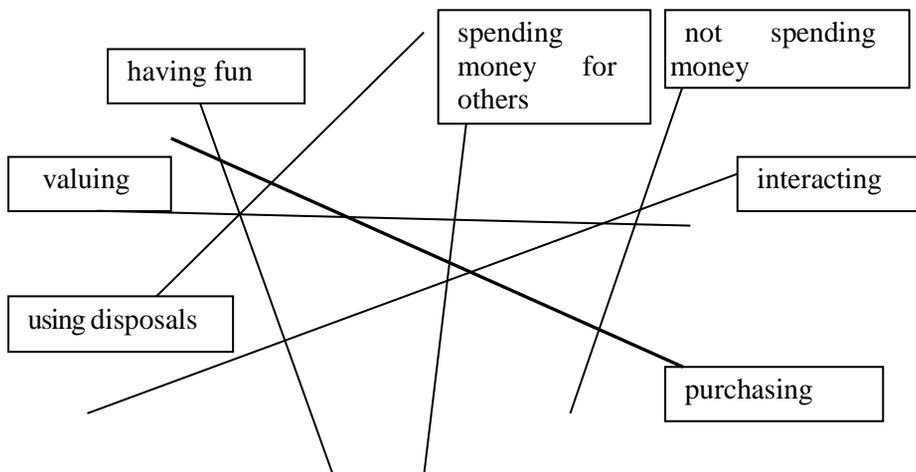


Figure 5 Nexus of practices of consuming, which I could identify in my survey

door, looking around the shop, picking a product, checking the price, counting money, asking a clerk the price and handing money, etc. under my observation. These serial actions are performed as a practice without self-awareness in real situations. As we saw in 3.2, I found that each practice contains a chain of actions. Practices, chains of actions can be overlapped in a specific action when they cross. The contact point in the figure 5 means an action which belongs in common part between practices. For example, the contact point of purchasing and having fun can be met in the certain action, choosing coffee milk (see site of engagement 2, 27). The action, choosing coffee milk is overlapped action in the contact point. One action can belong to different practices at the same time. Another example of overlapped actions is looking around the shop. Children go around the shop 1) for choosing a product in practice A: purchasing 2) after

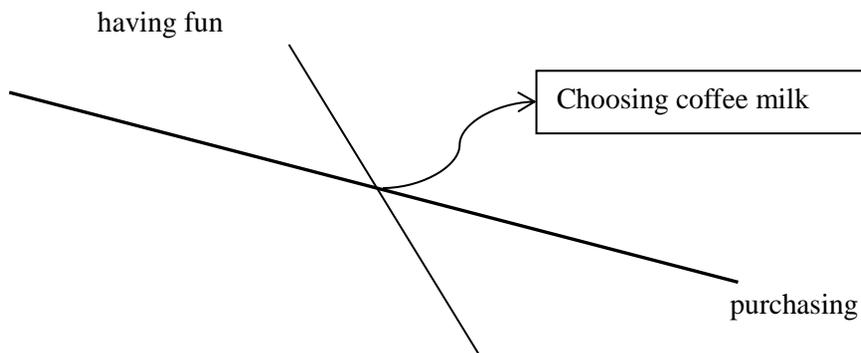


Figure 5.1 **Choosing coffee milk**

shopping for a fun in practice D: having fun 3) without spending money in practice G. Asking how much it is is also an example of overlapping actions between practice E : using disposals and practice C : valuing.

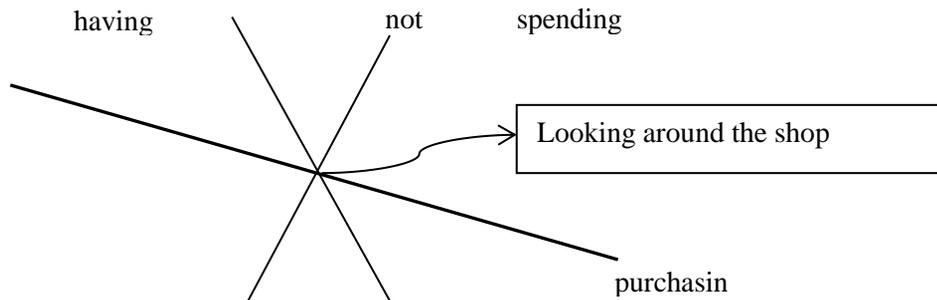


Figure 5.2 **Looking around the shop**

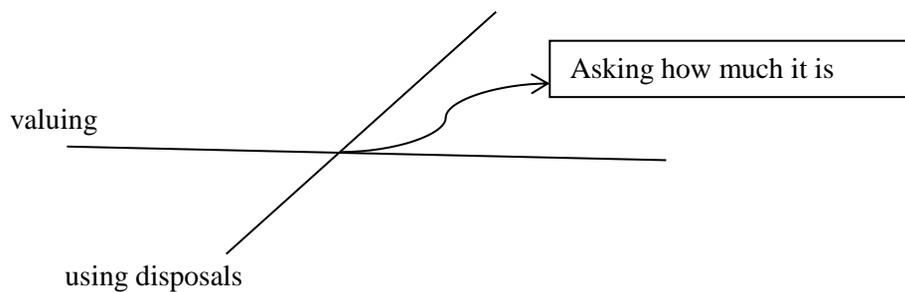


Figure 5.3 **Asking how much it is**

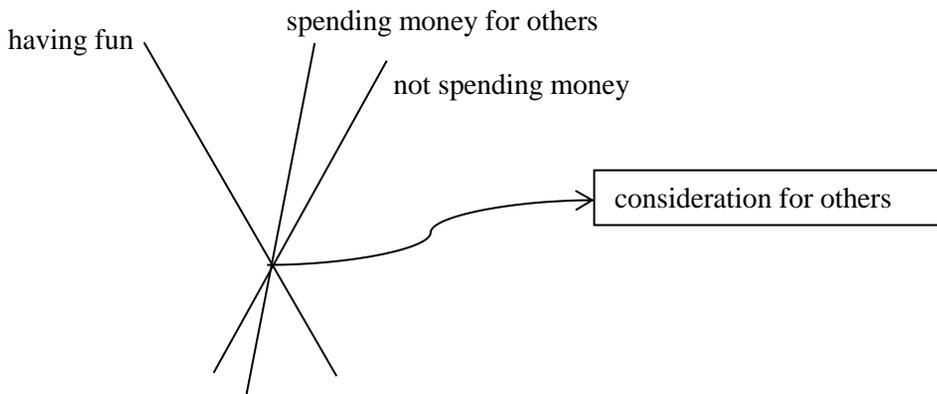


Figure 5.4 **Consideration for others**

Within the figure of this nexus of CONSUMING, the line can be moved so nodes of intersection can be moved. New line can be added. The chain of actions can be changed in the practice so the overlapping part can be changed. New practice can be added. Practice G: not spending money and practice F : spending money for others look like conflicting practices with no contact point. In the above figure these two practices are not linked yet. If you extend the two lines, the two lines can be met. Actually these two practices have common meaning in some sense. A child who didn't spend money was isolated from the children who are in the practice, spending money for others. This kind of conflict cannot be found in one practice. It can be found only in the nexus of practice.

It depends on situation, site of engagement. There is no fixed linkage of any two practices. If you have purchasing, you do not always have interacting

or using disposals together. Each practice is linked to other practices. The linkage is extended network, nexus ultimately. I can find these practices from observing children's action. Children's action cannot be understood and interpreted action itself. Even though children are in very early step of being consumer, they have lots of contexts and their own stories. The practice does not lie in the action but in the historical sequence of actions out of which the practice is constituted in habitus. The contact point of practice is one of sequence of actions in habitus. The contact point can be considered very important starting place for design improvement of children's competence building.

One way to understand Figures 5.1-5.4 is to give an example of how various components overlap and interact depending upon the context, childrens' level and particular theme. For example, in this study I examined the practice of consuming behavior. It involved many aspects: not spending money (G), spending money for others (F) and having fun (D). All these actions involved a common core action – consideration for others. Sometimes this common core was used positively and sometimes it was used negatively. In a positive way, for example, children cared for their friends. In a negative way, children cared only for the friends whom they particularly liked.

So, these actions have to be viewed within a context – they cannot be

viewed as segmented or as individual components. One good example might be to use a theme within a pedagogical environment. The theme of “citizenship” might be used as a theme in which these actions could be applied within an educational context. Within this context, a plan can be made on how to develop childrens’ action that consider the impact on others of their action and develop their competence in handling discrimination. Another action might added as well. Perhaps, within the “citizenship” theme, “develop empathy” would be another action that could be used. Also, using these actions, citizenship could be explored in various ways like fair trade, democcracy or justice. Thus, the various actions could be practiced in complex ways and various contexts and adjusted for the various childrens’ levels.

5. Discussion

Discussion part is relevant comparative analysis in documentary method. Comparative analysis is a synthetic part. The interpretation is gathered and made into more synthetic meaning. In part 4, you saw reflection and reformulation part. You can see comparative analysis as a conclusion in part 5. In 4.3 I showed that children's consumption is the nexus of practice which Scollon stated. I found 7 practices in consuming from the observation. These 7 practices can have educational meaning when it is related to competence.

5.1 Connections between practice in MDA and competence in 3 dimensional competence model

I ascertained that consuming is a nexus of practice through data analysis. A nexus of practice is not fixed. It has no boundaries. A nexus of practice includes different practices. Practices include serial actions. I used MDA as a tool in order to focus on actions for finding out practices. Practices have different meanings depending on situation in habitus.

Three dimensional competence model based on Swiss curricular can help to find out hidden features from practices. Competence is a prerequisite of one person for acting properly on a specific situation (Tschapka, 2011).

Prerequisite can be read a hidden feature of practice. By dividing practices into topics(situation), to do's(action) and complexities with the three dimensional model, hidden features can be found. For instance, topic of practice B: Interacting can be family rule, peer group pressure and information sharing, etc. Each topic is also related to the other practices. Peer group pressure is related to practice D : Having fun, Practice F : Spending money for others and Practice G : Not Spending Money as well.

Practices overlap in a certain action. It is important to pay attention on the overlapping action in order to understand the nexus of practice. Practice does not exist alone. Practice exists in a nexus of practice. It is hard to find out the meaning with the scattered overlapping parts. This scattered overlapping part can be organized with three dimensional competence model. Three dimensional competence model is on the assumption that the competence building can be possible only in a real situation. The overlapping actions in real situations from observing children's practice give the direction about how to help children's competence building in sustainable consumption.

Seven practices which are found from data analysis cross in certain points. These contact points can be considered as useful contacting links between practice and learning. Seven practices are results or performances which are found from real situations. This result can be useful for design

learning plan. Analyzing children's practice makes children build better practices. Practice analysis is about competences which children already have. Design learning plan is about competences which children should have. Finding out which competences children already have is helpful to design learning in real situation before presenting the competences which children should have.

5.2 Sustainability in children's consumption practice

As you can see in 4.2 and 4.3, children's consumption practice is formed socially. One practice looks like showing positive possibility for sustainable consumption. One practice looks like being formed undesirable in the light of sustainability. Conflict on sustainability can be found in one practice. A certain practice has more influence than other practices.

Children's consumption practice has lots of social interacting. Children make their choice with their friends during the shopping. They purchased something in the shop which their parents know. A clerk gives them advices to choose something desirable. They interact with peer group, parents and clerks. Children try to consider of other's feeling. They feel sorry when they buy only theirs. They buy things to others when they buy theirs. Considering of others

can be very important requisite action for sustainability. Sustainability is a vision to work towards (Wals & Jickling, 2002). To make a vision for sustainable future considering of others is needed in the way that the vision should be made for all.

Considering of others itself can be very positive point for sustainability. The negative point can be also found in the practices. Children care only their close friends. Children who spend money for others have more power in their relation. They want to spend money their close friends only. They sometimes try to control close friends because they spend money for them. My observation and children's interview show that they think spending money for friends is one way of making closer relationship with friends. I could see that children's care has narrow boundary. It should be wider for sustainable future. Sustainability cannot be guaranteed with small group of acquaintance. Sustainability implies a change of fundamental epistemology in our culture and hence also in our educational thinking and practices (Sterling, 2004). Sustainability is contextual, its meaning is dependent on the situation in which it is used (Wals & Jickling, 2002). The way of entering into a relation is that it shows to spending money. The way of having fun is that it shows to spending money as well. Children who don't spend money cannot help being alienated because other children feel fun and make relationship by spending money.

This remarkable conflict should be considered for learning sustainability.

Spending money is related to using disposals. When they buy snacks, there is no option not to use disposals. The practice E : Using disposals permeates daily life. Children couldn't think about if the disposals can have a bad effect on their future and environment. They use disposals without perception of sustainability. Sustainability is grounded in the responsibility we have to sustain the community that sustains us (Thiele, 2013). Children use disposals without any perception of sustainability in their daily lives. The practice E : Using disposals shows that children need to learn how they take responsibility for the community in the light of sustainability.

6. Suggestion for Teachers based on Findings

Insufficient parts in learning sustainable consumption of children in daily life which I found through my survey can be meaningful from educational perspective. What I found is children's practice in their real situation. Before setting up learning goal it is necessary to examine where children stand. The state of competence in relation to sustainability should be identified. Identifying which competence can be built in their daily situations and which competence is needed to build through education must take precedence in order for setting learning goal.

In this study I attempted to separate out what children can do on their own from what we might need to teach them in order to create sustainability – in this case for consumption behavior. By doing this separation, it can serve as a guide for constructing learning programs and lesson plan for sustainable consumption education. Practice and learning are not separate things. In a new situation people have no competence then people learn how to adapt themselves to new circumstance with consciousness. While they are getting used the circumstance, they acquire competence in the situation. Then the step is transmitted to practice (see figure1 in 2.3.1). People can meet new situation anywhere anytime in daily lives. They try to learn or acquire competence from new perspective based on the acquired practice.

Practice analysis help understand how this circulation keeps going with deeper introspection in learning. It is helpful for not only children but also teachers. It is helpful to plan how to estimate learning goal and implement. Learning goal should estimate based on children's practices. Teachers can also learn how to approach children's competence building through this diagnosis of children's practice. For me, this study is very exploration of children's practice for teaching sustainability.

As a teacher, I have never had this kind of diagnosis before. I have only had diagnostic evaluation with paper test. I have tried to give learning opportunities to students. I recognized that I couldn't give them proper opportunities after looking back my teaching. I tested them with paper then tried to set behavioral objectives especially in sustainable education. Also when I see children's unsustainable action, I try to approach it with case by case, not with structure. After finding the relation of practices and the nexus of practice, I recognize that case by case approach without structure does not help to improve children's competence. Competence building should be considered on the base of nexus of practice, not on the independent actions.

My study can offer how to deal the nexus of practice for the purpose of making learning goal in sustainable consumption based on the real situation. It is different to showing what you should do for learning or teaching

sustainability. It is about how to make learning goals. It is not about what is a learning goal for learners and teachers. In the current consumption society, *people are seen only in terms of their needs, and not in terms of the importance of their freedom to decide what they want (including what needs to fulfil), to live the way they would like (whether or not the chosen lifestyle is seen as a need), and to do what they have reason to want to do (even if the reason is not one of fulfilling needs)* (Sen, 2013, p10). Children should grow up as adults who can know what they want and choose their life style for sustainability. We can help them by giving chances to build their competence for sustainability based on their daily practices.

7 References

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지속가능성의 관점에서 본 아이들의 소비실천에 대한 역량구축: 한국초등학생들에 대한 매개담화분석

지속가능성 교육에 대한 필요성은 나날이 높아지고 있다. 현 세대의 무비판적인 생활방식을 그대로 유지한다면 다음 세대에게 지속가능한 미래를 물려줄 수 있으리라는 보장이 없기 때문이다. 이런 문제의식에 입각하여 본 논문은 한국 초등학생들을 대상으로 일상적인 소비활동의 양상을 관찰하고, 그 관찰 결과를 바탕으로 하여 아이들이 어떻게 자신들의 역량을 구축하고 있는가 하는 점을 지속가능성의 관점에서 밝히고자 하였다. 물론 지속가능한 미래에 대한 교육, 지속가능한 소비에 대한 교육은 현재 학교 현장에서도 부분적으로 시행되고 있다. 그러나 피상적인 수준에서의 단편적인 행위들 - 예를 들어 녹색제품 구매하기, 재활용하기, 에너지 절약하기와 같은 특정 행동을 학생들에게 제시하고 이를 따를 것을 교육하는 선에서 그치고 있어, 개별 학생의 역량을 제고하기에는 역부족인 것이 현실이다.

올바른 방법론을 구하기 위해서는 현실에 대한 정확한 진단이

선행되어야 한다. 즉 지속가능한 소비에 대한 교육을 어떻게 구체적으로 실행할 것인지를 결정하기에 앞서, 실제 일상생활에서 아이들이 어떤 식의 소비활동을 통해 자신들의 소비행동에 대한 역량을 키워가고 있는가 하는 점을 먼저 알아내야 한다는 것이다. 아이들이 지속가능한 소비활동의 어느 지점에 있는지를 파악하고, 이에 근거하여 지속가능성 교육의 구체적인 내용이 마련되어야 보다 효과적인 학습이 가능하기 때문이다.

아이들의 일상에서의 소비실천행위를 알아보기 위하여, 본 연구에서는 먼저 아이들의 실제 물건구매활동을 관찰하였다. 아이들이 문구점이나 분식점에서 물건을 사고 서로 이야기를 나누는 모습을 캠코더로 촬영한 후, 촬영분을 직접 재생하면서 스크립트를 작성하였다. 스크립트는 그 성격에 따라 1)아이들의 대화내용, 2)행동내용, 3)아이들의 대화나 행동을 이해하기 위한 맥락에 대한 설명(reformulation), 4)앞의 3가지 부분의 내용을 보고 유추할 수 있는 내용(reflection)의 4부분으로 구성하였다. 이 중 2)아이들의 행동내용을 스크립트에서 한 부분으로 따로 구성한 이유는, 아이들의 소비실천행위에 있어 아이들의 대화 뿐 아니라 그 행동 역시 주요하게 해석되어야 아이들의 일상에 대한 보다 심도있는 분석이 가능하다고 생각했기 때문이다. 관찰한 아이들의 실제 행동은 매개담화분석(Mediated Discourse Analysis)방법에 따라 각 ‘실천(practice)’ 들로 분류해 보았다. 이 때 본 논문에서 사용할 ‘실천(practice)’ 은 역사적으로 축적된 행동들을 의미하는 것으로서,

부르디외의 아비투스(habitus) 개념을 전제로 하여 매개담화분석에서 정의한 개념이다. 구체적인 행동들은 이러한 실천의 한 부분이며, 습관화된 구체적인 행동들의 연속은 실천이 된다. 예를 들어 본 연구에서 찾아낸 7가지 실천행위들 중 하나인 ‘구매’라는 실천행위는 가게의 위치를 인식하고 가게문을 여는 행동, 가게 안을 돌아다니며 물건들을 살펴보는 행동, 물건들의 가격과 질을 비교하는 행동, 살 물건을 선택하고 계산대로 들고 오는 행동, 계산대에서 물건의 값을 지불하는 행동, 물건을 봉투에 담아 들고 나오는 행동 등과 같은 습관화된 구체적인 행동들의 연속인 것이다. 이러한 각 실천들은 다른 실천들과 특정한 행동에서 접점을 가지게 된다. 그리고 그 접점이 되는 구체적인 행동들은, 본문에서 검토하게 될 스위스 국가교육과정 연구팀에서 사용한 3차원 역량모델에서의 y축에 해당되는 ‘행위(‘to do’ s)’와 연결되어 학습적 의미를 가질 수 있게 된다. 이론이 아닌 아이들의 일상행동에서 출발한 학습이 가능하게 되는 것이다.

일상생활에 뿌리내린 지속가능한 소비교육이 이루어져야만 기대 수준에 부응하는 학습 결과가 도출될 수 있다. 이러한 교육을 실행하기 위해서는, 아이들이 실제 삶 속에서 자연스럽게 습득하고 있는 소비실천행위에 대한 역량을 평가하는 것이 최우선적으로 이루어져야 한다. 그에 따른 학습목표 설정이나 교육프로그램의 개발은 이런 평가 내지 진단에 맞추어 이루어져야 할 것이다. 또한 이런 구체적인 행동목표의 습득과 더불어, 사회구성원의 하나로서 지속가능한 미래를

위해 자신이 할 수 있는 것이 무엇이며 그것이 왜 필요한지 그 근본적인
원인을 돌아볼 수 있는 성찰적 역량을 키우는 것 역시 중요한 목표가
되어야 할 것이다.

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주요어 : 소비, ESD, 실천, 매개담화분석, 역량

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