

Nerast

Osnova

- Čo meria a čo by mohol merať HDP
- Čo je to nerast
- Ako na tom sme, čo sa týka udržateľnosti
- Čo je to odpojenie (decoupling)
- Realita odpojenia a diskusia o odpojení
- Technooptimizmus a Jevonsov paradox
- Nerast vs. recesia
- Aký by bol život v neraste?
- Je možný nerastový kapitalizmus?

Čo meria a čo by mohol merať HDP?
(záver Hicckel-Kallis)

Čo meria HDP

- $HDP = C + I_B + G + E_N$ (výdajová metóda)
 - $HDP = w + r + z + i + y + a + n$ (príjmová metóda)
- $HDP = \text{pridané hodnoty výrobcov} + n$ (produkčná metóda)
- HDP meria „čo sú ľudia ochotní zaplatiť“ (Hickel-Kallis) ~ **hodnota** ≠ nutne energia + materiál
 - Hodnota 1: „kvalita prírodného prostredia“
 - Hodnota 2: napr. básne (nízko-materiálne)
 - Hodnota 3: metrika „System of National Accounts“ (2008) update z 1993



Search

Statistics

Table 1.1 Gross domestic product by expenditures at current prices [Search glossaries](#)

Source: National Accounts Official Country Data | [United Nations Statistics Division](#)

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Country or Area	SNA93 Table Code	Sub Group	Item	SNA93 Item Code	Year	Series	Currency	SNA System	Fiscal Year Type	Value
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Final consumption expenditure	P.3	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	3,885,951,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Household final consumption expenditure	P.3	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	2,602,534,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	NPISHs final consumption expenditure	P.3	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	51,016,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	General government final consumption expenditure	P.3	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	1,232,401,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Individual consumption expenditure	P.31	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	695,099,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Collective consumption expenditure	P.32	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	537,302,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Gross capital formation	P.5	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	1,376,281,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Gross fixed capital formation	P.51	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	1,420,310,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Changes in inventories	P.52	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	-52,801,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Acquisitions less disposals of valuables	P.53	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	8,772,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Exports of goods and services	P.6	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	4,041,179,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Exports of goods	P.61	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	3,436,334,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Exports of services	P.62	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	604,845,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Less: Imports of goods and services	P.7	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	3,651,010,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Imports of goods	P.71	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	3,151,090,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Imports of services	P.72	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	499,920,000,000
Czechia	1.1	Expenditures of the gross domestic product	Equals: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT	B.1*g	2020	1000	Czech koruna	2008	Western calendar year	5,652,401,000,000

Source

National Accounts Official Country Data

Source: [United Nations Statistics Division](#)

The Economic Statistics Branch of the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) maintains and updates the National Accounts Official Country Data database. This work is carried out in accordance with the recommendation of the Statistical Commission at its first session¹ that the Statistics Division of the United Nations should publish regularly the most recent available data on national accounts for as many countries and areas as possible. The database contains detailed official national accounts statistics in national currencies as provided by the National Statistical Offices².

Data are available for most of the countries or areas of the world and form a valuable source of information on their economies. The database contains data as far back as 1946, up to the year t-1, with data for most countries available from the 1970s. The database covers not only national accounts main aggregates such as gross domestic product, national income, saving, value added by industry and household and government consumption expenditure and its relationships; but also detailed statistics for institutional sectors (including the rest of the world), comprising the production account, the generation of income account, the allocation of primary income account, the secondary distribution of income account, the use of disposable income account, the capital account and the financial account, if they are compiled by countries.

The statistics for each country or area are presented according to the uniform table headings and classifications as recommended in the United Nations System of National Accounts 1993 (1993 SNA). A summary of the 1993 SNA conceptual framework, classifications and definitions are included in the yearly publication 'National Accounts Statistics: Main Aggregates and Detailed Tables'. A summary of the 2009 approach with detailed national accounts statistics of 210 countries across for the years 2009 to 2020 can be accessed free of charge from <http://unstats.un.org/ndb/data/compendia/DB.asp?Page=2>

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Main Aggregates

1. Gross domestic product (GDP)

1. Gross domestic product (GDP)

GDP per head, US \$, constant prices, constant PPPs, reference year 2015

GDP per head, US \$, current prices, current PPPs

GDP, US \$, constant prices, constant PPPs, reference year 2015, millions

GDP, US \$, current prices, current PPPs, millions

GDP, volume - annual growth rates in percentage

Gross domestic product (annual)

2. Disposable income and net lending - net borrowing

3. Population and employment by main activity

4. PPPs and exchange rates

Detailed Tables and Simplified Accounts

General Government Accounts

Detailed Non-Financial Sector Accounts

Supply and Use Tables

Distributional measures across household groups

Quarterly National Accounts

Financial Accounts

Annual National Accounts, Archive before 2019 benchmark revisions

Annual National Accounts, SNA93

National Accounts at a Glance

Quarterly Public Sector Debt

Quarterly Sector Accounts (Financial and Non-financial)

Institutional Investors Statistics

Households' financial and non-financial assets and liabilities

1. Gross domestic product (GDP)

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The present publication presents time series which extend beyond the date of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union on February 1st, 2020. In order to maintain consistency over time, the "European Union" aggregate presented here excludes the UK for the entire time series. Interested readers may refer to the Eurostat website for further information on Eurostat's plans for disseminating EU aggregates and to the Eurostat database for the actual series.

Please refer to the dataset [Gross domestic product \(GDP\), 2019 archive](#) to access longer time series based on the methodology prior to the 2019 benchmark revisions.

DB1_GA: Statistical discrepancy		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	607.0	..
B1_GE: Gross domestic product (expenditure approach)		1 657 744.0	1 759 314.0	1 842 946.0	1 946 228.0	1 980 866.0	2 067 010.0	(E) 2 282 636.0
B1_GE: Gross domestic product (expenditure approach)		1 695 507.0	1 750 324.0	1 836 361.0	1 897 680.0	1 903 054.0	1 979 346.0	..
P3: Final consumption expenditure		1 274 217.0	1 326 316.0	1 383 816.0	1 444 458.0	1 461 936.0	1 510 507.0	..
P3: Final consumption expenditure		957 772.0	991 351.0	1 031 696.0	1 065 471.0	1 048 690.0	1 067 593.0	..
P31S14_S15: Households and Non-profit institutions serving households		957 772.0	991 351.0	1 031 696.0	1 065 471.0	1 048 690.0	1 067 593.0	..
P31S14_S15: Households and Non-profit institutions serving households		957 772.0	991 351.0	1 031 696.0	1 065 471.0	1 048 690.0	1 067 593.0	..
P3S13: Final consumption expenditure of general government		316 445.0	334 965.0	352 120.0	378 987.0	413 246.0	442 914.0	..
P3S13: Final consumption expenditure of general government		198 792.0	211 828.0	224 192.0	241 222.0	260 405.0	276 651.0	..
P32S13: Collective consumption expenditure of general government		117 653.0	123 137.0	127 928.0	137 765.0	152 841.0	166 263.0	..
P41: of which: Actual individual consumption		1 156 564.0	1 203 179.0	1 255 888.0	1 306 693.0	1 309 095.0	1 344 244.0	..
P5: Gross capital formation		421 290.0	424 008.0	452 545.0	453 222.0	441 118.0	468 839.0	..
P5: Gross capital formation		420 218.0	422 148.0	449 424.0	453 985.0	448 759.0	463 521.0	..
P51: Gross fixed capital formation		100 445.0	105 758.0	109 506.0	111 686.0	102 856.0	108 765.0	..
P51: Gross fixed capital formation		100 445.0	105 758.0	109 506.0	111 686.0	102 856.0	108 765.0	..
P51N111: Dwellings		158 185.0	151 827.0	169 216.0	169 771.0	172 839.0	170 543.0	..
P51N112: Other buildings and structures		84 651.0	83 583.0	88 672.0	95 661.0	93 571.0	97 014.0	..
P51N113: Machinery and equipment and weapon system		28 176.0	27 998.0	30 031.0	31 444.0	27 630.0	29 079.0	..
P51N113: Machinery and equipment and weapon system		13 140.0	12 721.0	13 039.0	13 769.0	14 183.0	14 724.0	..
P51N113: Machinery and equipment and weapon system		43 335.0	42 864.0	45 602.0	50 448.0	51 758.0	53 212.0	..
P51N113: ICT equipment, SNA08		3 213.0	5 286.0	4 258.0	3 450.0	3 440.0	4 385.0	..
P51N113: Other machinery and equipment and weapon system, SNA08		43 473.0	44 887.0	46 850.0	48 161.0	49 899.0	49 425.0	..
P51N114: Cultivated biological resources		1 072.0	1 860.0	3 121.0	-763.0	-7 641.0	5 318.0	..
P51N112: Intellectual property product		1 072.0	1 860.0	3 121.0	-763.0	-7 641.0	5 318.0	..
P52_P53: Changes in inventories and acquisitions less disposals of valuables		1 072.0	1 860.0	3 121.0	-763.0	-7 641.0	5 318.0	..
P52_P53: Changes in inventories		1 072.0	1 860.0	3 121.0	-763.0	-7 641.0	5 318.0	..

Legend: E Estimated value

Information

Country: Australia Transaction: Machinery and equipment and weapon system Measure: National currency, current prices

Concepts & Classifications

Key statistical concept

«Ownership transfer cost» are included in the total but have not been allocated by type of asset and by industry.

Country: Australia Measure: National currency, current prices

Data Characteristics

Unit of measure used

Australian Dollar

Power code

Millions

Country: Australia

Source

Direct source

Reply to the National Accounts Questionnaire from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra. The official estimates are published in 'Australian system of national accounts', ABS, catalogue 5204.0.

Concepts & Classifications

Key statistical concept

As from December 2009, national accounts estimates are compiled according to the 2008 SNA (System of National Accounts 2008), Commission of the European Communities-Eurostat, International Monetary Fund, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, United Nations and World Bank, 2009). Detailed information about the implementation of the 2008 SNA in Australian national accounts could be found in ABS website: [ABS website](#)

All the data refer to fiscal years beginning on the 1st July of the year indicated. The financial intermediation services indirectly measured (FISIM) are allocated to industries and institutional sectors. Original chain constant price estimates for main aggregates are referenced to fiscal year 2019-2020.

IF Hodnota prírody = HDP **THEN**

\uparrow HDP \neq \uparrow materiálov a energie

„Nazvať takýto scenár zeleným rastom by rozšírilo význam tohto pojmu tak, že by sa stal irelevantným.“ (Hickel-Kallis)

HDP = súčasná metrika \sim energia+materiál

Čo je to nerast?

Definícia nerastu

Nerast je rovnostársky ↓produkcie a spotreby,
ktorý ↑ľudskú spokojnosť → (ekologickej)
udržateľnosti.

Je Nerast hnutie?

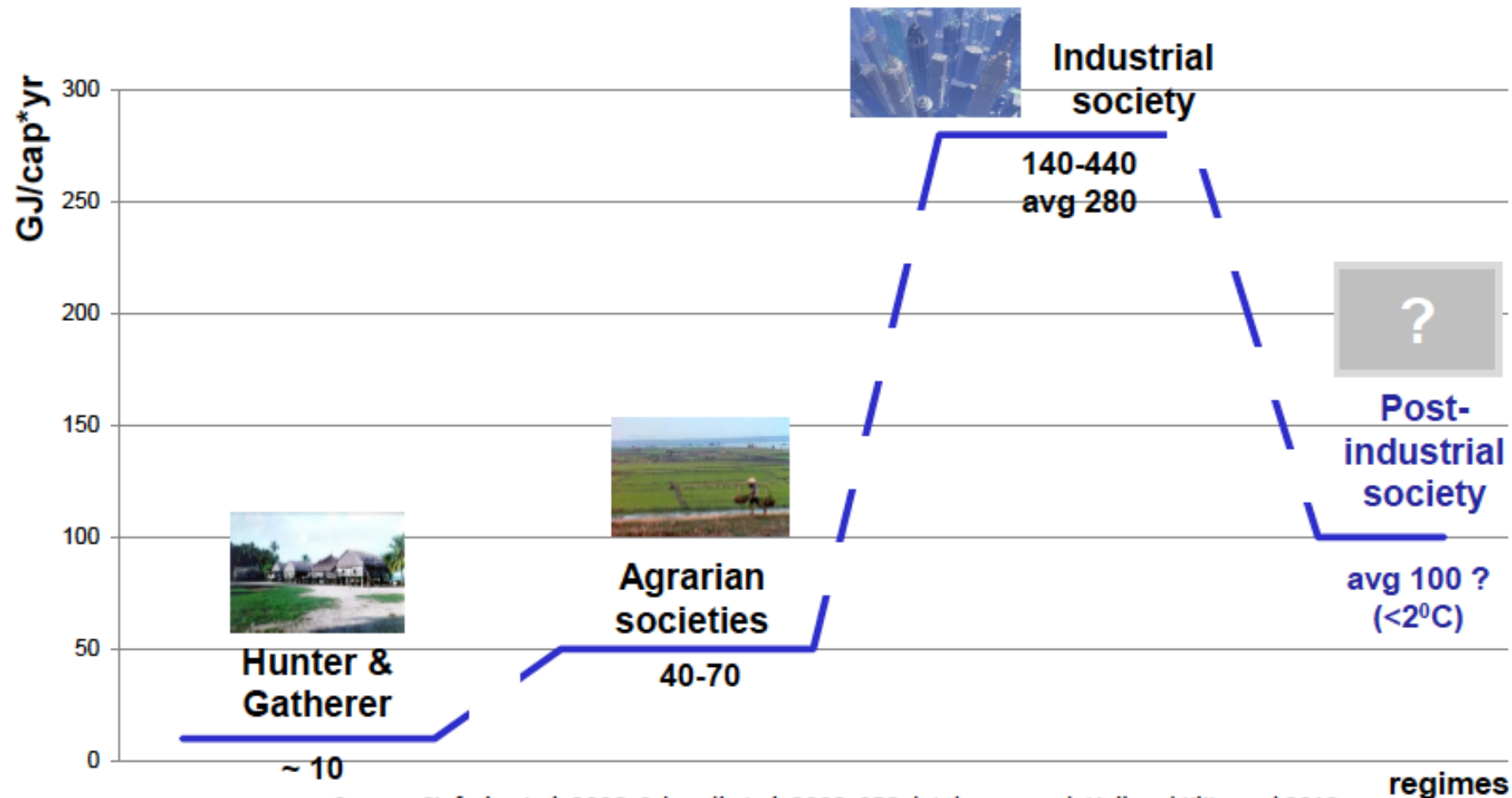
- Koľko členov má hnutie?
- Francúzsky časopis Nerast: časopis o radosti zo života (30 000 výtlačkov)
- Pravidelné konferencie, Lipsko 2014: 3 000 ľudí
- Protesty organizované *Ende Gelände* (Konečná) 2019: 1,4 M, niekoľko tisíc aktivistov blokovalo bane
- Ak je cieľ nahradiť rastovú ideológiu, stačí zmena v myslení ľudí, na počte aktivistov možno až tak nezáleží

Súčasný stav (ne)udržateľnosti

(Ako zle je na tom životné prostredie)

Spotreba

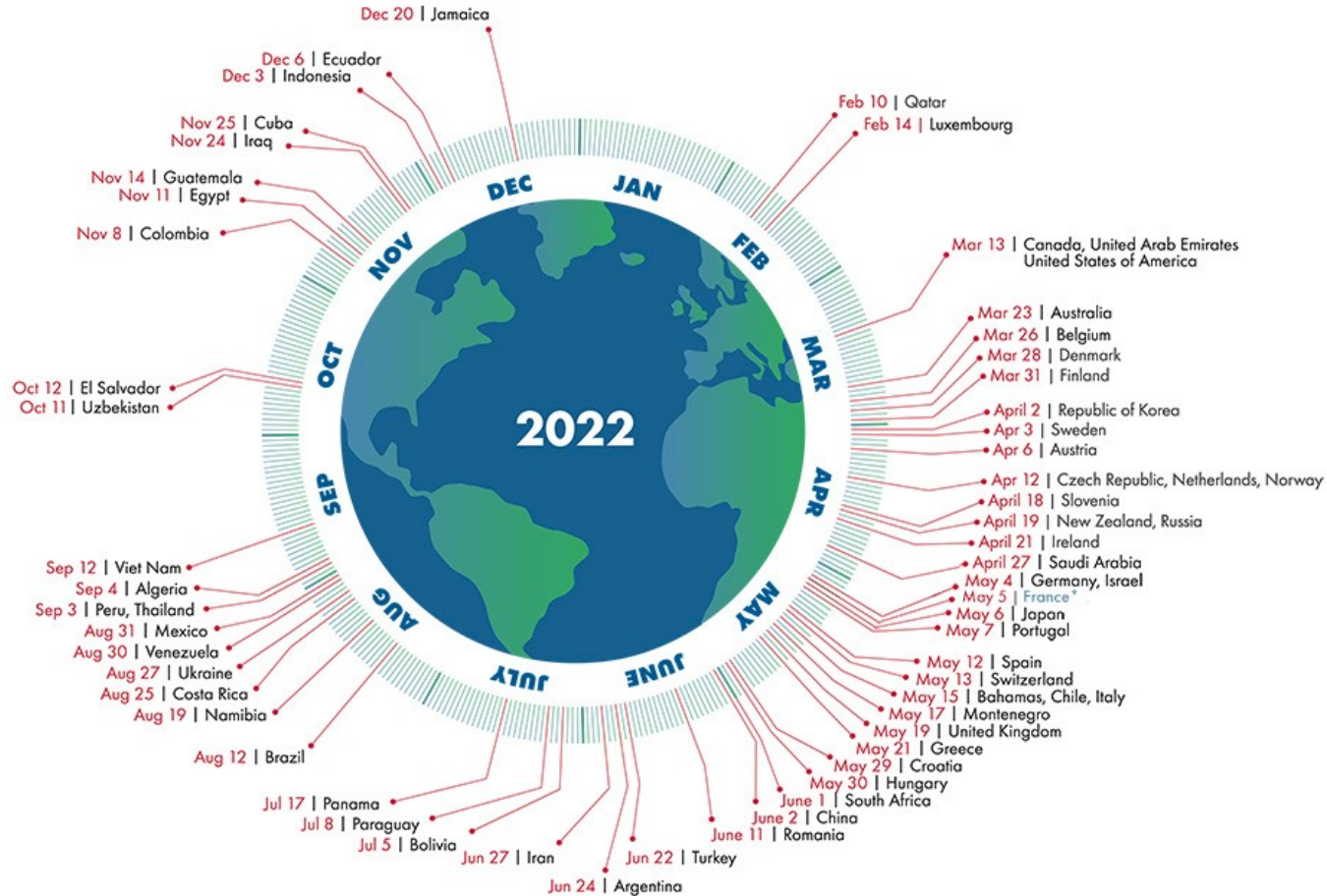
- Lovci a zberači: **10 GJ/osoba_rok**, 1 t biomasa/rok, práca: 1-2 h denne
- Agrárne spoločnosti: **40-70 GJ/osoba_rok**, 4 t biomasa, kameň, kov/rok, práca: 5-6 h denne
- Priemyselné spoločnosti: **280 GJ/osoba_rok**, 20 t biomasa, fosílné palivo, nerastné suroviny/osoba_rok, práca: 3-4 h denne (fosílné palivo)



Source: Sieferle et al. 2006, Schandl et al. 2008, SEC database – and: Hall and Klitgaard 2012

Country Overshoot Days 2022

When would Earth Overshoot Day land if the world's population lived like...



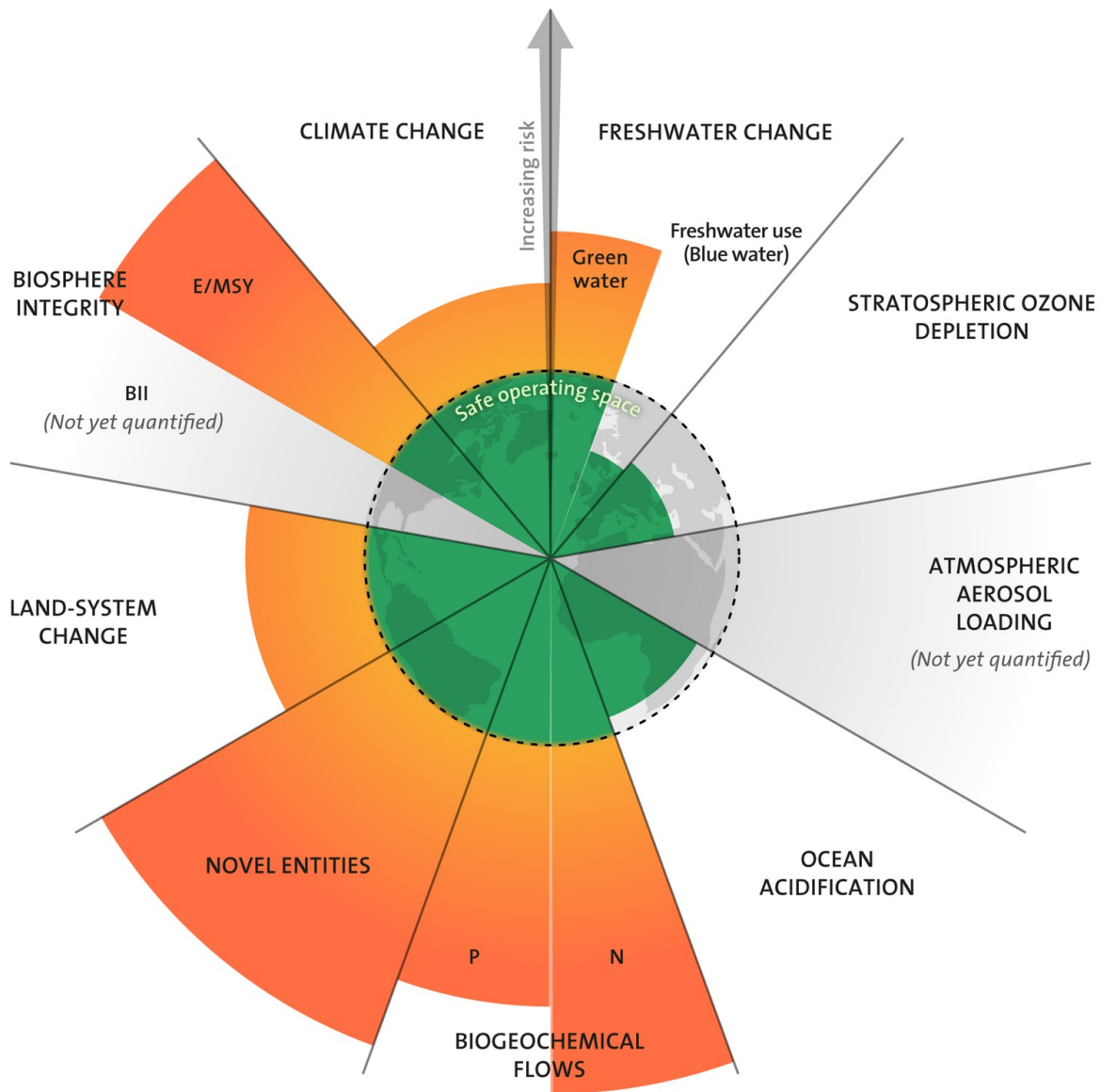
For a full list of countries, visit overshootday.org/country-overshoot-days.

* France Overshoot Day updated April 20, 2022 based on nowcasted data. See overshootday.org/france.

Source: National Footprint and Biocapacity Accounts, 2022 Edition
data.footprintnetwork.org



CO₂: max.:
350 ppm
Stav: 414,3
Ppm
PreIndust:
280 ppm



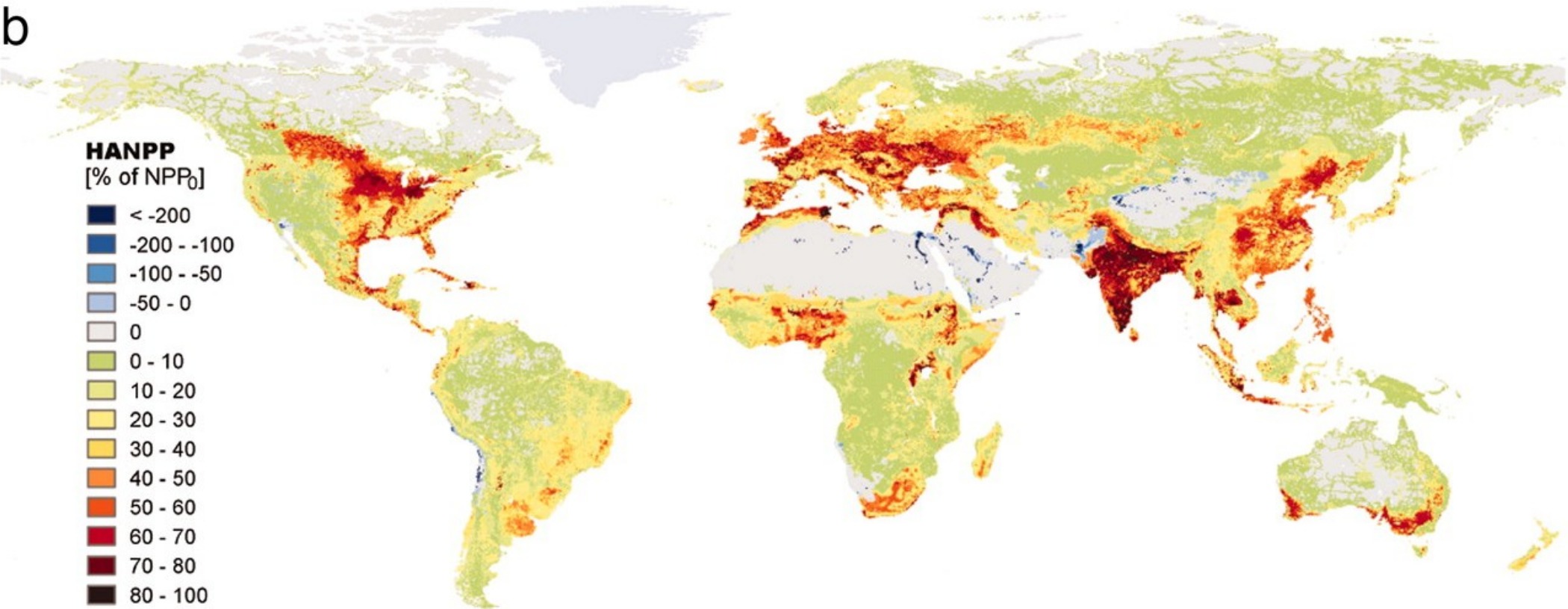
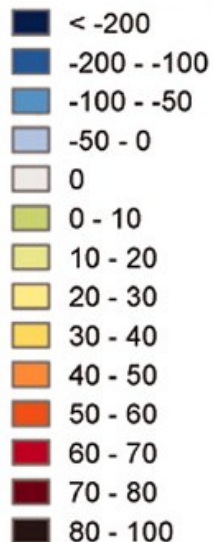
HANPP (Human Appropriation of Net Primary Production) ~ 24 % (indikátor tlaku na biodiverzitu)

Koľko si ľudia privlastnia z produkcie prírody (čistej primárnej produkcie biosféry – energia zo slnka+geotermálna)

b

HANPP

[% of NPP₀]



Európska ekologický dohovor (EGD)

- „Ide o novú stratégiu rastu, ktorej cieľom je transformovať EÚ na spoločnosť, kde budú **do roku 2050 čisté emisie skleníkových plynov na nule** a kde hospodársky **rast nezávisí od využívania zdrojov.**“
- „...nasmerovať Európu k udržateľnému rastu.“

Európska environmentálna agentúra (agentúra EÚ)

- „Poskytuje nezávislé informácie o ŽP“
- „**Udržanie rastu** v rámci limitov daných ŽP bude od Európy vyžadovať bezprecedentné oddelenie ekonomickej aktivity od environmentálnych a klimatických tlakov. **Je neisté, či sa niečo také dá dosiahnuť.**“ (2021)

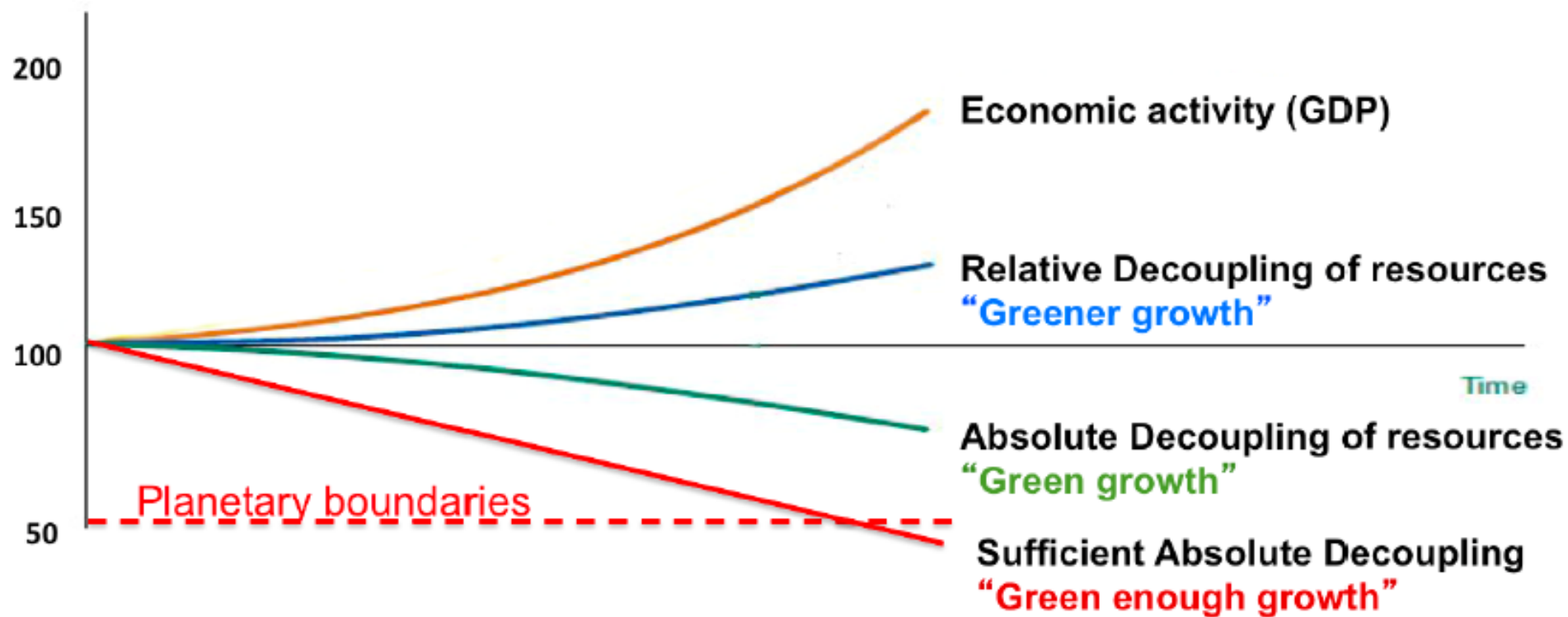
Čo je to zelený rast?

Čo je to decoupling?

Zelený rast = ekologicky udržateľný rast

Predpoklad: absolútne oddelenie

The Test for Green Growth: Relative vs. Absolute Decoupling



Source: Kate Raworth

Decoupling

- Relatívny decoupling: $\uparrow \text{HDP} > \uparrow \text{CO}_2$
- Absolútny decoupling: $\uparrow \text{HDP}, \downarrow \text{CO}_2$
 - Globálny (nie v niekoľkých krajinách) alebo aspoň spotrebný (nie teritoriálny)
 - Dlhodobý (nie 10 rokov a modelový návrat rastu)
 - Vo všetkých aspektoch (CO_2 a materiály na batérie)
 - Rýchly (inak prekročíme body zlomu)

Aký je hlavný protiargument Hickela a Kallisa voči existencii absolútneho decouplingu CO₂ od HDP v niektorých krajinách?

p. 12: ↓15,8 % CO₂ pri 1,89 ↑HDP pre bohaté krajiny

(1970-2013: 1,9 % ↓CO₂)

Vo všech aspektech

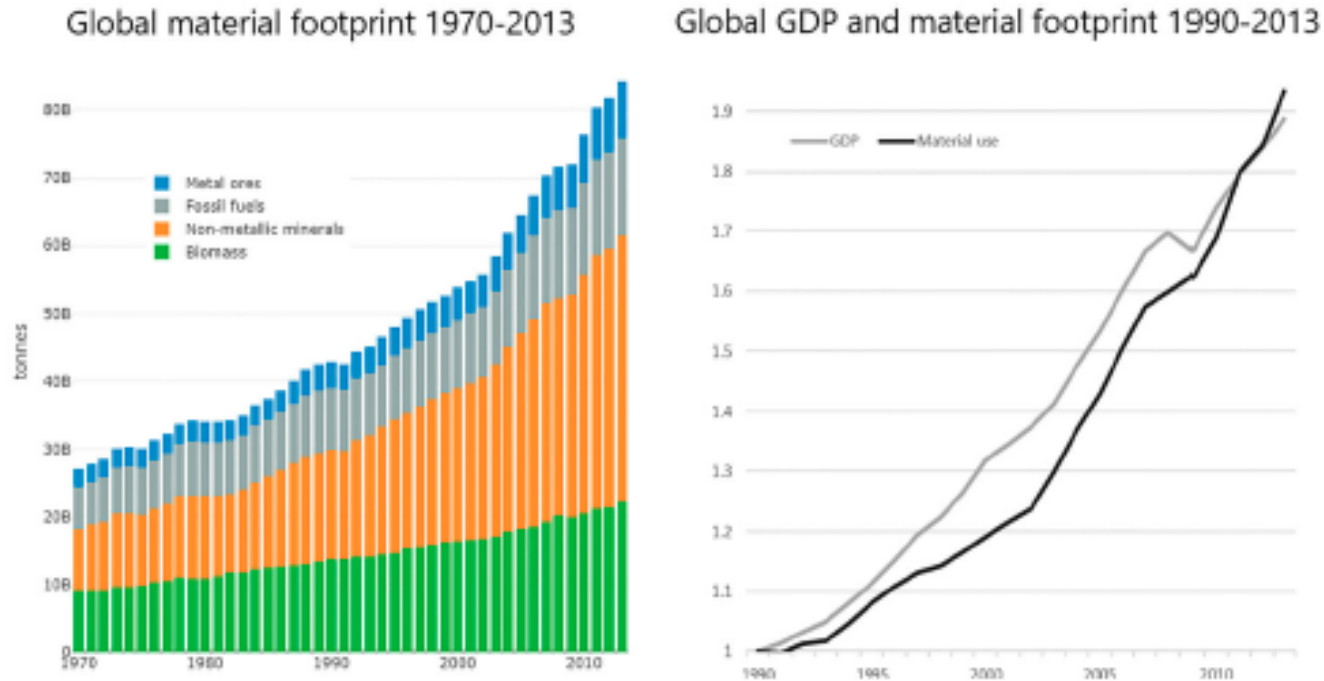
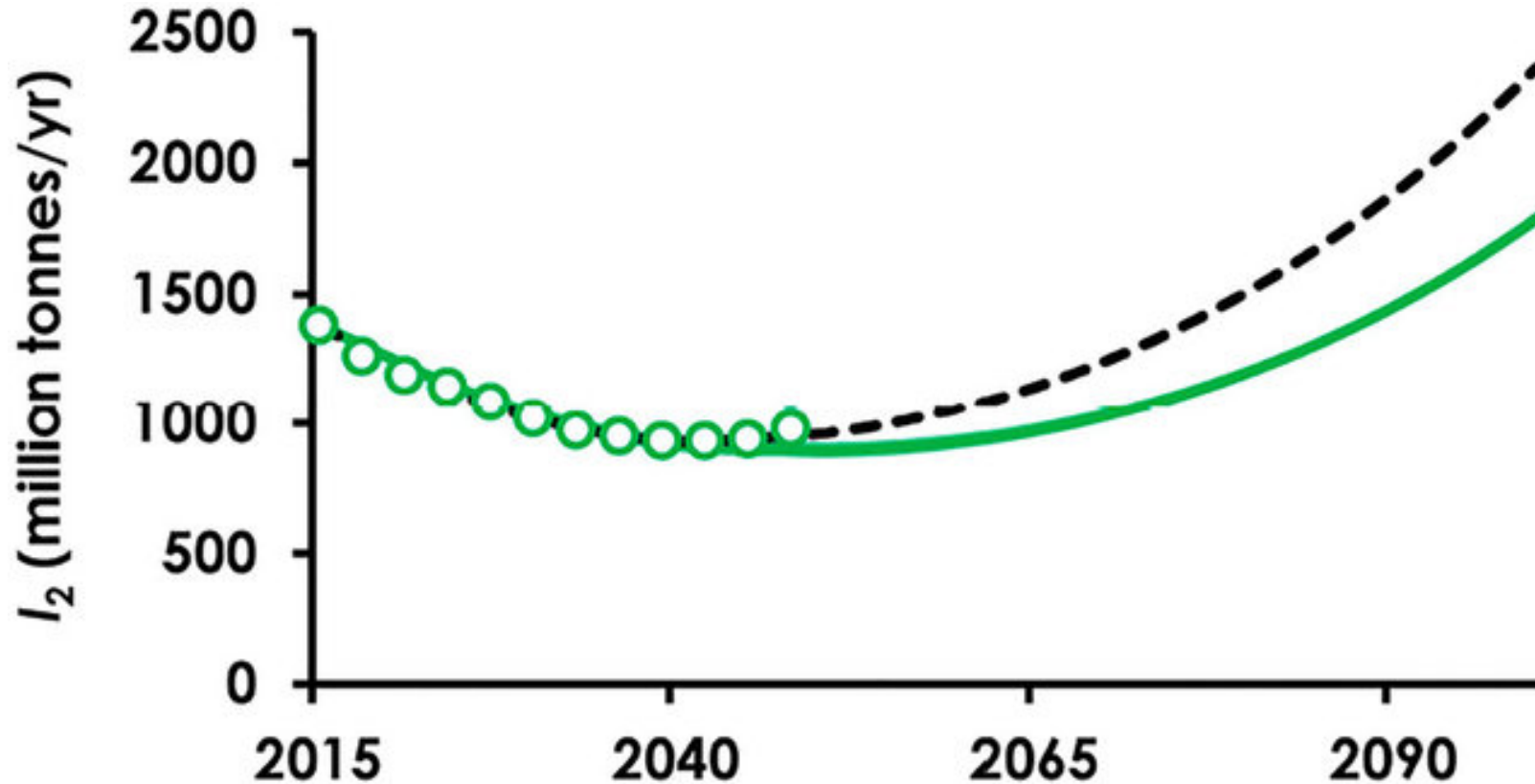


Figure 2. (a) Global material footprint, 1970–2013; (b) Change in global material footprint compared to change in global GDP (constant 2010 USD), 1990–2013. Source: Materialflows.net/World Bank.

Dlhodobý (optimistická projekcia aus. spotreby materiálov In K-H)



Globálny

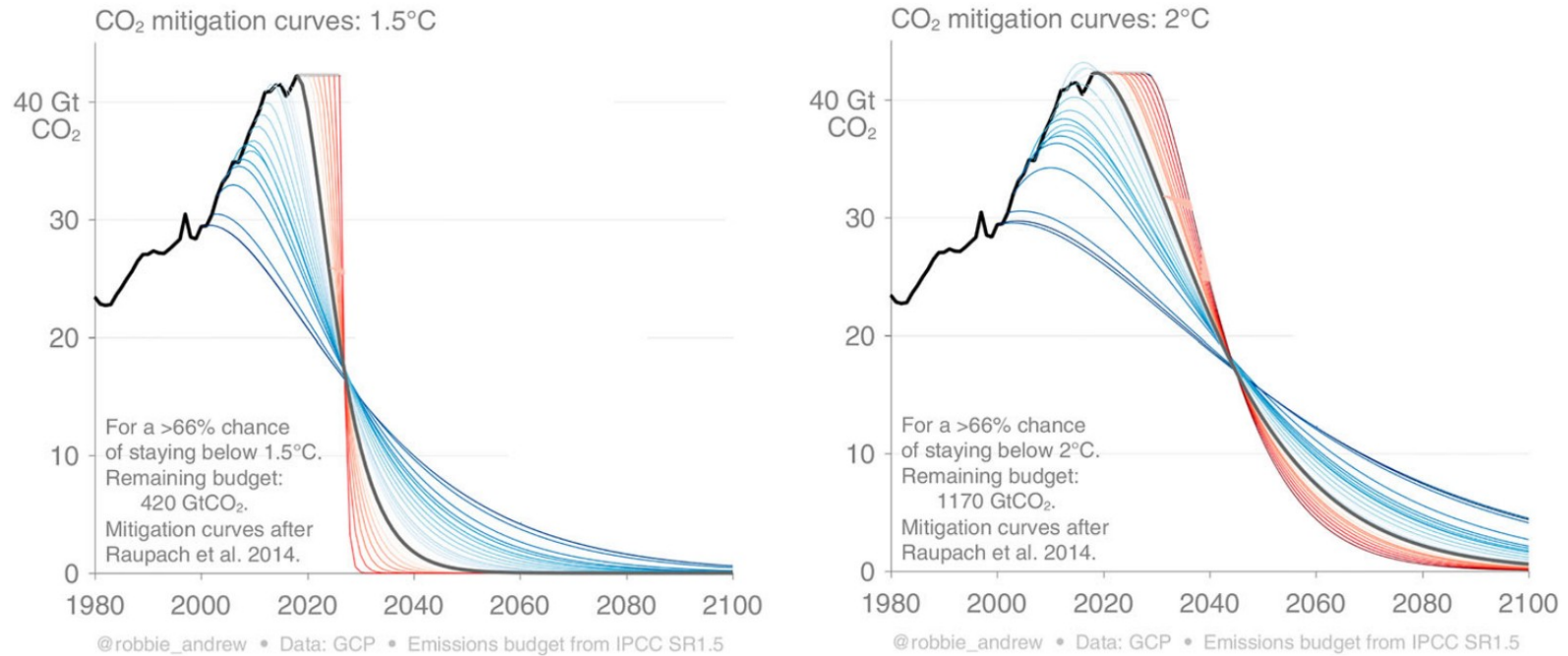
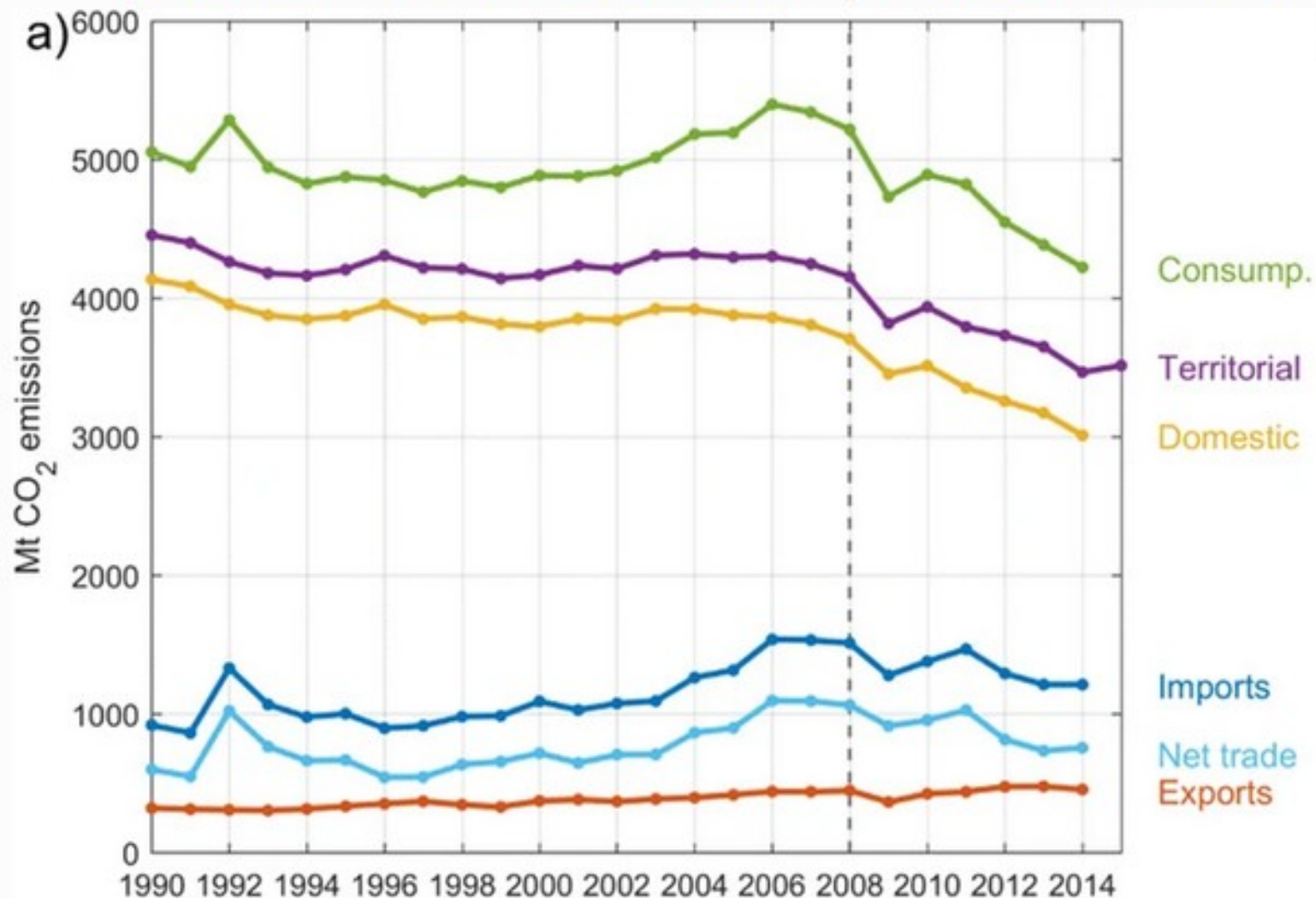


Figure 5. CO₂ mitigations curves for 1.5°C and 2°C. Source: Global Carbon Budget (2018).

From: [Trends of the EU's territorial and consumption-based emissions from](#)



Decoupling of consumption emissions and GDP: 2005-2019

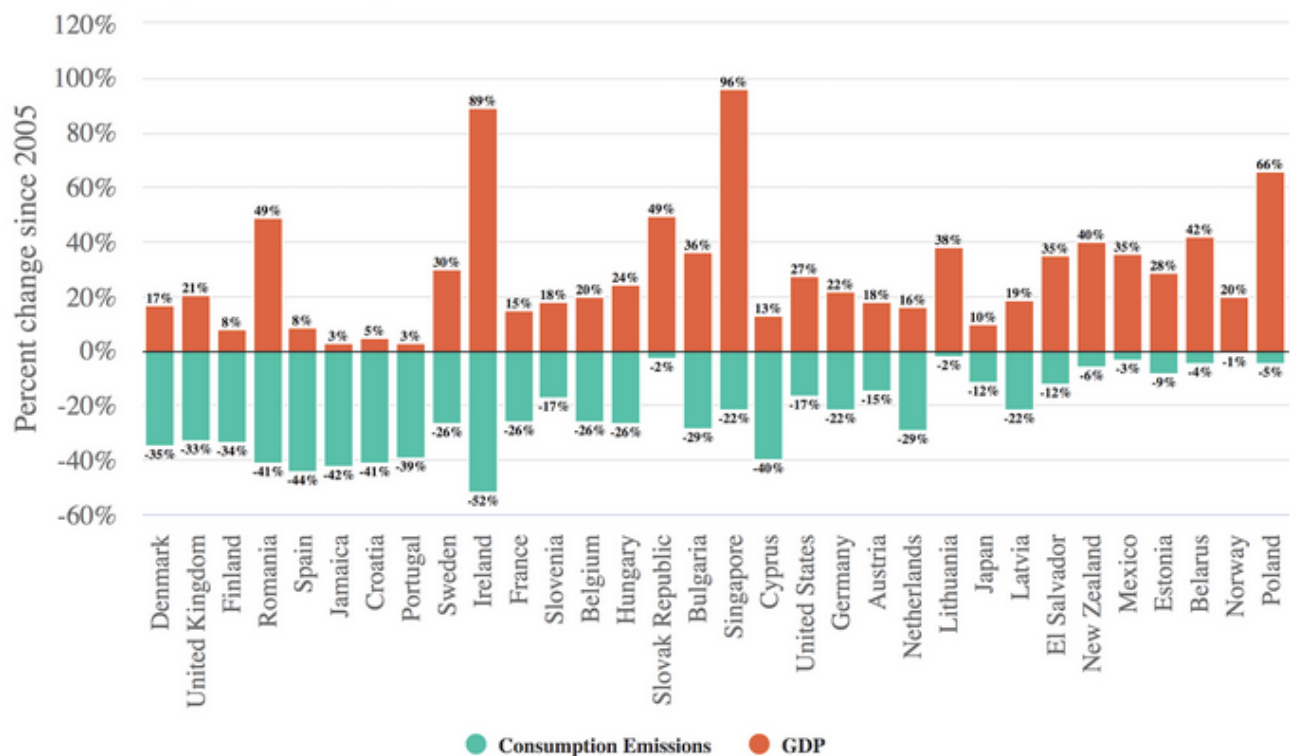


Figure 2: Consumption emissions and GDP changes between 2005 and 2019 for countries experiencing absolute decoupling.

Emissions and GDP: Japan, 2005-2019

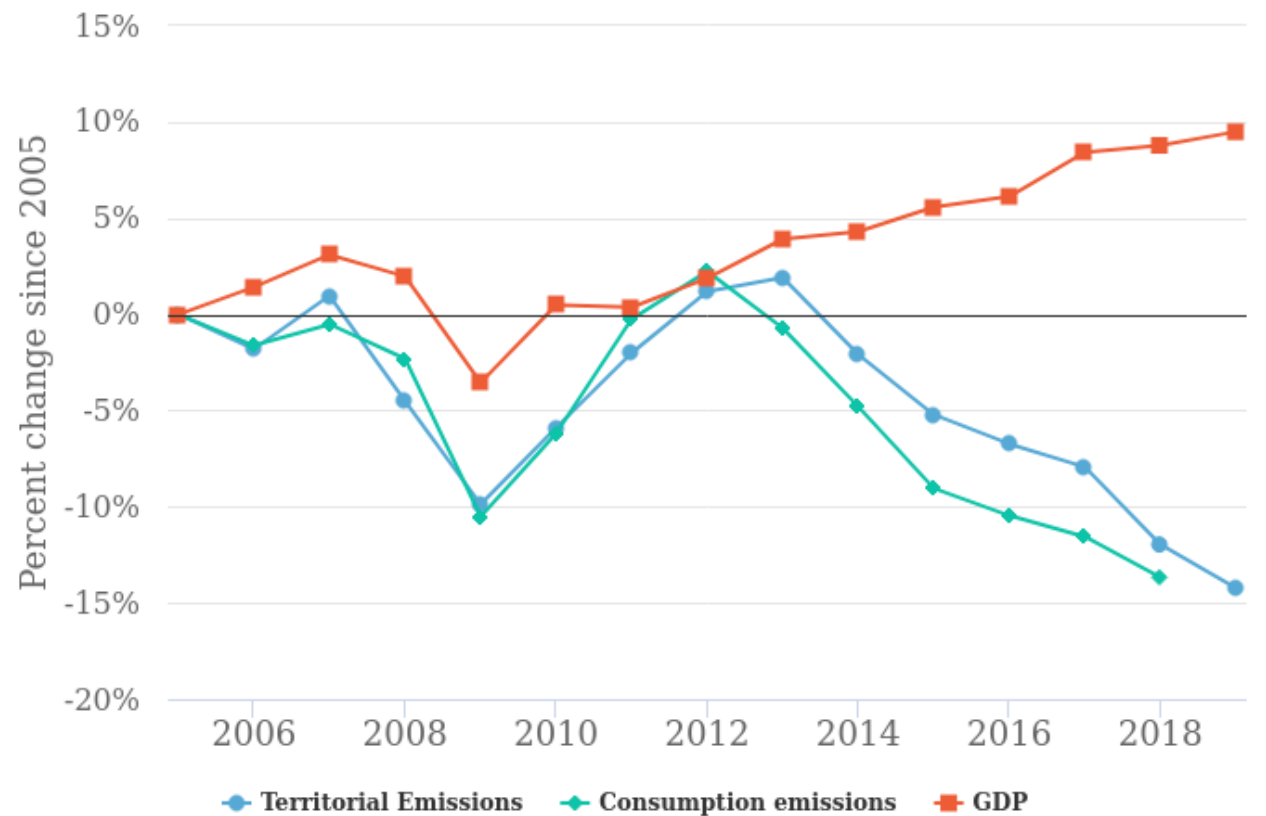


Figure 8: Changes in territorial emissions, consumption emissions, and GDP relative to 2005 levels in Japan.

Emissions and GDP: Germany, 2005-2019

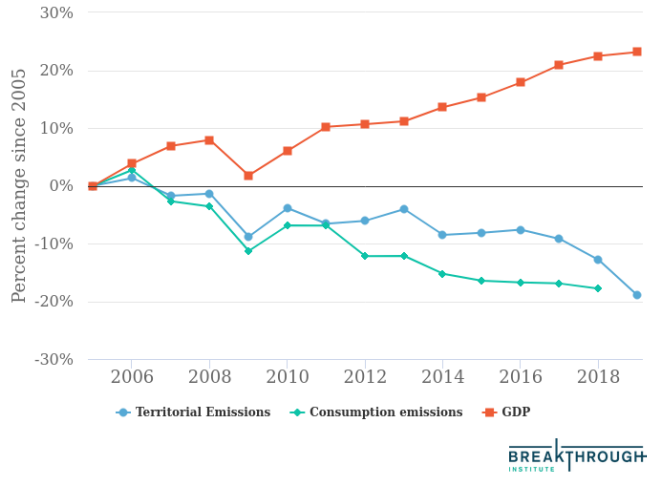


Figure 6: Changes in territorial emissions, consumption emissions, and GDP relative to 2005 levels in Germany.

Emissions and GDP: United States, 2005-2019

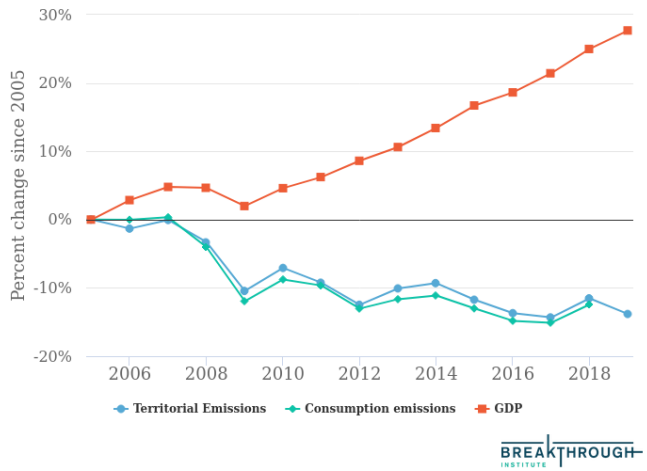
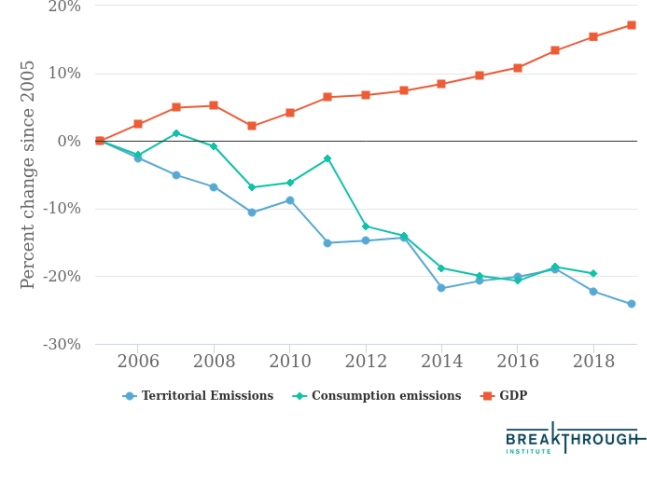


Figure 4: Changes in territorial emissions, consumption emissions, and GDP relative to 2005 levels in the United States.

Emissions and GDP: France, 2005-2019



Changes in territorial emissions, consumption emissions, and GDP relative to 2005 levels in France.

Emissions and GDP: United Kingdom, 2005-2019

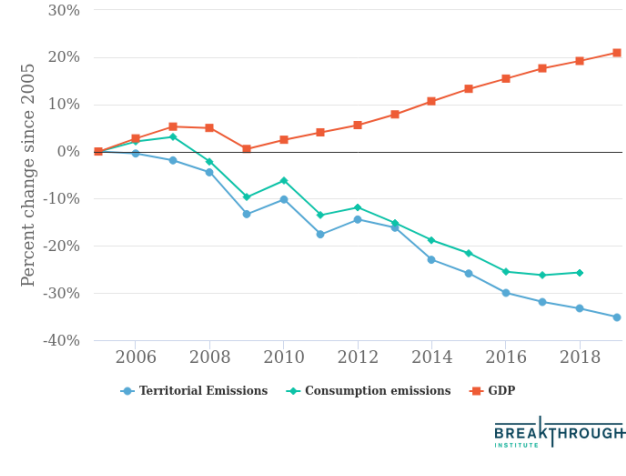


Figure 5: Changes in territorial emissions, consumption emissions, and GDP relative to 2005 levels in the United Kingdom.

Vykazované/planetárne dáta CO₂

- V atmosfére je o 21-32 % viac CO₂ než koľko reportujú vlády (Washington Post).
- Kto je ich spotrebiteľom?

Započítanie práce do CO₂

- PBA (x) → open CBA (+5-15%) → closed CBA (+2-5%) (moje prepočítanie na krajinu)
- Celkovo emisie v globálnom obchode 27 → 36 %
otvorená → uzavretá CBA

Príklad empirickej štúdie v prospech zeleného rastu a jej kritiky



Original research article

Redefining green growth within planetary boundaries

Per Espen Stoknes ^a  , Johan Rockström ^b  

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<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2018.04.030>

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Abstract

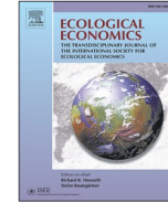
Over the last decade, green growth policies have drawn increasing interest. OECD, UNEP, the World Bank and the EC have had several initiatives on the issue, and the Nordic countries have a special program on it. Definitions and indicator sets



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Ecological Economics

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ANALYSIS

Accounting matters: Revisiting claims of decoupling and genuine green growth in Nordic countries



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Environmental governance

ABSTRACT

Ecological modernisation in the form of support to the notion of green growth remains the dominant discourse in environmental policy globally. Still, questions of limits to economic expansion and growth on a planet with finite natural resources have been at the core of environmental discourses at least since the 1970's. A recent effort by [Stoknes and Rockström \(2018\)](#) seeks to unite notions of ecological limits with the concept of green growth by proposing genuine green growth as denoting a situation when growth respects planetary boundaries. Focusing on recent trajectories in emissions intensity, they highlight Nordic countries including Denmark as examples of such genuine green growth. In this article, we demonstrate that the specific conceptualization of genuine green growth and resulting claims about the Nordic countries rest on particular assumptions, specifically concerning national-

Lies, damned lies and statistics: Zelený rast v severských krajinách

- Literatúra: CAPRO (pridaná hodnota/CO₂): ↑**4-11 %**, Stoknes – Rockstrom: ↑**5 %**
„optimistická minimálna úroveň“
- Predpoklad: **2 °C** (miesto **1,5 °C**: CAPRO: ↑14 %)
- **Teritoriálne** vs. **spotrebné** emisie: „ďaleko pod 5 %“
- Ignoruje spoločnú ale diferencovanú zodpovednosť

Prečo je zelený rast nemožný?

Jevonsov paradox
(Efekt odrazu)

THE
COAL QUESTION;

AN INQUIRY
CONCERNING THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION,
AND THE
PROBABLE EXHAUSTION OF OUR COAL-MINES.

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1866.

5

GB

„Je naprostým matením pojmů předpokládat, že ekonomické využívání paliv se rovná snížené spotřebě. Pravý opak je pravdou.“
(Jevons 1865)

↑účinnosti parných strojov vs.

↑spotreby uhlia v Británii v 18. storočí

Efekt odrazu (Rebound effect)

- Super úspora ($RE < 0$)
- Nulový rebound ($RE = 0$)
- Čiastočný rebound ($0 < RE < 1$)
- Plný rebound ($RE = 1$)
- Opačný dopad ($RE > 1$) (Jevonsov paradox)

Efekt odrazu (Rebound effect)

- **Priamy** (Zateplenie domu → zvýšenie teploty na termostate)
- **Nepriamy** (Zateplenie domu → zahraničná dovolenka miesto domácej)
- **Celoekonomický**
(Zateplenie + hybrid + solár + ... → +/- ↓ spotreby energie v celej ekonomike)

Jevons Paradox: Hybrid Car Example

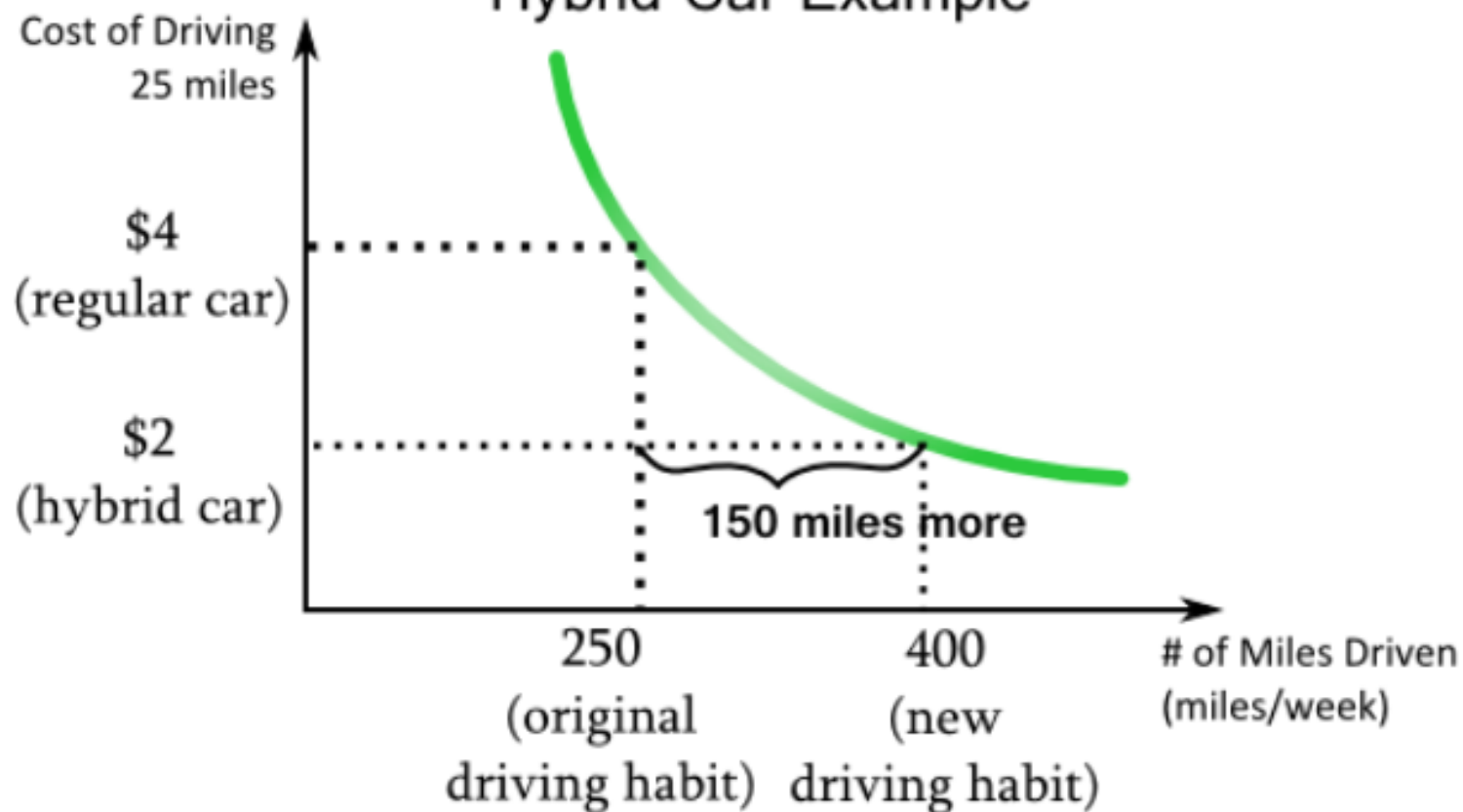


Table-1 Refrigerators--Household Energy Consumption (US)	2001	2005	% change (2001-05)
1. Share of households with ≥ 2 refrigerators	16.9%	22.1%	5.2% ▲
2. Total electricity consumed by refrigerators (billion kwh)	156.1	151	-3.3% ▼
3. Refrigerator electricity per household (kwh)	1,462	1,359	-7.0% ▼
4. Refrigerator electricity per capita (kwh)	547.6	510.8	-6.7% ▼

Source: Residential Energy Consumption Survey (RECS), EIA

Celoekonomický efekt odrazu

- „celoekonomický efekt odrazu spôsobuje **stratu viac ako polovice energetických úspor** spôsobených vyššou energetickou efektívnosťou“ (Brockway et al 2021: Metareview).
- IAMs používané IPCC „riziko podcenenia dopadu efektu odrazu na dopyt po energii“

Čo je to recesia?

Aký je rozdiel medzi nerastom a recesiou?

Nerast vs. recesia

- Plánovaný pokles
- Celostná politika
 - Zamestnanosť
 - Rovnosť
 - Ekológia (obnoviteľné zdroje, biodiverzita...)
- Selektívnosť: ↑ zdravotníctvo, školstvo, verejný transport, bývanie

Aký by mohol byť život v neraste?

Musíme sa uskromniť?

• 10 mld. ľudí, rovnosť v spotrebe

- 50 l čistej vody, 15 l teplej vody
- 20 °C, 15 m²/osoba byt, 4kg nového oblečenia/rok
- 5-15 000 km mobilita/osoba
- 1 šporák, 1 chladnička/rodina
- 1 laptop/rodina, 1 telefón/osoba
- Dostupné zdravotníctvo a vzdelávanie
- Pozor na limity

Je možný nerastový kapitalismus?

Nerastový kapitalizmus?

- Daly, Jackson?, Sedláček
- Rast je „voľbou“
- Nerast v kap≠recesia
- Hickel, Kallis, Latouche
- Rast je imperatív
- Nerast v kap=recesia

Lawn-Smith debate

- Smith: **Kapitalizmus potrebuje rast**
- 1. Kapitalisti musia predávať, aby mali peniaze na nákup obživy – každý je závislý na trhu
- 2. Konkurencia je základnou hybnou silou kapitalizmu – nutnosť reinvestovať

Lawn-Smith debate

- 3a. Deľba práce → ↑produktivity → ↑produktu → potreba hľadať nové trhy
- 3b. Firmy usilujú o expanziu, aby sa chránili pred ostatnými
- 3c. Akcionári požadujú zisky akýmkoľvek spôsobom →↑
- Existujú aj malé rodinné firmy, ktoré nemusia vždy rásť, ale dominujú veľké, pre ktoré platia uvedené body

Lawn: rast nie je nutný

- Lawn: \downarrow HDP \neq \uparrow nezamestnanosti, pretože 1. lepšie tovary \rightarrow \uparrow ceny \rightarrow \uparrow zisky/mzdy \rightarrow \downarrow pracovná doba \rightarrow \uparrow zamestnanosť, 2. vláda môže ľudí zamestnať (Job Guarantee)
- Vlády môžu \downarrow závislosť ľudí na trhu, \downarrow zneužitie trhovej pozície, \downarrow nerovnosť...regulovať

Lawn-Smith debate

- Rásť sa dá kvalitatívne, kvantitatívny rast nie je nutný (Konkurencia \neq \uparrow alebo zomri, ale \uparrow zisk alebo zomri – spôsob rastu závisí od regulácie. Obmedzenie spotreby zdrojov \rightarrow rast inovatívnych sektorov.)
- Úspory z rozsahu \rightarrow náklady z rozsahu \rightarrow odmietnutie $\infty \uparrow$

Empíria

- Nokia
- Rakúske SMEs
- Indickí roľníci

„Imperatív“ na úrovni konzumentov

- Spoločenský tlak spotrebovať ako okolie a usilovať o spotrebu vyššie postavených
- Užitočnosť áut, počítačov, pračiek, smartfónov...
→ ↑ efektivity domácnosti = nutnosť nákupu v konkurencii s ostatnými zamestnancami

„Imperatív“ na úrovni štátov

- Konkurencia – (východ/západ)
- \uparrow nerovnosti \rightarrow \uparrow nestability \rightarrow \uparrow nahrádza redistribúciu (údajne zaisťuje zamestnanosť)
- Spochybniť rast = spochybniť ľudskú prirodzenosť \rightarrow TINA