

UNIVERZA V LJUBLJANI
FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Eva Perčič

**ČAS KOT VREDNOST:
MOŽNE PREDNOSTI ZMANJŠEVANJA IN SPREMINJANJA
POTROŠNJE**

Magistrsko delo

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Mentor: doc. dr. Mihael Kline

Somentorica: red. prof. dr. Zinka Kolarič

Ljubljana, 2009

*»It seems like there are many problems in the world,
but relax, there's only really one. It's how we think.«*

Global MindShift Organization

IZJAVA O AVTORSTVU MAGISTRSKEGA DELA

POVZETEK

IPCC (2007c) napoveduje, da bodo izpusti toplogrednih plinov leta 2030 v primerjavi z letom 2000 zrasli za 110%. Politična in gospodarska prizadevanja za reševanje problematike podnebnih sprememb niso dovolj učinkovita, saj spodbujajo zgolj rešitve, ki ne ogrožajo gospodarske rasti. Ob tem zavračajo opozorila, da je potrebno prekomerno potrošnjo ne le predrugačiti, ampak predvsem zmanjševati. Nasprotno, pa se ta naloga ukvarja z odkrivanjem priložnosti, ki bi potrošnike prepričale o vrednosti zmanjševanja potrošnje. Raziskava z uporabo netblogrfske metode proučuje bogastvo časa kot možno prednost zmanjševanja potrošnje. Proučevani posamezniki so člani gibanja The Compact, ki izvajajo enoletni eksperiment nakupovalnih diet. Izsledki raziskave kažejo, da je kljub zmanjšani potrošnji mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje, saj bogastvo časa nadomesti materialno bogastvo. Hkrati postavljanje bogastva časa pred materialno bogastvo zahteva premagovanje številnih ovir, saj je to v nasprotju z osnovnimi načeli potrošniške družbe. Ena ključnih ugotovitev raziskave je, da zahteva trajnostno delovanje pri izrabi razpoložljivega časa iznajdljivost in inovativnost. Medtem ko se v proizvodnji iščejo ustvarjalni načini za skrajševanje življenjskega cikla izdelkom, proučevani posamezniki življenjski cikel izdelkom ustvarjalno podaljšujejo.

Ključne besede: podnebne spremembe, trajnostna potrošnja, nakupovalne diete, prostovoljna preprostost, bogastvo časa, netblografija, antipotrošniška gibanja

ABSTRACT

IPPC (2007c) predicts a 110% increase of greenhouse gas emissions in the year 2030 in comparison to the year 2000. Politicians and economists are ineffective in combating climate change. They only stimulate environmentally friendly solutions which keep the economic growth intact. At the same time, they ignore warnings that overconsumption has to be radically decreased instead of just altered. On the contrary, this paper examines possible advantages of reduced consumption for consumers. By using netblography method, an alternative model of wealth - wealth in time, was studied. Research subjects were fifteen members of The Compact movement who were conducting an one year experiment of shopping diets. Research indicates a possibility of living a quality life in spite of reduced consumption, because wealth in goods is replaced by wealth in time. At the same time, putting wealth in time in front of wealth in goods, demands overcoming numerous barriers due to the fact that this is in conflict with basic principles of consumer society. One of the key findings of this research is that practising sustainable lifestyle demands a great deal of ingenuity and innovation when it comes to using the time at our disposal. The production process seek to shorten the product life cycle, whereas the individuals who practice shopping diets focus on creativity of prolonging it.

Keywords: climate change, sustainable consumption, shopping diets, voluntary simplicity, wealth in time, netblography, anticonsumer movements

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1.0 UVODNO IZHODIŠČE

Kljub nenehnim tehnološkim inovacijam, namenjenim doseganju boljšega energijskega izkoristka, vse bolj razširjeni uporabi obnovljivih virov energije in prizadevanjem držav za izpolnitev zahtev različnih mednarodnih dogovorov, emisije toplogrednih plinov še vedno naraščajo. Grozljivi scenariji podnebnih sprememb, ki jih napovedujejo klimatologi in ki se bodo najverjetneje odvili že v bližnji prihodnosti, bodo resno ogrozili in znižali kakovost življenja večine prebivalcev Zemlje.

Tovrstna opozorila ter vse pogostejše in intenzivnejše naravne katastrofe ne streznijo politikov in gospodarstvenikov, da bi, kot opozarjajo klimatologi in popularizatorji problematike podnebnih sprememb, pogledali onkraj kapitalskih interesov, ki jih zastopajo. Politiki in gospodarstveniki še vedno trdijo, da sta gospodarska rast in z njo potrošnja koristni. Njihove trditve so celo v nasprotju s spoznanji industrijskih ekologov, ki poudarjajo, da, če želimo porabo in onesneževanje vsaj stabilizirati, moramo poleg tehnološkega napredka, nujno uravnavati tudi potrošnjo. Vse večji delež svetovnega prebivalstva namreč živi prek biokapacitetnih zmožnosti našega planeta. Opozorila okoljevarstvenikov in razsvetljenih ekonomistov, da v svetu z omejenimi naravnimi viri, neskončna rast ni mogoča in da bo ta namesto zviševanja, povzročila upad kakovosti življenja, ne dobijo zadostne medijske podpore.

Ker vprašanja o škodljivosti in upravičenosti materialne »osnove« življenjskega sloga prebivalcev premožnejših gospodarstev sveta zaradi neprofitnosti redko dobijo svojo mesto v znanstvenem raziskovanju, v praksi pa še manj, skuša ta naloga odkrivati prednosti alternativnih modelov bogastva. V nalogi namreč raziskujem bogastvo časa kot možno prednost spremenjene in zmanjšane potrošnje. V longitudinalno netblografsko študijo sem vključila petnajst članov gibanja The Compact, najnovejše različice gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti. Njegovi člani eno leto ne kupujejo ničesar novega razen osnovnih (prehrambenih) izdelkov, svoje izkušnje nakupovalnih diet pa beležijo na blogih.

Pričujoča empirična raziskava se torej opira na teoretična izhodišča, ki izpodbijajo upravičenost obstoječe prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti. Pri tem potrošnje ne razume kot posledico proizvodnje, ampak pojmuje povpraševanje

kot ključni element usmerjanja proizvodnje. Prav zato poudarja pomen odgovornosti potrošnika, ki prek nakupnih odločitev vpliva na intenzivnost okoljske degradacije.

Naloga promovira koncept opolnomočenega potrošnika, ki se zaveda svoje vloge in vpliva na sistem proizvodnje. Zato voli z denarnico in tako aktivno prevzema del odgovornosti za reševanje oziroma zmanjševanje uničevanja okolja. Raziskava temelji na ugotovitvah različnih študij, da kljub drugačni in zmanjšani potrošnji še vedno lahko živimo kakovostno, izpolnjujoče in zadovoljujoče življenje, in na zavedanju, da je uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje učinkovito lahko le v primeru, da tovrstni novi vzorci potrošnje opravljajo enake družbene in kulturne funkcije kot sodobna (prekomerna) potrošnja kapitalističnih družb.

Ta raziskava predstavlja šele začetek raziskovanja vloge časa pri razumevanju trajnostnega razvoja. Kot prva proučuje delovanje gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti na spletu, pri tem pa se poslužuje nove, obetavne, a še relativno nepreizkušene metode netblografije. Zato kljub temu, da osvetljuje nekatere pomembne vidike vloge časa v kontekstu trajnostne potrošnje, predvsem odpira številna nova vprašanja. Daje nove ideje za nadaljnje raziskovanje trajnostne potrošnje z neprofitne perspektive in kaže nove možnosti za raziskovanje številnih okoljskih in socialnih problemov sodobne družbe.

Poleg začetnega poglavja Uvodno izhodišče ter končnih poglavij Literatura in viri ter Priloge je v nalogi še osem poglavij. Osrednji del teoretičnega dela naloge sta poglavji, naslovljeni Globalni problemi novega tisočletja in Reševanje problematike podnebnih sprememb. Začetek empiričnega dela predstavljajo poglavja Problem in namen raziskave, Teze raziskave in poglavje Metodologija. Osrednji del empiričnega dela sestavljata poglavji Rezultati in Diskusija. Delo zaključujejo sklepi raziskave in priporočila za nadaljnje raziskovanje, predstavljeni v poglavju Zaključki.

S ciljem večstranske in celovite obravnave problematike podnebnih sprememb je v poglavju Globalni problemi novega tisočletja najprej predstavljen okvir za razumevanje globalnih problemov. Na samem začetku poglavja so zato obravnavane različne opredelitve globalnih problemov. Izpostavljene so ključne teorije in vzroki, ki pojasnjujejo, zakaj prihaja do različnega predstavljanja in dojemanja pomembnosti globalnih problemov. V nadaljevanju poglavja se teoretična razprava usmerja v obravnavanje podnebnih sprememb kot temeljnega globalnega problema našega časa. Poseben poudarek je namenjen analizi pomembnosti človekovega vpliva na

podnebne spremembe ter predstavljanju najverjetnejših scenarijev posledic podnebnih sprememb in njihovega negativnega vpliva na kakovost življenja večine svetovnega prebivalstva.

Poglavje Reševanje problematike podnebnih sprememb v prvem delu s kritično analizo ekonomskih konceptov gospodarske rasti, podrobno študijo konceptov trajnostnega razvoja in celostno evalvacijo neuspešnosti družbene odgovornosti podjetij dokazuje neupravičenost in neustreznost prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti pri iskanju načinov za uspešno reševanje problematike podnebnih sprememb.

V drugem delu je predstavljena ideja opolnomočenega potrošnika kot alternativa različnim institucionalnim poskusom nezadostno učinkovitega reševanja problematike podnebnih sprememb. Opolnomočeni potrošnik si prizadeva prek svojih trajnostno reguliranih vzorcev potrošnje zmanjševati okoljsko degradacijo. Poseben poudarek je na analizi povezanosti zadovoljstva in potrošnje. Ta želi prispevati k razumevanju, ali je mogoče kljub zmanjševanju potrošnje živeti kakovostno življenje. Kot eno izmed različic gibanja prostovoljne prepostosti, ki skuša prakticirati trajnostni življenjski slog prek spremenjene in zmanjšane potrošnje, je predstavljeno antipotrošniško globalno gibanje, imenovano The Compact. Poglavje se zaključi z relevantnimi izsledki empiričnih študij in teoretičnimi spoznanji na področju razumevanja bogastva časa kot možne ključne prednosti uvajanja trajnostno regulirane potrošnje.

V poglavju Problem in namen raziskave so za bolj točno in jasno opredelitev problema ponovno povzete najpomembnejše ugotovitve iz uvoda. Sledi jim natančna opredelitev problema in namena raziskave, v štirih točkah pa so predstavljeni ključni argumenti, zakaj je smiselno to raziskavo izvajati. Sledi poglavje Teze raziskave, v katerem so predstavljena tri osrednja vprašanja raziskave in dosedanja relevantni izsledki drugih študij, na podlagi katerih so osnovane tri teze.

Poglavje Metodologija v prvem delu podrobno predstavlja značilnosti, prednosti, omejitve in izzive netblografske metode, ki je ena najnovejših metod v kvalitativnem raziskovanju. V drugem delu so nato podrobno predstavljene osnovne sociodemografske značilnosti in način nabora udeležencev raziskave, članov gibanja The Compact. Njihove osnovne značilnosti sicer obravnava tudi poglavje Reševanje

problematike podnebnih sprememb. V tretjem delu metodološkega poglavja sta predstavljena potek in značilnosti posameznih korakov raziskave.

Poglavje Rezultati raziskave vsebuje tri sklope in povzetek s ključnimi ugotovitvami. Prvi sklop »Pred nakupovalnimi dietami« se nanaša na pretekle značilnosti vzorcev potrošnje proučevanih posameznikov in obravnava razloge, zaradi katerih so se odločili za enoletno izvajanje nakupovalnih diet. Osrednji del sklopa »Izkušnja nakupovalnih diet« ločeno obravnava probleme in pozitivne učinke nakupovalnih diet med dvanajstmesečnim obdobjem eksperimenta. Tretji del rezultatov predstavlja refleksije posameznikov ob zaključku eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet in napovedi njihovih prihodnjih vzorcev potrošnje. Vsi rezultati v posameznem poglavju so prikazani tabelarično. Vsaka tabela vsebuje ključne ugotovitve in izbrane citate. Vsi ostali citati na določeno temo so dodani v prilogi.

Sledi poglavje Diskusija, katerega namen je empirične ugotovitve raziskave povezati s predhodnjimi teoretičnimi spoznanji, in preverjati vsebinsko povezanost izsledkov z drugimi relevantnimi študijami. Na začetku diskusije se pojasnjujejo povsem temeljne dileme kot npr., ali je gibanje The Compact zares le najnovejša različica gibanja prostovolje preprostosti in ali so udeleženci raziskave zares člani neformalnega gibanja The Compact. V nadaljevanju se razprava ukvarja s tremi osrednjimi vprašanji pričujoče naloge:

- Ali je kljub zmanjšani potrošnji mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje?
- Kakšne so ovire, ko posameznik v potrošniški družbi želi prakticirati zmanjšano potrošnjo?
- Kakšne so značilnosti in možne oblike trajnostnega preživljanja časa?

V sklepnem delu naloge, v poglavju Zaključki, je v prvem delu dodana kritična evalvacija tako vsebinskih kakor metodoloških prednosti in slabosti raziskave. Prav na koncu naloge so dodane še nekatere ideje oziroma priporočila za nadaljnje raziskovanje.

2.0 GLOBALNI PROBLEMI NOVEGA TISOČLETJA

V dokumentarcu Bovling za Columbine (2002) Moore v Los Angelesu sprašuje reportersko ekipo, ki je prišla posnet prispevek o manjšem kriminalnem dejanju, zakaj ne bi raje poročali o hudi onesnaženosti mesta, o smogu, ki onemogoča vidljivost napisa Hollywood na Mount Lee v daljavi. Reporter mu odvrne, da ne ve, kako bi takšno zgodbo posnel, saj se nič ne vidi in tak prispevek gledalcev najverjetneje ne bi zanimal.

In vendar imajo včasih lahko manj zanimive zgodbe resnejše posledice od tistih bolj fotogeničnih. Kateri so torej tisti problemi, ki najbolj ogrožajo človeštvo? Kaj je vzrok njihovega nastanka? Kakšne so napovedi strokovnjakov in kako tovrstne probleme sploh uspešno reševati?

2.1 Okvir za razumevanje globalnih problemov

Na samem začetku je potrebno razdelati koncepte, ki služijo kot ogrodje, osnovno izhodišče za pojasnjevanje specifičnega globalnega problema – problema podnebnih sprememb. Ena izmed primarnih nalog te raziskave je zato opredelitev pojma globalnih problemov in pojasnitev njihovih značilnosti ter razlik glede na druge sorodne pojme.

Za poglobljeno razumevanje in odkrivanje možnosti vplivanja oziroma reševanja problematike globalnih problemov je namreč med drugim potrebno poglobljeno spoznavanje teorij, ki pojasnjujejo kompleksno dinamiko določanja relativne pomembnosti posameznega problema v družbi.

2.1.1 Opredelitev globalnih problemov

Besedna zveza globalni problem¹ se tako v pogovornem jeziku kot v številnih znanstvenih publikacijah pogosto uporablja, čeprav zgolj redki avtorji razlagajo njen pomen. Medtem ko nekateri termine globalni, svetovni in univerzalni problemi uporabljajo in razumejo kot sopomenke, s katerimi označujejo problematiko, ki

¹ SSKJ (2000) samostalnik problem (gr.problema) razlaga kot nekaj, (1.) kar je v zvezi z določenim dejstvom nejasno, neznano in je potrebno pojasniti ali rešiti, vprašanje; (2.) kar je nezaželeno, težko rešljivo in je potrebno odpraviti, rešiti, težava in (3.) kar zaradi določenega dejstva povzroča komu skrbi, težave. Pridevnik globalen (lat.globus) ima prav tako tri pomena (1.) celoten, skupen, (2.) približno podan, okviren, splošen in (3.) nanašajoč se na vso zemljo, ves svet.

zadeva vse posameznike in vplivajo na številne dele sveta, spet drugi poudarjajo, da so svetovni problemi v primerjavi z globalnimi:

- problemi manjšega obsega in posledic, saj naj bi se pojavljali v treh državah (UNESCO 1986);
- obstajali naj bi v številnih državah, vendar nimajo posebnega pomena na globalni ravni (UIA 1994/95).

Hofkirchner (1995) poudarja, da živimo v dobi globalnih problemov in uspešnost soočanja z njimi je odločilni dejavnik preživetja človeštva. Opozarja, da ti problemi zadevajo človeštvo kot celoto in da so tudi rešljivi zgolj s kolektivno mobilizacijo vsega človeštva. Hofkirchner (1995) identificira tri vrste globalnih problemov, ki so posledica:

1. **neustreznih medčloveških odnosov**, kot so npr. nerazvitost, nezaposlenost, neenakost, ... ;
2. **zlorabe tehnologij** kot so npr. vojne, uporaba tveganih oz. nevarnih tehnologij, ... ;
3. **zlorabe narave** kot so npr. onesnaževanje, prekomerna raba (ne)obnovljivih virov, ...

Asboth (1984) globalne probleme opiše podrobneje. Kot njihove ključne značilnosti izpostavi dolgotrajnost, vztrajnost, prodornost, škodljivost in razsežnost njihovega delovanja, saj njihov vpliv občutijo številni ljudje. Za razliko od Schnaiberga (1994), ki globalne probleme vidi kot posledico delovanja močnih globalnih sil – te predstavljajo interese najpremožnejših družbenih razredov ter vplivnih političnih, ekonomskih in družbenih elit – ki iščejo priložnosti in izrabljajo možnosti za nadaljnje povečevanje svojega bogastva, Asboth (1984) meni, da je »lastništvo problema« težko določljivo. Prav zaradi tega razloga opozarja, da so rešitve globalnih problemov nejasne, saj zahtevajo nove pristope sodelovanja za izvedbo sprememb.

Na kompleksnost problematike reševanja globalnih problemov opozarjajo tudi številni drugi avtorji in institucije (UNESCO 1986; Raiffa 1991; von Struensee 2000; Kolodko 2003). Zaključki njihovih razmišljanj so pesimistični, saj opozarjajo, če čeprav so vplivne družbene elite dejanski prožilci globalnih problemov, zahteva njihovo reševanje obsežno in kompleksno mednacionalno in meddržavno sodelovanje. Teh problemov ne more samostojno rešiti ena država, ampak zahtevajo usmerjeno kolektivno delovanje večine prebivalcev Zemlje. Prav zato je ena bistvenih nalog

pričujoče raziskave iskanje privlačnih možnosti in priložnosti za kolektivno mobilizacijo posameznikov pri reševanju globalnih problemov, kot jih razumeta Hofkirchner (1995) in Asboth (1984).

2.1.2 Relativnost pomembnosti globalnih problemov

Yahoo Answers je portal, ki uporabnikom omogoča, da zastavljajo različna vprašanja, in tako s souporabniki razpravljajo o najrazličnejših tematikah. Med množico vprašanj se je pojavilo tudi vprašanje, kateri globalni problem je danes najbolj pereč in bi zahteval takojšnje reševanje. Odgovori uporabnikov so bili med seboj zelo različni: vojne, terorizem, podnebne spremembe, epidemije, lakota in revščina, globalizacija, neumni ljudje, ZDA, verski ponos, ... To kaže na subjektivnost dojemanja pomembnosti določenih problemov, saj pojave okrog nas ljudje različno interpretiramo. Prav zato konsenz, kateri problem je pomemben in bi zahteval takojšnje reševanje ni preprosto dosegljiv.

Ker se v nadaljevanju usmerjam na problematiko podnebnih sprememb, predstavljam dve, v okoljski sociologiji uveljavljeni teoriji znanja, ki vsaka na svoj način pojasnjujeta, zakaj prihaja do razlik v dojetanju pomembnosti določene (okoljske) problematike. To sta kritični realizem in družbeni konstruktivizem.

1. Kritični realizem (in globoka ekologija)

Sodobni kritični realizem je filozofska smer, katere začetek predstavlja delo Bhaskarja (1997), prvič izdanega leta 1975 z naslovom »Realist theory of science«. Termin kritični realizem je v uporabi od poznih osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Pred tem so te ideje označevali kot znanstveni realizem (Bhaskar 1989).

Kritični realisti predpostavljajo, da obstaja objektivna stvarnost, ki je neodvisna od našega dojetanja. Vse znanje o svetu nastaja in se razvija v družbenem kontekstu, kar je vzrok nerazumevanja določenih pojavov. Do napak prihaja zaradi omejenih zmožnosti posameznikov, da bi popolnoma doumeli stvarnost in ne zaradi tega, ker objektivna stvarnost ne bi obstajala.

Vrednost kritičnega realizma je v zavračanju antropocentrične perspektive², saj kritični realisti naravo vidijo kot objektivno in neodvisno od človeka. Kritični realist

² Antropocentričnost je pojmovanje, da je človek vir, središče in merilo vsega dogajanja (Plut 2004).

Collier (1999) poudarja, da narava ne obstaja le zaradi nas, ampak smo ljudje del večjega objektivnega sistema, znotraj katerega delujemo. V odnosu do narave zato tudi pojem dobrega ni nekaj subjektivnega, saj ta ni odvisen le od kulturnih idej in posameznikovih vrednot, ampak je objektivni del sveta. Čeprav kultura vpliva na način, kako mi dojemamo in poročamo o objektih in njihovih odnosih do nas, pa to ne izključuje objektivne podstati strukture – osnove, na kateri se družbeni procesi tvorijo in razvijajo. Tako posamezniki napačno razmišljajo (in delajo) z naravo zato, ker jih je napačnega vedenja naučila kultura, njihovi predniki. Na posameznikov pogled na naravo namreč vpliva zgodovinski in tehnološki razvoj, naša družba pa naravo zaznava predvsem v odnosu do lastnih potreb.

Okoljska etika kritičnih realistov je blizu prepričanju globokih ekologov, saj tudi ti poudarjajo intrinzično vrednost narave, vrednost, ki presega kontekst uporabnosti le z vidika posameznika. Ustanovitelj gibanja globoke ekologije³ je norveški filozof Naess (1995). Danes je globoka ekologija uveljavljeno svetovno ekološko gibanje, ki si prizadeva širiti sporočilo, da je za reševanje ekoloških problemov nujno potrebno preseči le površinski in fragmentirani ter zato nezadostno učinkoviti pristop t. i. tehnološko podprte ekologije. Svoj pogled zato imenuje eko- oz. biocentrizem. Promovirajo ekološki jaz kot jaz, ki ni odvojen oziroma nadrejen vsemu drugemu, saj predstavlja zgolj delček v celotnem kozmosu. Poudarjajo pomen povezanosti posameznika z naravo in odločno zavračajo antropocentrična stališča, na katerih temelji celotna zahodna kultura.

2. Družbeni konstruktivizem

Medtem ko kritični realisti trdijo, da objektivna stvarnost obstaja, a je večkrat našemu razumevanju nedostopna, pa družbeni konstruktivisti⁴ zavzemajo povsem nasprotno stališče. Objektivne realnosti ni – obstaja le v kontekstu družbe, saj je rezultat človeške aktivnosti in je produkt jezika ter kulture, v kateri nastaja.

Družbeni konstruktivisti zavzemajo antropocentrično stališče. Kritični realisti jim zato očitajo ignoranco in naivnost v odnosu do okoljskih problemov kot npr.: *»Globalne posledice krčenja gozdov, večanje ozonske luknje, škodljivi izpusti toplogrednih plinov, onesnaževanje ipd. niso relativni glede na kulturna predvidevanja, ampak je*

³ angl. *»deep ecology movement«*

⁴ Temeljno delo družbenih konstruktivistov je v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja prvič izdana knjiga Bergerja in Luckmanna (1988) z naslovom *Družbena konstrukcija realnosti*.

to objektivnost, ki presega kulturo» (Shumar 1999, 26). Vendar pa lahko zaradi utemeljenosti tovrstnih očitkov hitro spregledamo, da so nekatere ideje družbenih konstruktivistov kljub vsemu vredne in pomembne, ko želimo bolje razumeti in reševati ključne globalne probleme, ki pestijo prebivalce Zemlje.

Pogled družbenih konstruktivistov je namreč uporaben predsem, kadar želimo razumeti, zakaj objektivno najpomembnejši problemi niso vedno tisti, v reševanje katerih se vlaga največ naporov. Hannigan (2006) poudarja, da evolucijo določene problematike usmerjajo številni družbeni akterji kot npr. znanstveniki, gospodarstveniki, politiki, civilna družba, mediji ter okoljevarstveni aktivisti. Zato objektivna pomembnost ni vedno tista, ki določa stopnjo pomembnosti obravnave določene problematike, ampak gre za splet številnih družbenih vplivov, ki soustvarjajo pomembnost problema.

Hannigan (2006) zato jasno razdela proces oblikovanja okoljevarstvenih problemov. Določi tri ključne stopnje v razvoju problema in opredeli najpomembnejše naloge v posameznih stopnjah. Opredeli tudi primarno polje dogajanja in opozori na določena pravila, ki vplivajo na uspeh oziroma neuspeh, da določena problematika v družbeni resničnosti zaživi oziroma pojasni, zakaj ostane neopažena.

1. stopnja – Opredelitev problema:

- Primarne aktivnosti v tej fazi so odkrivanje in poimenovanje problema, preverjanje hipotez in identifikacija možnih vzročnih dejavnikov. Primarno polje dogajanja je znanost. Znanstveniki odkrivajo in opisujejo trende. Cilj te faze je preverjanje in dokazovanje trditev. Iščejo se dokazi, rezultati, ki podpirajo pravilnost predvidevanj.
- Problemi, značilni za fazo opredelitve problema, so: nezadostna jasnost izsledkov, dvom znanstvenikov o pravilnosti lastnih odkritij in obstoj nasprotujočih si znanstvenih dokazov. Njim nasprotne so strategije, ki vodijo k uspehu: jasna opredelitev problema, močna teoretična podpora, samozavest in zaupanje v svoje delo ter kompetentnost znanstvenikov pri sporočanju izsledkov.

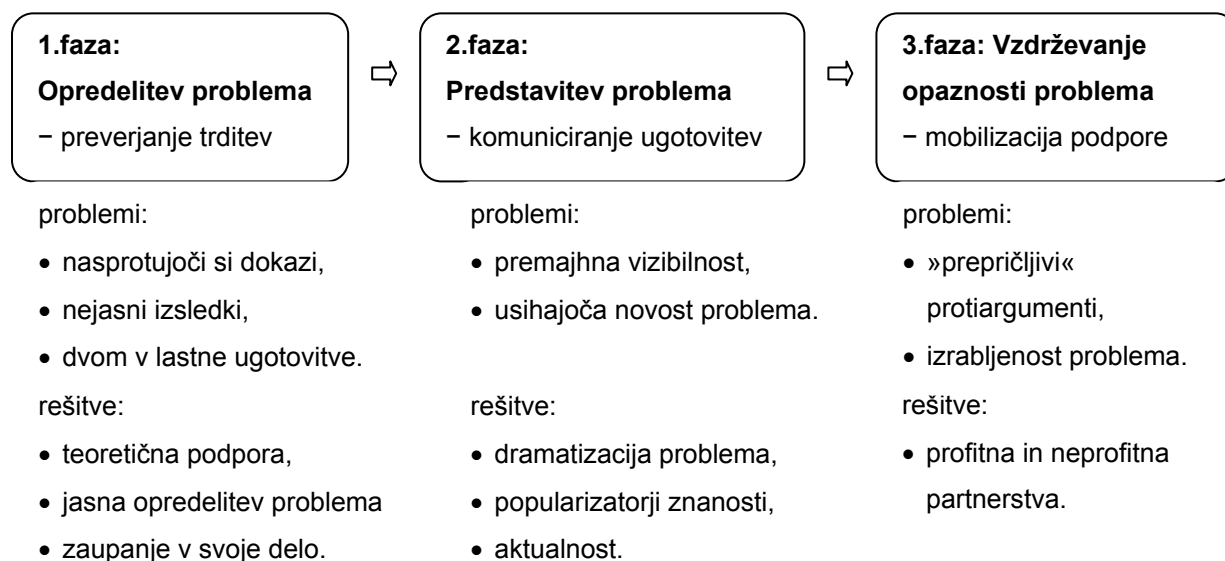
2. stopnja – Predstavitev problema:

- Ko znanstveniki zberejo zadostne dokaze, in dosežejo določeno raven medsebojnega konsenza, izsledke predstavijo širši javnosti s ciljem, da jim ta nudi potrebno moralno podporo.
- Problemi zaživijo v medijskem prostoru, v katerem se jih umesti v kontekst. Na ta način postanejo resnični in pomembni. Veščina, ki odločilno prispeva k uspehu opaženosti problema, je uspešnost popularizacije določene teme.
- Težave, ki se lahko pojavijo na tej fazi, so prenizka opaženost in usihajoča novost problema. Da problem oživi, je potrebna njegova dramatizacija npr. predstavljanje šokantnih fotografij, uporaba premišljenih retoričnih taktik in navezovanje problema na aktualne teme, ... Uspešni komunikatorji oziroma popularizatorji znanosti razumejo jezik znanosti in znajo znanstvene izsledke na razumljiv način približati širši javnosti.

3. stopnja – Vzdrževanje opaznosti problema:

- Dobra poznanost problema je priložnost, da se poskuša v čim večji meri mobilizirati podporo javnosti in sprožiti akcije za reševanje problema. Osrednje polje dogajanja je politika. Znanstvena dognanja se prevedejo na aplikativno raven in postanejo temelj usmerjanja akcij za reševanje problema.
- Na tej točki ogrožajo reševanje problema »prepričljivi« protiargumenti skupin, ki imajo koristi od obstoječega stanja. Nevarnost, da problem ni več v ospredju zanimanja javnosti, predstavlja tudi izrabljenost teme. Na tej stopnji je zato potrebno v profitnem in neprofitnem sektorju ustvarjati koristne povezave. Poiskati je potrebno partnerje, ki zagotavljajo legitimnost in kontinuiteto reševanja problema.

Slika 2.1: Družbena konstrukcija pomembnosti problemov (prirejeno po Hannigan 2006, 68).



Trditve Hannigana (2006), da so okoljski problemi dejansko družbeni konsenz, in ne odraz objektivnega stanja, potrjujejo različne raziskave. Že pred tremi desetletji so Spector in Kitsuse (1977) ter Hilgarten in Bosk (1988) opozarjali, da objektivna pomembnost problemov sama po sebi v javnosti in medijih ne zagotavlja odmevnosti problema. Hansen (1990) je ugotovil, da namesto da bi se okoljevarstvene skupine in neodvisni strokovnjaki kot primarni opredeljevalci okoljskih problemov pojavljali v večini medijskih zgodb, nastopajo ti zgolj v 23%. Namesto strokovnjakov to vlogo v večini primerov prevzema oziroma si jo lasti vlada, javnost in drugi mnenjski vodje. Ta trend so zaznali tudi nekateri raziskovalci pred njim (Molotch in Lester 1975; Nimmo in Combs 1985; Wilkins 1987; Patterson 1989). Zato Burns (2001) poudarja, da v svetu, v katerem realnost politike prevladuje nad resničnostjo dejstev, uspešnost aktivnosti okoljevarstvenih gibanj določa njihova sposobnost jasnega in strateškega komuniciranja določene pereče problematike.

3. Kritično in konstruktivno

Medtem ko je bila debata o prepričljivosti argumentov med kritičnimi realisti in družbenimi konstruktivisti na področju okoljske sociologije še do nedavnega zelo živa (Burningham in Cooper 1999), se je vendarle potrebno odmakniti stran od zavzemanja radikalnih stališč ene ali druge strani in razmišljati o uporabnih vidikih obeh konceptov.

Kritični realisti učijo, da okoljski problemi obstajajo neodvisno od nas in da je za boljše razumevanje teh problemov nujno, da izstopimo iz uveljavljene antropocentrične perspektive. Na to opozarja tudi Lovelock (2007, 167) avtor teorije o Gaji, ki sicer sam zase trdi, da ni globok ekolog:

»Koncept živega planeta, Gaje, razumem kot temelj skladnega in stvarnega okoljevarstva; v popolnem nasprotju je z zakoreninjenim prepričanjem, da je Zemlja lastnina oziroma nepremičnina, ki je namenjena zadovoljevanju potreb človeštva. Prav zaradi tega zmotnega prepričanja, da imamo Zemljo v svoji lasti ali da smo njeni gospodarji, nenehno govorimo o okoljski politiki in programih, hkrati pa nadaljujemo s svojim početjem, kot da se ni nič spremenilo«.

Vendar zavedanje obstoja okoljskih problemov in antropocentričnosti naše družbe še ne prinaša sprememb. Nujno je razumeti, kako delujejo mehanizmi, ki tovrstno perspektivo v družbi konstruirajo in vzdržujejo. Tu nastopi pomembnost spoznanj družbenih konstruktivistov, ki nas opozarjajo na procese kako določena prepričanja nastajajo ter kako in zakaj se uveljavijo ter vzdržujejo v družbi.

Ker smo ljudje (ne)posredni povzročitelji okoljskih problemov, je pomembno, da kljub temu, da ti objektivno obstajajo, v želji po spreminjanju stanja priznavamo in razumemo dinamiko družbene konstrukcije realnosti.

2.2 Podnebne spremembe kot temeljni globalni problem

»Razmere v državi so vse slabše. Brez strehe nad glavo je ostalo milijon in pol ljudi, na cestah še vedno ležijo razpadajoča trupla. Po doslej znanih podatkih je mrtvih ali pogrešanih okoli 65 tisoč, mnogi pa se bojijo, da bo številka presegla 100 tisoč, saj v Mjanmaru že razsajajo nalezljive bolezni. Poleg tega vojaška hunta ne izdaja vizumov tujim humanitarnim delavcem, ki bi lahko deloma preprečili katastrofo,« pet dni po strahotnem divjanju ciklona Nagris v Mjanmarju poroča POP TV (24ur.com 2008).

Tudi če bi želeli verjeti, da je grozljiva tragedija naključna, to najverjetneje ne drži. Medvladni odbor za podnebne spremembe je v najnovejšem poročilu (IPCC 2007a) opozoril, da se zaradi segrevanja oceanov zvišuje verjetnost nastanka vse močnejših tropskih ciklonov. Čeprav bodo šele prihodnje raziskave klimatologov pokazale, ali je ciklon Nagris posledica podnebnih sprememb ali ne, se je danes smiselno vprašati, koliko dokazov še potrebujemo, da bomo problematiko podnebnih sprememb dojeli kot temeljni globalni problem.

2.2.1 Podnebne spremembe in pomembnost človekovega vpliva

Podnebne spremembe so v zemeljski zgodovini stalnica, saj se je npr. zadnja od štirih ledenih dob končala pred približno 12.000 leti (Gardner in drugi 1997). Medtem ko je vreme trenutno stanje atmosfere oziroma spremembe v temperaturi, atmosferskem pritisku, vlažnosti in vidljivosti, ki se dogajajo v bližnji prihodnosti, je podnebje vsota vremenskih sprememb na določenem področju, ki se dogajajo v obdobju enega ali več let (Lamb 2001).

Opredelitev podnebnih sprememb

V Okvirni konvenciji Združenih narodov o spremembi podnebja, ki poleg Kjotskega protokola predstavlja temelj globalnega institucionalnega spopadanja s podnebnimi spremembami, so podnebne spremembe opredeljene kot posredna ali neposredna posledica *»človekovih dejavnosti, ki spreminjajo sestavo zemeljskega ozračja, in se poleg naravne spremembe podnebja opaža v primerljivih časovnih obdobjih«* UNFCCC (1992, 3).

Ta opredelitev sicer poudarja najpomembnejše, možnost človekovega vpliva na podnebne spremembe, a hkrati zanemarja dejstvo, da podnebne spremembe lahko povzročajo tudi naravni dejavniki. Zato je opredelitev Medvladnega odbora za podnebne spremembe IPCC (2007a) širša, saj podnebne spremembe označii kot kakršnokoli merljivo spremembo podnebja v določenem časovnem obdobju, ne glede na to, ali so razlogi za spremembe variabilni naravni dejavniki ali pa so spremembe posledica človeške aktivnosti.

V strokovni javnosti se je uveljavil izraz podnebne, oziroma natančneje, globalne podnebne spremembe, čeprav se je v preteklosti predvsem govorilo o globalnem ogrevanju⁵. Vendar je izraz ogrevanje oz. pregrevanje neustrezen, saj je zavajajoč. Henson (2006) opozarja, da ga lahko interpretiramo kot enotni učinek. Čeprav se Zemlja v povprečju ogreva, se bodo nekatera področja v prihodnosti celo nekoliko ohladila. Zato kljub temu, da so v slovenščini v rabi tudi drugi izrazi, v tej raziskavi ves čas uporabljam izraz podnebne spremembe.

Gore (2007) kot ključni popularizator problematike podnebnih sprememb v svoji knjigi *Neprijetna resnica* preprosto pojasni vzrok podnebnih sprememb. Sončna energija, ki vstopa v atmosfero kot kratkovalovno sevanje, ogreva Zemljo. Nekaj te energije se v obliki dolgovalovnega sevanja zopet vrne v vesolje, v procesu vračanja pa se določena količina tega sevanja zaradi toplogrednih plinov zadrži v ozračju. To omogoča, da so temperature na Zemlji prijetne. Ker koncentracija toplogrednih plinov⁶ narašča, vse več infrardečih žarkov ne zapusti atmosfere, ampak se odbijajo nazaj proti površju Zemlje. Na ta način temperatura Zemljinega ozračja in oceanov nevarno narašča.

Antropogeni vzrok podnebnih sprememb

Pomembnost človekovega vpliva pri aktualno zaznanih podnebnih spremembah je nedvomna. Stopnja konsenza med znanstveniki, da je poglaviti vzrok podnebnih sprememb človeška aktivnost, je v zadnjem poročilu IPCC (2007b) izredno visoka. Zakaj je tovrsten argument izredno močan, pojasni proces oblikovanja tega sklepa. Medvladni odbor za podnebne spremembe so leta 1988 (IPCC) ustanovili Združeni narodi in Svetovna meteorološka organizacija (WMO) za mreženje spoznanj tisočev

⁵ V slovenskem jeziku so v uporabi trije izrazi: globalno ogrevanje (Kajfež-Bogataj in Bergant 2005), globalno segrevanje (Maslin 2007; Žagar in drugi 2006) in globalno pregrevanje (Lovelock 2007).

⁶ Toplogredni plini kot posledica človeške aktivnosti in razmerja med njimi: ogljikov dioksid (53%), metan (1,7%), ozon (13%), dušikov oksid (12%) ter klorofluorogljiki in fluorogljikovodiki (5%) (Gore 2007).

klimatologov s celega sveta. IPCC ne izvaja nobenih primarnih raziskav, ampak svoja spoznanja oblikuje na pregledu tisočev objavljenih znanstvenih člankov iz raziskovalnih ustanov po celem svetu. Svoja spoznanja je do sedaj objavil v štirih poročilih. Zadnjega so objavili v začetku leta 2007. Bistvena vrednost teh poročil je, da laični javnosti na razumljiv način komunicirajo natančne znanstvene izsledke.

Četno poročilo so člani odbora snovali šest let. Izšlo je v štirih zvezkih, pri njegovem nastajanju pa je sodelovalo več kot štiri tisoč znanstvenikov iz 130 držav. Čeprav so že v poročilu IPCC iz leta 2001 zapisali, da obstajajo novi, trdnejši dokazi, da je večino ogrevanja v zadnjih 50 letih posledica človeške aktivnosti, so leta 2007 (IPCCb) o tem še bolj prepričani, saj so zapisali, da z visoko verjetnostjo⁷ trdijo, da je globalno zvišanje temperature na Zemlji od sredine 20. stoletja naprej posledica zvišanja koncentracij plinov, ki imajo antropogeni izvor.

Vendar med državami prihaja glede količine izpustov toplogrednih plinov v ozračje do velikih razlik. Prispevek posameznih držav se ugotavlja glede na različne kriterije, pri čemer se obravnavata tako relativna kot absolutna količina izpustov toplogrednih plinov. V Tabeli 2.1 so prikazani rezultati tistih držav, ki so glede na štiri različne kriterije odgovorne za največji delež izpustov toplogrednih plinov v ozračje:

- **trenutna količina emisij:** absolutna količina emisij, ki jih države izpuščajo v atmosfero danes;
- **količina emisij na prebivalca:** aktualna količina emisij v odnosu do št. državljanov posamezne države;
- **komulativna (historična) količina emisij:** vsi izpusti posamezne države v 150 letnem obdobju – od leta 1850 do l. 2000;
- **količina emisij glede na BDP proizvod:** količina fosilnih goriv, porabljenih za proizvodnjo ekonomskega učinka.

⁷ stopnja verjetnosti 90 do 99 %

Tabela 2.1: Države z največjo količino izpustov toplogrednih plinov v ozračje glede na štiri različne kriterije (prirejeno po Baumert in Pershing 2004, 67–71)

država	količnine emisij l.2000 (%)*	emisije na prebivalca (v tonah)*	komulativna količina emisij(v%) v l. 1850–2000*	količina emisij glede na BDP
ZDA	20,6 (1)****	6,6 (2–10)	29,8 (1)	162 (2–10)
Kitajska	14,8 (2–10)	1,1 (31–36)	7,3 (2–10)	201 (2–10)
EU (25)***	14,0 (2–10)	2,8 (21–30)	27,2 (2–10)	107 (11–20)
Rusija	5,7 (2–10)	3,6 (11–20)	8,3 (2–10)	427 (2–10)
Indija	5,5 (2–10)	0,5 (31–36)	2,0 (11–20)	99 (21–25)
Japonska	4,0 (2–10)	2,9 (11–20)	4,1 (2–10)	104 (11–20)
Nemčija	2,9 (2–10)	3,2 (11–20)	7,5 (2–10)	111 (11–20)
Brazilija	2,5 (2–10)	1,3 (21–30)	0,8 (11–20)	73 (21–25)
Kanada	2,1 (2–10)	6,3 (2–10)	2,1 (2–10)	172 (11–20)
V.Britanija	2,0 (2–10)	3,1 (11–20)	6,5 (2–10)	110 (11–20)
Italija	1,6 (11–20)	2,5 (21–30)	1,6 (11–20)	87 (21–25)
J.Koreja	1,6 (11–20)	3,1 (11–20)	0,7 (11–20)	185 (2–10)
Ukrajina	1,6 (11–20)	2,9 (11–20)	2,3 (2–10)	483 (1)
Mehika	1,5 (11–20)	1,4 (31–36)	1,0 (21–27)	125 (11–20)
Francija	1,5 (11–20)	2,3 (21–30)	3,0 (2–10)	72 (21–25)
Indonezija	1,5 (11–20)	0,7 (31–36)	0,4 (21–27)	127 (11–20)
Avstralija	1,4 (11–20)	6,8 (2–10)	1,1 (11–20)	193 (2–10)
Iran	1,3 (11–20)	1,9 (31–36)	0,6 (21–27)	223 (2–10)
JAR	1,2 (11–20)	2,6 (21–30)	1,2 (11–20)	200 (2–10)
Španija	1,1 (11–20)	2,6 (21–30)	0,9 (11–20)	104 (11–20)
Poljska	1,1 (21–25)	2,7 (21–30)		230 (2–10)
Turčija	1,1 (21–25)	1,5 (21–30)	0,4 (21–27)	149 (11–20)
S.Arabija	1,0 (21–25)	4,3 (11–20)	0,4 (21–27)	260 (2–10)
Argentina	0,9 (21–25)	2,1 (21–30)	0,5 (21–27)	86 (21–25)
Pakistan	0,8 (21–25)	0,6 (31–36)	0,2 (21–27)	112 (11–20)
Katar		18,5 (1)		
Z.A.Emirati		10,1 (2–10)		
Kuvajt		9,5 (2–10)		
Bahrain		7,0 (2–10)		
N.Zelandija		5,8 (2–10)		
Brunej		5,8 (2–10)		
Luxemburg		5,7 (2–10)		
Belgija		4,0 (11–20)	1,0 (11–20)	
Češka		3,8 (11–20)	0,9 (11–20)	
Nizozemska		3,7 (11–20)	0,8 (11–20)	
Finska		3,6 (11–20)		

* CO2 in drugi toplogredni plini;

**zgoj CO2;

***za 25 držav EU so rezultati prikazani skupaj in posamično;

****V oklepaju pri posamezni vrednosti emisij je izpisan rang posamezne države. Države so uvrščene v pet različnih razredov (1. mesto; 2–10 mesto; 11–20 mesto, 21–30 mesto; 31–36 mesto).

Iz Tabele 2.1 je razvidno, da relativno majhno število držav prispeva največjo količino emisij toplogrednih plinov:

- Te države so najštevilčnejše in/ali najbogatejše države sveta (ZDA; Kitajska, države EU, Rusija, Indija) in z nafto bogate, sicer majhne arabske države.
- Države, v katerih absolutne aktualne količine emisij toplogrednih plinov največje, so jih tudi v obdobju od leta 1850 do 2000, prispevale največ.
- Emisije na prebivalca so najvišje v arabskih državah, kjer so absolutne količine emisij sicer majhne. Visok rang je posledica razcveta naftne industrije in velike porabe.
- Količina emisij v odnosu do BDP⁸ države varira med državami in odraža različno ekonomsko strukturo, izrabo energije in goriva.

Glede na posamezni sektor je delež emisij različnih toplogrednih plinov po podatkih iz leta 2004 (IPCC 2007c) naslednji:

- oskrba z energijo doprinese 25,9%;
- industrija 19,4%;
- gozdarstvo 17,4%;
- kmetijstvo 13,5%;
- transport 13,1%;
- poslovni objekti in gospodinjstva 7,9%
- in odpadki 2,8% vseh emisij toplogrednih plinov.

IPCC (2007c) dodatno ugotavlja, da kljub nenehnim tehnološkim inovacijam za doseganje višjega energijskega izkoristka in vse bolj razširjeni uporabi obnovljivih virov energije, emisije toplogrednih plinov še vedno naraščajo. Med letoma 1970 do 2004, torej v treh desetletjih in pol, so se izpusti toplogrednih plinov zvišali za 70%. Trend naraščanja je posledica gospodarske rasti – zviševanja BDP in pospešene rasti svetovnega prebivalstva.

IPCC (2007c) napoveduje, da se bodo do leta 2030 emisije še povečevale, in sicer bodo v primerjavi z letom 2000 višje med 40 in 110%. Opozarja, da se bo tovrsten porast zgodil tudi v primeru, če bi, oziroma, če bodo države podpisnice v celoti izpolnile vse zahteve Kjotskega protokola.

⁸ angl. »carbon intensity«

Klimatologi torej ugotavljajo, da dosedanje tehnološke rešitve in politična prizadevanja pri spoprijemanju s problematiko podnebnih sprememb niso dovolj učinkovita. Človeštvo še vedno ne naredi dovolj, da bi skušalo preprečiti ali vsaj zmanjšati škodljive posledice podnebnih sprememb, ki jih že doživljamo.

2.2.2 Posledice podnebnih sprememb

V dvanajstletnemu obdobju, med letoma 1995 in 2006, je bilo kar enajst let najtoplejših v celotnem obdobju sistematičnega merjenja temperature na Zemlji⁹. Podatki opazovanj kontinentov in večine oceanov kažejo, da številni naravni sistemi že čutijo posledice regionalnih podnebnih sprememb in dvigov temperature. Obstaja verjetnost¹⁰, da antropogeno segrevanje vpliva na številne fizične in biološke sisteme.

Scenariji posledic podnebnih sprememb

Posledice podnebnih sprememb se kažejo že danes, verjetno pa je, da se bodo v prihodnosti še stopnjevale. IPCC poročilo (2007c) povzema obstoječa spoznanja in podaja scenarije za prihodnje spremembe na različnih, za kakovost življenja ljudi ključnih področjih, kot so:

1. razpoložljivost in oskrba s pitno vodo;
2. dinamika ekosistemov;
3. kmetijstvo;
4. obalna in nizkoležeča področja;
5. industrija, naselja in družba;
6. zdravje.

Posledice opredeli tudi glede na posamezno geografsko regijo. Tabela 2.2 predstavlja ključne scenarije posledic podnebnih sprememb.

⁹ od leta 1850 naprej (IPCC 2007a)

¹⁰ stopnja verjetnosti med 66–90% (IPCC 2007c)

Tabela 2.2: Scenariji posledic podnebnih sprememb za ključna področja vzdrževanja kakovosti življenja (prirejeno po IPCC 2007a, 4–52).

PODROČJE	NAPOVED PRIHODNIH SPREMEMB
Razpoložljivost in oskrba s pitno vodo	<p>Do sredine stoletja se bo razpoložljivost sveže vode:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – povečala v visokoležečih predelih in tropih za 10–40%; – zmanjšala na nižje ležečih področjih in v sušnih predelih za 10–30%. <p>Sušna območja se bodo verjetno povečevala.</p> <p>Zmanjševale se bodo zaloge vode iz ledenikov in snega, kar bo prizadelo 1/6 svetovnega prebivalstva, živečega pod velikimi gorskimi verigami.</p>
Dinamika ekosistemov	<p>Če v povprečju globalne temperature presežejo 1,5–2,5°C, bo med 20–30% vseh rastlinskih in živalskih vrst visoko ogroženih, da izumrejo.</p> <p>V primeru dviga temperature nad 2,5°C v kombinaciji z zvišanimi koncentraciji CO₂ v atmosferi bo verjetno prišlo do:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – velikih sprememb v strukturi in funkciji ekosistemov; – medsebojne interakcije vrst in menjave področij bivanja; <p>kar bo povzročilo večinoma negativne posledice za bioraznovrstnost.</p>
Kmetijstvo	<p>Globalno se bodo v povprečju pridelki povečevali, če se bo povprečna temperatura zvišala med 1–3°C. Zvišanje temperature nad 3°C bo povzročilo zmanjšanje pridelkov.</p> <p>V nižjih, sezonsko sušnih predelih in tropih se bodo pridelki zmanjševali že ob povišanju temperature med 1–2°C. S tem se bo zvišalo tveganje za lakoto.</p>
Obalna in nizkoležeča področja	<p>Obalna področja bodo ogrožale erozije in dvig morske gladine.</p> <p>V primeru 1–3°C zvišanja temperature bo visoka nevarnost, da pride do hude prizadetosti koralnih grebenov.</p> <p>Milijoni ljudi bodo vsako leto žrtve poplav in dvigajoče se morske gladine. Največ prizadetih bo ob mega deltah Azije in Afrikei, še posebej ranljivi pa bodo majhni otoki.</p>
Industrija, naselja in družba	<p>V povprečju bodo posledice podnebnih sprememb negativne, čeprav bodo vplivi zelo varirali glede na lokacijo in intenziteto sprememb.</p> <p>Najbolj ranljiva bo industrija, naselja in družbe:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – v obalnih ali rečnih predelih; – ki so močno odvisne od podnebnih resursov; – ki so na področjih ekstremnih vremenskih pojavov, še posebej v kombinaciji s hitro urbanizacijo. <p>Zaradi omejenih prilagoditvenih zmožnosti bodo najbolj prizadete revne skupnosti, zlasti tiste, ki bivajo na območjih z visoko stopnjo tveganja.</p> <p>Kjer bodo ekstremni vremenski dogodki bolj pogosti in/ali intenzivni, se bodo zvišali gospodarski in socialni stroški.</p>
Zdravje	<p>Posledice globalnega dviga povprečne temperature bodo imele več negativnih kot pozitivnih učinkov. Prizadele bodo milijone ljudi, predvsem tiste z najmanjšimi možnostmi prilagoditve, ki bodo trpeli zaradi:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – podhranjenosti; – smrti, bolezni in poškodb kot posledic vročinskih valov, neviht, požarov in suš; – diareje; – kardio-respiratornimi boleznimi kot posledico višjih koncentracij ozona v ozračju; – spremenjene prostorske razpršenosti nekaterih vektorjev nalezljivih bolezni.

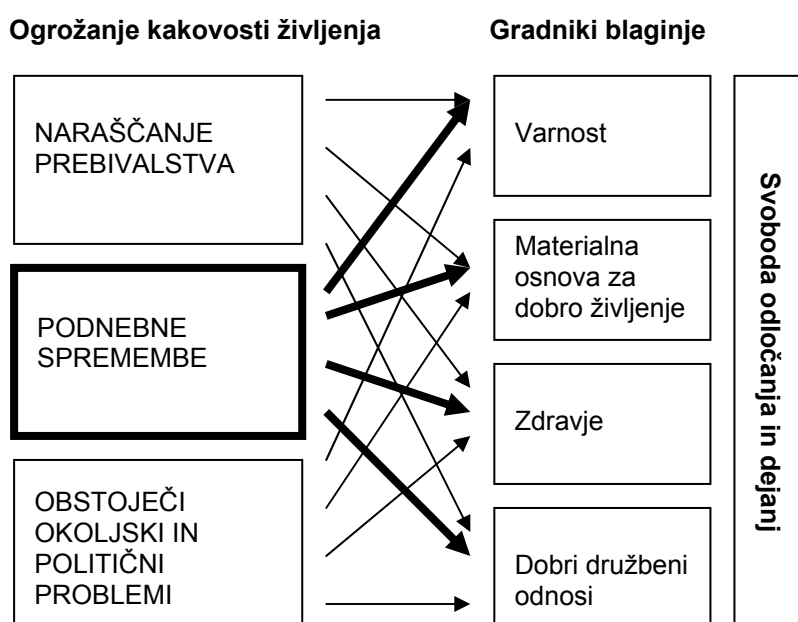
Tabela 2.2 kaže, da raznolikost in intenziteto prevladujočih negativnih posledic določa višina dviga povprečne globalne temperature in geografska lokacija ter prilagoditvene sposobnosti živalskih, rastlinskih vrst in človeka.

Čeprav bo do sredine stoletja za pomanjkanjem vode trpela kar šestina svetovnega prebivalstva, se bo v višjih legah in tropih količina padavin celo povečevala. V primeru, da povprečna temperatura preseže 2,5°C, bo prišlo do radikalnih sprememb v dinamiki ekosistemov, zvišanje temperature nad 3°C bo povzročilo zmanjševanje kmetijskih pridelkov, ki bodo sicer v primeru nižjega dviga celo narasli. Milijoni ljudi, predvsem v Aziji in Afriki ter na majhnih otokih, bodo vsako leto žrtev poplav dvigajoče se morske gladine. Nasploh bodo zaradi omejenih prilagoditvenih zmožnosti najbolj prizadete revne skupnosti, še posebej tiste, ki živijo na visoko tveganih območjih. Milijoni bodo utrpeli posledice podhranjenosti, vročinskih valov, neviht, požarov, suš, višjih koncentracij ozona v ozračju itd.

Ogroženost kakovosti življenja

Kajfež–Bogatajeva (2005) opozarja, da je blaginja ljudi na mnogo načinov povezana z vremenom in podnebjem. Napoveduje, da bodo podnebne spremembe prizadele štiri gradnike blaginje: varnost in zdravje ljudi, gmotno osnovo za dobro življenje in kakovost družbenih odnosov.

Slika 2.2: Ogrožanje kakovosti življenja in gradniki blaginje (vir: Kajfež–Bogataj 2005, 3)



Kajfež–Bogatajeva (2005) za vsakega izmed gradnikov blaginje pojasni, kako bodo podnebne spremembe nanj vplivale:

- Z vidika varnosti bosta ogroženi tako osebna kot nacionalna varnost. Posamezniki bodo imeli omejen dostop do različnih gmotnih, energetskih in informacijskih virov. Trpeli bodo za vremensko pogojenimi naravnimi nesrečami. Podnebne spremembe bodo sprožile večja preseljevanja ljudi z bolj prizadetih geografskih območij in na ta način bo prihajalo do političnih napetosti med državami, terorizma ali celo vojn.
- Ekstremne vremenske razmere bodo prispevale k ogroženosti materialnega bogastva, saj se bodo zmanjšale možnosti za pridobivanje sredstev nujnih za preživetje kot so npr. zadostna količina kakovostne hrane, materiali za gradnjo prebivališč in dostop do energije. Ogrožen bo gospodarski razvoj, tržne poti, stopnja zaposlenosti, zavarovalniška politika, turistični tokovi in ostali gmotni vidiki blagostanja naše družbe.
- Zdravje ljudi in njihovo dobro počutje bodo ogrozile spremenjene toplotne razmere in padavinski režim ter intenziteta in pogostost ekstremnih vremenskih dogodkov. Zaradi tanjšanja ozonskega plašča bo posredno naraščala jakost UV–sevanja, s čimer se bo spreminjala kakovost zraka. Podnebne spremembe bodo spremenile razvoj in širjenje prenašalcev bolezni, kot so komarji, podgane in klopi.
- Podnebne spremembe bodo regije neenakomerno prizadele. Družba bo zato v prihodnosti še bolj razdeljena in neenaka kot danes. Čeprav so najrevnejše države sveta tiste, ki zaradi omejenega dostopa do globalnih virov in potrošnih dobrin, manj obremenjujejo okolje, so prav te države zaradi omejenih sredstev tudi najbolj ranljive, saj si za razliko od bogatih držav adaptacije ne morejo privoščiti.

Kajfež–Bogatajeva (2005) opazarja, da je za reševanje problematike klimatskih sprememb potrebno dvosmerno delovanje. Potrebno je začeti izvajati (papirnate) strategije blaženja velikosti podnebnih sprememb, hkrati pa je nujno snovanje načrtov, kako se prilagoditi na nekatere že neizogibne posledice podnebnih sprememb.

2.2.3 So podnebne spremembe globalni problem?

Glede na kriterije Hofkirchnerja (1995) in Asbotha (1984), ki so omenjeni v poglavju 2.1.1, so podnebne spremembe globalen problem. Zadevajo človeštvo kot celoto, hkrati pa zahtevajo kolektivno mobilizacijo za iskanje in izvajanje rešitev. Za podnebne spremembe so značilne dolgotrajnost, vztrajnost, prodornost, škodljivost in razsežnost njihovega delovanja. Njihov vpliv že občutijo oziroma bodo v prihodnosti še bolj pogosteje in intenzivneje občutili številni zemljani.

Sama resnost problematike podnebnih sprememb pa še ne zagotavlja uspešnega reševanja. Henson (2006) in Gore (2007) opozarjata na problem vplivnih lobističnih skupin, kot je bil v preteklosti močni naftni lobij Global Climate Coalition, in še danes delujoča skupina Competitive Enterprise Institution, ki zaradi trenutnih poslovnih interesov ne priznavajo, da so podnebne spremembe posledica človeške aktivnosti. Te skupine, s podporo določenih medijev javnost prepričujejo, da med znanstveniki še vedno ni konsenza, kaj pravzaprav je vzrok podnebnih sprememb.

In čeprav najvplivnejši politiki kot npr. George W. Bush (2001) izražajo zaskrbljenost zaradi podnebnih sprememb: *»Problematika podnebnih sprememb ne pozna meja. Njenih učinkov ne more ustaviti nobena vojska in upočasniti nobena ideologija. Posledice podnebnih sprememb lahko prizadanejo ves svet. Zato je to tema, ki jo mora obravnavati cel svet¹¹«*, so rešitve, ki jih predlagajo, pogosto premalo učinkovite.

Tako si je Busheva administracija (Henson 2006) prizadevala, da bi namesto Kjotskega protokola, ki narekuje državam absolutno zmanjšanje emisij toplogrednih plinov, za merjenje napredka pri nižanju obremenitve uporabili kar karbonsko intenzivnost. Predlagali so, da ZDA do leta 2012 zmanjša stopnjo karbonske intenzivnosti za 18%. Ta ideja je naletela na oster odpor okoljevarstvenikov, saj so ZDA stopnjo karbonske intenzivnosti brez posebnih naporov od leta 1990 do 2000 tako ali tako znižale za 17,4%, kar pa ni spremenilo dejstva, da so izpusti emisij še vedno v porastu, učinki na fizični svet pa vse hujši, saj je molekula CO₂ vendarle enako škodljiva, ne glede na primerjalni kontekst (Henson 2006).

¹¹ *»The issue of climate change respects no border. Its effects cannot be reined in by an army nor advanced by any ideology. Climate change, with its potential to impact every corner of the world, is an issue that must be addressed by the world.«*

Prav zato Kajfež–Bogatajeva (2005) kot ena izmed redkih strokovnjakov, ki o moči kapitalskih interesov razmišlja na glas, opozarja, da za zdaj žal proces globalizacije in tržne ekonomije povsem prevladuje v miselnosti gospodarstvenikov in politikov, kar onemogoča uspešno spoprijemanje z največjim okoljskim, političnim in tudi etičnim izzivom našega časa.

Ob predpostavki, da je vse znanje o svetu družbeno konstruirano, in ob upoštevanju raziskav, ki nakazujejo, da večinoma vlogo primarnih opredeljevalcev okoljskih problemov v medijih prevzemajo politiki in drugi mnenjski vodje namesto strokovnjakov, je povsem logično, da se spodbuja in razpravlja predvsem o rešitvah podnebnih sprememb, ki hkrati ne ogrožajo nadaljnjega gospodarskega razcveta. In vendar ob grozljivih scenarijih podnebnih sprememb, ki jih bomo po mnenju klimatologov najverjetneje izkusili tudi sami, in ne zgolj generacije, ki prihajajo, ter ob sočasnih nezadostno učinkovitih ukrepih, ki se že izvajajo, se je potrebno vprašati o smiselnosti in upravičenosti materialne »osnove« življenjskega sloga prebivalcev premožnejših gospodarstev sveta. Torej o škodljivosti prekomerne potrošnje in njenem vplivu na problem podnebnih sprememb.

3.0 REŠEVANJE PROBLEMATIKE PODNEBNIH SPREMOMB

Toynbee (1961), zgovinar, ki je raziskoval vzpone in padce civilizacij, je trdil, da je vzrok propada civilizacij samomor in ne umor. Takrat ko se civilizacija ustrezno odzove na izziv, preživi, kadar pa je njen odziv neustrezen, pride do njenega zatona. Številni mednarodni okoljski sporazumi¹² dokazujejo, da na začetku novega tisočletja prevladuje splošno družbeno soglasje, da je ključni izziv današnje generacije iskanje rešitev za nastale okoljske probleme. To pa ne izključuje različnih videnj in interesov, ki namesto zmanjševanja, okoljsko degradacijo še povečujejo.

3.1 Neustreznost prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti

»Če rast BDP doseže ali celo preseže pričakovanja, se vlada lahko postavlja s svojimi dosežki. Če se pričakovanja o rasti ne izpolnijo, opozicijske stranke nemudoma napadejo vlado zaradi nesposobnosti,« (2007, 13) ugotavlja Hamilton, ki v knjigi »Fetiš rasti« spregovori o slabostih ocenjevanja napredka države glede na dohodek po osebi, ki se povečuje z gospodarsko rastjo. Je eden izmed redkih teoretikov (kot npr. Boulding 1966; Schumacher 1973; Meadows in drugi 1974; Shrivastava 1994; Stead in Stead 1994; DesJardins 1998; Kallio 2007), ki so si drznili spraševati o upravičenosti koncepta ekonomske rasti, ki jo Kilbourne (2004) označi kot prevladujočo družbeno paradigmo zahodnih industrijskih družb. Opozarjajo, da je prav ekonomska rast osnovni razlog okoljske degradacije in izvor socialne neenakosti.

3.1.1 Usoda sveta v rokah ekonomistov

Solow je leta 1987 prejel Nobelovo nagrado za ekonomijo za svoj prispevek k teoriji ekonomske rasti (Nobelprize.org). Njegov model, imenovan tudi Solow–Swanov model služi za razumevanje procesa rasti v razvitih gospodarstvih (Samuelson in Nordhaus 2002). Bistvo modela je, da rast razlaga z upoštevanjem kapitalskega in delovnega vložka ter tehnoloških procesov (Solow 1956).

¹² Kjotski protokol, Baselska konvencija, Konvencija o biološki raznovrstnosti, Konvencija o spremembi podnebja, Konvencija o boju proti dezertifikaciji UNCCD, Washingtonska konvencija CITES, Bernska konvencija, Alpska konvencija, Barcelonska konvencija, Donavska konvencija, Aarhuška konvencija, Bonska konvencija (v MOP 2004).

Dobrih dvajset let po podelitvi nagrade, je vodilna svetovna antipotrošniška organizacija Adbusters Media Foundation (2008) pozvala k odvzemu nagrade Solowu s pojasnilom, da je njegov model rasti preveč poenostavljen, saj ne upošteva razpoložljivosti zalog naravnih virov za zadovoljevanje naraščajočih potreb svetovnih gospodarstev.

Tovrstne tehtne kritike ne prihajajo samo iz vrst aktivistov, ampak so bili do koncepta ekonomske rasti že od samega začetka kritični tudi ekonomisti. Eden izmed prvih ekonomistov, ki je že v drugi polovici devetnajstega stoletja promoviral stacionarno stanje in svaril pred nevarnostjo rasti, ker ni nujno, da ta prinaša dejanski napredek družbe, je bil politični ekonomist Mill¹³ (2005). Pozneje so očitki postali še pogostejši, a Hamilton (2007) opozarja, da so v začetku sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja dvomljivci, ki so se spraševal o ceni gospodarske rasti, le s težavo našli založnika. Eden izmed njih je bil Georgescu-Roegen (1977), ki je uvedel izraz bioekonomija, s katerim je skušal opozoriti na dejstvo, da vsi ekonomski procesi temeljijo na biološki osnovi in da je obstoj človeštva neločljivo vezan na razpoložljive vire, ki so neenakomerno razporejeni in nepravilno prilaščeni.

Tudi Daly (1991), zagovornik uravnotežene gospodarske blaginje¹⁴, je opozarjal na davek ekonomske rasti na okolje ob sočasnem majhnem učinku na posameznika. Na trditve neoklasičnih ekonomistov kot npr. Neila Jacobya in Henry Wallicha, da gospodarske rasti ne smemo omejevati, saj bo prav gospodarska rast omogočila boljše spoprijemanje z okoljskimi problemi, odgovarja: *»Nihče ne more zanikati, da bi bili naši gospodarski problemi lažje rešljivi, če bi bili še bogatejši. Vprašanje pa je, ali bomo bogatejši zaradi nadaljnje rasti BDP. Lahko postanemo tudi siromašnejši. Kako lahko trdimo nasprotno, če se ne ukvarjamo z merjenjem stroškov, in pri tem številnih stroškov sploh ne upoštevamo¹⁵...«* (Daly 1991, 186).

Kritiki koncepta gospodarske rasti vse do danes kljub prepričljivim argumentom, ki izpostavljajo problem končnosti zalog naravnih virov in posledično upad kakovosti življenja, najverjetneje zaradi omejene profitnosti svojih pogledov ne dobijo zadostne pozornosti medijev in institucij ter posledično javnosti. Kot ugotavlja Jackson (2005), tudi v začetku novega tisočletja večina ekonomistov potrošnjo še vedno vidi kot

¹³ prvič je bila knjiga »Principles of Political Economy, with Some of their Applications for Social Philosophy« objavljena l. 1848.

¹⁴ angl. »steady state economics«

¹⁵ *»No one can deny that if we were truly richer, our economic problems would be more easily solved. The question is whether further growth in GNP will in fact make us richer. It may well make us poorer. How do we know that it will not, since we do not bother to measure the costs and even count many real costs ...«*

ključen element zagotavljanja dobrega počutja navkljub opozorilom organizacij, kot je npr. The Worldwatch Institute (2003). Ta trdi, da prav materialna potrošnja predstavlja največjo grožnjo kakovosti življenja.

3.1.2 Problemi tolmačenja trajnostnega razvoja

Koncept trajnostnega razvoja je v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja nastal kot odgovor na omejitve oziroma pomanjkljivosti teorije rasti (Pearce in Warford 1993) z namenom novega pojasnjevanja odnosa med razvojem in okoljem (Banerjee 2003). Že desetletje kasneje, v devetdesetih, je bilo različnih opredelitev trajnostnega razvoja preko sto (Holmberg in Sandbrook 1992).

Ena najbolj poznanih je opredelitev Bruntlandove komisije: *»Trajnostni razvoj je zadovoljevanje potreb sedanje generacije, ne da bi pri tem ogrozili sposobnost prihodnjih generacij za zadovoljevanje njihovih potreb«* (WCED 1987: 14 v Kos 2004). Kot ugotavlja Kos (2004), ta opredelitev s poudarjanjem medgeneracijske pravičnosti promovira načrtovanje lokalnega in globalnega razvoja na način, ki bo med seboj uravnotežil tri ključne komponente: varovanje okolja, gospodarsko rast in družbeno enakost.

V zanko prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti je torej ujeta tudi najpogosteje uporabljena opredelitev trajnostnega razvoja, saj kljub okoljevarstveni preobleki še vedno zastopa kapitalske interese. Ta opredelitev namreč ni izšla iz okoljevarstvenih gibanj, ampak je, prav nasprotno, nastala kot odgovor na radikalne okoljevarstvene zahteve o omejevanju rasti (Pearce in Warford 1993; Portney 1992). Zato Castro (2004) opozarja, da je Bruntlandova definicija problematična, ker je zgolj politični kompromis med rastjo in okoljsko trajnostjo, ki je za k rasti usmerjene članice Združenih narodov še sprejemljiv. Zato, kljub dveh desetletjim populariziranja termina trajnostnega razvoja, rezultati niso vidni. Če bi v začetku novega tisočletja ves svet živel standard ZDA, bi za zadovoljitev potreb potrebovali šest in ne samo ene Zemlje (WWF 2004). Zadnje poročilo WWF (2006) kaže, da so potrebe prebivalcev¹⁶ držav v razvoju, kot so npr. Indija in Kitajska, ter nekaterih Severno Afriških držav že za več kot 50% večje, kot so naravna bogastva oziroma biokapacitnene zmožnosti teh držav.

¹⁶ t. i. okoljski odtis

Ravno nezadostna opredelitev, kaj potrebe so, in, ali trajnostna usmeritev zahteva tudi odrekanje določenim ugodnostim življenjskega stila najboljše preskrbljenih prebivalcev sveta, je ena izmed ključnih pomanjkljivosti te definicije (Schaefer in Crane 2005). Hkrati nejasna opredeljenost časovnega intervala dopušča različne interpretacije, koliko časa sodobni svet še lahko vzdržuje svojo potratno, netrajnostno rabo virov (Kos 2004).

Ker opredelitev tajnostnega razvoja eksplicitno ne izpostavlja vprašanja ekonomske rasti, jo podjetja tolmačijo predvsem v smeri učinkovitosti namesto zadostnosti¹⁷ (Milne in drugi 2006). Okoljevarstveniki jo zato kritizirajo kot ne dovolj preiščeno, saj je moč odločanja, razporejanja in uporabe resursov še vedno koncentrirana predvsem na strani korporacij (DesJardins 1998). To potrjuje tudi praksa.

3.1.2 Nezadostna učinkovitost družbene odgovornosti podjetij

Skladno s prevladujočo družbeno paradigmo o ekonomski rasti se tudi dosedanje raziskave trajnostne potrošnje usmerjene na drugačno in ne na hkrati drugačno in zmanjšano potrošnjo.

Še nedavno je bila med ekonomisti priljubljena Friedmanova teza (1962), da je osnovni in edini cilj podjetja maksimiziranje profita za delničarje, čeprav so že nekateri Friedmanovi sodobniki odgovornost podjetja videli širše (Bowen 1953; Davis 1960; Frederick 1960; McGuire 1963; Walton 1967). Danes številne, bolj ali manj kompleksne in podobne si definicije¹⁸ družbene odgovornosti podjetij (DOP) (Johnson 1971; Manne in Wallich 1972; Davis 1973; Eilbert in Parket 1973; Backman 1975; Fitch 1976; Jones 1980; Epstein 1987; Carroll 1991) dokazujejo, da je DOP zaživel tudi v praksi.

Kljub temu premika podjetij od izključno dobičkonosne usmerjenosti k širšemu, družbeno odgovornem ravnanju, ne moremo opredeliti kot bodisi altruistično bodisi zgolj zunanje motivirano – kot posledico pritiska potrošnikov, zaposlenih, vladnih in nevladnih organizacij ter širše skupnosti na podjetja, da ta delujejo bolj trajnostno. Varadarjan in Menon (1988) sicer začetke DOP vidita kot prostovoljni odziv na družbene probleme, a poudarjata, da se je pozneje uveljavilo načelo »*doing better by*

¹⁷ angl. »*efficiency rather than sufficiency*«

¹⁸ Nekatere izmed definicij se omejujejo na DOP le do svojih deležnikov, širše opredelitve pa poudarjajo pomen odgovornosti podjetja do širšega naravnega in družbenega okolja. Evropska komisija (2006) razume DOP kot: »... *koncept, po katerem podjetja v svoje poslovno delovanje in svoje odnose z zainteresiranimi udeleženci prostovoljno vključujejo družbeno in okoljsko skrb*«.

doing good«. Bistvena vrednost DOP-a je namreč prav v možnosti izgradnje konkurenčne prednosti¹⁹.

Primer marketinga z razlogom kot enega izmed kompleksnejših orodij DOP-a kaže, da lahko podjetje deluje družbeno odgovorno tako, da prispeva določen znesek v dobrodelne namene, če se potrošnik vključi v prihodkovno izmenjavo, ki sočasno zadovolji njegove in organizacijske cilje (Vardarajan in Menon 1988). Na ta način se združita dva, na prvi pogled povsem nezdržljiva motiva dobiček in okoljska oziroma družbena skrb.

Kljub temu so že od samega začetka kritiki opozarjali, da čeprav bo marketing z razlogom postal uveljavljeno trženjsko orodje, velikih rešitev ne bo prinesel, saj koristi predvsem podjetjem²⁰ (Vardarajan in Menon 1988; Gurin 1987). Zato sta Husted in Allen (2000) preimenovala DOP v družbeno strategijo podjetja in dvomila o etičnosti uporabe etike kot strateškega orodja.

Kallio (2007) je opozoril na zgolj navidezen odmik od Friedmanove teze, saj se DOP večinoma prakticira le površinsko. To je logična posledica svobode tolmačenja, kaj družbena odgovornost podjetij pravzaprav pomeni. S Klinetom (2007) namreč ugotavljaja, da so podjetja največkrat le praktično družbeno odgovorna. To pomeni, da podjetja, namesto da bi v izhodišču neproblematično delovala, in bila tako resnično odgovorna, ter s tem v skladu svoje vedenje, ki presega zgolj zahtevano spoštovanje zakonov, tudi ustrezno komunicirala, večinoma rešujejo družbene in okoljske probleme, ki z njihovim delovanjem niso neposredno povezana. Tovrstne probleme pa je seveda večinoma lažje (in ceneje) reševati kot probleme, za katere so neposredno odgovorna.

Tudi pri razvoju in trženju zelenih izdelkov je v ospredju večinoma le želja po ustvarjanju dobička. Podjetja spodbujajo okolju prijazno potrošnjo predvsem na nišnih področjih, kjer vidijo priložnost za rast (Schaefer in Crane 2005) kot npr.:

- razumevanje vedenja ter segmentacija zelenih in etičnih potrošnikov z namenom učinkovitega targetiranja kupcev etičnih oziroma zelenih izdelkov (Davies in drugi 1995; Roberts 1996; Straughan in Roberts 1999; Laroche in

¹⁹ To priložnost promovira tudi koncept celostnega marketinga: »... proces vzpostavitve marketinškega odnosa podjetja z njegovim okoljem, relevantnimi deležniki in družbenim ter naravnim okoljem« (Jančič 1996: 195).

²⁰ Zviševanje prepoznavnosti, izboljševanje podobe podjetja, zviševanje prodaje in promocija ponovljenih nakupov, grajenje zavedanja in prepoznavne tržne znamke, širjenje baze potrošnikov, doseganje novih tržnih segmentov.

drugi 2001; Fotopoulos in Krystallis 2001; Diamantopoulos in drugi 2003; Al-Khatib in drugi 2005);

- odkrivanje razlogov neskladja med izraženo skrbjo do okoljskih in družbenih problemov ter dejanskimi netrajnostnimi nakupi potrošnikov s ciljem širjenja trga zelenih oziroma etičnih izdelkov (Cook in Berrenberg 1981; Makower 2000; Doane 2002; Co-operative Bank 2003; Auger in Devinney 2005).

Podjetja tudi pogosto tržijo izdelke kot okolju prijazne, brez da bi okoljsko skrb zares integrirale v korporativno kulturo (Mendleson in Polonsky 1995; Crane 2000; Peattie in Crane 2005).

Kot kažejo angleške in ameriške raziskave, kljub trem desetletjem prakticiranja DOP in zelenega marketinga, cinizem in nezaupanje potrošnikov do podjetij naraščata (Kangun in drugi 1991; Carlson in drugi 1993; Cude 1993; Dawkins 2003). To je logična posledica okoljskih in družbenih problemov, ki ostajajo, saj se problemi večinoma rešujejo simptomatsko, vzrokov pa se ne odpravljajo. Tovrsten posredni pristop seveda ne zadostuje. Podjetja so povzročitelji tako številnih okoljskih kakor tudi družbenih problemov. Zato se njihova odgovornost začne že veliko prej.

Skupna omejitev predstavljenih raziskav in raziskav trajnostne potrošnje nasploh je enostranskost in ozkost odkritij, ki predvsem pomagajo praktikom marketinga, ne nudijo pa neposredne pomoči potrošnikom (Holbrook 1995). Raziskovanje potrošnje iz neprofitne perspektive, ki namesto dobička podjetja v ospredje postavlja dobro počutje posameznika, družbe in okolja, pa je redko, in do danes ostaja predvsem na ravni teoretičnega diskurza – opozoril, da so radikalne spremembe potrošnje nujne, rešitve pa zaenkrat še neoprijemljive in oddaljene.

3.2 Odgovorni potrošniki kot gibalno spremembe

Politiki in gospodarstveniki še vedno trdijo, da sta ekonomska rast in z njo potrošnja koristni (Kallio 2007; Taylor 2005; Bryner 2000). Nasprotujejo jim celo industrijski ekologi, ti se sicer osredotočajo na proizvodnjo in izdelke, ki so leta 2003 na konferenci mednarodnega združenja IE prišli do spoznanja, da je tehnološki napredek nezadosten, saj če želimo porabo in onesneževanje vsaj stabilizirati, je nujno tudi uravnavanje potrošnje, saj je njeno breme za okolje že danes preveliko (Hertwich 2005; Taylor 2005).

Vendar prepričevanje potrošnikov, da sprejmejo trajnostne vzorce potrošnje, predstavlja izziv, še posebno, če ljudje verjamejo, da bo zaradi tega ogrožena njihova sreča (Brown in Kasser 2005). Po Ehrlichovi enačbi (Ekins 1994) so ekološke posledice človeškega vedenja funkcija populacije, potrošnje in tehnologije. Če želimo trajnostno delovati, morajo biti vse tri spremenljivke sočasno uravnavane.

3.2.1 Potrošnja in zadovoljstvo

Pa si z denarjem lahko kupimo srečo? Ali so ljudje v bogatejših državah bolj srečni kot tisti v revnejših? Ali povečevanje dohodkov in potrošnje ljudi osrečuje? Kakšen pomen ima potrošnja za posameznika, in kakšna je njena vloga v družbi nasploh? Tovrstna vprašanja so predmet različnih znanstvenih raziskav, vendar Hamilton (2007) opozarja, da se znotraj političnega diskurza vprašanju, ali je gospodarska rast (in z njo potrošnja) ključnega pomena za povečevanje blaginje, namenja (pre)malo pozornosti.

Teoretični modeli potrošnje in zadovoljstva

Jackson (2005) izpostavi problem temeljnega medsebojnega nestrinjanja teorij potrošnje pri vprašanju, ali in na kakšen način povečevanje potrošnje vpliva na počutje posameznika. Loči pet glavnih modelov potrošnje²¹:

- ekonomski (racionalni) model – potrošnja kot sinonim dobrega počutja;
- iracionalni model – potrošnja kot neopazna oziroma nevidna aktivnost;
- evolucijski model – potrošnja kot evolucijska prilagoditev;
- model simbolne potrošnje – potrošnja kot način izražanja;
- ekohumanistični model – potrošnja kot socialna patologija.

²¹ Imena modelov so nekoliko prirejena glede na ustrezne izraze v slovenskem jeziku.

Ključne značilnosti modelov so predstavljene v nadaljevanju.

1. Ekonomski (racionalni) model – potrošnja kot sinonim dobrega počutja

Po tem klasičnem modelu je potrošnik racionalni odločevalec, ki skuša glede na individualne preference na trgu maksimizirati svoje zadovoljstvo. Človeške potrebe so pojmovane kot neskončne. Več, kot trošimo, boljše je naše počutje.

2. Iracionalni model – potrošnja kot neopazna / nevidna aktivnost

Izhodišče tega modela je, da je velik del vsakodnevne potrošnje povsem neviden potrošniku in njegovi okolici. Večino potrošnje tako ni usmerjene k razkazovanju, ampak gre za avtomatizirane navade, odzive na družbene norme in institucionalne pritiske. Potrošniki tako niso racionalni odločevalci, ampak so nezavedno zaklenjeni²² v netrajnostne vzorce potrošnje predvsem zaradi socialnih norm, ki presegajo kontrolo in izbiro posameznika.

3. Evolucijski model – potrošnja kot evolucijska prilagoditev

Poudarjanje pomembnosti družbenega in kulturnega konteksta pri oblikovanju in omejevanju posameznikovih odločitev. Ključna je moč pogojevanja evolucijskih sil, ki nas silijo, da nenehno težimo k zaželenemu predstavljanju sebe v odnosu do nasprotnega spola, in k razlikovanju od možnih tekmecev. Zato potrošnja, usmerjena k statusu, ni iracionalna ali patološka, ampak je izraz vedenjskih potez, ki so se v preteklosti pri zagotavljanju preživetja izkazale kot učinkovite.

4. Model simbolne potrošnje – potrošnja kot način izražanja

Izpostavljanje nadfunkcionalnega pomena potrošnje – potrošnja kot vitalni del medosebne komunikacije. Trošimo zato, da se identificiramo z določeno družbeno skupino, da se znotraj nje pozicioniramo, da diferenciramo sebe od določenih idej, ... Prek potrošnje torej komuniciramo osebne, družbene in kulturne pomene. Stvari niso pomembe le zaradi tega, kar »delajo«, ampak predvsem zaradi tega, kar predstavljajo.

5. Ekohumanistični model – potrošnja kot socialna patologija

Model izhaja iz predpostavke, da obstoječi vzorci potrošnje zaradi uničevanja okolja že ogrožajo kakovost življenja. Tako je obstoječa prekomerna netrajnostna potrošnja na dolgi rok neučinkovita pri zadovoljevanja naših potreb, saj namesto zvišanja zadovoljstva, zagotavlja njegov upad. Tako je

²² angl. »lock in«

potrošniška družba patološka družba. Zmanjševanje potrošnje bi nasprotno pomagalo okolju in posredno omogočilo zviševanje kakovosti življenja.

Napovedi, ali je uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje kot drugačne in zmanjšane potrošnje mogoče, brez da bi tako zniževali zadovoljstvo posameznikov, se glede na različne ideje teoretičnih modelov potrošnje med seboj razlikujejo. Medtem ko ekonomski in evolucionistični model potrošnje kot ključni element doseganja zadovoljitve in preživetja nasploh, drugi modeli dopuščajo možnost, da zmanjšana potrošnja nujno ne znižuje kakovosti življenja. Če je velik del potrošnje po iracionalnem modelu neviden in takorekoč brez posebnega pomena za posameznika, bi ob ozaveščenju teh navad tovrstno potrošnje lahko tudi zmanjšali, brez da bi s tem bistveno ogrozili posameznikovo zadovoljstvo.

Potrošnje je morda mogoče zmanjšati tudi v primeru simboličnega modela potrošnje, čeprav Jackson (2005) tovrstnega potenciala pri tem modelu ne vidi. Schaferjeva in Crane (2005) namreč opozarjata, da, če je ključna funkcija potrošnje komunikacija, lahko to funkcijo prevzame tudi nepotrošnja. Namesto da se posamezniki izražajo prek tistega, kar kupujejo, se lahko izražajo z odrekanjem nakupovanju. Tezo ekohumanističnega modela potrošnje preverjajo različne raziskave, predstavljene v nadaljevanju.

Empirične raziskave potrošnje in zadovoljstva

Veenhovenova (1991), ki je ena izmed ključnih raziskovalk sreče²³, srečo razlaga kot subjektivno življenjsko zadovoljstvo oziroma zadovoljstvo posameznika s kakovostjo življenja nasploh. Skupaj s Hagertyem (2003) je ob podrobnem pregledu in z upoštevanjem metodoloških pomanjkljivosti preteklih raziskav različnih avtorjev (Blanchflowerja, Oswalda, Clarka, Dienerja, Oishi, Easterlina, Hagertya, Ingleharta in Rabierja) dokazala, da ekonomska rast oziroma naraščajoče bogastvo narodov ne zvišuje srečnosti državljanov in da Easterlinova teza (1974), da ljudje prek socialnega primerjanja ocenjujejo zadovoljivost svojih dohodkov, ne velja.

Namesto teorije socialne primerjave, tako kot Diener in Biswas Diener (2002), tudi Veenhovenova samostojno (1991) in skupaj z Ouweneelom (1995) z uporabo Maslowe hierarhije potreb (1954), pojasnjuje ugotovitve, da je gospodarska rast v

²³ Pobudnica projekta »World Database of Happiness«, spletnega registra znanstvenih raziskav o sreči narodov pod okvirom Erasmus University Rotterdam (Dostopno prek: <http://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/> 16. avgust 2008).

razvitih državah v zadnjih desetletjih splošno raven dobrega počutja dvignila le za spoznanje. Dohodek tako zvišuje zadovoljstvo le toliko, kolikor omogoča izogibanje revščini (oz. omogoča preskrbljenost z osnovnimi življenjskimi potrebščinami). To tudi pojasnjuje raziskavo Worcesterja (1998), ki je ugotovil, da so kljub revščini ene izmed najbolj srečnih držav na svetu Bangladeš, Azerbajdžan in Nigerija.

Izsledki, da potrošnja dolgoročno ne prispeva k počutju posameznika, potrjujejo tudi druge raziskave (Csikszentmihalyi in Rochberg-Halton 1981; Argyle 1987; Kilbourne 1987; Cushman 1990). Obstaja torej možnost, da zmanjšana potrošnja ne pomeni nujno zniževanja kakovosti življenja. Kljub temu ne moremo povsem izključiti prepričanja, da se z denarjem ne da kupiti sreče. Ljudje, ki težijo k materialnim ciljem, so občutno manj srečni, če niso bogati (Diener in Biswas Diner 2002). Tudi srednje velik zadetek na loteriji ljudi zadovoljuje še dve leti po prejemu zneska (Gardner in Oswald 2007).

Vzpodbudni so tudi izsledki Veenhenove (2004: 1), ki trdi, da trajnostna potrošnja kot drugačna in zmanjšana potrošnja lahko prispeva k višji ravni življenjskega zadovoljstva: *»Prevzemanje trajnostne potrošnje sprva povzroči rahlo znižanje sreče, kasneje pa lahko z manj udobja kar srečno živimo.«*

3.2.2 Praksa nakupovalnih diet²⁴

Gibanje The Compact je bilo v začetku eksperiment skupine prijateljev iz San Francisca, ki so se dogovorili, da razen najosnovnejši življenjskih potrebščin 365 dni oz. celo leto 2006 ne bodo kupovali ničesar novega. Na ta način so se želeli zoperstaviti pohlepu²⁵ in negativnemu globalnemu okoljskemu ter družbeno-ekonomskemu vplivu ameriške potrošniške družbe²⁶ (The SF Compact blogspot.com). Kot osnovno orodje medsebojne komunikacije so uporabili blog in celoletno izkušnjo tudi zabeležili.

Perry, eden izmed ustanoviteljev gibanja The Compact, je v intervjuju za New York Times (2007) izjavil, da jih je velik odziv na njihovo prakso nakupovalnih diet presenetil: *»Za naših 17 minut slave smo hvaležni, vendar nismo pričakovali, da*

²⁴ Izraz nakupovalne diete uvajam kot primeren termin za opis spremenjene in zmanjšane, bolj trajnostne potrošnje. Podobno kot pri shujševalnih dietah, posamezniki pri nakupovalnih dietah regulirajo nakupno vedenje. Ne smejo kupovati določenih izdelkov, spet drugi izdelki pa so dovoljeni oziroma celo zaželeni.

²⁵ *»Tomorrow is the start of our 12-month flight from the consumer grid.«*

²⁶ *»... to go beyond recycling in trying to counteract the negative global environmental and socioeconomic impacts of U.S. consumer culture, to resist global corporatism.«*

bomo s tem dosegli širšo javnost. Naš namen ni bil pritegniti druge ljudi²⁷«. Kljub temu je gibanje, ki si je ime izposodilo od romarskega gibanja Mayflower Compact, ki je stremelo k dobrim delom, reševanju planeta in duhovni rasti, naglo preraslo v globalno gibanje (Booth 2006).

San Francisco Chronicle, »Today« show, Martha Stewart, BBC, Usa Today, ... so novico o The Compact iniciativi spremenili v trend: »Vse kaže, da so zadeli žebeljico na glavico. Morda Compactors dokazujejo, da ima mnogo ljudi podobne občutke in da jih trgovski centri nič več ne prepričajo²⁸« (Booth 2006). Njihova spletna skupnost na Yahoo Groups (BBC 2007) je v začetku leta 2007 štela že 8000 članov, poleg tega se je gibanje razširilo tudi v druge države in na druge celine: v Kanado, Azijo (Hong Kong), Avstralijo in Evropo (Velika Britanija in Islandija)²⁹. Ne nazadnje so prisotni tudi na vse bolj priljubljenem Facebooku³⁰.

Tabela 3.1: Pravila nakupovalnih diet gibanja The Compact (vir: The SF Compact blogspot.com)

Pravila:
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ne kupuj kakršnih koli novih izdelkov (v trgovinah, na spletnih straneh, ...). 2. Izposojaj si ali kupuj rabljeno. 3. Pri najemanju storitev (vodovodar, električar, avto mehanik, veterinarji, pasji ali hišni varuhi, gasilci, čistilci) podpiraj lokalna podjetja in skušaj uporabljati rabljene dele. 4. Sprostitutvene aktivnosti (npr. masaže) in ponudba lokalnih obrtnikov so dober vir daril, vendar pa se jih ne sme pretirano zlorabljati za lastno uporabo. 5. Še primernejši vir daril so dobrodelni prispevki neprofitnim organizacijam. 6. Če je mogoče, rastline in rezano cvetje vzgoji iz semen ali kupuj od lokalnih podjetij. 7. Kupovanje umetniških pripomočkov v nujnih primerih za profesionalce in talentirane amaterje v lokalnih podjetjih. 8. Nobenih novih naročanj na časopise in revije. Bolje spremljati na spletu. 9. Video izposoje in pretakanje glasbe je svobodno, če je legalno in prosto dostopno. 10. Zmanjševanje količine nepotrebnih stvari v domovih.
Izjeme (po načelu pravičnosti in in razumnosti)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hrana, pijača in nujna zdravila. 2. Nujna čistila, vendar ne oprema. 3. Nogavice in spodnje perilo (zgolj nujno). 4. Pižame za otroke.

²⁷ »We are grateful for our 17 minutes of fame, but we didn't intent to be broadcast. We didn't mean to attract followers.«

²⁸ »It appears they've pinched a nerve. Perhaps, the Compactors suggest, many people have the same feeling, that the mall just isn't working for them anymore.«

²⁹ <http://sfcompact.blogspot.com/>

³⁰ <http://www.new.facebook.com/home.php#/group.php?gid=2236449037&refurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.new.facebook.com%2Fs.php%3Fref%3Dsearch%26init%3Dq%26q%3Dthe%2Bcompact%26k%3D200000010%26sf%3Dt> (18. avgust 2008)

Pravila nakupovalnih diet gibanja The Compact (Tabela 3.1) temeljijo na:

1. poenostavljanju življenja;
2. prepovedi kupovanja novih;
3. spodbujanju kupovanja rabljenih izdelkov;
4. podpiranju lokalne potrošnje;
5. zmanjševanju količine navlake v domovih.

Zato gibanje The Compact mediji označujejo kot antipotrošniško gibanje, ki je milejša različica freeganizma, gibanja ki temelji zgolj na uporabi brezplačnih virov, torej izrabi zavrženih, in izmenjavi izdelkov (BBC 2007).

Nasploh za antipotrošniška gibanja velja, da so ključni razlogi za prevzemanje prakse nakupovalnih diet (Cohen in drugi 2005):

- **družbeni:** prekomerna potrošnja zaradi odvoda časa in denarja škodi posamezniku in širši družbi, saj ogroža psihično in fizično zdravje posameznikov in celoten razvoj družbe;
- **ekonomski:** masovna potrošnja spodbuja ljudi, da kupujejo velike količine cenениh dobrin, ki so izdelane pod izkoriščevalskimi pogoji;
- **environmentalistični:** netrajnostni življenjski stil je izvor številnih okoljskih problemov.

Antipotrošniki tako prek bojkotov (angl. »boycotting«), načrtnega nekupovanja izdelkov neodgovornih korporacij, in prek pozitivnega kupovanja (angl. »buycotting«), izbiranja okolju, posamezniku in družbi prijaznejših izdelkov, delujejo po principu volilcev, ki namesto s svojim glasom, volijo z denarnico (Shaw in drugi 2006).

Seveda ideja Compactorsov ni nova. Judith Levine, njujorška pisateljica, je leta 2004 izvedla eksperiment enoletne nakupovalne diete in o svoji izkušnji napisala knjigo *Not Buying It: My Year Without Shopping* (2006). Prelomna točka, ki ju je z možem prepričala, da je tovrstna dieta potrebna, je bila nakupovalna mrzlica veselega decembra. Kot je povedala v intervjuju za *Newsweek* (2006), ji je eksperiment omogočil, da je izstopila iz vloge potrošnice, in tako več pozornosti posvetila drugim pomembnim platem življenja.

Schorova, ki t. i. »downshifting« gibanje raziskuje že od osemdestih let naprej, gibanje The Compact opredeljuje kot zgolj najnovejšo manifestacijo tega masovnega alternativnega gibanja (USA Today 2006). Schorova (2001) opozarja, da to gibanje

nima enotne opredelitve, saj obstaja več različnih tipov »downshifterjev« oziroma zmanjševalcev:

- **dohodka:** zmanjšujejo količino letnega dohodka;
- **finančnih izdatkov:** zmanjšujejo letno porabo;
- **delovnega časa:** zmanjšujejo količino ur;
- **naglice:** umirjajo življenjski ritem;
- **prostora:** selijo se v mirne, manjše kraje, in živijo bolj preprosto življenje.

Pri tem ločuje prostovoljne in neprostovoljne ter začasne in stalne zmanjševalce.

Čeprav sami ustanovitelji gibanja The Compact vidijo tudi vsebinske razlike med njihovim gibanjem in podobnimi gibanji iz preteklosti, kot je npr. gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti (angl. »voluntary simplicity»³¹, je zares očitna novost zgolj spletna podpora gibanju: »*Edinstvenost The Compact gibanja je povezanost članov v spletne skupnosti. Lokalne in spletne podporne skupnosti povečujejo dolgoročno trajnostno vedenje članov in tako obetajo, da so več kot zgolj kratek poskus*³²« (BBC 2007).

Zanimivo je, da Elgin in Mitchell (1977) izpostavljata podobne probleme, kakor jih doživljamo danes in ki so se v sedemdesetih letih izkazali kot ključni sprožilci gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti. Ti societalni problemi so: energijska kriza, naraščajoče teroristične aktivnosti, naraščajoče zahteve manj razvitih narodov po pravičnejšem deležu pri izkoriščanju svetovnih virov, okoljska degradacija in občutek nesmiselnosti. Avtorja celo napovedujeta, da bo zanimanje za prostovoljno preprostost v prihodnosti naraščalo v primerih:

- če bodo naraščale materialne potrebe manj razvitih držav;
- ob sočasnem spoprijemanju človeštva s škodljivimi posledicami podnebnih sprememb in z grožnjami terorističnih napadov.

V primeru, da bi prostovoljna preprostost postala dominantna paradigma zahodnjih družb, Elgin in Mitchell (1977) napovedujeta spremembe, primerljive z razvojem družbe od srednjega veka do danes (Tabela 2.3).

³¹ Compactorsi svoje gibanje vidijo drugačno od gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti v tem, da bolj kot slednji poudarjajo okoljske učinke svojega delovanja (New York Times 2007).

³² »The Compact is unique in being community-based effort. The local and online support groups increase the compact's long-term sustainability, and make it more than just a fad.« (BBC 2007)

Tabela 3.2: Razlike med industrijskim pogledom na svet in pogledom družbe prostovoljne preprostosti (prirejeno po Elgin in Mitchell 1977, 28)

	INDUSTRIJSKA DRUŽBA	DRUŽBA PROSTOVLJNE PREPROSTOSTI
VREDNOTE	materialno bogatenje človek nad naravo tekmovalni samointeres neizprosni individualizem razum	materialna zadostnost in duhovno bogatenje človek kot del narave razsvetljeni samointeres sodelovalni individualizem razum in intuicija
ZNAČILNOSTI DRUŽBE	velika in kompleksna delovna in življenjska okolja kompleksnost materialov vesoljska tehnologija potrošnja v funkciji gradnje identitete centralizacija uprave in kontrole specializirana delovna mesta posvetno množični, hitro minljivi izdelki kulturna homogenost, delno sprejemanje raznolikosti velik pritisk, stresno življenje	manjša, manj kompleksna življenjska in delovna okolja upad kompleksnosti materialov primerna tehnologija gradnja identitete preko notranjega in interpersonalnega odkrivanja večja lokalna samouprava, podprta z globalnimi ustanovami bolj integrirana delovna mesta (timsko delo, več vlog) ravnotežje med posvetnim in duhovnim ročno izdelani, trajni in unikatni izdelki kulturna heterogenost, navdušeno sprejemanje raznolikosti umirjeno, nestresno življenje

Družba prostovoljne preprostosti bi bila v primerjavi z industrijsko družbo bolj ustvarjalna, pravična, okolju prijazna, manj stresna in zapletena ter predvsem neobremenjena z nenehnim materialnim bogatenjem, ampak usmerjena k duhovnemu razvoju. Pri tem Elgin in Mitchell (1977) zatrjujeta, da tovrstni življenjski slog ne bi bistveno znižal BDP, saj bi bila potrošnja še vedno pomembna, ampak preusmerjena. Podjetjem, ki bodo gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti tolmačila v smeri priložnosti, namesto da bi ga videla kot grožnjo, avtorja napovedujeta zavidljiv poslovni uspeh.

Tudi nakupne preference gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti avtorja opisujeta podobno, kot jih narekujejo pravila nakupovalnih diet gibanja *The Compact*: »Osebe, ki živijo preprosto, izbirajo funkcionalne, zdrave, okolju prijazne, trajne, reciklirane

*izdelke, ali takšne, ki jih je mogoče reciklirati. Kupujejo energijsko varčne, pristne, estetske izdelke, ki so izdelani s preprosto tehnologijo*³³« (Elgin in Mitchell 1977, 34).

Medtem ko se je gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti oziralo nazaj v preteklost in črpalo inspiracijo iz budistične in krščanske tradicije ter antične filozofije, se zgledovalo po Gandhiju in Mati Terezi ter prebiralo dela Marka Twaina, Henry Davida Thoreaua in Schumacherja (Wylie 1998), pa gibanje The Compact najverjetneje navdihuje predvsem dogajanje tukaj in zdaj.

Ena izmed najpogostejših kritik gibanja The Compact je, da nekateri izmed ustanoviteljev delajo v oglaševanju, in so torej kot zvodniki, ki pridigajo vzdržnost (BBC 2007). Vendar pa lahko ravno marketinška znanja, podkrepljena z alternativnimi pogledi, kot je No Logo Naomi Klein (2000), Fast Food Nation Erica Schlosserja (2001), McDonaldization of Society Georgea Ritzerja (1993) ipd., omogočajo boljši uvid v sodobno prekomerno potrošnjo. S tem vedenjem morda tudi lažje najdejo rešitve za učinkovito spreminjanje netrajnostnih vzorcev potrošnje. Ne nazadnje je verjetno prav vpetost v sodobno družbo in izvajanje drugačnega potrošniškega sloga znotraj nje in ne izstopanje oziroma izoliranje članov gibanja od sodobnega sveta, kot je npr. to značilno za Amiše, ključna privlačnost The Compact gibanja.

Kot sta ugotovila že Elgin in Mitchell (1977), možnost, da vsaj do neke mere prostovoljno preprostost začne prakticirati tudi širša družba, obstaja. Tako identificirata štiri ravni prostovoljne preprostosti:

- 1. Popolna prostovoljna preprostost.** Nosilci trenda, ki preprostost živijo s celim srcem: vrtnarijo, reciklirajo, uživajo organsko hrano, se preprosto oblačijo, kolesarijo v službo, potujejo z nahrbtniki, cenijo družinsko življenje, meditirajo in se intenzivno posvečajo osebni rasti. Predstavljajo približno 3% vseh potrošnikov.
- 2. Delna prostovoljna preprostost.** Milejša interpretacija preprostosti. Sledenje le nekaterim načelom preprostosti. Vsaj 6% vseh potrošnikov.
- 3. Naklonjenost prostovoljni preprostosti.** Posamezniki so naklonjeni številnim vrednotam, ki so značilne za prostovoljno preprostost, vendar zaradi različnih razlogov tovrstnega življenjskega sloga trenutno ne izvajajo. Tretjina do polovice vseh potrošnikov.

³³ »The person living the simple life tends to prefer products that are functional, healthy, nonpolluting, durable, repairable, recyclable or made from renewable raw materials, energy-cheap, authentic, esthetically pleasing, and made through simple technology.«

4. Nezanimanje, nezavedanje ali nasprotovanje prostovoljni preprostosti.

Vsaj polovica vseh potrošnikov. To skupino sestavljajo posamezniki, ki živijo v revščini, in še niso imeli možnosti izkusiti izobilja, ter finančno preskrbljeni posamezniki, ki so usmerjeni k dosežkom in ki preprosto življenje vidijo kot grožnjo svojemu življenjskemu stilu.

Vendar pa raziskave kažejo, da čeprav ljudje izražajo skrb za okoljske in družbene probleme, tega na trgu ne potrdijo (Cook in Berrenberg 1981; Makower 2000; Doane 2002; Co-operative Bank 2003). de Leeuw (2005) opozarja, da si svet ne more privoščiti še nadaljnjih deset let, da ugotovi, kaj deluje, in kaj ne. Ker ključne institucije nove ideje sprejemajo počasi, čas za uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje pa se izteka, Heiskanen in Pantzar (1997) poudarjata pomembnost uvajanja novih vrednot.

Uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje je zahteven proces. Schaeferjeva in Crane (2005) ter tudi Reischova in Scherhorn (1999) opozarjajo na globoko ukoreninjenosti obstoječih vzorcev potrošnje, navad, ki posameznikom otežujejo, da se ti iztrgajo iz prevladujoče paradigme potrošniške družbe. Zato moramo pri uvajanju trajnostne potrošnje nujno upoštevati pomembne družbene in kulturne funkcije, ki jih sodobna potrošnja posameznikom zadovoljuje, saj bodo sicer poskusi uvajanja bolj trajnostnih vzorcev potrošnje neuspešni.

3.2.3 Čas kot alternativni model bogastva

Vloga časa je bila pri razumevanju in uvajanju trenda trajnostne potrošnje vse do danes le redko predmet znanstvenega zanimanja. Čeprav je čas vpet v samo bistvo trajnosti, Schorova (2005) ugotavlja, da so njegov pomen prezrli tako ekonomisti kot ekologi.

Že desetletje prej je Schorova (1992) v svoji najbolj znani raziskavi »The Overworked American« tako kot nekateri drugi avtorji (Linder 1970; Hewitt 1993; Demos 1995) izpostavila problematiko prezaposlenosti ameriške družbe. V njej opozarja, da je večja storilnost³⁴ namesto dodatnega prostega časa prinesla zgolj več denarja. Zato so Američani v devetdesetih imeli in trošili dvakrat več kot leta 1948, hkrati pa so imeli manj časa. Tako ceno gospodarske rasti poleg okolja plačujejo tudi posamezniki, saj avtorica poudarja, da časovna revščina ogroža njihovo psihično in fizično zdravje ter kakovost odnosov z družino in prijatelji.

³⁴ Dobre in storitve, ki nastanejo v uri dela.

Podobno ugotavljajo tudi drugi raziskovalci. Southerton (2003) je identificiral problem materialističnih družb, v katerih delavci delajo nadure zato, da da bi si izboljševali materialni standard, zaradi česar imajo vse manj časa. To Harvey in Mukhopadhyay (2007) imenujeta začarani krog časovne revščine, saj tisti, ki imajo manj časa, potrebujejo več denarja, saj si morajo kupovati dobrine oz. storitve, ki si jih ne morejo zagotoviti sami. S tem imajo še manj časa, saj morajo delati zato, da si lahko kupijo čas. Prav tako ni vsak čas enako cenjen. Ljudje si ne želijo več časa nasploh, ampak si predvsem želijo več kakovostnega časa³⁵ (Scherhorn in Dahm 1999).

Zato vidi Schorova (2005) rešitev za trajnostno potrošnjo v zmanjševanju delovnega časa prek uvajanja krajših delavnikov in skupnih letnih oziroma življenjskih omejitev ur dela. Pri tem ekologom svetuje, da opustijo prizadevanja za zmanjševanje potrošnje in svoje moči raje usmerijo na pristojne ustanove, da sprejmejo ukrepe za uravnavanje višine dohodkov prebivalcev. Tako za razliko od prav tako radikalnega koncepta osnovnega državljanskega dohodka, kot brezpogojnega dohodka vsem državljanom ne glede na zaposlitveni status, za katerega različni teoretiki (Van Parijs, Atkinson, Offe, Aranowitz in Fitzpatrick v Boljka 2007) trdijo, da bi prek odklopa eksistence od dela, opolnomočenja posameznika in pospeševanja potrošnje zviševal blaginjo, vidi Schorova (2005) prav zniževanje produkcije (in dohodka) s ciljem ohranjanja okolja kot ključni način zviševanja blaginje.

Čeprav je uvid Schorove (2005) v povezanosti delovnega časa, potrošnje in okoljske degradacije koristen, so njeni prijemi za uvajanje sprememb naivni, saj tudi sama priznava, da lahko pri tovrstnih omejitvah pričakujemo odpor delavcev. Namesto da bi potrošnikom čas prikazala kot vrednost, ga predstavi kot omejitev na poti h kopičenju materialnega bogastva.

Reischova (2001) nasprotno opozarja, da je malo alternativ materialni potrošnji, ki bi bile za posameznika dovolj privlačne, da bi jih sprejel in začel prakticirati. Zato vidi priložnost v promoviranju bogastva časa kot privlačne prednosti zmanjšane potrošnje, saj je čas v obdobju časovne revščine enako cenjen kot denar. Po Rinderspracherju (Reisch 2001) je okolju prijazno vedenje namreč prav čas, ki ga investiramo v okolje.

³⁵ angl. »meaningful time«

Hkrati Reischova (2001) tako kot Schorova (2005) vidi čas kot ključni element trajnosti, saj pojmuje trajnostno potrošnjo kot izrazito dinamičen koncept, saj mora omogočati dinamično naravno ravnotežje. Ekološko krizo pojmuje kot trčenje različnih časovnic, saj je stopnja izkoriščanja neobnovljivih virov neskončno hitrejša kot proces sedimentacije. Zaradi povečane hitrosti inovacij in skrajševanja življenjskega cikla izdelkov sta potrošnja in z njo degradacija okolja vse hitrejši.

Zato Reischova (2001) predlaga oblikovanje strategije promocije bogastva časa namesto materialnega bogastva kot orodja za uvajanje bolj trajnostno usmerjenega življenjskega sloga ljudi. Bogastvo časa pojmuje večdimenzionalno kot:

- kronometrično dimenzijo: imeti dovolj časa za vse aktivnosti;
- kronološko dimenzijo: imeti dovolj časa v pravem trenutku;
- dimenzijo časovne avtonomnosti: imeti možnost določanja lastnega delovnega ritma;
- dimenzijo sinhronizacije: imeti usklajen ritem s pomembnimi drugimi;
- dimenzijo pluralnosti časovnic: imeti možnost vključevanja v različne javne časovnice in si tako obogatiti življenje.

Hkrati predlaga, da je smiselno novi model bogastva, bogastvo časa, komunicirati prek temeljnih načel modernosti, s promocijo osebne svobode, sreče, izraznosti, pristnosti in samoizpolitve, saj verjame, da so tovrstni cilji preko samoomejitve potrošnje lažje dosegljivi.

Prav osebno izpolnitev s počasnim oziroma umirjenim življenjem promovira tudi t. i. Slow Food gibanje, ki je nastalo v Italiji leta 1989 kot odziv na postavitve McDonalda pod Španskimi stopnicami (Parkins 2004). Vrednost bogastva časa vidijo v priložnosti, da si lahko vzamejo več časa za premislek in refleksijo ter se tako lahko intenzivneje posvetijo aktualnim nalogam oziroma lahko bolj učinkovito spreminjajo svoje navade in uresničujejo ideje. Cohen in drugi (2005) ugotavljajo, da je gibanje Slow Food postalo globalno gibanje in tako že davno preseglo prvotne okvire gibanja, ki slavi in podpira tradicionalno gastronomijo sveta proti modernizaciji, standardizaciji in globalizaciji sodobne družbe.

Italijanska mesta Orivieto, Greve, Bra in Positano so postala t. i. počasna mesta. Gibanje Slow Cities je v sodelovanju z mestnimi upravami soustvarilo mesta, ki z več restavracijami v soseski, manj prometa in s posledično manjšo onesnaženostjo,

kolesarskimi progami, zazelenitvijo in trgi ter z zaprtimi območji za pešče ter s centri, zaprtimi za avtomobile, omogočajo kakovostnejše bivanje.

Čeprav gibanje Slow Food ni edina skupnost, ki postavlja bogastvo časa pred materialno bogastvo, podobni gibanji sta Society for Declaration of Time iz Avstije in Take Back Your Time gibanje iz ZDA in Kanade (Parkins 2004), to še ne pomeni, da so vsi ljudje enako dojemljivi za promocijo koncepta bogastva časa. Linds kog in Brege (2003) opozarjata, da je razpoložljivost časa pomemben dejavnik, ki določa, kako ljudje živijo, izbirajo, kupujejo in uporabljajo izdelke. Bogastvo časa namreč še ne pomeni trajnostnega vedenja, saj avtorja ugotovila, da ljudje, ki premorejo več časa, trošijo zato, da si zapolnijo čas, tisti, ki jim ga primanjkuje, pa s ciljem časovnega prihranka. V prvo skupino uvrščata upokoјence, otroke in mlade ter nezaposlene in poudarjata, da je le majhen del te populacije bogat tako s časom, kakor z denarjem. Druga skupina, skupina zaposlenih in staršev z otroki pa ima večinoma več denarja, a je časovno podhranjena.

Tudi Kristančičeva, ki sicer prosti čas obravnava zgolj z antropocentrične perspektive, z vidika koristi za posameznika in družbo, pri tem pa prezre vpliv prostega časa na okolje, ugotavlja, da je prosti čas porabniška dobrina in da obstaja nevarnost, da: *»... postane v bodočnosti popolna konzumacija«*, (Kristančič 2007, 21). Hkrati na konkretnem primeru nakupovalnega središča BTC povsem nekritično zaznava trend, ki ga poimenuje združitve kapitala in prostega časa: *»Iz dneva v dan se kaže uspešnost simbioze porabništva in kakovostnega preživljanja prostega časa. Sožitje poslovnih, trgovinskih, športno–rekreativnih, tekmovalnih in zabavno–razvedrilnih ter sprostivnih vsebin, obogatениh z dogodki, razstavami, kulturnimi prireditvami, ponuja celovito paleto prostočasnih dejavnosti«* (Kristančič 2007, 89). Kristančičeva (2007) med drugim prosti čas pojmuje izredno ozko, saj dejavnosti, kot so npr. vrtnarjenje, domača obrt, polprofesionalne športne, glasbene in intelektualne aktivnosti, uvršča med polprostočasne dejavnosti, saj so lahko te že pridobitniške. Pri tem pa prezre njihovo sprostivno vrednost, ki je lahko identična npr. pitju kave s prijateljicami.

Pomanjkljivostim navkljub je pomembnost segmentacije potrošnikov Lidskoga in Bregeja (2003) ter razmišljanj Kristančičeve (2007) v opozarjanju na dve pomembni omejitvi pri promociji bogastva časa kot orodja za spodbujanje trajnostne potrošnje:

- Kljub prepričanju, da je čas enako cenjen kot denar imajo nekatere skupine potrošnikov časa dovolj. Za razmeroma velik del populacije torej koncept bogastva časa ni privlačen. Poleg tega avtorja pripisujeta prvi skupini majhno kupno moč, pri tem pa pozabljata na možnost nadomestne potrošnje (kot npr. starši namenjajo denar ali trošijo za otroka).
- Druga omejitev je opozorilo, da ljudje ne trošimo zgolj kadar nam časa primanjkuje, ampak tudi, ko ga imamo dovolj. Potrošniki torej iščejo načine, kako pasivno – s kupovanjem – zapolniti prosti čas, namesto da bi iskali načine, kako bi ga aktivno preživeli brez potrošnje, saj si ga ne znajo, ne morejo oziroma nočejo osmisliti brez potrošnje.

Kljub temu je vrednost promocije alternativnega modela bogastva v tem, da se predvsem nanaša na delovno aktivno prebivalstvo, ki je, kot je ugotovila Schorova (2005), odgovorno za največji del potrošnje. Pa vendar ostaja vprašanje, kakšne so značilnosti kakovostnega časa, neodvisnega od potrošnje? Ali je vsebinsko ta čas dovolj privlačen in dosegljiv za potrošnike, da bi bogastvo v denarju zamenjali za bogastvo časa in tako zaživali bolj trajnostno? Odgovore na ta vprašanja lahko prinese proučevanje posameznikov, ki so se odločili za namerno preprosto, nepotrošniško življenje, t. i. prostovoljno preprostost. Čeprav so študije značilnosti tovrstnega življenjskega stila kar številne (Leonard–Barton 1981; Craig-Lees in Hill 2002; Shaw in Newholm 2002; Zavestoski 2002; Bekin in drugi 2005; Huneke 2005; Iwata 2006; McDonald in drugi 2006), dejavnik časa po dostopnih podatkih zaenkrat še ni bil sistematično proučevan in je prav zato predmet te raziskave.

4.0 PROBLEM IN NAMEN RAZISKAVE

V tem poglavju so za bolj točno in jasno opredelitev problema ponovno povzete najpomembnejše ugotovitve iz uvoda. Sledi jim natančna opredelitev problema in namena raziskave, v štirih točkah pa so predstavljeni ključni argumenti, zakaj je smiselno to raziskavo izvajati.

4.1 Problem raziskave

Podpoglavje problem raziskave sestavljata dva sklopa. Najprej so predstavljena ključna izhodišča iz uvodnih poglavij, ki usmerjajo opredelitev problema (Poglavje 4.1.1), nato pa je v Poglavju 4.1.2 problem natančno opredeljen.

4.1.1 Ključna izhodišča za opredelitev problema

IPCC (2007c) v zadnjem poročilu opozarja, da kljub nenehnim tehnološkim inovacijam za doseganje večjega energijskega izkoristka in vse bolj razširjeni uporabi obnovljivih virov energije, emisije toplogrednih plinov še vedno naraščajo. Opozarjajo, da bodo emisije do leta 2030 v primerjavi z letom 2000 narasle za 110%, upoštevajoč predpostavko, da bodo države podpisnice v celoti izpolnile vse zahteve Kjotskega protokola. Grozljivi scenariji podnebnih sprememb, ki jih napovedujejo klimatologi in ki se bodo najverjetne odvili že v bližnji prihodnosti, bodo resno ogrozili in znižali kakovost življenja večine prebivalcev Zemlje (IPCC 2007c).

Tovrstna opozorila ter vse pogostejše in intenzivnejše naravne katastrofe pa ne streznijo politikov in gospodarstvenikov, da bi, kot opozarjajo klimatologi in popularizatorji problematike podnebnih sprememb (Kajfež – Bogataj 2005; Henson 2006; Gore 2007), pogledali prek kapitalskih interesov, ki jih zastopajo. Kallio (2007), Bryner (2000) in Jackson (2005) opozarjajo, da politiki in gospodarstveniki še vedno trdijo, da sta gospodarska rast in z njo potrošnja koristni. To je v nasprotju s spoznanji industrijskih ekologov (Hertwich 2005; Taylor 2005) ki poudarjajo, da, če želimo porabo in osnasneževanje vsaj stabilizirati, moramo poleg tehnološkega napredka nujno tudi uravnavati potrošnjo. Vse večji delež svetovnega prebivalstva namreč živi onkraj biokapacitetnih zmožnostih našega planeta (WWF 2004; WWF 2006).

Kljub temu se uspešnost vlad v novem tisočletju še vedno ocenjuje predvsem glede na višino gospodarske rasti (Hamilton 2007). Opozorila okoljevarstvenikov in razsvetljenih ekonomistov (Boulding 1966; Schumacher 1973; Meadows in drugi 1974; Georgescu-Roegen 1977; Daly 1991; Shrivastava 1994; Stead in Stead 1994; DesJardins 1998; The Worldwatch Institute 2003; Mill 2005; Hamilton 2007; Kallio 2007; Adbusters Media Foundation 2008), da v svetu z omejenimi naravnimi viri neskončna rast ni mogoča in da bo ta namesto zviševanja povzročila upad kakovosti življenja, ne dobijo zadostne medijske podpore. Vprašanja o škodljivosti in upravičenosti materialne »osnove« življenjskega sloga prebivalcev premožnejših gospodarstev sveta tako ostajajo neodgovorjena, saj se pometajo pod kapitalsko preprogo.

4.1.2 Opredelitev problema

Profitno reševanje družbenih in okoljskih problemov ne prinaša zelenih rezultatov. Navkljub temu gospodarstveniki in politiki še vedno prisegajo na ekonomsko rast in odločno odklanjajo ideje o zmanjševanju potrošnje. Zato je edina možnost, da trend trajnostne potrošnje kot spremenjene in zmanjšane potrošnje uvajajo nevladne nonprofitne organizacije (Schaefer in Crane 2005; O'Rourke 2005).

Reguliranje potrošnje in uspešno trajnostno komuniciranje³⁶ pa ni preprosto. Namesto da se od potrošnikov zahteva odrekanje za doseganje trajnostnega razvoja, je potrebno odkriti, katere so tiste prednosti zmanjšane potrošnje, ki so za potrošnike dovolj privlačne, da se zaradi njih prekomernemu nakupovanju odpovedo.

³⁶ Trajnostno komuniciranje ni klasični marketing v zelenih oblačilih. Je radikalen odmik od tradicije in kot tak predstavlja grožnjo liberalni paradigmi za razliko od zelenega marketinga, ki te ideje ne ogroža (Kilbourne 2004).

4.2 Namen raziskave

Možnosti, da lahko kljub zmanjšani potrošnji živimo bolje, ne smemo povsem izključiti. Kot ugotavlja Veehenova (2004), lahko trajnostna potrošnja kot drugačna in zmanjšana potrošnja celo prispeva k višji ravni življenjskega zadovoljstva. Jackson (2005) opozarja, da doseganje takšnega cilja zahteva poglobljeno razumevanje človekovega vedenja. Schaeferjeva in Crane (2005) ter Reischova in Scherhorn (1999) namreč ugotavljajo, da je pri uvajanju trajnostne potrošnje nujno potrebno upoštevati družbene in kulturne funkcije, ki jih sodobna potrošnja posameznikom zadovoljuje. V nasprotnem primeru so poskusi uvajanja trajnostne potrošnje lahko neuspešni.

Zato je osnovni namen raziskave:

- Poskus razumevanja bogastva časa kot možne prednosti zmanjšane potrošnje s preučevanjem gibanja The Compact, najnovejše različice gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti.

Ključni razlogi za izvedbo raziskave so:

1. Kljub temu, da je čas vpet v samo bistvo trajnosti, je bila vloga časa pri razumevanju in uvajanju trenda trajnostne potrošnje do danes le redko predmet zanimanja. Sistematično sta čas v povezavi s trajnostno potrošnjo preučevali le Reischova (2001) in Schorova (2005).
2. Čeprav so študije značilnosti življenjskega stila prostovoljne preprostosti kar številne (Leonard–Barton 1981; Craig-Lees in Hill 2002; Shaw in Newholm 2002; Zavestoski 2002; Bekin in drugi 2005; Huneke 2005; Iwata 2006; McDonald in drugi 2006), dejavnik časa po meni dostopnih podatkih za zdaj še ni bil sistematično proučevan.
3. Za razliko od ostalih različic gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti so Compactorski edini, ki za medsebojno podporo svojemu delovanju uporabljajo spletne skupnosti in bloge. Prednosti in pomanjkljivosti virtualne aktivnosti gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti po meni dostopnih podatkih prav tako do sedaj še niso bile sistematično proučevane.

4. Ker so številni avtorji (Corson 1995; Wackernagel in Rees 1996; Heiskanen in Pantzar 1997; Brown in Kasser 2005) dosedanje poskuse raziskovanja trajnostne potrošnje kritizirali zaradi parcialnosti (kot npr., da trajnostna potrošnja zahteva poglobljeno poznavanje potrošniških vzorcev, ne pa kupovanje zelenega izdelka ali recikliranje), ta raziskava skuša prek analize blogov v 12-mesečnem obdobju globinsko proučiti življenjski slog posameznikov, ki izvajajo trajnostno potrošnjo.

5.0 TEZE RAZISKAVE

Bistvo raziskave je poskus razumevanja bogastva časa s ciljem iskanja privlačnih argumentov za spodbujanje zmanjšane potrošnje kot načina doseganja trajnostnega razvoja. V skladu s tem je potrebno raziskati ključne dileme, ki nastajajo v odnosu med bogastvom časa in materialnim bogastvom.

5.1 Raziskovalna vprašanja in dosedanja spoznanja

Raziskavo usmerjajo tri raziskovalna vprašanja, ki so podprta z dosedanjimi spoznanji oziroma ugotovitvami različnih empiričnih raziskav.

1. vprašanje:

Ali je možno, da ljudje kljub zmanjšani potrošnji živijo kakovostno življenje?

Čeprav je zmanjšana potrošnja za doseganje trajnostnega razvoja nujna, je naivno pričakovati, da bi se bili potrošniki materialnim dobrinam pripravljene odreči, če bi to občutili kot upad ravni kakovosti življenja.

Čeprav ima dobro počutje materialno in nematerialno dimenzijo, rezultati nekaterih empiričnih raziskav kažejo, da ob dosegu določenega materialnega minimuma manj preskrbljeni niso manj srečni od bolje preskrbljenih (Csikszentmihalyi in Rochberg-Halton 1981; Argyle 1987; Kilbourne 1987; Cushman 1990; Worcester 1998; Diener in Biswas Diener 2002; Hagerty in Veenhoven 2003). Raziskovalci tudi ugotavljajo, da se v tekmi za posedovanjem dobrin oži čas, namenjen ugodjem, ki niso povezana s potrošnjo (Schor 1992; Reisch 2001; Southerton 2003; Harvey in Mukhopadhyay 2007). Torej lahko sklepamo, da vse več ljudi občuti posledice časovne revščine.

2. vprašanje:

Kakšne so ovire, ko posameznik v potrošniški družbi želi prakticirati zmanjšano potrošnjo?

Izvajanje zmanjšane potrošnje predstavlja temeljito spremembo v življenjskem slogu posameznika. To je v nasprotju z materialističnimi načeli, ki so vtakani v samo bistvo potrošniške družbe.

Z vidika sistemskih omejitev se pojavi problem avtonomnosti posameznika, saj Reischova (2001) opozarja, da osebe, ki namerno izberejo prosti čas pred denarjem, lahko to uresničijo le, če lahko izbirajo obseg delovnih ur in če je osnovni prihodek zagotovljen. Obstaja tudi verjetnost stigmatizacije posameznikov, ki vrednost časa postavljajo pred denar, saj je njihovo vedenje neskladno s pričakovanji in naravnostjo družbenega okolja. Za našo družbo je značilna komercializacija časa, kar pomeni, da je čas, ki nima tržne vrednosti oz. ne more biti preoblikovan v denar, zaznan kot izgubljen ali nesmotrno porabljen (Adam 1999). Pomanjkanje časa in prezaposlenost celo simbolizirata izpolnjenost in vrednost posameznikovega življenja (Darier 1998). Schorova (1992) pa opozarja, da družba posameznike spodbuja, lahko pa celo od njih zahteva, da vlagajo vse več časa v služenje denarja in da si z vedno novimi materialnimi dobrinami simbolno vzdržujejo družbeni status.

3. vprašanje:

Kakšne so značilnosti in možne oblike trajnostnega preživljanja časa?

Imeti dovolj časa še ne pomeni smotrnega trajnostnega delovanja. Pomanjkanje časa ni edini vzrok potrošnje. Ljudje kupujejo tudi zaradi odsotnosti idej, kako si osmisliti čas. Linskog in Brege (2003) sta namreč ugotovila, da posamezniki, ki trpijo za pomanjkanjem časa, kupujejo s ciljem prodobivanja časa, tisti, ki ne trpijo časovne stiske, pa kupujejo z namenom preganjanja dolgočasje. Ta trend zaznava tudi Kristančičeva (2007).

Da bi posamezniki kakovostno preživljali razpoložljiv čas, sta potrebni iznajdljivost in inovativnost. To še zlasti velja v primerih, ko želijo osmisliti čas, ne da bi za to trošili denar in s tem netrajnostno delovali.

5.2 Tri teze raziskave

V skladu s predstavljenimi vprašanji želim v raziskavi preveriti tri teze, ki temeljijo na dosedanjih spoznanjih drugih raziskovalcev.

Teza 1:

Kljub zmanjšani potrošnji je mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje, saj bogastvo časa nadomesti materialno bogastvo.

Teza 2:

Postavljanje bogastva časa pred materialno bogastvo zahteva premagovanje številnih ovir, saj je to v nasprotju z osnovnimi načeli delovanja potrošniške družbe.

Teza 3:

Trajnostno delovanje zahteva iznajdljivost in inovativnost pri izrabi razpoložljivega časa.

6.0 METODOLOGIJA

Novost pri proučevanju bogastva časa in raziskovanje skupnosti, ki se prvenstveno povezujejo na spletu s ciljem spodbujanja zmanjšane oziroma regulirane potrošnje zahteva metodološki pristop, ki bo namesto kvantifikacije obravnavanega pojava predvsem omogočil njegovo globinsko razumevanje. To omogoča kvalitativni pristop. Ta je uporaben in primeren predvsem na stopnji začetnega spoznavanja določenega pojava, na stopnji oblikovanja in preverjanja implicitnih teorij.

6.1 Metoda: netblografija

V zadnjih letih so blogi postali vodilna oblika samopredstavljanja posameznikov na internetu, čeprav je o natančnem številu piscev oziroma aktivnih blogov v blogosferi težko govoriti. Helmondova (2008) navaja, da je eden vodilnih agregatov blogov na svetu, Technorati, v začetku leta 2008 poročal o številki 112,8 milijonov. Ob tem avtorica opozarja, da te številke ne odražajo resničnega stanja, saj so večinoma upoštevani zgolj blogi v angleškem jeziku, medtem ko npr. 72,82 milijonov kitajskih blogov v to vsoto ni vključenih.

Zaradi eksplozije najrazličnejših javno dostopnih osebnih vsebin Kozinets (2006a), eden izmed pionirjev netografije³⁷, opozarja, na za zdaj še neizkoriščen potencial analize blogov oziroma netblografije pri raziskovanju potrošnje: *»Blogi omogočajo, da vstopimo v življenjski tok potrošnikov ter spoznamo vlogo izdelkov in storitev v njihovem življenju. So neprecenljiv, bogat in longitudinalen vir informacij o posameznem potrošniku o njegovih potrošniških navadah, vrednotah, pomenih in prepričanjih«* (Kozinets 2006a, 138)³⁸.

Analiza blogov torej osvetli življenjski stil potrošnikov. Številni avtorji (Corson 1995; Wackernagel in Rees 1996; Heiskanen in Pantzar 1997; Brown in Kasser 2005) so dosedanje poskuse raziskovanja trajnostne potrošnje kritizirali zaradi parcialnosti, saj opozarjajo, da trajnostna potrošnja zahteva poglobljeno poznavanje potrošniških

³⁷ Izvirni termin za netografijo v angleščini Kozinetsa (2006a) je »*netnography*«. Ta skovanka korenu besede –nography, iz termina etnografija »*ethnography*«, dodaja prepono net- (splet). V slovenščino iz dveh razlogov uvajam izraz netografija, namesto netnografija. Prvi razlog je, da je Kozinets (2006a) med prenašanjem korena besede »*ethnography*« pri nadaljnjih skovankah nekonsistenten. Pri terminu »*netblogography*« je iz besede *ethnography* prenesel zgolj koren –graphy, kateremu doda predponi net- in blog-. Drugi razlog uvajanja termina netografija in ne netnografija v slovenščino pa je lažja izgovorljivost prvega.

³⁸ *»Blogs also provide another opportunity to enter the lifestreams of consumers and learn the role of products and services in them. They are a source of information that tends to offer rich, detailed and longitudinal data about individual consumers and their consumption practices, values, meanings and beliefs.«*

vzorcev, ne pa zgolj kupovanje zelenega izdelka ali recikliranje. Prav ta bogati oris³⁹ in hkratna premostitev problematike omejitve spraševanj⁴⁰ je po mnenju Elliott in Jankel–Elliotta (2003) bistvena prednost etnografskega pristopa.

Netografijo Kozinets (2006b) opredeljuje kot kvalitativno–interpretativno raziskovalno metodo, ki prilagaja klasične etnografske raziskovalne tehnike antropologije namenu študije spletnih kultur in skupnosti, oblikovanih prek računalniško posredovane komunikacije. Kozinets (2006c) poudarja, da je netografija hitrejša, enostavnejša in cenejša rešitev kot klasična etnografija. Hkrati trdi, da je bolj naravna in manj vsiljiva kot fokusne skupine, intervjuji in vprašalniki. Kljub temu Kozinets (2006c) opozarja, da je netografija izredno zahtevna metoda z določenimi omejitvami:

- gradivo raziskave je večinoma tekstovno, neverbalno gradivo analizi ni dostopno;
- relativna anonimnost posameznikov, ki sicer olajša večje razkrivanje, hkrati onemogoča oblikovanje celovitega demografskega profila uporabnika;
- raziskovalec se mora popolnoma poglobiti v proučevano kulturo, da lahko uspešno prevaja material v znanstveni jezik – v nasprotnem primeru lahko pride do površinskih in kontekstualno neustreznih tolmačenj;
- zaradi relativno neopaznega oz. neinvazivnega raziskovalnega pristopa omogoča netografija zlorabo informacij.

Prav slednji, etični vidik, pri opisovanju petih stopenj netografije Kozinets (2002) natančneje opredeli:

1. **entree:** formulacija raziskovalnih vprašanj in opredelitev primerne spletne skupnosti;
2. **zbiranje podatkov:** direktno kopiranje računalniško moderirane komunikacije posameznikov ter opazovanje skupnosti, članov, interakcij in pomenov.
3. **analiza in interpretacija:** klasifikacija, analiza kodiranja in kontekstualizacije sporočil.
4. **raziskovalna etika:**
 - raziskovalec mora popolnoma razkriti svojo prisotnost in namene vsem članom skupnosti;
 - raziskovalec mora zagotoviti zaupnost in anonimnost članov skupnosti;

³⁹ angl. »thick description«

⁴⁰ angl. »imitation of asking«

- raziskovalec mora iskati in vključiti povratne informacije članov skupnosti o izsledkih;
- raziskovalec mora vzpostaviti stik s skupnostjo in prositi za odobritev javnega objavljajanja citatov.

5. **brifiranje:** predstavitev izsledkov raziskave članom skupnosti.

Pri izvajanju netografije se je pokazalo, da so se nekatere zgoraj predstavljene etične zahteve netografskega raziskovanja izkazale kot preveč omejujoče. Langer in Beckman (2005) izpostavljata, da je ta priporočila nujno potrebno upoštevati v primeru klasične etnografije ali pri proučevanju zasebnih spletnih skupnosti. Avtorja hkrati opozarjata, da lahko z razkrivanjem raziskovalec tudi premočno poseže v dogajanje. Zato za primere javno dostopnih vsebin računalniško posredovane komunikacije predlagata naslanjanje na raziskovalno etiko analize vsebin medijskih in komunikacijskih študij. S tem se Kozinets (2006c) ne strinja, saj naj bi ravno ta etnografska vključenost v dogajanje omogočala, da netografija ne postane zgolj vaja iz kodiranja. Hkrati pa Kozinets (2006a) ugotavlja, da še ni jasnega konsenza, ali so spletna mesta pojmovana kot javen ali zaseben prostor. V primeru, da gre za javni prostor priznava da konsenz udeležencev v raziskavi ni potreben.

Kingma in Boersma (2002) opozarjata, da je raziskovanje in nadzorovanje časa izjemno zapleteno raziskovati. Zato je pri raziskovanju časa potrebno izbrati načine podrobnega proučevanja, hkrati pa pri tem kar se da izničiti možnost raziskovalčevega vpliva na rezultat. Raziskovalni pristop nevpletenosti raziskovalca kot ga predlagata Langer in Beckman (2005), je zaradi kompleksnosti preučevanega fenomena, bogastva časa, primernejši kot vključenost v dogajanje, kot jo predlaga Kozinets (2002; 2006c). Analiza izkušenj posameznikov naravnega eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet bo tako omogočala, da bodo sporočila analizirana z nove perspektive. Tako bodo brez raziskovalčevega vpliva na poročanje udeležencev pridobljene informacije, ki niso bile primarni razlog nastanka zapisa.

Čeprav je analiza vsebine dnevnikov sprejeta družboslovna metoda, raziskovalci šele spoznavajo prednosti in pomanjkljivosti analize blogov. Zato vsaka nova tovrstna raziskava omogoča dodatno razumevanje neodkritih možnosti analize te vse bolj uveljavljene oblike komuniciranja.

6.2 Udeleženci raziskave

Udeleženci raziskave so prevzeli pravila nakupovalnih diet gibanja The Compact in tako v obdobju dvanajstih mesecev eksperimenta, o izkušnjah z zmanjšano in spremenjeno potrošnjo javno poročali na svojih blogih.

Proces nabora udeležencev je potekal v dveh fazah. Omejen je bil na tiste člane gibanja The Compact, ki o značilnostih, izzivih, spodrseljajih in prednostih eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet prek celega leta v angleškem jeziku poročajo v obliki dnevniških zapisov (blogov) na svetovnem spletu.

- **I. faza (junij, 2007):** Iskalnik blogov <http://blogsearch.google.com/> je na ključne besede (iskalni niz) »The Compact buy nothing« izpisal 4370 zadetkov. Med pregledom prvih dvesto zadetkov je bilo relevantnih zadetkov, torej blogov tistih posameznikov, ki sledijo pravilom nakupovalnih diet gibanja The Compact, 26. Ti so bili nato uvrščeni v ožji izbor blogov za analizo.⁴¹
- **II. faza – (september 2007):** Po preteku trimesečnega obdobja je sledila faza ponovnega pregleda aktivnosti blogov. Za analizo so bili izbrani vsi blogi oziroma posamezniki, ki v obdobju med junijem in septembrom niso prenehali s pisanjem bloga, ampak so v tem obdobju objavili vsaj en zapis na mesec. Takšnih blogov je bilo od 26, sedem. Torej zgolj 26,9%. Pri tem je potrebno poudariti, da sama prekinitve pisanja bloga ni nujno povezana z izstopom iz eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet.

⁴¹ Čeprav se na nekaterih slovenskih blogih že razpravlja o ideji t. i. Compactsov, v Sloveniji še ni nikogar, ki bi se temu globalnemu eksperimentu pridružil, in o tem poročal na spletu. To ne bi smelo bistveno vplivati na samo možnost morebitne poznejše aplikacije spoznanj v slovenski prostor, saj je bolj kot nacionalnost pomembno dejstvo, da so to posamezniki, ki, tako kot Slovenci, živijo v kapitalistični potrošniški družbi.

Tabela 6.1: Osnovne sociodemografske značilnosti proučevanih posameznikov

Blog št.	Št in spol piscev	Starost	Država	Kraj bivanja	Zaposlitev	Št. čl. v gospod. (od tega v ND)
1	2 (m_1, ž_1)	40–45	ZDA	velemesto ⁴²	pisatelj	3 (3)
2	1 (ž_2)	25–30	ZDA	velemesto	umetnica / pisarniška del.	1 (1)
3	1 (ž_3)	25–30	Kanada	mesto	prodajalka	3 (1)
4	1 (ž_4)	25–30	ZDA	podeželje	zaposlena	3 (3)
5	7 (ž_5, ž_6, ž_7, ž_8, ž_9, ž_10, m_2)	20–40	Avstralija	velemesto	različna	različno
6	1 (ž_11)	30–35	Avstralija	podeželje	zaposlena	4 (3)
7	2 (ž_12, m_3)	30–35	ZDA	podeželje	gospodinja / pisarniški del.	5 (5)

Kot kaže Tabela 6.1, so bili v analizo vključeni štiri blogi posameznih avtorjev, in trije blogi, ki jih soustvarja več posameznikov. Skupaj je o svojih izkušnjah nakupovalnih diet poročalo petnajst posameznikov, od tega dvanajst žensk in trije moški. Proučevani posamezniki so bili heterogeni po starosti, nacionalnosti, velikosti kraja bivanja, zaposlitvenem statusu in po številu članov v gospodinjstvu (Tabela 6.1). Vsi udeleženci raziskave so bili prebivalci ene izmed treh angleško govorečih držav: ZDA, Avstralije ali Kanade.

Tabela 6.2: Zapisi na analiziranih blogih preko 12 mesečnega obdobja

Blog	zaporedni mesec nakupovalni diet												Σ	Σ/365
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.		
1	0	15	24	21	22	22	23	25	19	22	21	19	233	1,57
2	6	4	7	5	5	3	4	3	4	8	7	8	64	5,70
3	5	20	16	9	3	2	1	3	3	2	0	0	64	5,70
4	2	18	9	7	7	13	9	6	1	9	5	1	85	4,29
5	4	21	18	7	9	7	7	5	4	5	2	4	93	3,92
6	6	0	1	14	12	6	4	4	3	14	11	6	81	4,51
7	25	13	14	11	9	3	3	3	5	4	3	1	94	3,88
Σ	48	91	89	74	67	56	51	49	39	64	49	39	714	4,22
%	6,72	12,75	12,46	10,36	9,38	7,84	7,14	6,86	5,46	8,96	6,86	5,46	100	
%kom.	6,72	19,47	31,93	42,30	51,68	59,52	66,67	73,53	78,99	87,96	94,82	100		

⁴² Mesta z milijon ali več prebivalci.

Čeprav so vsi posamezniki v eksperiment nakupovalnih diet vzstopili za obdobje dvanajstih mesecev, dva preučevana bloga ne zajemata celotnega obdobja:

- čeprav ima blog št. 1 med vsemi proučevanimi blogi največje število zapisov, v povprečju kar enega in pol na dan, sta avtorja blog začela pisati šele drugi mesec po začetku nakupovalnih diet.
- avtorica bloga št. 3, ki ima sicer poleg bloga št. 2 skupno najmanj zapisov, je prenehala s pisanjem bloga zadnja dva meseca pred zaključkom eksperimenta brez pojasnila ali je tudi izstopila iz eksperimenta.

Nasploh je značilen upad beleženja izkušenj nakupovalnih diet proti koncu eksperimenta. Čeprav je skupno število zapisov v letu na sedmih preučevanih blogih kar 4,22 na dan oziroma 714 v celotnem letu, je več kot polovica teh zapisov (51,68%) nastala v prvih petih mesecih eksperimenta. Nasprotno pa je v zadnjih petih mesecih nastala le še dobra četrtnina vseh zapisov (26,47%).

Tabela 6.3: Celoletno razmerje med zapisi in komentarji v analiziranih blogih

Blog	Zapisi v letu	Komentarji v letu	Komentarji / Zapis
1	233	7341	31,51
2	64	78	1,22
3	64	13	0,20
4	85	158	1,86
5	93	281	3,02
6	81	369	4,56
7	94	310	3,30
skupaj	714	8550	11,97

Čeprav statistik obiskanosti blogov avtorji niso razkrivali, število komentarjev nakazuje na velike razlike med spremljanjem posameznih blogov. Zapisi na blogu št. 1 so tako med sedmimi preučevanimi blogi sprožili največji odziv med bralci – kar 31,5 komentarjev na zapis. Za ostale blogove je v primerjavi z blogom številka 1 značilen kar od 6,9 do celo 157,6–krat manjši odziv bralcev.

Tabela 6.4: Razlike v interpretaciji pravil The Compact s citati (več v Prilogi A)

PREVZEMANJE THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
prepoved kupovanja novih izdelkov	<i>m_1 (2:11): Don't buy new products (including, worst of all, books). ž_2 (1:1): I'm not buying new manufactured consumer goods in 2007. ž_4 (1:3): We are limiting our new purchases to necessities and consumables. We will reevaluate what we think of as needs prior to purchasing.</i>
prepoved naročanj na časopise in revije	<i>m_1 (2:11): Cancel magazine subscriptions and read online (the trees! the trash!).</i>
zmanjševanje količine nepotrebnih stvari v domovih	<i>ž_12 (1:2): We will purge our home of all unused, unwanted, or extraneous clutter We will purge our lifestyle of all unwanted, unhealthy, and extraneous clutter ž_8 (6:11). Lastly, as part of my 'No More Stuff' vow, whenever I buy something that is new to me (and usually it is secondhand), I remove an old item from my wardrobe</i>
kupovanje rabljenih izdelkov ali izposojanje	<i>ž_3 (1:1): G - Garage sales, thrift shops, pass downs ž_4 (1:3): We will try to find items used, or to trade things we already have, but do not need, for things we do need.</i>
kupovanje hrane, zdravil, čistil in spodnjega perila	<i>ž_11 (1:9): 1. food and toilet paper 2. medicines and homeopathics ž_12 (1:2): 1. We will buy everything (barring food, medication, and health related products such as soap, toothpaste, etc.) used if at all possible</i>
kupovanje lokalnih izdelkov	<i>m_1: 4:60): part of the project is only eating food grown within 250 miles-a day's round trip sustainable eating (as in our food all comes from within 250 miles or less) m_2 (2:13): my next challenge is to see how much food I can buy from the local village and farm gates rather than supermarket.</i>
DOPOLNITEV / POOSTRITEV THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
kupovanje pravičnih in okolju prijaznih izdelkov	<i>ž_8 (6:8): I avoid the 'Made In China' label like the plague. m_1 (2:11): Find replacements for everything that is still throwaway or comes in throwaway packaging in our house: cosmetics and skin care products, soap, shampoo, cleaning products, paper towel, menstrual pads, disposable pens, disposable razors, toilet paper</i>
zmanjševanje količine smeti	<i>ž_2 (2:14): I'd rather not buy processed packaged stuff -- and I've got to figure out where the line is. I know I can't go without buying any dry pasta this year, but I'm not sure that things like cereal, crackers, and granola bars should be allowed. ž_3 (2:21): Buying less packaged food, or with little packaging (I can't even look at convenience meals anymore without wanting to toss my cookies thinking about all the preservatives and waste)</i>
varčna ali preišljena raba resursov	<i>m_1 (6:26): carbon-producing transportation (as in we don't use it) ž_12 (1:2): We will be excellent stewards of the home and possessions we have</i>
bolj domača, preprosta in naravna prehrana	<i>ž_3 (2:5): eat at home and cook from scratch the bare essentials ž_2 (1:1): I'm not buying food from restaurants in 2007</i>
darovanje izdelkov	<i>ž_3 (1:1): give it away ž_4 (1:1): gift, sell, donate or toss things we don't *need.</i>
nič množične zabave	<i>m_1 (2:11): No movies or other forms of mass entertainment.</i>
OMILITEV THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
več izjem za nove nakupe	<i>ž_11 (1:9): infrastructure for our new house (we're building a house, so infrastructure being anything related to building materials for get house to lock-up, electricity, water, sewerage, and heating). ž_2 (1:1): I will allow myself to buy coffee and drinks, which I could easily make at home.</i>
potrošnja brezplačnih izdelkov	<i>ž_2 (1:1): I'd like to take better advantage of the free and community-based resources available in New York City.</i>

Čeprav posamezniki sledijo pravilom gibanja The Compact, pa je vsak izmed njih določena pravila gibanja tudi prilagodil. Najbolj bistvena pravila, kot so npr. prepoved kupovanja novega, zmanjševanje navlake v domovih ter kupovanje rabljenih in lokalnih izdelkov, so prevzeli vsi proučevani posamezniki.

Uvedli so tudi dodatna pravila:

- ki še otežujejo potek eksperimenta (npr. varčna raba virov, zmanjševanje količine smeti);
- ki potek eksperimenta zgolj jasneje usmerjajo (npr. darovanje izdelkov, kupovanje pravičnih in okolju prijaznih izdelkov).

Manj značilno je bilo dodajanje izjem, ki olajšajo izvedbo eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet.

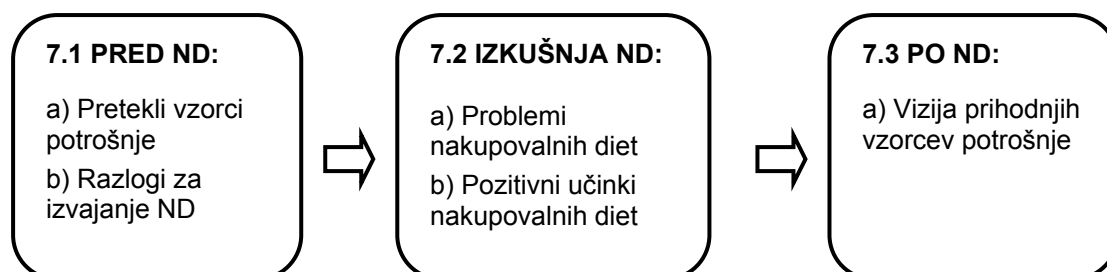
6.3 Izvedba raziskave

Čeprav Kozinets (2006c) trdi, da je netografija (torej tudi netblografija) časovno manj zahtevna metoda kot klasična etnografija, gre še vedno za kvalitativno metodo, ki zahteva predvsem v postopku zbiranja in analize rezultatov za razliko od kvantitativnega raziskovalnega pristopa, večji časovni vložek raziskovalca. Izvedba raziskave je potekala v šestih korakih.

1. **Predpriprava na raziskovalni proces:** izbor in študija relevantne literature s področja podnebnih sprememb, trajnostnega razvoja oz. potrošnje in časa.
2. **Oblikovanje raziskovalnega načrta:** formulacija raziskovalnega problema in namena raziskave, opredelitev tez, določitev proučevane skupnosti in izbor raziskovalne metode.
3. **Zbiranje podatkov:** nabor udeležencev (podrobnosti nabora v Poglavju 6.1) in neposredno kopiranje računalniško posredovane komunikacije z izbranih blogov.
4. **Analiza rezultatov in sinteza rezultatov:**
 - urejanje gradiva: oblikovanje enotnih Word dokumentov, ureditev zapisov po mesecih, zakrivanje identitete udeležencev;
 - določitev enot kodiranja: stavki, povedi oziroma odstavki (celovito zajemanje posameznikovih razmišljanj oziroma opisov določenih situacij);
 - odprto (vnaprej nedoločeno oz. prosto) kodiranje: konvertiranje Wordovih dokumentov (končnica .doc) v obogateno besedilo (končnica .rtf) in odprto kodiranje s programom za analizo vsebine Atlas (verzija 5.0);
 - izbor, definiranje in prikaz relevantnih pojmov ter kategorij: revizija kod ter uvedba ustreznih modifikacij (npr. poenotenje sopomenskih kod, izločitev nerelavantnih kod) in odnosno kodiranje (povezovanje kod v nadredne kategorije, oblikovanje modelov).
5. **Interpretacija rezultatov:** pojasnjevanje rezultatov z dosedanjimi teoretičnimi in empirični izsledki drugih raziskovalcev.
6. **Priporočila za nadaljnje raziskovanje:** kritične ocene prednosti in slabosti aktualne raziskave ter oblikovanje napotkov za nadaljnje proučevanje obravnavanega fenomena.

7.0 REZULTATI RAZISKAVE

Slika 7.1: Trije sklopi rezultatov glede na kronološki potek eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet



Rezultati raziskave so združeni v tri sklope (Slika 7.1) ter na koncu še iz zaključnega podpoglavja »7.4 Nakupovalne diete – povzetek«. Prvi sklop »Pred nakupovalnimi dietami« se nanaša na pretekle značilnosti vzorcev potrošnje posameznikov in obravnava razloge, zaradi katerih so se odločili za enoletno izvajanje nakupovalnih diet. Osrednji del rezultatov »Izkušnja nakupovalnih diet« ločeno obravnava probleme in pozitivne učinke nakupovalnih diet v dvanajstmesečnem obdobju eksperimenta. Tretji del rezultatov združuje refleksije posameznikov ob zaključku eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet in napovedi njihovih prihodnjih vzorcev potrošnje.

Vsi rezultati posameznega poglavja so prikazani tabelarično. Na levi strani tabele so prikazane ključne ugotovitve, sinteze kod analiziranih citatov. Na desni strani vsake tabele so kot pojasnilo oziroma podpora posamezni ugotovitvi dodani izbrani citati. Vsi ostali citati na določeno temo so dodani v prilogi. Ker se bili kodirani blogi pisani v angleščini so citati, ki ilustrirajo posamezen pojem, izpisani v originalu, torej brez prevodov. V primeru, da bi se citate prevajalo, bi se lahko ustvaril šum, ki bi lahko izkrivil osnovni pomen besedila.

7.1 Pred nakupovalnimi dietami

V začetnem obdobju izvajanja nakupovalnih diet so posamezniki pisali o njihovih preteklih nakupovalnih navadah. Pojasnjevali so tudi razloge odločitve vstopa v eksperiment nakupovalnih diet.

7.1.1 Pretekli vzorci potrošnje

Posamezniki so v zapisih podali opise svojih preteklih potrošniških navad, preden so prevzeli prakso nakupovalnih diet.

Tabela: 7.1: Pretekli vzorci potrošnje z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi B)

SODOBNA – HITRA POTROŠNJA	
kupovanje pripravljene hrane	<i>m_1 (4:10): Ashamed as I am to admit it, we used to Google the number for Bagel Bob's every morning, and then dial for coffee in plastic cups and bagels wrapped in reams of paper.</i> <i>ž_12 (1:30): Grab some dinner at Pasta Pomodoro, grab some Starbucks and a magazine. Then go home and go to bed.</i>
kupovanje na spletu	<i>ž_3 (3:10): Hi, my name is XY, and I am a recovering eBay addict.</i>
v iskanju takojšnje zadovoljitve	<i>ž_2 (5:9): I'm an impatient shopper ... I love walking into a place, locating exactly what I need amongst a million choices, and walking out in no time.</i>
živeti stresno in preko zmognosti	<i>m_1 (2:23): The result was that, while we waited for the season of crazy busyness to be over, we barely talked.</i> <i>ž_4 (2:16): There ain't no more money, folks. None. We are strapped.</i>
OKOLJU NEPRIJAZNA POTROŠNJA	
kupovanje izdelkov z veliko embalaže	<i>ž_1 (4:2): Mine rituals come from Corporate America, in lots and lots of packaging.</i>
zavrže, namesto popravi	<i>ž_5 (3:2): I am not a fixer. I don't know many fixers. We don't live in a fix-it society - we live in a replace it society.</i>
ima preveč stvari	<i>ž_3 (2:3): I have a lot of stuff. More than enough. I could probably go for at least a year without purchasing clothing and cosmetics... We probably don't need to buy towels for ten years because we got so many. We have twice as many dishes as we need.</i>
NEIZPOLNJUJOČA POTROŠNJA	
občutek, da ima vedno premalo	<i>ž_4 (2:12): Having enough is a fascinating concept to me. All my life I have never felt like I have enough. I never had enough "cool" clothes, or toys, or friends, or (sometimes) food. And that doesn't even start on the intangibles...like beauty, confidence, talent, drive, ambition, etc. So, for along time I have focused on getting *more* of whatever I felt was lacking.</i> <i>ž_11 (5:12): My consumption habit is: GREED.</i>

Posamezniki so svojo preteklo potrošnjo označevali kot povsem običajno sodobno potrošnjo, ki omogoča hitro, a kratkotrajno zadovoljitev potreb brez upoštevanja morebitne okoljske škode, ki pri tem nastaja.

7.1.2 Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet

Razlogi odločanja za nakupovalne diete so različni. Čeprav gre najpogosteje za kombinacijo več različnih razlogov, so ti v nadaljevanju prikazani ločeno. Razdeljeni so na raven posameznika, družbe in naravnega okolja.

Tabela 7.2: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni posameznika z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi C)

RAZUMEVANJE in ZMANJŠEVANJE VLOGE POTROŠNJE V VSAKDANJEM ŽIVLJENJU	
redefinicija potreb in potrošniških navad	<i>m_1 (2:15): "What we're really doing is taking apart our whole life. Instead of just living the way of life we've inherited and been told to lead, we're taking it all apart and seeing how we want to put it back together.</i> <i>ž_12 (1:1): For several months now, we have been struggling to find our identity. The glorious allure of, "The American Dream," has been causing a rising incompatibility with the life our hearts have desired.</i>
nasičenost z dobrinami	<i>m_1 (4:34): Today, is anything special? Is there anything so inaccessible that you get a buzz when you acquire it?</i> <i>m_3 (1:19): Part of ditching the whole materialistic mindset for me is realizing how much great stuff I already have. I need to appreciate these blessings and stop looking to acquire new things to give me that good old "look what I got" feeling. I tend to grab at things and when I find something I like- I hoard. This means I don't take time to enjoy what I already own.</i>
prihranek denarja	<i>ž_3 (2:2): ... to live a more simple, efficient life where we might actually be able to start saving some money before our daughter goes to college:</i> <i>ž_8 (5:4): Maybe we just have too much stuff. We did a Year Of The Cull last year, in which we sold so many possessions that we were able to live off the profits for three months - the sales paid our grocery bills for many, many weeks.</i>
ZVIŠEVANJE KAKOVOSTI ŽIVLJENJA	
osebna rast	<i>m_1(5:6): But at the heart of my reasons for engaging in the experiment is my desire to engage a very personal question about how I want to be as a person.</i> <i>ž_2 (2:8): My artist friends, on the other hand, envision me going to great lengths to make things myself or achieving some kind of enlightenment through discipline and careful consideration of every move.</i>
iskanje dolgoročnega zadovoljstva	<i>ž_5 (2:30): Basically our tiny unit was just becoming overwhelmed with 'stuff' and we were sick of just frittering away our money on nonessential things we really didn't need, nor made us happy.</i> <i>m_3 (2:10): When I stand back and look at this whole thing from afar it becomes clear. It's a treasure hunt. There is something bigger and more worthwhile in life than stuff, than the next big thing, than consuming. There is an elusive treasure in this world that most people miss.</i>
razvijanje ustvarjalnosti	<i>ž_2 (5:7): love the idea of artists transforming the city's garbage into magic.</i> <i>ž_12 (10:3):...it's time to stop thinking about better cotton tights for the girls, or, new bathroom rugs, and start conceptualizing my novel. Time to forget about whether or not my friends just tolerate me and start using my creativity for once.</i>
živeti zdravo	<i>ž_3 (3:2):By bringing less into our homes and choosing natural alternatives to what we do bring home, we are lessening the number of chemicals to which our families are exposed.</i>
biti boljši starš	<i>ž_3 (2:36): I am very conscious of my actions and the resulting message I am communicating to my child. I know that there is currently significant pressure upon pre-teens and children to conform to the latest trends, fashions and technology. I am hoping that I can be a strong role model for my son, in hopes that as a consumer, he will choose to make sustainability a priority in his life.</i> <i>ž_11 (5:13) What am I teaching my children through my habits? And the crunch: What sort of world am I giving my children?</i>

Posamezniki nakupovalne diete vidijo kot učinkovito orodje za doseganje višje kakovosti življenja. Kot njihovo ključno prednost izpostavljajo dejstvo, da omogočajo prek poudarjanja skromnosti temeljito refleksijo in ovrednotenje dosedanjega, s potrošnja močno zaznamovanega načina življenja. Nakupovalne diete preusmerjajo pozornost na druge pomembne plati posameznikovega delovanja.

Tabela 7.3: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni družbe z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi D)

SOUSTVARJANJE BOLJŠEGA, PRAVIČNEJŠEGA SVETA	
opozarjanje na in preprečevanje nepravične trgovine (oz. ekonomije) in suženjstva	<p>ž_2 (10:8): <i>Is about exposing the connections between buyer and seller, getting out of the conventional mode of commercial exchange, and challenging expectations about consumption.</i></p> <p>m_3 (4:14): <i>I said earlier, that consumerism never made the world a better place. I really believe that. If we didn't consume so much, there would be less poverty, less waste, less pollution, and more quality time. So by slaying that Dragon—in any small way—I am helping to make the world a better place. My choices NOW change the world NOW and in the future.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (1:8): <i>As a mother, I felt I could no longer live with the fact that my unhealthy consumption habits are coming at the cost of child abuse.</i></p>
zmanjševanje škodljivega vpliva drugih	<p>ž_12 (1:4): <i>While I make a decent paycheck, I am low on the corporate totem pole and I work with some very wealthy people. I never really noticed how much their lifestyle influences mine. They all drive new cars, wear expensive clothes, live in tremendous dwellings, etc., etc., etc..I wonder how I can lessen the effects of their influence. I think that this whole thing would be a lot easier if I was surrounded by like-minded people.</i></p>
VEČJA POVEZANOST Z DRUGIMI	
manj potrošnje, več druženja	<p>ž_3 (2:1): <i>For someone with limited time, it is appealing as it limits time spent shopping for things you don't actually need, and that time can be spent enjoying family and friends, or doing other more productive things.</i></p>
manj potrošnje, več razumevanja in sočutja	<p>ž_2 (4:7): <i>We're trying to live with less consumption. I think we can also live with more compassion.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (2:34): <i>Because I have recently stopped purchasing new items, the pressure I used to put on myself to acquire new stuff is absent. This exercise has also resulted in me being less judgmental of others. The most joyful aspect of this journey so far has been in giving to others in need.</i></p>
navdušiti ljudi nad novim načinom življenja	<p>m_1 (2:40): <i>It is not an attempt to convince anyone else to live according to our values (unless of course they want to). In the spirit of full disclosure, I have to admit that I do hope that our project might inspire other people to live more closely to their own values (which is one reason for the book but more on that below).</i></p>

Poleg individualnih koristi posamezniki napovedujejo in izpostavljajo tudi možne pozitivne učinke nakupovalnih diet na ravni celotne družbe. Kot pomemben razlog za prevzemanje prakse nakupovalnih diet izpostavljajo možnost, da na ta način pokažejo nestrinjanje z globalnimi izkoriščevalskimi gospodarskimi razmerji, in tako pomagajo ustvarjati boljši in pravičnejši svet.

Tabela 7.4: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni naravnega okolja z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi E)

ZMANJŠEVANJE OKOLJSKE DEGRADACIJE	
boj proti podnebnim spremembam in onesnaženosti okolja	<p><i>m_1 (8:2): I think, too, that the climate crisis-not to mention the planet's numerous other environmental problems-calls for us to use less. Use less power, use less oil, use less stuff.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (1:2): Disgusted and alarmed by the proximity of unlimited shopping and unlimited garbage in Manhattan, as well as the disposable mentality I live and work in - "just throw it out and get a new one" - I've decided to make a little experiment in non-consumption.</i></p>
zmanjšana (pravičnejša) raba virov	<p><i>m_1 (6:8): The planet has limited resources. A lot of people need and want those resources. So, what's my fair share? How big a slice of the pie can I take without it meaning that someone else has to suffer? I want happiness for myself and my family, but the big question underlying the project is whether you can achieve that without causing too much suffering for others.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:22): One of the things that I really like about this Compact business is the emphasis on personal responsibility. It is great that we - and people with similar ideas - are starting to think about what we can do to reduce our impact on the environment.</i></p>
smotnejša raba virov	<p><i>ž_2 (1:6) I want to learn how to fix clothes, proper meals, broken things - and learn from some master practitioners like my grandparents, other artists, and complete strangers.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:28): Am beginning to realise that if you buy something - or have bought something - then you have a responsibility to use it all.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:2): It enables us to do our best to honour the planet, by reusing what we have, not buying what we don't need, and recycling what we do use.</i></p>

Posamezniki se za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet odločajo tudi zaradi tega, ker verjamejo, da zaradi zmanjšane in bolj smotrne rabe razpoložljivih virov lahko prispevajo k reševanju okoljskih problemov.

7.1.3 Pred nakupovalnimi dietami: povzetek

Slika 7.2: Pretekli vzorci potrošnje in razlogi vstopa v eksperiment nakupovalnih diet



Pretekla potrošnja proučevanih posameznikov je bila manj preiščena in bolj neobremenjena z negativnimi posledicami, ki jih ta lahko ima za posameznika, družbo in naravno okolje. V nasprotju s preteklo potrošnjo so ključni razlogi posameznikov za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet prav pozitivne posledice, ki jih tovrstna praksa prinaša. Posamezniki verjamejo, da bodo prek razumevanja in zmanjševanja vloge potrošnje v vsakdanjem življenju:

- prispevali k izboljšanju lastne kakovosti življenja;
- opozarjali in odgovarjali na družbene krivice ter se tesneje povezali s skupnostjo;
- prek zmanjšane in razumnejše rabe virov prispevali k zmanjševanju okoljske degradacije.

7.2 Izkušnja nakupovalnih diet

Med dvanajstmesečnim obdobjem nakupovalnih diet so posamezniki razpravljali o težavah in pozitivnih posledicah, ki jih nenakupovalna praksa prinaša. Rezultati ključnih problemov in prednosti nakupovalnih diet so razvrščeni v štiri sklope, in sicer problemi oziroma prednosti nakupovalnih diet z (1.) vidika časa, (2.) družbe in (3.) inovativnosti ter (4.) drugi pomembni vidiki deprivacije potrošnje.

7.2.1 Problemi nakupovalnih diet

Posamezniki so poročali o različnih problemih, ki otežujejo izvajanje nakupovalnih diet. Poleg težav, povezanih s časom, družbo in inovativnostjo, so izpostavili tudi probleme, povezane z zmanjšano in spremenjeno potrošnjo.

Tabela 7.5: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in čas z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi F)

PREVEČ (NOVEGA) DELA	
redefinicija življenjskega sloga zahteva čas	<i>ž_11 (9:3): Due to lack of time (his workload is pretty horrendous atm), he had not been able to build his "thing stash" and so found this challenge very unrewarding.</i> <i>ž_2 (12:2): I have found that it's difficult to change just one habit when I feel stressed, sick, poor, busy - which is the general state of affairs for a lot of people in NYC and elsewhere.</i> <i>ž_5 (8:3): And it is a fairly time-consuming business as well - you do have to be dedicated.</i>
(pre)več gospodinjskih opravil	<i>m_1 (3:14): She does like to joke, though, that experiment has turned her husband into a nineteenth century housewife.</i> <i>ž_2 (4:5): I already have the skills to do little things, simply from years of watching her and my mom, I just can't let it pile up so much. And I might be able to develop a sewing imagination, the kind that makes cap sleeves out of cuffs, but it's going to take a lot longer than I want it to. Now, if I can cultivate the patience...!</i>
ŠE VEDNO PREMALO ČASA	
še vedno v časovni stiski	<i>ž_11 (7:9): So I am trying to find our balance between play and housework.</i> <i>ž_3 (4:1): What a busy weekend - I am finally starting to feel the pinch of working full time and trying to keep up with what is going on at home.</i>
prekrški kot prihranek časa in zniževanje stresa	<i>ž_2 (1:14): Perhaps I ought to take the time to tape and paint carefully - but when I think about how long that will take, the little thing is damn attractive.</i> <i>ž_3 (5:2): I did realize yesterday that my desire to shop was a direct result of the stress I was feeling, and once I started shopping, I only wanted to shop more.</i> <i>ž_11 (5:8): Yes. There are heaps of other ways I could have handled this situation - including even buying them a healthy snack rather than a "thing". But under pressure, I ended up reverting to the quickest thing that I knew would work.</i>

Nakupovalne diete zahtevajo čas, saj proučevani posamezniki kot negativno posledico spremenjenih vzorcev potrošnje izpostavljajo preveč dodatnega dela, ki ga zmanjšana oziroma spremenjena potrošnja prinaša. Prav zato še vedno poročajo o časovni stiski, ki jo rešujejo tako, da delajo prekrške, s katerimi si »kupijo čas«.

Tabela 7.6: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in družba z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi G)

OSEBNI ZADRŽKI IN PREKRŠKI POVEZANI Z DRUŽBO	
občutek izključenosti	<p>ž_12 (6:5): <i>Hold us to it, we need your help. Simplicity CANNOT happen without community. Isolation is our worst enemy.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (7:6) <i>I ve just spent a humungous amount of time with friends and family and I'm now starting to realise how much of our conversation is based on consumption. Which shops are having a sale, what such and such bought recently, what they're planning to buy, where to buy it etc etc. I managed to put in a little bit (where second-hand shops are) but I found myself not having anything to say.</i></p>
strah, da družba razloge za ND napačno razume	<p>ž_2 (3:7): <i>I don't want to tell the people at my office: I'm afraid they'll think I'm taking advantage, lying, or stealing somehow.</i></p> <p>ž_8 (5:7): <i>Our society needs to lose the silly idea that buying secondhand is somehow shameful. I think buying secondhand is clever.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (11:10): <i>Until I wasn't buying anything brand new and all of sudden, I was worried about whether people would think I was poor.</i></p>
strah pred izgubo neodvisnosti	<p>ž_11 (2:5): <i>Unless if I swallow my pride and ask if anyone has got any fleece off cuts or snaps.... but then I feel like I'm asking for charity... hmmm there's an interesting thought. My consumption is linked to my need to show people how "independent" and "successful" I am. hmmm.... didn't even think I had a need to prove to others about stuff like that.</i></p>
prekrški zaradi občutka večje sprejetosti	<p>ž_2 (11:1): <i>Occasionally, I'll go out with friends to eat real food. I got tired of being the weird one who wasn't eating out. (And hungry.)</i></p> <p>ž_11 (3:5): <i>Still, I'm also coming to realise exactly how consumer oriented everyone is. I am realising too that much of my own consumption seems to be more as a result of my environment - everyone consumes then so must I. Its become like a way of fitting in. I feel it more at Jade's school. I often get the feeling that I must buy 'cause all the parents are buying for their kids.... and they're buying them brand new stuff from the multinationals.</i></p>
prekrški zaradi družabnih dogodkov (praznovanj)	<p>ž_3 (5:3): <i>I will be participating in my brother's wedding, both in the ceremony and giving a short speech at the reception, and I definitely want to be appropriately and nicely dressed.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (5:10): <i>When as I was wrapping them up, I suddenly got all insecure about what I was giving them. Both of them had been very generous in the past and have bought quite expensive presents for the kids. I felt that by giving them homemade presents it wouldn't be enough. So in the last minute, I just dashed out of the shops and bought these two items.</i></p>
prekrški zaradi zahtev službe ali šole	<p>ž_3 (5:6): <i>I just got a promotion, which brings with it a requirement to wear something other than my ratty old t-shirts to the office.</i></p> <p>ž_10 (2:4) <i>My first blog entry ever and I have to say I've stumbled at the first hurdle. My kids went back to school this week (they're 7 and 8) and they've grown a lot - so I had to buy new shoes and new school clothes.</i></p> <p>m_3 (5:3): <i>Now- if you are trying to look cool, then yes- buying new is your best bet. I can see even a high powered career being an excuse for some crisp new clothes now and then.</i></p>
NESTRINJANJE OKOLICE S PRAKSO NAKUPOVALNIH DIET ali NJENO NESPREJEMANJE	
jeza, strah, grožnje in očitki	<p>m_1 (2:39): <i>I've had rather a large amount of, well, hate mail. Someone wants to spray my wife and I with an Uzi and get my daughter adopted by Angelina Jolie, for example.</i></p> <p>m_3 (1:28): <i>It seems that this way of thinking has really hit a nerve in those closest to me. Why is that? Why is there such fear of life outside of consuming?</i></p>
dvom o uspešnosti ND in nerazumevanje razlogov za ND	<p>m_1 (1:15): <i>"Forget it. It's impossible," he says. It's one thing to try it in the countryside, maybe in the woods, like Henry David Thoreau, or on a farm, where you grow your own food. But in New York City? No way.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (2:7): <i>I find it interesting that my friends with money define the experiment as about spending money; one of them explained it as making a project out of my poverty.</i></p>

Praksa nakupovalnih diet je odkrila vrsto osebnih zadržkov in strahov posameznikov. Bojijo se, da jih bo okolica zaradi nenakupovanja izključila, jih napačno razumela, oziroma, da bodo zaradi nekupovanja morali žrtvovati lastno neodvisnost. Prav zato so številni prekrški posledica želje ustrezati družbenim normam. Posamezniki kupujejo prepovedane izdelke ob praznikih in zato, ker mislijo oziroma jih dejansko od njih zahtevata služba ali šola.

V večini primerov aktivno nestrinjanje okolice s prakso nakupovalnih diet sicer ni izrazito. Posamezniki so o negativnih reakcijah okolice na njihov eksperiment le redko poročali.

Tabela 7.7: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in inovativnost z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi H)

NADALJEVANJE NAMESTO SPREMINJANJA USTALJENIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
preveliko kupovanje dovoljenih izdelkov	<p>ž_5 (6:13): <i>On the other hand, it gives free license to continue in consumer mode, which is not really a good thing and perpetuates the pursuit of the material. And in buying second hand stuff, are we salving other people's consciences so that they can happily go out and buy more?</i></p> <p>ž_11 (3:4): <i>Come to think of it, I think I'm actually buying MORE. Because the products are so cheap, there have been times I can't help myself and just buy more stuff I don't really need. I am also getting quite a lot of thrills in getting that bargain.</i></p>
zamenjava namesto zmanjšanja	<p>ž_3 (4:13): <i>We are have replaced our conventional cleaners with more "green" personal care and home cleaning products.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (4:1): <i>Sometimes we have to buy things to become more sustainable. An example might be good quality, classic shoes that will last many seasons, so we don't have to buy new shoes every year. Or buying a compost bin, so your kitchen scraps go on the garden rather than in landfill. Or a greywater hose to make your garden bloom even in the harshest of dry spells.</i></p>
prej pomisli na nakup kot na izposajo	<p>ž_2 (11:3): <i>These new habits are refusing to get incorporated into my life! I went to the used bookstore to buy a present for a friend. Right above the shelf where I located his book, I found a book I've been wanting to read for a while. I ran through the list in my head: it's used...I'm not broke this month...it's a reasonable price...it's right in front of me.. As I walked back to the subway I stopped and almost said DUH! right out loud. I've had such success with the library this year and the thought did not even occur to me as I was running through my list!</i></p> <p>ž_11 (5:7): <i>I know realise that I *could* have asked other people if they had any spare pins lying around and not being used.</i></p>
odlaganje nakupov po ND	<p>ž_3 (5:9): <i>The other thing on our radar lately has been contemplating the purchase of a new vehicle. The Husband has driven the same 1990-model car for the last thirteen years. It makes sense for us to purchase a car either this year or next year. I am working hard to convince the Huz that we can rent a vehicle for the couple of road trips we need to take this summer, and put off buying the new car for at least another few months. The Huz wants to buy a new, top-of-the-line car and although I don't blame him, it seems like an awful lot of dough to fork out at once. We'll save the money in the meantime, and see how things go with our car this summer.</i></p>
kupovanje zabave	<p>ž_4 (10:2): <i>We went to the zoo yesterday. It was rather a perfect fall day. B has decided that she needs to walk everywhere. Not only walk, but usually without holding anyone's hand. It is easier on my back, but harder to keep track of her.</i></p> <p>ž_12 (4:9): <i>As many of you know, it has been a season of doubt and frustration; so, we took off for a long weekend in Disneyland.</i></p>

Posamezniki namesto novih oz. inovativnejših vzorcev vedenja še vedno združujejo stare vzorce potrošnje. Kot nadomestilo za nenakupovanje novih izdelkov prekomerno kupujejo dovoljene izdelke oziroma odlagajo nakupe na čas po končanem eksperimentu. Na ta način namesto zmanjševanja kupovanja izdelkov te zgolj nadomeščajo z okolju prijaznejšimi in etičnimi izdelki. Pri tem pozabljajo na možnost izposoje, ki bi nakup določenega izdelka lahko nadomestila.

Tabela 7.8: Negativne posledice deprivacije kupovanja novega z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi I)

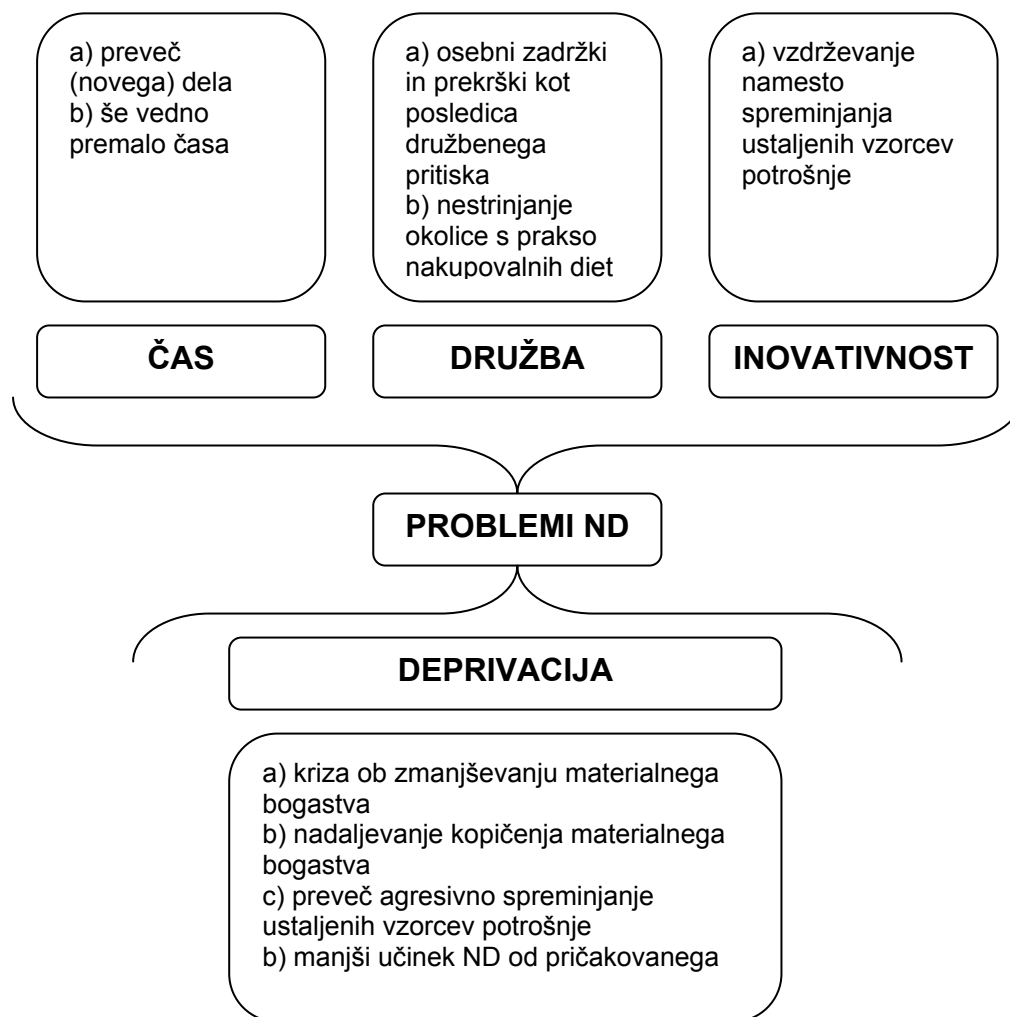
KRIZA OB ZMANJŠEVANJU MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
občutek, da so ND (pre)težke	<p>ž_5 (7:3): <i>It ain't always easy, that's for sure</i></p> <p>m_1 (5:9): <i>No fridge is hard so far. The milk goes bad in a day. The aforementioned arugula turns yellow in two. The pot in the pot is a bust. My dad has found a vintage Coleman cooler on eBay, where he plans to use some top-secret bidding tool.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (2:11): <i>Not eating in restaurants means that I have to think about how to feed myself for the whole day, examining what my plans are and figuring out if I have time to run home and fix something.</i></p>
občutek prikrajšanosti	<p>m_1 (1:27): <i>All of a sudden the whole world is available to everyone else except for me. What the hell have I gotten myself into?</i></p> <p>ž_12 (1:31): <i>Going to Pasta Pomodoro is the toughy for me. Going out to dinner is something we all thoroughly enjoy and dont plan to give up. But tonight? Is that the wisest decision? Starbucks...sheesh- I have an expensive Barista machine here at home and tend to be more satisfied by my own Lattes than the ones I buy there. So, what now?</i></p>
skušnjave, želje kupovati nedovoljeno	<p>ž_2 (8:3): <i>The funny thing is, I have a cold and I'm grouchy, and still I think new clothes will make me feel better.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (2:33): <i>Even after coming to the conclusion that I only need a small amount of supplies to get ready every morning, how is it that every time I go into a drugstore for some basic need (toothpaste, deodorant), I feel the need to pick up items I don't need or want?</i></p> <p>ž_7 (3:3): <i>It's been three months and is an absolute record for me, but I too am feeling the 'need' for a lovely pair of winter boots even though it's a stinking 32 degrees here in Sydney with about 150% humidity!</i></p>
NADALJEVANJE KOPIČENJA MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
slabo izvajanje ND, priznavanje in pojasnjevanje prekrškov	<p>ž_3 (10:2): <i>July & August 1. A couple hundred dollars in clothes, most of them for work - egads. 2. A pair of winter boots, to be worn for work 3. Sunglasses - my former pair was crushed by a beach umbrella. 4. A shirt for work June 2007 1. A barbeque 2. A birthday gift for Monkey 3. A yoga video and strap 3. A pair of yoga pants and top May 2007 1. five undergarments 2. five summer shirts 3. three pair of shoes April 2007 1. Socks for the husband 2. Eyeshadow 3. A yoga video March 2007 1. A vegan cookbook 2. Underwear for the Husband 3. A spring hat for Monkey 4. Socks for Monkey 5. Shoe inserts February 2007 1. Cotton lunch sacks (two) 2. Aluminum Sigg sport bottles for Monkey (two) 2. Toothpaste and body cream for Monkey 3. The Diva Cup 4. A book for Monkey</i></p> <p>m_3 (3:6): <i>She's right. It wasn't used, at least it replaced something I had to throw out, but it wasn't really something we "needed." I was a little perturbed at first, but after a little thought, I'm owning up to a slip.</i></p>
obžalovanje prekrškov	<p>ž_3 (4:12): <i>I returned all of the items to the store today, realizing that I didn't really need any of them and can probably make it through the summer without needing any new clothes. Whew! Back on track...</i></p> <p>ž_12 (2:14): <i>I got completely depressed when we went into town today, and I'm sort of ashamed of myself.</i></p>

razmišljanje o izstopu iz ND	<p>ž_2 (6:2): <i>I've had more than a few moments of "I hate this #(&%&\$ project, why did I ever come up with it anyway?" A friend and I discussed the possibility of quitting - after all it is an experiment and some experiments fail.</i></p> <p>ž_12 (7:6): <i>There have been many days where it seems impossible to live with less, buy less, be more sustainable. Sometimes we just feel like saying, "Ah screw it, it was a nice try. Where do we shop first?"</i></p>
prekinitev eksperimenta	<p>ž_2 (6:5): <i>Experiment and I are going on vacation. That is, I am going on vacation but experimetn is not coming with me. ... I won't go crazy buying stuff, I can't afford to. We'll see if the break gives me the renewed enthusiasm I need for the rest of the year.</i></p>
PREVEČ AGRESIVNO SPREMINJANJE USTALJENIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
nalepljenost na pravila	<p>m_1 (5:16): <i>I'm attaching to the rules of the project the way I used to be attached to my desire for consumer items. That's no good</i></p> <p>ž_2 (3:9): <i>I'm concerned for myself in that I wonder if it's too neurotic, that the experiment is about control in a way that isn't healthy for my life right now.</i></p>
MANJŠI UČINEK NAKUPOVALNIH DIET OD PRIČAKOVANEGA	
še vedno premočno obremenjevanje okolja	<p>m_1 (4:54): <i>It's two months since I began the no impact man stage concerned with stopping trash, but my recycling bin is still filling up with paper I never bought, never used, and never wanted.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:3): <i>I'm still not certain I've permanently altered even one thing to be a little more environmentally friendly.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (3:9): <i>This seller is not local to me, and although the items are second-hand, I am forced to consider the environmental impact of having them shipped to me.</i></p>
dvom o učinkovitost ND nasploh	<p>ž_5 (9:2) <i>I had a slight crisis of faith wondering whether what we are trying to do is making the slightest bit of difference.</i></p> <p>ž_12 (11:5): <i>We started this whole quest for anti-consumerism in January and here I am almost December and I have hardly grown. At least I'm not at the super simplified zen place I thought I'd be. Will I get there by the end of 2007?</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:21): <i>The truth is, I haven't really fixed many things this year: some clothes, a lot of meals and baked goods -- I'm hard-pressed to think of even one thing I've fixed and continued to use.</i></p>

Nakupovalne diete so posameznikom pri spreminjanju ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje povzročale nemalo težav. Ob prepovedi nadaljnega kopičenja materialnega bogastva so občutili prikrajšanost in skušnjavo, da bi vseeno kupovali nove stvari. Eksperiment so občutili kot (pre)težak, kar potrjujejo tudi številni prekrški in razmišljanja o izstopu oziroma celo dejanska prekinitev eksperimenta.

Poleg nedoslednega izvajanja nakupovalnih diet se je pojavila tudi težava preveč agresivnega spreminjanja ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje. Ta je posledica pretirane nalepljenosti na pravila. Med drugim pa so posamezniki izpostavili tudi problem nezadostnega učinka nakupovalnih diet. Kljub izvajanju prakse nakupovalnih diet, so poročali o še vedno prevelikem obremenjevanju okolja. Zato so izražali dvom v učinkovitost nakupovalnih diet nasploh.

Slika 7.3: Problemi nakupovalnih diet z vidika časa, družbe in inovativnosti ter ostale izpostavljene negativne posledice deprivacije.



Nakupovalne diete niso enostavne, saj prepoved kupovanja novega ter nasploh zmanjšana in spremenjena potrošnja zahtevata korenite spremembe življenjskega sloga. Zato posamezniki izpostavljajo različne težave, ki so jih med eksperimentom doživljali. Izpostavili so problem:

- časovne stiske kot posledice več gospodinjstkih opravil;
- izražali so strah in negotovost, da jih bo okolica zaradi eksperimenta zavračala – strah je sicer večji od dejanskega zavračanja družbe;
- preveč agresivno oziroma premalo iznajdljivo spreminjanje ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje;
- krize zaradi zmanjševanja materialnega bogastva – kljub pravilom posamezniki še vedno kupujejo nove stvari;
- premajhnega učinka nakupovalnih diet.

7.2.2 Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet

Pozitivne izkušnje nakupovalnih diet so prav tako kot negativni učinki nakupovalnih diet združene v štiri sklope z vidika časa, družbe, inovativnosti in pozitivnih posledic deprivacije.

Tabela 7.9: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in čas z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi J)

BOLJ CENITI ČAS	
počasnejše, mirnejše življenje	<p><i>m_1 (4:44): The change of rhythm. Whether hopping in taxis or talking on your cell phone, everything is a big rush... We just can't move that fast on our bikes and by walking. At first you think you're losing out, but on a weekend day basically we can do one big thing and we savor it much more. That was kind of surprising to me.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:7): I noticed over the weekend that this decision to purchase only needs and not wants has given me a sense of peace with regard to spending.</i></p>
čas kot dobrina oz. bogastvo	<p><i>ž_11 (4:38): So yeah, now we don't do presents. Instead what we do is that we try to make that day as special as possible for the birthday person. On birthdays, we give the best thing we could possibly give. Our undivided attention and unencumbered love to the birthday person.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (4:6): I have been thinking that hanging onto stuff you don't need is like getting fat. Both are the result of overconsuming, are easy to accumulate and take a lot of time and effort to get rid of.</i></p>
AKTIVNO NAMESTO PASIVNEGA PREŽIVLJANJE PROSTEGA ČASA	
zmanjševanje deleža pasivne zabave	<p><i>m_1 (7:7): Let your TV rob someone else's time: We have that time to spend with each other, on our work, and generally doing stuff instead of watching stuff. Plus we reduced our power consumption and carbon emissions!</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:37): Take a risk, dump the dish. Cut the cable. Just take back your life from that horrid evil box.</i></p>
športne aktivnosti	<p><i>m_1 (3:35): Then we went by train to my hometown in Massachusetts for Christmas-a concession we made to plans arranged long before the project began-rented bikes so we didn't have to get around by car, and Michelle and Isabella loved it.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:13): So I have been waiting for the package to arrive. In the meantime, I went swimming at the local river with the kids a couple of days back</i></p>
več časa zunaj, na prostem	<p><i>ž_12 (1:8): It has been a very long time since we had taken a solo-family trip (without another family or our extended family) and we felt that strolling through a forest with some of the tallest living things on our planet was the way to go.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (6:2): We are so blessed. All of us are. But we really felt it this weekend, I think. We live about 25 minutes away from a beautiful lake, and our friends invited us to join them in camping Friday night.</i></p>
več druženja z družino in prijatelji	<p><i>ž_3 (3:4): The husband and I took yesterday off work as my parents are in town - they have been here since Saturday, and the weekend was filled with visiting, family dinners, and lots of laughing.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:13): We dance and we dance and we dance.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (2:7): He doesn't need the TV, doesn't need new toys doesn't need expensive entertainment. He needs us. He needs friends. He needs community..</i></p>
ZADOVOLJSTVO Z GOSPODINJSKIMI OPRAVILI	
gospodinjska opravila so vredna svojega časa	<p><i>m_1 (3:15): I have to say it is a new found pleasure to do something so simply essential for my friends and family. What more important thing can I do with my life than feed them? Should I be reading Proust instead? Is my time better spent there? Or is my time better spent using food to help build our circle and strengthening our relationship bonds?</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (12:2 (6:6): I have been coming to terms with this realization ever since. Lately, I've been finding new enjoyment in hard work. It feels weird to say this, but I'm actually starting to enjoy working around the house.</i></p>

Za proučevane posameznike je značilno, da zaradi izvajanja nakupovalnih diet spremenijo odnos do časa. Čas začnejo bolj ceniti, eksperiment pa spremeni ritem njihovega življenja. Namesto pasivnega sedenja pred televizorjem, so posamezniki v prostem času bolj aktivni. Več časa namenijo športnim in drugim aktivnostim na prostem ter druženju s prijatelji in družino. Celo gospodinjska opravila vidijo kot kakovostno preživljan čas.

Tabela 7.10: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in družba z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi K)

POVEZOVANJE / VZPOSTAVLJANJE STIKOV	
povezovanje z bralci bloga in spraševanje za nasvete	<p>ž_2 (1:7): <i>I hope you'll contribute your ideas, suggestions, and skills to the effort.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:10): <i>In the meantime, if anyone has a copy of Alan Bennett's Writing Home they</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:10): <i>Its pretty amazing how asking has provided me with stuff. I can only hope that one day I would also be able to give and not just take. :D</i></p>
podarjanje in izmenjava izdelkov	<p>ž_3 (2:41): <i>In the spirit of recycling, I have put aside a few items that I have received in the past as gifts that are in MINT condition, to be passed on to friends and family members over the next year.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (3:2): <i>Last week 8 or 10 friends got together in Brooklyn to offload the random clothes that never worked or gifts we couldn't bring ourselves to wear. The good thing about clothing swaps rather than giving to Goodwill is that you have a relationship with where your stuff is going and some of the emotional details remain intact.</i></p>
svetovanje, kako živeti zeleno	<p>m_1 (1:3): <i>Here is the beginning of a list of green-living actions that you can take too.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (4:10): <i>There are a lot of things that we can all do to be more friendly to the Earth..</i></p>
občutek večje povezanosti	<p>ž_11 (4:35): <i>By consuming less, and by relying on others a lot more, I am starting to see that a HUGE part of my "isolation wall" is made up of my need to consume..... which is funny, 'cause I suspect that a part of me wanted to consume *because* I wanted to feel more connected.</i></p>
POMOČ in PODPORA PRAKSE NAKUPOVALNIH DIET	
razumevanje, podpora, sprejemanje	<p>m_1 (2:39): <i>Now then, I've had an incredible amount of support for the project from all over the world the last few days</i></p> <p>m_3 (1:16) <i>A lot of people seem to be supportive -My Mother-In-Law is hardly nagging us at all about the whole thing I'm sure that hard times will come and that there is a lot of time and potential for challenging circumstances, but stepping into this experiment seems (so far) to have been the most difficult part.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (3:6): <i>I'm also afraid that people are thinking it's a bigger sacrifice than it is: I've gotten so many emails from people expressing how they could never do such a thing.</i></p>
podarjanje, nadomestni potrošniki	<p>ž_2 (2:2): <i>"Can I buy you food? My sister says no manicures. You know what, I can buy you stuff, I'll just buy you things."</i></p> <p>ž_4 (7:11): <i>My dad passed on a camera to us, which I have been playing with. There is a distinct difference between these shots and the ones with the old camera.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (10:8): <i>I'm now thinking of calling in on my neighbours and asking them for some of their plastic bags.... after all, I really do need a few more for my rubbish bin!!</i></p>
posojanje	<p>m_1 (8:6): <i>"Well, I have another one you can borrow," the woman said, and that's the rickshaw we've been riding my daughter around in.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:6): <i>I needed a sewing machine so I could learn how to sew. So I just mention this to a few people and a friend contacts me and says she hasn't used her machine for ages and I can borrow hers indefinitely!</i></p>
svetovanje, dajanje nasvetov	<p>m_1 (2:6): <i>So she emailed me her Mom's recipe, I made it last night, and it's the best. Mix with honey. Yum. Just to have--at last!--some sort of food that I don't have to cook.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:4): <i>On the subject of repairing, I've also been making stuff!! A friend of mine, has been coming over and showing me how to use a sewing machine!!</i></p>

Posamezniki zaradi nekupovanja postanejo bolj povezani z okolico. Preko bloga in v živo navezujejo stike s posamezniki, jih prosijo za nasvete, izdelke ter jim tudi sami svetujejo, kako živeti bolj zeleno. Nasploh poročajo o številnih pozitivnih izkušnjah podpore okolice ob izvajanju nakupovalnih diet. Znanci, prijatelji in družinski člani jim pomagajo tako z nasveti kot tudi s posojanjem in podarjanjem izdelkov.

Tabela 7.11: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in inovativnost z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi L)

PODALJŠEVANJE ŽIVLJENJSKEGA CIKLA IZDELKOV	
izposojanje, podarjanje in izmenjava izdelkov	<p>ž_3 (2:23): <i>Letting go of these items I am no longer using feels great, not only to be letting go, but to be passing them on to others who will use them and enjoy them.</i></p> <p>ž_8 (5:6): <i>It now looks like I'll never have to buy new again for my little girl. And the other Mums in the playgroup are now doing swaps and sales between us, saving even more new stuff from being bought! Of course, this is what mothers used to do in the "old days" - before eBay. It just took a little incentive on my part to get the ball rolling again.</i></p>
uporaba zavrženih izdelkov	<p>m_1 (2:32): <i>I couldn't buy a copy of the New York Times yesterday (Sunday), even though it contained an OpEd on the project by yours truly. So, my wife and I went through our building's recycling pile and finally found a couple of copies.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (2:2 (34:34): <i>We have found some steel fence posts - again from a construction site. So that will come in handy for our new house's gardens. We'll probably use it for our vege patch and the chickens, so foxes and other undesirable animals don't get in there.</i></p>
kupovanje izdelkov iz druge roke	<p>ž_2 (3:3): <i>40% of my wardrobe consists of swap items at this point.</i></p> <p>ž_9 (2:16): <i>Other than that, today I finally went to my local Trash and Treasure market, which I've never visited and clearly have been missing out! It was great!</i></p> <p>ž_3 (4:3): <i>Since today I had the luxury of having some time to myself, I planned to go to a neighbourhood outside of downtown where I knew there were a number of children's consignment stores.</i></p>
popravljanje izdelkov	<p>ž_2 (4:1): <i>My wardrobe grew considerably in the last week, without buying a thing! My grandmother and I resurrected some clothes that had been sitting in my closet for over a year with tears, missing buttons, stains, etc.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:3): <i>I have been spending quite a bit of time repairing clothes, toys etc. I can't believe how roughly we treat all of our things! (I'm including myself here). I have realised that our consumption habits have made us quite careless with how we treat our things.</i></p>
BOLJ PREMIŠLJENA RABA VIROV	
izraba vseh izdelkov, ki jih že imajo	<p>ž_5 (5:3) <i>I am currently working my way through stuff in the bathroom and laundry cupboards. So, all those half used little bottles of shampoo from hotels and mini toothpastes and samples of face cream are being put to good use.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (1:2): <i>We also did the unthinkable and even regifted a couple of things - I KNOW! I recently heard that re-gifting was an environmental necessity, and I really appreciated that definition.</i></p>
varčnejša raba virov: energije, papirja, vode	<p>m_1 (6:29): <i>Canceling our magazine and newspaper subscriptions and reading online.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (6:2): <i>Water use - I am a bloody hero (in my own mind, anyway)! Have been showering with a bucket since December.</i></p> <p>ž_7 (2:32): <i>He rides to work on a (previously unusable) bike that we fixed up, and I walk.</i></p>

izbiranje izdelkov za večkratno uporabo in z več funkcijami	ž_11 (1:6): Then a few things happened in my life that came about in the space of a few years. The first was changing over to cloth nappies. It was like a whole new world opened up to me and I became aware bit by bit over the amount of disposable materials I had in the house - not just nappies but everything from menstrual products (soon changed over to reusable) to the glad wrap I used to cover our food (despite having a tonne of Tupperware). I also very slowly realised that surrounded as I was by the amount of disposable products, I also treated many non-disposable items (crockery, linen, etc) as if they were disposable. This fed into the "necessity" of increasing my consumption - eg. because of the way I treated my clothes, I need lots of clothes in rotation to reduce the wear and tear.
zmanjševanje količine smeti, kompostiranje	m_1 (5:31): I'm composting with worms (and we no longer fight about it), and it's working a charm. I am just getting ready for my second harvesting of the worm castings.
DOMAČA IZDELAVA – NAREDI SI SAM	
občutek večje kreativnosti	ž_11 (4:32): I would have just gone out to the shops to buy whatever I wanted/needed, now I have to be a bit more creative. I have to learn not only to make do, but also to connect with people on a very practical level. ž_12 (5:6): This last weekend, my husband was gone and I decided, since we had the paint and flooring already, I was going to redo our upstairs bathroom. I had some help from my friend, and from my mom- and I love the way it turned out.
gojenje domačih pridelkov	m_1 (5:32): At the Laguardia Community Garden (which is incidentally under threat from NYU development), I work with a wonderful old radical, whose plot has sweet peas, cucumbers, tomatoes, beans, spinach and more. ž_2 (9:2): The "patio" tomatoes are still chugging along, producing golf ball-sized fruit at the rate of 4-5 a week. They are flavorful, if kind of an awkward size.
domača izdelava kozmetike in čistil	ž_2 (7:2) Well, almost. I'm nearly through with the last of my deodorant. I've been supplementing with baking soda but that's not so great for my mostly black wardrobe. ž_3 (2:8): I am going to try this homemade laundry soap recipe and see how it goes
izdelava daril	ž_4 (2:19): I did find that I can make cards for every single birthday in both my husband's & my families this year and still have craft material to make more cards. So, homemade cards it is this year folks! ž_11 (2:3): Finally, I have started making the presents for Christmas. At this stage I am hand sewing. Once the kids are back at school, I will start learning the sewing machine.... Wish me luck
učenje šivanja	ž_2 (4:4) Still, I tried to learn as much as I could in this recent session: my grandmother showed me some tricks and above all encouraged me to get a machine so I can do some bigger repairs on my own. ž_7 (3:4): So my project for this week is to replace buttons and sew up the hem of my jacked and fix the skirt up. Luckily I have a bit of a mending kit and a button jar happening...not too sure how flash my sewing skills are, but I'll do my best.
učenje kuhanja	ž_3 (3:13): We have been doing a lot more cooking and eating at home, with healthy ingredients. I now understand how it is possible to go crazy cooking and baking while attempting to compact - it is easy just to re-direct the funds previously spent on other things to the food/grocery category. m_3 (1:35): Well, she did and it was fabulous! My father was very surprised. When he and I were alone for a moment he said surprisingly, "I didn't know she could cook." That put a smile on my face for several reasons. The most important one was that I knew my wife has made a dramatic change in lifestyle. She is really living out what this journey was supposed to challenge. Also, her cooking is getting better and better. So, long story short...MY WIFE ROCKS! I love you babe!
razvijanje zelenih (podjetniških) idej	m_1 (5:18): Kate replaces plastic shopping bags for her customers with bags she makes herself from scrap cloth. If a customer brings the bag back she gets a ten percent discount on the next purchase.

ODGOVORNEJŠA IN ZMANJŠANA POTROŠNJA	
kupovanje lokalne, sezonske, zdrave hrane	<p><i>m_1 (2:3): in the extreme case of our project, we eat only food including ingredients produced within 250 miles.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (4:3): I gave up sweets. Ok, well not sugar strictly but cakes, cookies, doughnuts, scones, candy. I was allowed ice cream and pure dark chocolate- two things I don't usually crave-but, would get me out of a dive if needed.</i></p>
podpiranje pravične trgovine	<p><i>ž_11 (11:6): I went to two different Coles outlets this week and was pleasantly surprised to find that both outlets stock not one, not two but THREE fairtrade chocolate brands!</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (12:16): Buy art. OK, so this is stuff. But it is not mass-produced, commonly-available stuff made in Cambodia.</i></p>
izogibanje nakupom	<p><i>ž_2 (1:16) So I signed up for a free cut at a high-end studio. It's not too bad. Perhaps next time I'll try cutting it myself?</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (9:2): I am hoping limiting shopping in this way will keep me away from any store other than the grocery store!</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (4:1): Okay, the truth is, I have been struggling this week to keep this sucker in my pants-please, the wallet:))I've found a dozen ways to sneak in a meal, coffee, a doughnut, whatever this week, so I'm leaving it home. I'll take out my ID and my insurance card, but the rest is on time out! I'm leaving it home where it can't tempt me during the day. I'm not even brining my ATM card. If I need money for something, I'm going to do it the old fashioned way and plan.</i></p>

Zaradi nakupovalnih diet so se posamezniki naučili številnih novih spretnosti, ki so jim omogočile nadomestiti plačljive izdelke in storitve. Tako so začeli sami pridelovati hrano, izdelovati darila in kozmetiko, kuhati in šivati. Med drugim so se osredotočili na podaljševanje življenjskega cikla izdelkov. Zato so si določene izdelke izposojali, jih kupovali iz druge roke ali celo pobrali iz smeti. Posamezniki so tako razvili različne načine za spreminjanje ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje in zmanjševanje rabe virov.

Tabela 7.12: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in deprivacija z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi M)

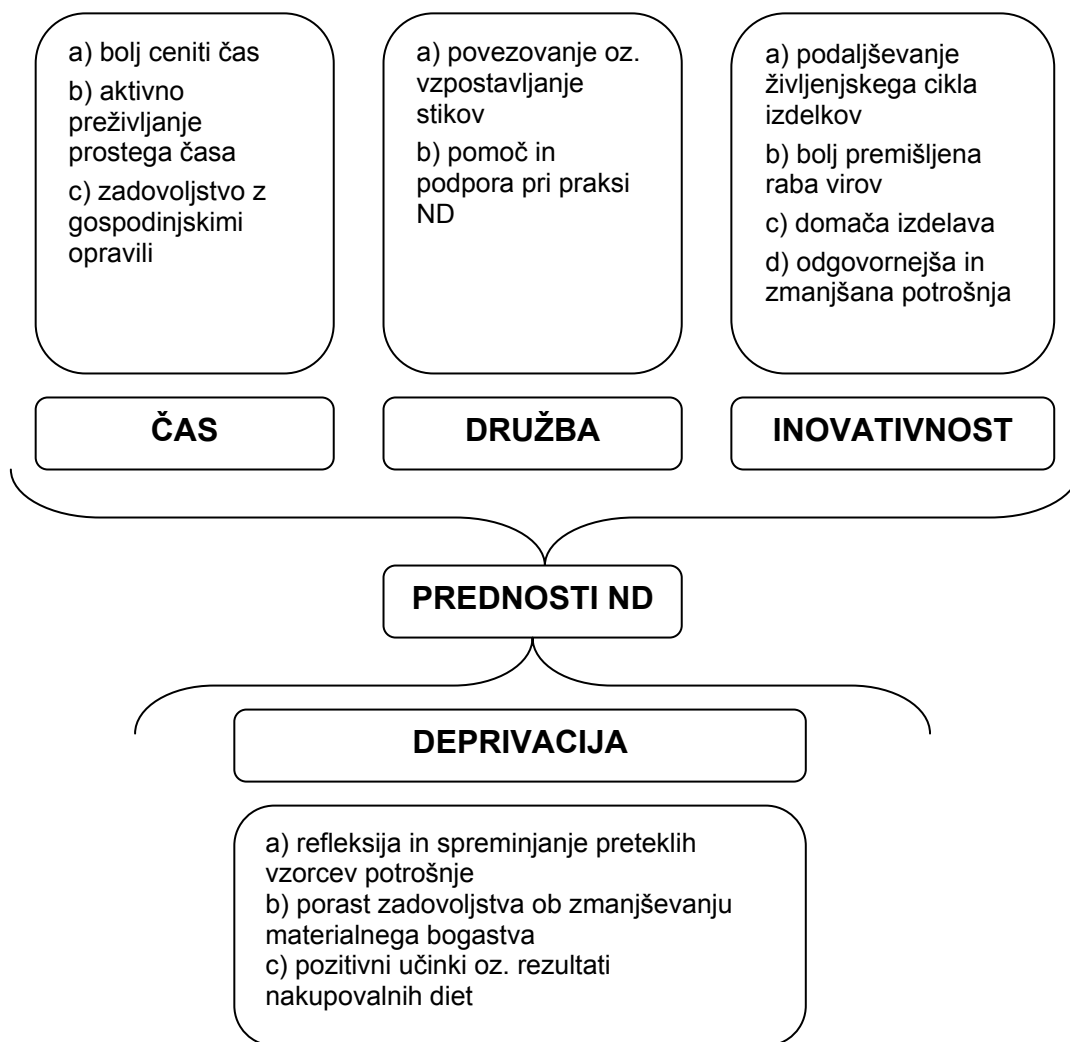
REFLEKSIJA IN SPREMINJANJE PRETEKLIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
kritična analiza preteklih vzorcev potrošnje	<p>ž_5 (2:8): <i>There are layers of complexity in this not buying business that I had never considered.</i></p> <p>ž_8 (3:9): <i>Confidence and happiness gets twisted into insecurity, and security is sought in the purchase of yet more items that promise to fill the gaps and make parenthood a sure success.</i></p> <p>m_3 (3:2): <i>We are finding it easier to justify purchases because of our training. We have been trained that in order to be happy, we must buy.</i></p>
upiranje potrošniškim trendom	<p>ž_3 (1:4): <i>I can say that our family did not spend much for Christmas.</i></p> <p>ž_12 (9:2): <i>We live in a world of plenty. But, very few of us have any. And those of us that have, have a lot. Those of us that have, feel entitled. The media tells us that we deserve a lot of things. We tell each other that we deserve better. We tell ourselves that we deserve the best. But, really, none of us deserve anything.</i></p>
bolj preišljena potrošnja	<p>ž_8 (6:7): <i>I also buy classic items that are less likely to date. I buy men's clothing in preference to women's, when I can. I avoid factory-made garments as a rule, whenever possible.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (6:24): <i>Mind change - huge. From 'see it, want it, buy it' consumer to considered consumer. No more spontaneous purchases. Thinking a lot more about my actions and their consequences. Starting to feel that my values and my life are getting back in sync. Got to be happy with that.</i></p>
PORAST ZADOVOLJSTVA OB MANJŠANJU MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
bolj svoboden, neodvisen od materialnih dobrin	<p>m_1 (4:25): <i>Having a lot of stuff never makes me feel free, the way it's supposed to. Instead it makes me feel trapped, weighed down, stuck, old. Less stuff, less space needed in my head and in my home. Freedom. But I could be speaking too soon</i></p> <p>ž_2 (5:5): <i>Dependence on that could seriously impact my life - imagine giving up my part-time job freedom for some face cream!</i></p> <p>ž_3 (2:15): <i>I have been looking around the house and I feel a loosening of attachment to the objects that surround me.</i></p>
manj potreb	<p>ž_4 (2:13): <i>I do have enough. I have my husband, I have my daughter. We have food, we have clothing, a roof over our heads, vehicles, things to entertain us, to learn from. We have enough. In some instances we have too much.</i></p> <p>m_2 (2:12): <i>As we could only bring 1 suit case of things over for a year it made you consider what was really needed. It really gives you a chance to reflect on how much stuff we have but dont really need, and those things that we think you cant live without - surprise surprise - you can!.</i></p>
polnejše, bolj zadovoljno življenje	<p>m_1 (5:1): <i>Everyone thinks that the experiment regime causes some sort of deprivation, but the fact is that I was more deprived before than I am now. Here's why: happiness is simply not based on how much stuff you have. It's based on how you live.</i></p> <p>ž_4 (2:23): <i>Life hasn't been so simple, or so happy.</i></p>
bolj v stiku s samim seboj	<p>ž_5 (2:24): <i>Makes me wonder how much of shopping and buying and accumulating stuff is about distraction? From ourselves, from our jobs, from our lives?</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:4): <i>But perhaps the most valuable lesson I've learnt in my year is that somewhere along the way, I have made my ego-building consumption become more important than my values.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (2:16): <i>I feel like my eyes are being opened to so many things all at once, and that I have been asleep for a long, long time.</i></p>

POZITIVNI UČINKI NAKUPOVALNIH DIET	
boljše fizično počutje, več zdravja	<i>m_1 (4:18): With all the stair climbing, I've lost 15 pounds.</i> <i>m_3 (4:2): I also found out that my soda drinking does have significant effects on my body, to the order of 12 pounds in 40 days (with no other changes) so, while I am not abandoning it totally...I'm making a new resolution, 1 a week. That way I can still enjoy the things I like about it, while being responsible with my health.</i>
prihranek denarja	<i>ž_4 (2:24): I paid bills today, and we might actually catch up by the first of the month! Wahoo! And we will pay down a little debt with out tax return. It will be nice to see that total go down a wee bit.</i> <i>ž_7 (2:33): We've also managed to save hundreds of dollars in just a short time as a result. Not really our aim, but a great reward for our efforts I guess.</i>
zmanjšanje količine odpadkov	<i>ž_5 (6:22): Rubbish - has reduced. The worms eat all the vegetables, and the rubbish (which was largely packaging I suspect) has gone down. Not wasting so much food.</i> <i>m_1 (4:19): We produce less than half a small bag of trash in a week.</i>
manj materialnega bogastva, »decluttering«	<i>ž_11 (11:2): So here's my new approach. This is how many tops/blouses I should have: 7 x short sleeve tops 7 x long sleeve tops 7 x tanks/no-sleeves tops.</i> <i>ž_12 (4:4): Maybe this is an aside to the whole simplifying thing, but I love to write. Then again, I think that decluttering our lives leads to decluttered minds and souls. So maybe it's not an aside, just a bit of a rabbit trail." -from my Journal.</i>

Sam proces nakupovalnih diet je posameznike spodbudil, da so kritično analizirali pretekle vzorce potrošnje. Aktivno so iskali tudi načine za spreminjanje vzorcev potrošnje kot npr. z upiranjem potrošniškim trendom in bolj preiščeno potrošnjo.

Posamezniki so poročali o porastu zadovoljstva kljub oz. prav zaradi zmanjšanja materialnega bogastva. Poročali so tudi o drugih pozitivnih učinkih, kot so npr. boljše fizično počutje, prihranek denarja, zmanjšanja količine odpadkov in navlake v domovih.

Slika 7.4: Prednosti nakupovalnih diet z vidika časa, družbe, inovativnosti in drugih ključnih pozitivnih posledic nakupovalne deprivacije.



V času izvajanja nakupovalnih diet so proučevani posamezniki izpostavili številne prednosti tovrstnega eksperimenta. Kot ključne prednosti so izpostavili:

- zviševanje kakovosti časa;
- porast zadovoljstva ob splošnem zmanjševanju materialnega bogastva;
- večjo vpetost v družbo;
- iznajdljivost ter učenje novih spretnosti, ki olajšujejo proces zmanjševanja in spreminjanja potrošnje.

Posamezniki so med potekom eksperimenta analizirali svoje potrošniške navade in navade sodobne potrošniške družbe nasploh. Večja refleksija je spodbudila odgovornejše nakupovanje. Pri nadaljevanju reguliranja potrošnje so jih spodbujali pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet, ki so se pojavljali že med samim izvajanjem eksperimenta.

7.3 Po nakupovalnih dietah

Posamezniki so ob zaključku nakupovalnih diet posredovali videnje prihodnjega načina in vloge potrošnje v njihovem življenju.

Tabela 7.13: Vizija prihodnjega načina in vloge potrošnje z izbranimi citati (več v Prilogi N)

NAKUPOVALNE DIETE KOT NAVADA	
drugačna potrošnja	<p>ž_2 (3:14): <i>When I'm buying things again, I'll aim to purchase products with 30% or more post-consumer recycled content.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:7): <i>Its means that I will endeavour to avoid consuming products that are the result of human exploitation. That I will endeavour to avoid consuming products that are not environmentally sustainable. And the final point, that I *will* participate economically in those products where the freedom, education and skills of people are valued.</i></p>
zmanjšana potrošnja	<p>m_1 (12:5): <i>We were finally free. This was going to be great, right? So guess what happened? We were kind of bored. The thing is, movies are okay, but honestly, it turned out we weren't missing much. Plus my wife went to look around Barneys and came out not even wanting to buy anything. Plus, we've both ended up walking out of other movies.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:5): <i>Lots of not-things make me happy! And, in truth, I don't really need anything.</i></p>
ponotranjenost pravil	<p>m_1 (12:14): <i>This point, "the goal," is really just the place where you are really conscious of what you use. You don't take things for granted. You understand that your actions have consequences for other people and the planet. It is the point between asceticism and waste, between self-denial and self-indulgence. It is the place of balance.</i></p>
NADALJEVANJE in PREVZEMANJE STARIH VZORCEV	
želja kupovati	<p>ž_2 (12:23): <i>Perhaps I'll start with the H&M gift certificates - by now I've racked up quite a shopping spree, which will be a good farewell to the store.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:8): <i>I don't know what I want to buy. I don't actually need something. But yeah, I want to buy something. You'd think after not buying anything brand new for a year I would be over these cravings but its like experiencing some sort of withdrawal.</i></p>
brez občutka korenitih sprememb	<p>ž_11 (11:12): <i>However, I think at this stage, I have not truly learnt how to change my consumption habits. Indeed, I suspect that give me a few months and I would probably start the slide back to my old consumption habits.</i></p>

O vlogi prihodnjega načina in vloge potrošnje v obdobju po zaključku nakupovalnih diet ni bilo veliko zapisanega. Analizirani zapisi so pokazali, da čeprav med drugim posamezniki načrtujejo bolj premišljeno, drugačno in zmanjšano potrošnjo v prihodnosti, se hkrati veselijo potrošnje brez omejitev.

7.4 Nakupovalne diete – povzetek

Rezultate analize sedmih blogov, ki se nanašajo na razumevanje in izkušnjo časa, družbe in inovativnosti v povezavi z nakupovalnimi dietami, povzemata Tabela 7.14 in Tabela 7.15. Tabela 7.14 kaže spremembe v vzorcih potrošnje petnajstih posameznikov pred in po enoletnem eksperimentu nakupovalnih diet. Tabela 7.15 pa povzema glavne negativne in pozitivne izkušnje nakupovalnih diet.

Tabela 7.14: Spremembe v vzorcih potrošnje pred in po nakupovalnih dietah

PRED NAKUPOVALNIMI DIETAMI		
	pretekli vzorci potrošnje	razlogi za ND
posameznik	– neizpolnjujoča potrošnja	– razumevanje in zmanjševanje vloge potrošnje v vsakdanjem življenju – večanje kakovosti življenja
družba	– sodobna, hitra potrošnja	– soustvarjanje boljšega, pravičnejšega sveta – večja povezanost z drugimi
okolje	– okolju neprijazna potrošnja	– zmanjševanje okoljske degradacije prek zmanjšane in razumnejše rabe virov

PO NAKUPOVALNIH DIETAH		
	ND kot navada	prevzemanje starih vzorcev
vizija	– drugačna potrošnja – zmanjšana potrošnja – ponotranjenost pravil ND	– želja po ponovnem nakupovanju – brez občutja korenitih sprememb

Tabela 7.14 kaže, da je bila pretekla potrošnja proučevanih posameznikov manj preiščljena, bolj neobremenjena z negativnimi posledicami, ki jih ta lahko ima za posameznika, družbo in naravno okolje. Zato so bili ključni razlogi posameznikov za odločanje za nakupovalne diete prav pozitivne posledice, za katere so bili prepričani, da jih tovrstna praksa prinaša posamezniku, družbi in okolju.

Vendar pa je po enoletnih nakupovalnih dietah vizija prihodnjega načina in vloge potrošnje v življenju proučevanih posameznikov nejasna. Čeprav nekateri izmed njih za prihodnost načrtujejo bolj preiščljeno, spremenjeno in zmanjšano potrošnjo, se hkrati tudi veselijo potrošnje brez omejitev.

Tabela 7.15: Ključne negativne in pozitivne izkušnje eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet

IZKUŠNJA NAKUPOVALNIH DIET		
	problemi	prednosti
deprivacija	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – kriza ob zmanjševanju materialnega bogastva – nadaljevanje kopičenja materialnega bogastva – preveč agresivno spreminjanje ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje – manjši učinek ND od pričakovanega 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – refleksija in spreminjanje preteklih vzorcev potrošnje – porast zadovoljstva ob zmanjševanju materialnega bogastva – pozitivni učinki ND
čas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – preveč (novega) dela – še vedno premalo časa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – bolj ceniti čas – aktivno preživljanje prostega časa – zadovoljstvo z gospodinjskimi opravili
družba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – osebni zadržki in prekrški kot posledica družbenega pritiska – nestrinjanje okolice s prakso nakupovalnih diet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – povezovanje in vzpostavljanje stikov – pomoč in podpora pri praksi ND
inovativnost	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – vzdrževanje ustaljenih vzorcev, namesto spreminjanja potrošnje 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – podaljševanje življenjskega cikla izdelkov – bolj preiščljena raba virov – domača izdelava – odgovornejša in zmanjšana potrošnja

Tabela 7.15 povzema glavne negativne in pozitivne izkušnje enoletnih nakupovalnih diet. Izsledki kažejo, da imajo nakupovalne diete dobre in slabe strani, saj regulacija potrošnje zahteva temeljito spremembo življenjskega sloga. Zmanjševanje materialnega bogastva pri posameznikih sproža tako občutke neugodja, zaradi katerega delajo prekrške in kupujejo nove stvari, kakor občutke zadovoljstva, zaradi osvobojenosti od materialnih dobrin. Za proučevane posameznike je sicer značilna podrobna in kritična analiza svojih vzorcev potrošnje in nakupnih navad drugih.

Čeprav posamezniki izražajo negodovanje zaradi časovne stiske, ki nastaja kot posledica več gospodinjskih opravil, hkrati tudi poročajo, da svoj čas preživljajo bolj kakovostno. Posamezniki sicer izražajo strah in negotovost, da jih bo okolica zaradi eksperimenta zavračala, a je ta večinoma neutemeljen. Nasploh se prek izvajanja eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet posamezniki intenzivneje vpnejo v družbo. Pojavlja se problem vzdrževanja, namesto spreminjanja ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje. Iznajdljivi posamezniki prevzemajo vrsto novih spretnosti, ki olajšujejo proces zmanjševanja in spreminjanja potrošnje.

8.0 DISKUSIJA

Profitno reševanje družbenih in okoljskih problemov ne prinaša zelenih rezultatov. Politiki in ekonomisti še vedno poudarjajo, da sta gospodarska rast in potrošnja koristni. V nasprotju z njimi okoljevarstveniki, klimatologi, popularizatorji problematike podnebnih sprememb in celo industrijski ekologi svarijo, da prav prekomerna potrošnja zaradi uničujočih učinkov na okolje predstavlja največjo grožnjo kakovosti življenja. Vendar je prepričevanje ljudi, da se za doseganje trajnostnega razvoja odrečejo določenim ugodnostim, ki jih nudi potrošnja, naivno.

Prav zato želi ta raziskava prek longitudinalnega spremljanja in analize izkušenj nakupovalnih diet petnajstih posameznikov gibanja The Compact identificirati možne prednosti, ki jih spremenjena in zmanjšana potrošnja prinaša. Raziskava kot ključno možno alternativno vrednost materialnemu bogastvu, proučuje bogastvo časa in odgovarja na tri glavna vprašanja:

- Ali je možno, da ljudje kljub zmanjšani potrošnji živijo kakovostno življenje?
- Kakšne so ovire, ko posameznik v potrošniški družbi želi prakticirati zmanjšano potrošnjo?
- Kakšne so značilnosti in možne oblike trajnostnega preživljanja časa?

8.1 Gibanje The Compact in prostovoljna preprostost

Na samem začetku diskusije je najprej potrebno odgovoriti na dve bolj temeljni vprašanji. Ali izbrani posamezniki zares v praksi izvajajo pravila gibanja The Compact? Ali gibanje The Compact lahko pojmuje kot najnovejšo različico antipotrošniškega gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti?

Že v podpoglavju metodološkega dela⁴³ so prikazani načrti posameznikov za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet, ki kažejo, da so posamezniki najbolj bistvena pravila gibanja The Compact kot so prepoved kupovanja novega, zmanjševanje navlake v domovih in kupovanje rabljenih in lokalnih izdelkov, obdržali. Hkrati so uvedli tudi dodatna pravila, ki so celo bolj otežila ali zgolj bolj jasno usmerila potek eksperimenta. Manj značilno je bilo dodajanje izjem, ki bi eksperiment olajšale. Tem individualnim pravilom so pri izvajanju nakupovalnih diet skušali tudi čim bolj slediti, njihovo neizpolnjevanje pa so označili kot prekršek. To potrjuje ugotovitve Magnusona (2005; 2008), da člani določenega gibanja ne prevzemajo navodil

⁴³ Poglavje 6.2 Udeleženci raziskave, Tabela 6.4

avtoritete, ampak so pri sledenju in v interpretaciji določene ideje ustvarjalni in neodvisni. Tovrsten odmik od izvirnih pravil namreč ne pomeni, da so se posamezniki oddaljili od določenega gibanja, ampak nasprotno. Gibanje so sprejeli za svoje in idejo, kot jo razumejo, oživljajo in širijo naprej.

Kljub vsemu lahko posameznike, ki so pravila preoblikovali tako, da so si s tem sodelovanje v eksperimentu nakupovalnih diet olajšali, označimo zgolj kot delne Compactorse. Elgin in Mitchell (1977), ki sta sicer družbo v odnosu do prostovoljne preprostosti razdelila v štiri segmente, sta ločila posameznike, ki prostovoljno preprostost izvajajo s celim srcem (popolna prostovoljna preprostost), in tiste, ki so pravila prostovoljne preprostosti omilili ter tako sledili le nekaterim načelom preprostosti (delna prostovoljna preprostost). Tovrstna delitev je smiselna tudi v pričujoči raziskavi, saj tudi Compactorski eksperiment nakupovalnih diet izvajajo z različno intenzivnostjo deprivacije oziroma regulacije potrošnje.

To pa ni edina podobnost gibanja The Compact z gibanjem prostovoljne preprostosti. Analiza razlogov, zakaj Compactorski prevzemajo prakso nakupovalnih diet, je skladna z ugotovitvami Cohena in sodelavcev (2005), da vsa antipotrošniška gibanja temeljijo na individualnih, družbenih, ekonomskih in okoljevarstvenih razlogih antipotrošniških aktivnosti. Compactorski namreč kot ključne razloge na ravni posameznika izpostavljajo željo po večji kakovosti življenja, razumevanju in zmanjševanju vloge potrošnje v vsakdanjem življenju. Na ravni družbe si želijo soustvarjanja boljšega, pravičnejšega in bolj povezanega sveta. Na ravni okolja pa si prizadevajo za zmanjševanje okoljske degradacije prek zmanjšane in bolj premišljene rabe razpoložljivih virov.

Tako teoretične ugotovitve v uvodu kot dejanska analiza prakse nakupovalnih diet dokazujeta, da so nakupne preference Compactorsov podobne nakupnim navadam gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti, kakor jih opisujeta Elgin in Mitchell (1977). Compactorski izbirajo v primerjavi s svojimi preteklimi potrošniškimi navadami bolj funkcionalne, zdrave, okolju prijazne, trajne, energijsko varčne in pristne izdelke. Pri tem kot enega izmed pozitivnih, a nepričakovanih stranskih učinkov nakupovalnih diet, izpostavljajo prihranek denarja. Ta se je pojavil poleg boljšega fizičnega počutja, zmanjševanja količine odpadkov in uspešnega zmanjševanja količine stvari v domovih. To je v nasprotju z ugotovitvami Elgina in Mitchella (1977), da tovrstni življenjski slog ne bi bistveno znižal BDP. Neskladje je morda posledica še

nezadostno razvitega trga resnično zelene in etične potrošnje. Morda ob zadostni ponudbi dovoljenih izdelkov do teh prihrankov ne bi več prihajalo. To ne pomeni nujno, da bi se »na idealnem trgu« količina potrošnje Compactorsov pomembno povečala, ampak da bi zgolj kupovali dražje kakovostnejše izdelke. Za gibanje The Compact glede na klasifikacijo gibanj zmanjševalcev po Schorovi (2001) namreč ni značilno, da bi med ključnimi razlogi za reguliranje potrošnje navajali zmanjševanje dohodka ali finančnih izdatkov, ampak prej zmanjševanje naglice. Njihov primarni cilj torej ni prihranek denarja.

Zares bistvena razlika med Compactorsi in gibanjem prostovoljne preprostosti, ki se je izoblikovalo v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, je, tako kot ugotavlja BBC (2007), spletna podpora gibanju. Analiza je pokazala, da je spletna podpora pomemben element nadomeščanja nezadostno razvitega trga zelene in etične potrošnje. Z rabo različnih orodij za mreženje posameznikov⁴⁴ si posamezniki medsebojno izmenjujejo, podarjajo ali prodajajo izdelke. Hkrati je izredno pomembna tudi psihična opora in uporabni nasveti spletne skupnosti, da posamezniki ob krizah nadaljujejo s prakso nakupovalnih diet.

Odgovor na temeljni vprašnji, ali so proučevani posamezniki tipični predstavniki The Compact gibanja⁴⁵, in, ali so Compactorsi del antipotrošniškega gibanja the Compact, je v obeh primerih pritrđen. Nekateri proučevani posamezniki delno, večina od njih pa v celoti izraža vedenje, ki je v skladu z duhom gibanja The Compact. Hkrati je, tako, kot je že ocenila Schorova (USA Today 2006), gibanje The Compact zgolj najnovejša različica antipotrošniškega gibanja zmanjševanja potrošnje, ki so ga strokovnjaki identificirali že v prejšnjem stoletju. Dejansko gre za spletno podprto gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti, saj reguliranje potrošnje usmerjajo enaki individualni, družbeni, ekonomski in okoljevarstveni razlogi. Zanj so hkrati značilni podobni vzorci potrošnje. Ne nazadnje se ponovni vzpon gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti v različici The Compact sklada z napovedmi Elgina in Mitchella (1977), da bo gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti ponovno pridobilo na priljubljenosti, ko bodo naraščale materialne potrebe manj razvitih držav ter ob hkratnem izbruhu problematike podnebnih sprememb in groženj terorističnih napadov. Pa ima gibanje prostovoljne preprostosti nadgrajeno s spletno podporo, večji potencial za pritegnitev podpore množic?

⁴⁴ angl. »social networking tools«

⁴⁵ Ki sicer, kot izpostavlja Perry (New York Times 2007), eden izmed ustanoviteljev gibanja, nima oblikovanih formalnih meril članstva.

8.2 Nakupovalne diete in kakovost življenja

Prav zaradi stališča, da morajo organizacije, ki spodbujajo posameznike, da sprejmejo bolj trajnostne vzorce potrošnje, komunicirati njihove prednosti in ne od ljudi zahtevati odrekovanja, se prvo izmed osrednjih vprašanj raziskave usmerja na ugotavljanje, ali je kljub zmanjšani potrošnji mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje.

Izkušnje posameznikov, ki so v eksperiment nakupovalnih diet vstopili za obdobje enega leta, kažejo, da tovrstna regulirana, spremenjena in zmanjšana potrošnja ni enostavna, saj zahteva temeljito spreminjanje življenjskega sloga. Marsikatera skorajda samoumevne navade iz preteklosti, kot so npr. kupovanje že pripravljene hrane ali prehranjevanje v restavracijah, druženje v lokalih s prijatelji ali vse druge oblike kupovanja zabave ter kupovanje izdelkov v funkciji nagrajevanja ali tolažbe, so prepovedane. Hkrati, zaradi potrebe po vzdrževanju udobja, ki so ga posamezniki navajeni iz preteklosti, narašča samoaktivnost posameznikov, saj začnejo kuhati, vrtnariti, odkrivati trg lokalne hrane, iskati možnosti za kupovanje izdelkov iz druge roke itd. Posamezniki zaradi teh sprememb doživljajo krize zaradi zmanjševanja količine materialnega bogastva in prepovedi kupovanja nasploh. Dvomijo, da jim bo eksperiment sploh uspelo izpeljati do konca, pogosto ga celo prekinjajo in nadaljujejo s kopičenjem materialnega bogastva, a hkrati poročajo tudi o porastu zadovoljstva s kakovostjo življenja nasploh. To potrjuje ugotovitve različnih raziskav, da ob doseganju določenega materialnega minimuma materialno bogastvo ne zvišuje zadovoljstva (Csikszentmihalyi in Rochberg-Halton 1981; Argyle 1987; Kilbourne 1987; Cushman 1990; Worcester 1998; Diener in Biswas Diener 2002; Hagerty in Veenhoven 2003). Zmanjšanje količine materialnega bogastva, ki ga vzpodbujajo nakupovalne diete, torej ni tako radikalno, da bi prizadelo preskrbo osnovnih življenjskih potreb. Nekateri posamezniki celo izpostavljajo, da so pravila nakupovalnih diet premalo radikalna in da so zato učinki nezadostni. Zato ni presenetljivo, da želijo nekateri posamezniki s prakso nakupovalnih diet po zaključku dvanajstmesečnega obdobja celo nadaljevati.

Kljub temu se tovrstna zmanjšana in spremenjena potrošnja bistveno razlikuje od klasične potrošnje. Evalvacija izkušenj izvajanja nakupovalnih diet z modeli potrošnje po Jacksonu (2005) pa kaže, da tovrstna trajnostna potrošnja vseeno zadovoljuje enake družbene in kulturne funkcije kot klasična potrošnja.

Na samem začetku evalvacije družbenih in kulturnih funkcij trajnostne potrošnje, je potrebno še enkrat zavreči predpostavko ekonomskega modela potrošnje, da je potrošnja sinonim dobrega počutja in da neprestano povečevanje potrošnje zvišuje zadovoljstvo posameznikov. Pomembni razlogi za prevzemanje prakse nakupovalnih diet so namreč občutek neizpoljenosti in nezadovoljenosti ob kupovanju, nasičenost z materialnimi dobrinami in občutek pomanjkanja socialnih stikov zaradi pretiranega usmerjanja na pridobivanje materialnih dobrin, o katerem poročajo posamezniki. Ti posamezniki sicer sebe opisujejo kot tipične potrošnike kapitalističnih družb in so torej že izkusili izobilje, ki je po mnenju Elgina in Mitchella (1977) ključen predpogoj, da potrošnik sploh začne razmišljati in sprejemati idejo prostovoljne preprostosti.

Povsem v nasprotju s prepričanji o racionalnih temeljih potrošnje praksa nakupovalnih diet potrjuje obstoj iracionalnega modela potrošnje. Kot ga razlaga Jackson (2005), ta model opozarja, da je velik del potrošnje za posameznika povsem neviden. Zaradi pravil nakupovalnih diet so potrošniki bolj pozorni na vse izdatke in tako poročajo, da jih je regulacija potrošnje opozorila, da je velik del potrošnje povsem avtomatiziran in brez samonadzora. Hkrati zaradi večje refleksije potrošnje izpostavljajo pozitivne stranske učinke, kot so npr. občutek osvobojenosti od materialnih dobrin, upad želje po kupovanju, izvajanje bolj premišljene potrošnje in nenasedanje potrošniškimi trendom.

Prek potrošnje, pa čeprav radikalno spremenjene, posamezniki še vedno komunicirajo različne družbene in kulturne pomene. Trajnostna potrošnja nadalje opravlja simbolno funkcijo, zamenjajo pa se le statusni simboli oziroma promovirane vrednote. Spremenjene vrednote so, kot opozarjata Heiskanen in Pantzer (1997), ključnega pomena za uspešno uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje. Namesto da se potrošniki izražajo z nakupom najnovejšega modela copat Nike, ki je na police »nepravične« trgovine pripotoval iz Indonezije in ga je morda celo izdelal otrok, se postavljajo z unikatno obleko, ki so jo izbrskali na policah trgovine izdelkov iz druge roke ali prijateljem postrežejo s sirom lokalnega kmeta brez konzervansov in s kruhom, ki so ga spekli doma. Jacksonova (2005) teza, da model simbolne potrošnje ni prenosljiv na trajnostno potrošnjo torej ne drži, ampak se potrjujejo predvidevanja Schaferjeve in Cranea (2005), da komunikacijsko funkcijo potrošnje lahko povsem uspešno prevzame tudi nepotrošnja.

Celo evolucijski model potrošnje, za katerega Jackson (2005) prav tako trdi, da s trajnostno potrošnjo ni združljiv, je lahko skladen s prakso nakupovalnih diet. Z evolucijskega vidika posamezniki nenehno težimo k zaželenemu predstavljanju sebe v odnosu do nasprotnega spola. Jackson (2005) tudi navaja primer, da si moški kupujejo BMW-je, da impresionirajo potencialne partnerke, saj tako sporočajo, da so dovolj premožni, da bodo poskrbeli za svoj zarod. In vendar je danes moški na kolesu z evolucijskega vidika lahko bolj privlačen, od svojega tekmeca na štirih kolesih, saj skuša izpuste CO₂ čim bolj zmanjševati. Tako skrbi, da bodo prihodnje generacije sploh lahko še spodobno živele.

Analiza izkušenj prakse nakupovalnih diet Compactorsev v odnosu do modelov, ki pojasnjujejo najpomembnejše funkcije potrošnje za posameznika, kaže, da kljub temu, da trajnostna potrošnja zahteva temeljite spremembe življenjskega sloga potrošnika, ta še vedno izpolnjuje enake družbene in kulturne funkcije kot klasična sodobna potrošnja. To je po mnenju Schaeferjeve in Cranea (2005) ter Reischove in Scherhorna (1999) osnovni pogoj za spreminjanje obstoječih vzorcev potrošnje in odmika od prevladujoče paradigme potrošniške družbe.

Praksa nakupovalnih diet je kljub vsemu omejeno privlačna, saj se posamezniki med njenim izvajanjem srečujejo z različnimi ovirami. Čeprav so številni raziskovalci ugotavljali, da se v tekmi za posedovanjem dobrin oži čas, namenjen ugodju, ki ni povezan s potrošnjo (Schor 1992; Reisch 2001; Southerton 2003; Harvey in Mukhopadhyay 2007), praksa zmanjševanja kupovanja ne kaže, da bi posamezniki zato imeli več časa. V nasprotju so kot bistveno slabost nakupovalnih diet nekateri posamezniki izpostavljali pomanjkanje časa zaradi preveč dodatnega novega dela, ki so ga skušali reševati z različnimi prekrški, s katerimi so si kupovali čas. Tako so še naprej vzdrževali krog časovne revščine, ki ga Harvey in Mukhopadhyay (2007) razumeta kot pretvarjanje lastnega časa prek plačanega dela v denar, ki je potreben za kupovanje dobrin in storitev, ki nam spet pomagajo pridobiti čas.

Ključna prednost nakupovalnih diet je, da krog časovne revščine prekinemo tako, da namesto vlaganja časa v aktivnosti, ki nam prinesejo denar, čas neposredno namenimo opraviлом, ki zahtevajo naš časovni vložek. Namesto, da si npr. kupimo obrok v restavraciji, pripravi hrane namenimo svoj čas in tako kratkoročno prihranimo denar, ker so osnovne sestavine navadno cenejše od kupljenega obroka, dolgoročno pa z bolj zdravimi prehranjevalnimi navadami ohranjamo svoje zdravje.

Kroga časovne revščine ni enostavno prekiniti. Reischova (2001) opozarja, da je pomemben vidik časa tudi časovna avtonomnost posameznika, ki označuje možnost določanja lastnega delovnega ritma. V primeru, da posamezniki zaradi tega, ker izvajajo nakupovalne diete, sicer porabijo manj denarja, hkrati pa nimajo možnosti prilagajanja oziroma skrajševanja delovnika, si dejansko količino prostega časa celo skrčijo. Časovna avtonomnost posameznika je torej pomemben element, ki določa privlačnost prakse nakupovalnih diet za potrošnike.

Prvo tezo raziskave, da je kljub zmanjšani potrošnji mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje, saj bogastvo časa nadomesti materialno bogastvo, ni mogoče tako hitro ovreči. Če bogastvo časa pojmujeemo zgolj z vidika količine, teza ne zdrži, v primeru, da bogastvo časa razumemo kot kakovost, lahko zgornjo tezo sprejmemo. Kot že izpostavljeno v uvodu, je razumevanje časa z vidika trajnostne potrošnje še relativno neraziskano področje, saj sta ga sistematično proučevali zgolj Reishova (2001) in Schorova (2005). Prav zato je šele glede na rezultate analize nakupovalnih diet smiselno tudi opredeljevati, kaj bogastvo časa z vidika trajnostne potrošnje pravzaprav pomeni. Izkušnje posameznikov kažejo, da bogastvo časa posamezniki razumejo večdimenzionalno. Dojemajo ga kot:

- umirjanje ritma življenja v smislu izstopanja iz igre zasledovanja trendov, ki jih narekuje sodobna potrošniška družba in hkrati večja sinhronizacija z ritmom naravega okolja;
- večjo aktivno vpletenost posameznika pri preživljanju prostega časa, saj delež pasivne (kupljene) zabave upada, hkrati pa posamezniki preživijo več časa zunaj, na prostem, pri športnih aktivnostih, z družino in prijatelji;
- zadovoljstvo pri gospodinjskih in drugih opravilih zasebne sfere, ki jo sodobna potrošniška družba zaradi neprofitnosti pojmuje kot manj vredno.

To potrjuje tudi ugotovitve Scherhorna in Dahma (1999), da si ljudje ne želimo več časa nasploh, ampak predvsem več kakovostnega časa. Pri tem sicer ne smemo izključiti možnosti, da je navdušenje posameznikov nad tovrstnim bogastvom časa lahko prehodno. Nove aktivnosti, ki jih je tovrstna regulirana potrošnja spodbuja, lahko čez čas postanejo rutinske na način, kot je postala rutinska in neizpolnjujoča klasična potrošnja. Torej jih v prihodnosti morda ne bi več zaznavali kot bogastvo časa.

Izsledki potrjujejo napovedi Veenhovnove (2004), da, sicer z manjšimi krizami, prevzemanje trajnostnih vzorcev potrošnje omogoča povsem srečno življenje. Poleg tega trajnostna potrošnja še vedno opravlja povsem enake družbene in kulturne funkcije kot klasična potrošnja. Čeprav nakupovalne diete ne prinašajo več časa, te posameznike s svojimi omejitvami vzpodbudijo, da čas preživljajo kakovostneje. Kljub zmanjšani potrošnji je torej mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje, saj bogastvo časa nadomesti materialno bogastvo.

Tako kot člani gibanja Slow food s svojim slogom življenja, ki ga Parkins (2004) označi kot način, ki omogoča več časa za premislek in refleksijo, tudi posamezniki, ki izvajajo nakupovalne diete, zaradi večje refleksije bolj učinkovito spreminjajo svoje navade in uresničujejo svoje ideje.

8.3 Nakupovalne diete in družba

Proučevanje potenciala za uvajanje trajnostne potrošnje bi bilo brez upoštevanja in razumevanje odziva in vpliva družbe na prakso nakupovalnih diet posameznikov pomanjkljivo. Zato se drugo osrednje vprašanje te raziskave nanaša na ugotavljanje, kakšne so ovire za posameznika, ki želi v potrošniški družbi izvajati spremenjeno in zmanjšano potrošnjo.

Analiza izkušenj nakupovalnih diet je pokazala, da so razlogi za nakupne prekrške najpogosteje povezani z družbo. Posamezniki kupujejo nedovoljene izdelke ali storitve predvsem zaradi občutka večje sprejetosti, ob pomembnih družabnih dogodkih (npr. poroke in rojstni dnevi), in zaradi službe (npr. napredovanje) ali šole (npr. prvi šolski dan). Ti prekrški so večinoma prej izraz lastne negotovosti posameznikov in strahov pred družbeno izključenostjo kot dejanskega pritiska družbe. Ta po mnenju Schorove (1992) od posameznikov zahteva, da si z vedno novimi materialnimi dobrinami vzdržujejo družbeni status. Proti pričakovanjem posameznikov, z izjemo nekaterih groženj in očitkov, je okolica praksi nakupovalnih diet v večini primerov naklonjena. To zopet potrjuje predpostavke Elgina in Mitchella (1977), ki ugotavljata, da od tretjine do polovice vse populacije potrošnikov sprejema številne vrednote prostovoljne preprostosti. Ideji prostovoljne preprostosti po njunem nasprotujejo zgolj tisti, ki bodisi izobilja niso imeli možnosti izkusiti oziroma finančno preskrbljeni in k dosežkom usmerjeni posamezniki, ki tovrstni antipotrošniški slog vidijo kot grožnjo njihovem načinu življenja.

Eden izmed strahov, ki so ga posamezniki izražali ob začetku prakse nakupovalnih diet, je strah pred izgubo neodvisnosti, ki jo zagotavlja potrošnja. Prav ta odvisnost od okolice pa se je pokazala kot ena izmed ključnih prednosti, ki jo tovrstno regulirana potrošnja prinaša. Spletna podpora gibanju, kakor ugotavlja BBC (2007), se je izkazala kot ključen element moralne in materialne podpore, ki je posameznikom pomagala vzdrževati trajnostne vzorce potrošnje. Na spletu so si, medsebojno celo medkontinentalno oddaljeni somišljeniki, izmenjevali nasvete kako kakovostno trajnostno živeti. Pripadniki lokalnih skupnosti pa so si izmenjevali, posojali, prodajali in / ali podarjali izdelke. Za razliko od preteklega analognega delovanja gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti, omogoča virtualna platforma večjo fleksibilnost in širši doseg pri mreženju in medsebojni podpori somišljenikov po celem

svetu. Prav tehnološka podpora lahko morda gibanju prostovoljne preprostosti da potreben zalet, da to preraste v večje antipotrošniško gibanje kot kadarkoli doslej.

Družinski člani udeležencev eksperimenta, njihovi sodelavci in prijatelji so prakso nakupovalnih diet večinoma spodbujali. Zanimiv je fenomen nadomestnih potrošnikov. Ta se je pojavil, ko je okolica kupovala nedovoljene izdelke in storitve posameznikom, ki izvajajo nakupovalne diete. Na ta način so jim bližnji želeli olajšati sodelovanje v eksperimentu. Nekateri izmed svojcev so nakupovalne diete celo razlagali kot tiho prošnjo posameznikov za denarno pomoč. To nakazuje na močno vsidranost ideje o tržni vrednosti časa v zahodnih družbah. Nanjo opozarjata tudi Adam (1999) in Kristančičeva (2007), saj je čas brez tržne vrednosti sodobnemu potrošniku praktično nedoumljiv.

Druga teza – postavljanje bogastva časa pred materialno bogastvo zahteva premagovanje številnih ovir, saj je to v nasprotju z osnovnimi načeli delovanja potrošniške družbe – kljub temu, da je okolica relativno naklonjena nakupovalnim dietam, drži.

Raziskava je pokazala, da največje ovire za posameznika, ki želi prakticirati nakupovalne diete predstavljajo njegove lastne omejitve, njegova prepričanja in pričakovanja o odzivih družbe na prakso nakupovalnih diet. Ovire se kažejo kot številni nakupovalni prekrški, ki zmanjšujejo učinkovitost eksperimenta nakupovalnih diet. V primeru pa, da bi sicer še relativno eksotična subkultura gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti v prihodnosti prerasla v bolj masovno gibanje, je realno pričakovati porast negativnih odzivov družbe, saj bi gibanje že lahko predstavljalo resno grožnjo obstoječemu sistemu produkcije in potrošnje.

8.4 Nakupovalne diete in inovativnost

Nakupovalne diete pred posameznika postavljajo dodaten izziv: kako osmiliti čas brez trošenja denarja in posledičnega netrajnostnega delovanja. Tretje osrednje vprašanje te raziskave je zato ugotavljanje, kakšne so značilnosti in možne oblike trajnostnega preživljanja prostega časa.

Schaferjeva in Crane (2005) ter Reischova in Scherhorn (1999) opozarjajo, da so obstoječi vzorci sodobne prekomerne potrošnje globoko ukoreninjeni v potrošnikih. To dokazuje analiza vedenja posameznikov, ki so nakupovalne diete izvajali. Večina posameznikov je namreč poročala o težavah z odpravljanjem ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje. Namesto da bi vzorce potrošnje spreminjali, so jih še naprej vzdrževali. Tako so kupovali dovoljene izdelke v večji meri, kot so jih potrebovali, samo z namenom, da bi izkusili zadovoljstvo nakupa. Namesto, da bi zmanjšali količino materialnih dobrin, so jo nadomeščali z zelenimi alternativami ali pa so nakupe zgolj preložili na čas po nakupovalnih dietah. Pred nakupom pa preprosto niso pomislil na možnost izposoje.

Neuspešno izvajanje nakupovalnih diet se kaže tudi v preveč agresivnem spreminjanju ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje. Ti namesto osvobojenosti od materialnih dobrin, vnašajo v posameznika nemir. O globoki vkoreninjenosti starih vzorcev potrošnje pričajo izkušnje nekaterih posameznikov, ki ob zaključku nakupovalnih diet ugotavljajo, da ne občutijo korenitih sprememb in da želijo ponovno kupovati.

Vseeno so posamezniki prevzeli številne nove spretnosti, ki so jim omogočile nadomestiti plačljive ali prepovedane izdelke in storitve. Namesto da bi, kot ugotavljata Lindskog in Brege (2003), kupovali čas oziroma zabavo, so s samoaktivnostjo in iznajdljivostjo poiskali različne načine, kako podaljševali življenjski cikel izdelkov, bolj premišljeno uporabljati razpoložljive vire, si doma zgotoviti izdelke in kako nasploh izvajati odgovornejšo in zmanjšano potrošnjo.

Nove inovativne prakse trajnostno regulirane potrošnje so dodatni dokaz, da je čas resnično vpet v samo bistvo trajnosti. Reischova (2001) opozarja, da je okoljska degradacija zaradi hitrosti inovacij in skrajševanja življenjskega cikla izdelkov vse hitrejša. Bistvena vrednost aktivnosti posameznikov, ki so vključeni v proces nakupovalnih diet, pa je prav iskanje inovativnih načinov, kako podaljševati življenjski cikel izdelkov. Izdelke si izposojajo, izmenjujejo in podarjajo, uporabljajo zavržene

izdelke in kupujejo v trgovinah iz druge roke. Če je le mogoče, sami tudi popravljajo izdelke in kupujejo izdelke za večkratno uporabo oziroma z več funkcijami.

Posamezniki poročajo o občutku večje kreativnosti nasploh. Izdelujejo različne izdelke in pogosto začnejo vrtnariti, v nekaterih primerih celo na balkončku svojega stanovanja. Ker v trgovinah ne dobijo primerne, okolju prijazne kozmetike in čistil, si jo izdelajo sami. Predvsem za družinske člane izdelujejo darila, šivajo in kuhajo. Sama praksa jih celo spodbudi, da začnejo razvijati različne zelene podjetniške ideje.

To potrjuje predvidevanja Reischove (2001), da je mogoče, da bogastvo časa komuniciramo prek temeljnih načel modernosti, kot so promocija osebne svobode, sreče, izraznosti, pristnosti in samoizpolnitve. Praksa nakupovalnih diet je pokazala, da so ti cilji s samoomejevanjem potrošnje dosegljivi. Posamezniki, ki izvajajo prakso nakupovalnih diet lahko začnejo uresničevati lastne potenciale oziroma stopijo na pot samoaktualizacije kot jo je razumel Maslow (1954), ko se osvobodijo problemov, povezanih z ugledom oziroma s premostitvijo lastnih ovir v odnosu do družbe (glej Poglavje 8.3).

Vsekakor, kot izpostavlja tretja teza, trajnostno delovanje zahteva iznajdljivost in inovativnost pri izrabi razpoložljivega časa. Trdovratno spreminjanje ustaljenih vzorcev potrošnje, ki se posamezniku v kapitalističnih družbah privzgajajo praktično od rojstva, zahteva, da si posamezniki že ob začetku nakupovalnih diet inovativno prilagajajo pravila (glej Poglavje 8.1). Med eksperimentom, iznajdljivost posameznikom pomaga, da se lažje spoprijemajo z izzivi, ki se nenehno pojavljajo. Medtem ko se v proizvodnji iščejo ustvarjalni načini za skrajševanje življenjskega cikla izdelkom, proučevani posamezniki življenjski cikel izdelkom ustvarjalno podaljšujejo. Ne nazadnje je najverjetneje tudi po končanem enoletnem obdobju regulirane potrošnje inovativnost pomemben dejavnik ponotranjanja in nadaljnega izvajanja pravil odgovornejše, spremenjene in zmanjšane potrošnje

9.0 ZAKLJUČKI

Potrošnje ne moremo in ne smemo razumeti kot posledico proizvodnje. Povpraševanje je ključni dejavnik usmerjanja proizvodnje, saj proizvodnjo v kapitalističnih družbah le-ta najprej in predvsem pogojuje. Čeprav moči mehanizmov, ki oblikujejo povpraševanje, ne smemo zanemariti, potrošnik kljub temu ni nemočen akter, saj lahko vpliva na proizvodnjo, ki z nepredstavljivo naglico uničuje okolje. Prav zato je sodobni potrošnik prek svojih nakupnih odločitev tudi soodgovoren za problematiko podnebnih sprememb.

Ker politiki in gospodarstveniki iščejo rešitve za največji globalni problem novega tisočletja zgolj znotraj prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti, pri reševanju problema niso dovolj učinkoviti. Strokovnjaki različnih profilov in ekologi namreč ugotavljajo, da je za resnično učinkovito spoprijemanje s problemom podnebnih sprememb, potrebno potrošnjo ne le predrugačiti, ampak predvsem zmanjševati. Opolnomočen potrošnik, ki se zaveda svoje vloge in vpliva na sistem proizvodnje, voli z denarnico in tako aktivno prevzame del odgovornosti za reševanje oziroma zmanjševanje okoljske degradacije.

9.1 Prednosti in omejitve raziskave

Pričujoča raziskava je poleg poskusov Reischove (2001) in Schorove (2005) glede na dostopne informacije prva longitudinalna kvalitativna raziskava, ki skuša sistematično in poglobljeno proučevati vlogo in pomen časa pri razumevanju in uvajanju trenda trajnostne potrošnje s ciljem reševanja problematike podnebnih sprememb. Pri tem se opira na teoretična izhodišča, ki izpodbijajo upravičenost obstoječe prevladujoče družbene paradigme o gospodarski rasti. Prav zato ni presenetljivo, da se ob zaključku raziskave namesto jasnih in točnih odgovorov, kako uspešno komunicirati in uvajati trajnostno potrošnjo preko promocije časa, odpira kopica novih vprašanj.

To sicer ne pomeni, da raziskava ni osvetlila nekaterih pomembnih vidikov vloge časa v kontekstu trajnostne potrošnje. Uspela je dokazati, da je kljub trajnostno regulirani potrošnji mogoče živeti kakovostno življenje. Raziskava je identificirala številne ovire, ki omejujejo posameznika v potrošniški družbi, ki želi prakticirati

spremenjeno in zmanjšano potrošnjo. Hkrati je analiza življenjskega sloga posameznikov, ki dvanajst mesecev izvajajo eksperiment nakupovalnih diet, odkrila tudi številne možnosti trajnostnega preživljanja časa in opozorila na pomembnost posameznikove inovativnosti pri njegovem osmišljanju. Ena ključnih ugotovitev raziskave je, da posamezniki, ki izvajajo eksperiment nakupovalnih diet, usmerjajo ustvarjalnost v podaljševanje življenjskega cikla izdelkov. To prizadevanje je nasprotno proizvodnemu spodbujanju krajšanja življenjskega cikla izdelkov.

Raziskava predstavlja prvo študijo gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti z vidika trajnostnega preživljanja časa. Je tudi edina raziskava doslej, ki analizira vlogo in pomen spletne podpore gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti, ki v različici gibanja The Compact prvič deluje tudi na virtualni platformi. Izsledki nakazujejo pomembno vrednost spletnega mreženja za medsebojno podporo članov ter nadaljnji razvoj in širitev ideje gibanja.

Longitudinalna netblogrfska analiza življenjskega sloga posameznikov, ki izvajajo nakupovalne diete, se je izkazala kot izredno bogat in celovit vir informacij o vzorcih (trajnostne) potrošnje posameznikov in njihovega odnosa do potrošnje nasploh. Metoda je izredno zahtevna. Od raziskovalca zahteva temeljito teoretično predpripravo na proces kodiranja, na stopnji analize in sinteze rezultatov pa ogromen časovni vložek. Čeprav Kozinets (2006c) trdi, da v primeru, da raziskovalec ni aktiven član proučevane skupnosti, netografija ni nič drugega kot vaja iz kodiranja, ker skupnosti ne spoznamo dovolj temeljito, pa moja lastna izkušnja kaže nasprotno. Proces kodiranja je trajal več kot pet mesecev. Kljub temu, da sem gibanje The Compact spremljala pasivno, sem v procesu analize dodobra spoznala specifične jezikovne in druge simbole tega gibanja.

Ravno jezik, natančneje citati v angleškem jeziku kot del rezultatov v raziskavi, ki je sicer v slovenščini, je tudi ena izmed glavnih dilem te raziskave. Z jezikovnega vidika bi bilo seveda pričakovano in pravilno, da se izvorno angleške citate prevede v slovenski jezik. Vendar z raziskovalnega vidika prevajanje ni smiselno, saj se z njim uvaja dodaten šum, ki ogroža veljavnost rezultatov. Prav zaradi veljavnosti ostajajo citati v izvornem jeziku z dodanimi povzetki v slovenščini.

Ključni izziv raziskave je bilo iskanje primernih prevodov in vpeljava novih tvorjenk v slovenskem jeziku, saj o področju regulirane trajnostne potrošnje predhodno v slovenščini še ni bilo ničesar napisanega. Tako z raziskavo uvajam različne izraze

kot npr. nakupovalne diete, prostovoljna preprostost, bogastvo časa, ipd. za katere bo čas pokazal, ali so dovolj točni in ustrezni, za morebitno širšo rabo v družboslovnem diskurzu v slovenščini.

Ne nazadnje je potrebno izpostaviti še eno pomembno vrednost te raziskave. Kvalitativna analiza je osvetlila morda celo preveč očitno in zato večinoma povsem prezrto dejstvo tako tržnega raziskovanja kakor raziskovanja različnih družbenih fenomenov nasploh. To je spoznanje, da včasih določen pojav spoznamo bolje v njegovi odsotnosti kot če nenehno razčlenjujemo njegov obstoj. Proučevanje nepotrošnje nam torej predvsem omogoča bolje razumeti potrošnjo.

9.2 Priporočila za nadaljnje raziskovanje

Raziskava odpira številna nova vprašanja, saj predstavlja šele začetek raziskovanja vloge časa pri razumevanju trajnostnega razvoja. Kot prva proučuje delovanje gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti na spletu, pri čemer uporablja novo, obetavno, a še dokaj nepreizkušeno metodo imenovano netblografija. Možnosti nadaljnega raziskovanja so zato praktično neomejene. Tu izpostavljam le nekatere najpomembnejše.

1. Na področju nadaljnega raziskovanja časa, povezanega s trajnostno potrošnjo, bi bilo smiselno preverjati, ali so v tej raziskavi identificirane značilnosti in oblike bogastva časa dovolj privlačne za sodobne potrošnike, da bi jih neprofitne organizacije lahko komunicirale kot bistveno vrednost in prednost trajnostne potrošnje.
2. Nadaljnje raziskave bi morale ugotavljati spremenljivost oziroma obstojnost prepričanj posameznikov o tem, da je določena aktivnost zaznana kot bogastvo časa. Nove aktivnosti, ki jih regulirana trajnostna potrošnja spodbuja, lahko čez čas postanejo prav tako rutinske in neizpolnjujoče kakor klasična potrošnja.
3. Raziskava kaže, da je čas v trajnostno potrošnjo vpet tudi prek inovativnega podaljševanja življenjskega cikla izdelkov. To kaže na smiselnost nadaljnega proučevanja sprejemljivosti idej in značilnosti praks podaljševanja življenjskega cikla izdelkov med potrošniki, kot so npr. izposojanje, podarjanje, izmenjava in uporaba zavrženih izdelkov, njihovo popraviljanje in kupovanje iz druge roke s ciljem spodbujanja tovrstnih praks.

4. Z vidika proučevanja gibanja prostovoljne preprostosti na spletu bi bilo smiselno še naprej spremljati trend razvoja gibanja The Compact in ugotavljati ali med člani gibanja različnih nacionalnosti, morda prihaja do določenih specifičnih kulturnih razlik kljub globalni prisotnosti fenomena prekomerne potrošnje.
5. Čeprav je pričujoča raziskava skušala čim boljše osvetliti življenjski slog izvajalcev nakupovalnih diet, so bili v analizo vključeni zgolj zapisi posameznikov. Komentarji bralcev niso bili upoštevani. S ciljem čim boljšega razumevanja odzivov družbe na prakso nakupovalnih diet je priporočljivo, da bi prihodnje podobne raziskave analizirale tudi ta vidik.
6. Raziskava je opozorila na pomembno vlogo spleta pri mreženju, izmenjavi znanja in ponujanju različnih oblik pomoči članov gibanja The Compact. Koristno bi bilo raziskovati, kako različna gibanja, ki želijo spodbuditi določene družbene spremembe, s pomočjo spleta izboljšujejo učinkovitost svojega delovanja.

Navedene možnosti za nadaljnje raziskovanje so zgolj izhodišča za razmišljanje, kaj bi bilo s področja trajnostne potrošnje, in tudi širše, z vidika drugih okoljskih in socialnih problemov sodobne družbe, smiselno raziskovati. Glede na kritičnost stanja problematike podnebnih sprememb – čas za njihovo reševanje se bliskovito izteka – ni nujno zgolj kakovostno raziskovanje. Znanstveni izsledki se morajo kar se da hitro prevajati na aplikativno raven in se začeti aktivno izvajati v praksi.

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11.0 PRILOGE

Priloga A: Razlike v interpretaciji pravil The Compact – vsi citati

PREVZEMANJE THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
<p>prepoved kupovanja novih izdelkov</p>	<p><i>m_1 (6:26): Inconspicuous consumption (as in we buy nothing new)</i> <i>m_1 (2:11): Don't buy new products (including, worst of all, books).</i> <i>ž_2 (1:1): I'm not buying new manufactured consumer goods in 2007.</i> <i>ž_2 (3:15): New efforts include: a vow to restrain myself around postcards for art and shows -- I'm addicted to them but they usually end up in the trash.</i> <i>ž_4 (1:2): We pledge to stop buying new</i> <i>ž_11 (10:10): While I have not been buying brand new stuff</i> <i>ž_12 (1:2): We will buy everything used if at all possible</i> <i>ž_3 (1:1): I am going to try to make a lot of this my new mantra: B - Buy what you need, not what you want.</i> <i>ž_4 (1:3): We are limiting our new purchases to necessities and consumables (as they are called in theatre). We will reevaluate what we think of as needs prior to purchasing.</i> <i>ž_12 (1:2): Anything that does not meet the previous two criteria, will require both our approval and a mandatory 2-week waiting period (to assure need and outlive the want monster)</i></p>
<p>prepoved naročanj na časopise in revije</p>	<p><i>ž_12 (1:2): We will buy everything used if at all possible</i> <i>m_1 (2:11): read online (the trees! the trash!).</i> <i>m_1 (2:11): Cancel magazine subscriptions and read online (the trees! the trash!).</i></p>
<p>zmanjševanje količine nepotrebnih stvari v domovih</p>	<p><i>m_1 (2:14): The idea is that we should empty the apartment of what we don't use regularly. We'll leave ourselves with, say, ten outfits each and 20 books each--details yet to be determined. The logic is, if you've been consuming for 40 years, not buying any new clothes or books for a year--our main purchases--will hardly be a challenge or a learning experience since all you have to do is dig deeper in the closet. So...</i> <i>ž_3 (1:1): S - Simplify your life</i> <i>ž_4 (1:1): gift, sell, donate or toss things we don't *need.</i> <i>ž_4 (1:2): We pledge to simplify our lives by reducing the amount of "stuff" we currently have.</i> <i>ž_12 (1:2): We will purge our home of all unused, unwanted, or extraneous clutter</i> <i>We will purge our lifestyle of all unwanted, unhealthy, and extraneous clutter</i> <i>ž_8 (6:11). Lastly, as part of my ' vow, whenever I buy something that is new to me (and usually it is secondhand), I remove an old item from my wardrobe</i> <i>ž_11 (10:10): That is, if we want to get something from the op shop, I had to give up the equivalent number of stuff to GIVE to the op shop. So an exchange of 1 for 1.</i></p>
<p>kupovanje rabljenih izdelkov ali izposojanje</p>	<p><i>m_1 (2:11): Borrow, rent or buy used</i> <i>m_1 (2:12): On the positive side, to replace these things, we can: 1,Have fun with Freecycle and other second hand sources.</i> <i>m_1 (2:12): Putter around antiques stores and flea markets.</i> <i>ž_3 (1:1): G - Garage sales, thrift shops, pass downs</i> <i>ž_4 (1:3):We will try to find items used, or to trade things we already have, but do not need, for things we do need.</i></p>
<p>kupovanje hrane, pijače, zdravil, čistil in spodnjega perila</p>	<p><i>ž_4 (1:4): *Consumables! (food, toiletries, all those things you use up...)*health care/items</i> <i>ž_11 (1:9): 1. food and toilet paper 2. medicines and homeopathics</i> <i>ž_12 (1:2): 1.We will buy everything (barring food, medication, and health related products such as soap, toothpaste, etc.) used if at all possible</i> <i>m_1 (2:11): except underwear and socks</i></p>
<p>kupovanje lokalnih izdelkov</p>	<p><i>m_1: 4:60): part of the my project is only eating food grown within 250 miles-a day's round trip sustainable eating (as in our food all comes from within 250 miles or less)</i> <i>m_2 (2:13): my next challenge is to see how much food I can buy from the local village and farm gates rather than supermarket.</i></p>

DOPOLNITEV / POOSTRITEV THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
kupovanje pravičnih in okolju prijaznih izdelkov	<p>ž_8 (6:8): I avoid the 'Made In China' label like the plague.</p> <p>ž_11 (9:5): Therefore, when I buy slave chocolate I am committing a crime.</p> <p>m_1 (2:11): Buy only sustainably produced underwear and socks (or anything else that ends up excepted).</p> <p>m_1 (2:11): Find replacements for everything that is still throwaway or comes in throwaway packaging in our house: cosmetics and skin care products, soap, shampoo, cleaning products, paper towel, menstrual pads, disposable pens, disposable razors, toilet paper</p>
zmanjševanje količine smeti	<p>m_1 (5:4): One of the things we've been avoiding in my project is plastic. No plastic bags, bottles, tubs, wrappings, toys, gadgets, clothes, buttons, pipes, plates, cups, forks, spoons, knives, toothpaste tubes, shampoo bottles, dish soap bottles. In other words, just about everything m_1 (6:26): trash (as in we try to make none)</p> <p>ž_2 (2:14): I'd rather not buy processed packaged stuff -- and I've got to figure out where the line is. I know I can't go without buying any dry pasta this year, but I'm not sure that things like cereal, crackers, and granola bars should be allowed.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:21): Buying less packaged food, or with little packaging (I can't even look at convenience meals anymore without wanting to toss my cookies thinking about all the preservatives and waste)</p>
varčna /premišljena raba resursov	<p>m_1 (6:26): reduced power use (as in we use almost none)</p> <p>m_1 (6:26): carbon-producing transportation (as in we don't use it)</p> <p>m_1 (6:26): environmentally-friendly water use (as in we're still figuring that bit out).</p> <p>ž_12 (1:2): We will be excellent stewards of the home and possessions we have</p> <p>ž_3 (1:1): U - Use it up, wear it out</p> <p>ž_4 (1:4): What we do purchase will be of good quality. We won't spend money on lesser quality goods just so we can have it right now.</p>
bolj domača, preprosta in naravna prehrana	<p>ž_3 (2:5): eat at home and cook from scratch the bare essentials</p> <p>m_1 (3:28): As for my little family, for the purposes of the experiment, we have given up eating anything that, in my wife My wife's words, "wiggles or has a face."</p> <p>ž_2 (1:1): I'm not buying food from restaurants in 2007</p> <p>ž_3 (1:1): E - Eat at home or make it at home</p> <p>ž_4 (1:1): eat at home more</p> <p>ž_3 (2:5): food - organic when possible</p> <p>ž_3 (2:21): Drinking more water and organic beverages, and eliminating unhealthy beverages from our diet Eating less meat and more vegetables (organic and locally grown when possible)</p>
darovanje izdelkov	<p>ž_3 (1:1): give it away</p> <p>ž_4 (1:1): gift, sell, donate or toss things we don't *need.</p>
nič množične zabave	<p>m_1 (2:11): No movies or other forms of mass entertainment.</p>
OMILITEV THE COMPACT PRAVIL	
več izjem za nove nakupe	<p>ž_11 (1:9): infrastructure for our new house (we're building a house, so infrastructure being anything related to building materials for get house to lock-up, electricity, water, sewerage, and heating).</p> <p>ž_4 (1:4): *Gifts for birthdays. We will cut back, most will be made. If I can't make it - we will buy it. *We will be spending our gifts cards from Christmas, and we won't limit the amount of gifts our daughter receives. However, we will try to steer the gift givers to the things that she will cherish.</p> <p>ž_4 (1:4): *Safety items - we are baby-proofing, and some stuff you can't find used.</p> <p>ž_4 (1:4): *Shoes. DH and I are too hard on shoes to buy some that are pre-loved.</p> <p>ž_2 (1:1): I will allow myself to buy coffee and drinks, which I could easily make at home.</p>
potrošnja zastoj izdelkov	<p>ž_2 (1:1): I'd like to take better advantage of the free and community-based resources available in New York City.</p>

Priloga B: Pretekli vzorci potrošnje – vsi citati

SODOBNA – HITRA POTROŠNJA	
kupovanje pripravljene hrane	<p><i>m_1 (1:10): Until now, we have been your typical convenience-addicted, New York City take-out slaves.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:11): Think, for example, of just before I started the compact year. I lived life as a stressed-out, New York resource hog. Every night we ate take-out for dinner.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:10): Ashamed as I am to admit it, we used to Google the number for Bagel Bob's every morning, and then dial for coffee in plastic cups and bagels wrapped in reams of paper.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:11): Every night we ate take-out for dinner.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:10): Breakfast alone used to cost us \$20.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:30): Here's a normal day when my husband out of town: My first instinct is to go to the grocery store- buy some Oreos and some TV dinners. Go home, go online and browse a little. Then pick up my son from school- go down into town and go to Target or even the mall. Grab some dinner at Pasta Pomodoro, grab some Starbucks and a magazine. Then go home and go to bed.</i></p>
kupovanje online	<p><i>ž_3 (3:8): I will admit to having previously addicted to eBay. I first discovered the highs associated with online shopping when I was on maternity leave. I was amazed to discover the good deals that could be had on baby gear and toys. I was seduced.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:10) Hi, my name is XY, and I am a recovering eBay addict.</i></p>
v iskanju takojšnje zadovoljitve	<p><i>ž_2 (5:9): I'm an impatient shopper: years of Home Depot and my own personal peculiarities made hunting and digging a little frustrating. I love walking into a place, locating exactly what I need amongst a million choices, and walking out in no time.</i></p>
živeti stresno	<p><i>m_1 (1:11): The result was that we we lived pay check to pay check, stressed about money, ate unhealthily and never exercised. You get the point.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (2:23): The result was that, while we waited for the season of crazy busyness to be over, we barely talked.</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (2:10): I have been doing a lot of thinking about the lack of funds, and the mass of debt. Filing our taxes always does that. Especially when I see that only \$17K of our income last year was actually taxable. Um, wow. We are doing better than I thought, but damn.</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (2:16): There ain't no more money, folks. None. We are strapped.</i></p>
OKOLJU NEPRIJAZNA PROTROŠNJA	
kupovanje izdelkov z veliko embalaže	<p><i>ž_1 (4:2): Mine rituals come from Corporate America, in lots and lots of packaging.</i></p> <p><i>m_1(4:10): Ashamed as I am to admit it, we used to Google the number for Bagel Bob's every morning, and then dial for coffee in plastic cups and bagels wrapped in reams of paper.</i></p>
zavrže, namesto popravi	<p><i>ž_5 (3:2): I am not a fixer. I don't know many fixers. We don't live in a fix-it society - we live in a replace it society. I had dinner with family a week or so ago and there was talk of darning socks. Yes, some people still do it (granted, I doubt many of them are under 70!). I don't know how to darn, and quite frankly I don't want to find out - but it got me thinking about generational differences in attitude to how we use things. It seems that people bought up in times of plenty always expect to have plenty, and the concept of fixing things is pretty foreign to us. People who grew up with less seem to value things more. A broad generalisation? Probably.</i></p>
ima preveč stvari	<p><i>ž_3 (2:3): I have a lot of stuff. More than enough. I could probably go for at least a year without purchasing clothing and cosmetics... We probably don't need to buy towels for ten years because we got so many. We have twice as many dishes as we need. I don't feel so bad because we are conserving the things we haven't needed immediately by keeping them in their original boxes - I am sure there will come a time when things are broken and worn out and we can just bring out a replacement instead of buying something new.</i></p>
NEZADOVOLJIVA POTROŠNJA	
občutek, da ima vedno premalo	<p><i>ž_4 (2:12): Having enough is a fascinating concept to me. All my life I have never felt like I have enough. I never had enough "cool" clothes, or toys, or friends, or (sometimes) food. And that doesn't even start on the intangibles...like beauty, confidence, talent, drive, ambition, etc. So, for along time I have focusedon getting *more* of whatever I felt was lacking.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (5:12): My consumption habit is: GREED.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (1:3): The bottom line is that I am trying really hard not to buy anything I don't need. The husband finds this quite easy, as he already spends very little. I, however, am a different story.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:11): This has been very difficult for me in the past since I work in my city's</i></p>

	<p>downtown core and am surrounded by shopping malls and stores, each of which used to beckon to me to spend my hard-earned money on another item I didn't really need.</p> <p>ž_5 (2:35): I was a relentless consumer in the past and what I am finding it difficult to deal with is the fact that I adore fashion, books and beautiful things.</p> <p>ž_11 (1:5): I am a consumption addict and its time I broke the habit!</p>
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Priloga C: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni posameznika – vsi citati

RAZUMEVANJE in ZMANJŠEVANJE VLOGE POTROŠNJE V VSAKDANJEM ŽIVLJENJU	
redefinicija potreb in potrošniških navad	<p><i>m_1(1:18) : I will traverse the range of lifestyles from making a limited number of concessions to the environment to becoming eco-extremists. This means that when we're done, we can reenter the world of normal consumerdom equipped to decide which parts of our lifestyle we're willing to keep and which ones we're not. In other words, in addition to the no impact year, we'll have figured out our way forward.</i></p> <p><i>m_1: Remember, we're taking our lives apart to put back together again.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (2:15): "What we're really doing is taking apart our whole life. Instead of just living the way of life we've inherited and been told to lead, we're taking it all apart and seeing how we want to put it back together. It's not that we'll never use it again. It's that we're doing this year-long experiment in order to decide if we will.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:4): It's about a lifestyle redesign, giving up what I think I can't to see if something different, something better, emerges.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2: (1:5): while challenging my own notions of "need"</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (2:14) I need to begin to focus on the balance, having enough. And not wanting more than enough. To say to myself daily, I have enough. If my intention runs to having enough, I feel that some of the balance will return. That some of the giant hole of debt will begin to be filled in, that some of the mountain of things will begin to erode.</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (2:11): Changing one's habits may not be enough to stop the outflow of energy/cash/time. It may also need to be a change of intention. Rather than focusing on bringing things in, or bringing money in, I think I need to focus on removing things, making room, having enough, eliminating debt. I need to focus on balance as well - the feast or famine nature of our lives is not working anymore. Steady, solid, predictable would be much nicer.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:1): For several months now, we have been struggling to find our identity. The glorious allure of, "The American Dream," has been causing a rising incompatibility with the life our hearts have desired. We have lost the pleasure that stuff used to bring us, and we have begun to realize the dramatic effects of our constant want. The problem was compounded by 3 small children and a very small (by American Standards) house. So we have decided that in this new year we are going to change the rhythm of our lives to more closely flesh out the longings of our souls.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (1:8): investigation is nothing new, in either artistic or political terms - it's an experiment designed to start conversations and illustrate how one choice impacts one life.</i></p>
nasičenost z dobrinami	<p><i>m_1 (4:34): Today, is anything special? Is there anything so inaccessible that you get a buzz when you acquire it?</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:35): I suppose the thing is that when they are created and done for the first time they are magical but when we become addicted to it, when we have to have it in order to feel satisfied, that may not be so magical. Maybe it's a matter of balance.] At the same time, I see how I can deceive myself into spinning round the gerbil wheel and working my butt off to get more stuff, only to find that the stuff doesn't make me happier.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (1:19): Part of ditching the whole materialistic mindset for me is realizing how much great stuff I already have. I need to appreciate these blessings and stop looking to acquire new things to give me that good old "look what I got" feeling. I tend to grab at things and when I find something I like- I hoard. This means I don't take time to enjoy what I already own.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:1): We have lost the pleasure that stuff used to bring us, and we have begun to realize the dramatic effects of our constant want.</i></p>
prihranek denarja	<p><i>ž_3 (2:2): Heard an interesting story on the radio today, that made me feel even better about the pursuit we're in these days, to live a more simple, efficient life where we might actually be able to start saving some money before our daughter goes to college:</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (5:4): Maybe we just have too much stuff. We did a Year Of The Cull last year, in which we sold so many possessions that we were able to live off the profits for three months - the sales paid our grocery bills for many, many weeks. And still we have no lack of what my husband would call 'junk' in our home. I'm inclined to agree with him.</i></p>

VEČANJE KAKOVOSTI ŽIVLJENJA	
osebnostna rast	<p><i>m_1 (5:6): But at the heart of my reasons for engaging in the experiment is my desire to engage a very personal question about how I want to be as a person.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:57): But if I at least admit that these questions exist, instead of trying to push them away, maybe I can take less seriously my want for more things, more stuff. Maybe I can see that assuming that satiating my many desires my not be the real meaning of my life. And if I can see that, then maybe I may not need take from the planet what it cannot sustainably give me.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (3:1): The culture tells us we need so many things, so many comforts, so many services--just to get by. But do we? We are stripping down our life, seeing what we really miss, and at the end we'll very deliberately put it back together. My wife calls it a life redesign.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (2:8): My artist friends, on the other hand, envision me going to great lengths to make things myself or achieving some kind of enlightenment through discipline and careful consideration of every move.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (8:4): I am also mindful that one of my aims in life is to have less stuff rather than more ... yes, I know it doesn't really stack up.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (7:7): Today, I was reminded that this journey was never meant to be an experiment, it was meant to be a change in our life-rhythm. And then it hit me! Balance is like a see-saw.</i></p>
iskanje dolgoročnega zadovoljstva brez potrošnje	<p><i>m_1 (2:21): Should pursue long-term gratifications</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:20): This isn't about denying myself pleasure, but I wonder if it's possible to give myself a little treat without buying something.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:30): Basically our tiny unit was just becoming overwhelmed with 'stuff' and we were sick of just frittering away our money on nonessential things we really didn't need, nor made us happy.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (2:10): When I stand back and look at this whole thing from afar it becomes clear. It's a treasure hunt. There is something bigger and more worthwhile in life than stuff, than the next big thing, than consuming. There is an elusive treasure in this world that most people miss.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (7:7): Today, I was reminded that this journey was never meant to be an experiment, it was meant to be a change in our life-rhythm.</i></p>
razvijanje ustvarjalnosti	<p><i>ž_2 (1:4): demanding more creativity of myself.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (5:7): love the idea of artists transforming the city's garbage into magic.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (4:6): And I might be able to develop a sewing imagination.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (10:3):...it's time to stop thinking about better cotton tights for the girls, or, new bathroom rugs, and start conceptualizing my novel. Time to forget about whether or not my friends just tolerate me and start using my creativity for once.</i></p>
živeti bolj zdravo	<p><i>ž_3 (3:2): I truly believe that changes in our consumption habits can have the most impact. By bringing less into our homes and choosing natural alternatives to what we do bring home, we are lessening the number of chemicals to which our families are exposed.</i></p>
biti boljši starš	<p><i>ž_3 (2:36): I feel very lucky to be feeling purposeful at this point in my life. I am very conscious of my actions and the resulting message I am communicating to my child. I know that there is currently significant pressure upon pre-teens and children to conform to the latest trends, fashions and technology. I am hoping that I can be a strong role model for my son, in hopes that as a consumer, he will choose to make sustainability a priority in his life.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (5:13) How much do I really need? How much am I carelessly discarding? What am I teaching my children through my habits? And the crunch: What sort of world am I giving my children?</i></p>

Priloga D: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni družbe – vsi citati

SOUSTVARJANJE BOLJŠEGA, PRAVIČNEJŠEGA SVETA	
<p>opozarjanje na in preprečevanje nepravične trgovine in suženjstva</p>	<p><i>ž_12 (1:40): Okay, now my tirade is over...well, not really. What does all of this have to do with our journey? Here is the point, every time we choose to not buy something new, we slow the growth of these money-eating machines. But saving money for ourselves cannot ever be the point. We need to redistribute the wealth and resources we save to those who need it most.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:7): Can we get the producers to change? Do we need a whole new basis for our economy?</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (10:8): Is about exposing the connections between buyer and seller, getting out of the conventional mode of commercial exchange, and challenging expectations about consumption. This purchase reiterates all of the nasty things of shopping with some important differences: with a little effort, I can email the artist who made the dress and talk about the process; the gallery that sold it and earned a commission is part of the art market but not part of the fast fashion industry, trying to convince everyone that they need this now but not next week; and, the amount I spent on this little item and the ideology behind it ensures that it won't go into the landfill after a couple of wears.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:12): By supporting the 2nd hand market, I hope to avoid the slave-produced goods as well as advocate the lengthening of product's "life" and keep it out of land fill for as long as possible.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (12:5): And the same can be said about other things I care about - if I want a world where my children can live freely and peacefully, then I need to stop participating in ways that goes against my values.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (4:14): I said earlier, that consumerism never made the world a better place. I really believe that. If we didn't consume so much, there would be less poverty, less waste, less pollution, and more quality time. So by slaying that Dragon--in any small way--I am helping to make the world a better place. My choices NOW change the world NOW and in the future.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:24): I am just a liberal schlub who got sick of not putting my money where my mouth was. In a way, the whole project is a protest against my highly-principled, lowly-acted former self.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (4:8) I told her that, for me, and maybe for other people, it's coming out of a generalized political dread that required me to do something - anything - to feel a little more active and headed towards change</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:2): I truly believe that changes in our consumption habits can have the most impact By choosing to purchase fair-trade products, we honour the right that everyone should have to earn a fair wage and safe working conditions, while encouraging better environmental practices.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:17) The thought of children being kidnapped from their parents and being forced to participate in the production of chocolate is probably one of the most disgusting things I have ever heard. I can no longer think about consuming chocolate without thinking about the exploitative labour practices behind its production.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:8): The last and final event was my own acknowledgement of child slavery in many of the products that I do buy. As I said before, with my own lack of value in the things that I own, I needed to buy more of those things in order to reduce the signs of obvious lack of care. This also meant that I tend to buy cheaper goods that, due to their quality, perpetuated and strengthened my illusion that I "needed" to buy more goods. As a mother, I felt I could no longer live with the fact that my unhealthy consumption habits are coming at the cost of child abuse.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:38): What this all adds up to, in my view, is that the economic growth paradigm is making happier neither the people nor the planet-which can't afford the resource use. If we use the current environmental crisis to change our priorities, maybe the world could be a better place in a lot more ways than one.</i></p>
<p>zmanjševanje negativnega vpliva drugih</p>	<p><i>ž_12 (1:4): Back to the grind. I have a good job, with a good company, that pays me very well. But, today I realized that much of my lack of contentment begins here. While I make a decent paycheck, I am low on the corporate totem pole and I work with some very wealthy people. I never really noticed how much their lifestyle influences mine. They all drive new cars, wear expensive clothes, live in tremendous dwellings, etc., etc., etc..I wonder how I can lessen the effects of their influence. I think that this whole thing would be a lot easier if I was surrounded by like-minded people</i></p>

VEČJA POVEZANOST Z DRUGIMI	
manj potrošnje, več družjenja	<i>ž_3 (2:1): For someone with limited time, it is appealing as it limits time spent shopping for things you don't actually need, and that time can be spent enjoying family and friends, or doing other more productive things.</i>
manj potrošnje, več sočutja	<i>ž_2 (4:7): We're trying to live with less consumption. I think we can also live with more compassion. ž_3 (2:34): Because I have recently stopped purchasing new items, the pressure I used to put on myself to acquire new stuff is absent. This exercise has also resulted in me being less judgmental of others. The most joyful aspect of this journey so far has been in giving to others in need. ž_3 (2:17) The thought of children being kidnapped from their parents and being forced to participate in the production of chocolate is probably one of the most disgusting things I have ever heard. I can no longer think about consuming chocolate without thinking about the exploitative labour practices behind its production. ž_11 (1:8): The last and final event was my own acknowledgement of child slavery in many of the products that I do buy. As I said before, with my own lack of value in the things that I own, I needed to buy more of those things in order to reduce the signs of obvious lack of care. This also meant that I tend to buy cheaper goods that, due to their quality, perpetuated and strengthened my illusion that I "needed" to buy more goods. As a mother, I felt I could no longer live with the fact that my unhealthy consumption habits are coming at the cost of child abuse.</i>
navdušiti ljudi nad novim načinom življenja	<i>m_1 (7:31): My point is that a big boost to the environmental cause might come with spending a little less time making people scared of a worse life and a little more time inspiring them towards a better one. m_1 (2:40): It is not an attempt to convince anyone else to live according to our values (unless of course they want to). In the spirit of full disclosure, I have to admit that I do hope that our project might inspire other people to live more closely to their own values (which is one reason for the book but more on that below).</i>

Priloga E: Razlogi za izvajanje nakupovalnih diet na ravni naravnega okolja – vsi citati

ZMANJŠEVANJE OKOLJSKE DEGRADACIJE	
boj proti podnebnim spremembam in onesnaženosti okolja	<p><i>m_1 (8:2): I think, too, that the climate crisis-not to mention the planet's numerous other environmental problems-calls for us to use less. Use less power, use less oil, use less stuff.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:2): I truly believe that changes in our consumption habits can have the most impact. By driving less and choosing to purchase locally-produced items, we are offsetting environmental emissions.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (1:2): Disgusted and alarmed by the proximity of unlimited shopping and unlimited garbage in Manhattan, as well as the disposable mentality I live and work in - "just throw it out and get a new one" - I've decided to make a little experiment in non-consumption.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:17): Just participating in society makes us responsible for the negative environmental impacts of society's functioning, even if our personal lifestyle does no harm. To offset our societal ecological debt, we also plan to take actions that will have positive environmental impact</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (1:3) The philosophy is not just an environmental one; it aims to go beyond recycling to combat the social and economic impacts of a disposable consumer culture, to experience a perspective on what is truly important in your life...and in your cupboards and garages.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:13): This is largely how every other species on earth lives-in harmony with the environment.</i></p>
zmanjšana (pravičnejša) raba resursov	<p><i>m_1 (6:8): The planet has limited resources. A lot of people need and want those resources. So, what's my fair share? How big a slice of the pie can I take without it meaning that someone else has to suffer? I want happiness for myself and my family, but the big question underlying the project is whether you can achieve that without causing too much suffering for others.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:14): Emphasis will ultimately not be on tightening our belts so that our consumption does not poison the earth-although there will certainly be an element of that-but on trying to change our consumption patterns so that our abundance helps or at least does not harm the planet in the first place.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:11): Saving this planet depends on finding a middle path that is neither unconsciously consumerist nor self-consciously anti-materialist. The idea for is not to be anorexic but to be abundant, not to be eco-efficient but "eco-effective"</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:16): The fact is that if city dwellers can't learn to live without reducing their ecological footprint then we're in deep trouble because most of the world's population now lives in cities. Saving the world can't be left to the country bumpkins. It's an urban problem.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:22): One of the things that I really like about this Compact business is the emphasis on personal responsibility. It is great that we - and people with similar ideas - are starting to think about what we can do to reduce our impact on the environment. It may not solve global warming, pollution and landfill issues, but at least we are doing what we can and making informed decisions. Beats the heck out of doing nothing and expecting someone else to fix it all.</i></p>
smotnejša raba resursov	<p><i>ž_2 (1:6) I want to learn how to fix clothes, proper meals, broken things - and learn from some master practitioners like my grandparents, other artists, and complete strangers.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:12): By supporting the 2nd hand market, I hope to avoid the slave-produced goods as well as advocate the lengthening of product's "life" and keep it out of land fill for as long as possible.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (5:10): Exploration, adventure, the unexpected -- and I'm not sure my desire for efficiency is something I'll get over this year, if ever. Is it people like me who are plundering the world's resources in the name of convenience?</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:28): Am beginning to realise that if you buy something - or have bought something - then you have a responsibility to use it all.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:2): It enables us to do our best to honour the planet, by reusing what we have, not buying what we don't need, and recycling what we do use.</i></p>

Priloga F: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in čas – vsi citati

PREVEČ (NOVEGA) DELA	
redefinicija življenjskega sloga zahteva čas	<p>ž_11 (9:1): <i>Still he did pretty well - 7 months..... yep, he actually dropped out of the challenge back in April. But here I was hoping he would come back into it. Reason for dropping out - "its too hard". Oh well. I keep reminding myself that he is a much bigger consumer than I am and its amazing that he got as far as he did. I think he found it hard 'cause where I was able to get some real positives out it - connecting with people who can teach/help me get the stuff I need, he was not able to connect in the same way.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (9:3): <i>Due to lack of time (his workload is pretty horrendous atm), he had not been able to build his "thing stash" and so found this challenge very unrewarding.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:2): <i>I have found that it's difficult to change just one habit when I feel stressed, sick, poor, busy - which is the general state of affairs for a lot of people in NYC and elsewhere.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (5:1): <i>So. Too busy and tired to cook, I took an out-of-town friend to the original Patsy's in my neighborhood. And then I couldn't stop. The combination of flavors elevated itself to need from want, demanding that I buy pizza twice more over the weekend.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (11:2): <i>The food thing hasn't totally gone down the drain: I've made some good forays into home cooking, but when I get off track I've tended to stay off for a while. Lately I haven't been able to find the time on a weekend to make a big batch of something to eat all week, which seems the best strategy I've discovered so far.</i></p> <p>m_1 (2:27): <i>Growing snap peas instead of buying them in the supermarket is about the most inefficient thing I've ever done. I'm not saying that I'll take the stairs instead of the elevator or ride my bike instead of the subway for the rest of my life. I don't know. But for now, I am totally digging--pun completely intended--the "inefficiency" that comes from a left-over hippie teaching me to grow my own food.</i></p> <p>m_1 (3:14): <i>She does like to joke, though, that My experiment has turned her husband into a nineteenth century housewife.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (8:3): <i>And it is a fairly time-consuming business as well - you do have to be dedicated.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (7:7): <i>I am finding that with not buying things, I am ending up having to spend more time with the things I do have - taking care of them, repairing/mending them etc etc.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (3:4): <i>both that it's too hard to keep up for a year and that it's too easy to do for a year: people make do and mend all the time</i></p>
(pre)več gospodinjskih opravil	<p>m_1 (4:56): <i>I'm too busy baking bread from local wheat and washing My daughter's locally-grown, organic cotton diapers. God save me, please, from myself and this crazy project.</i></p> <p>ž_8 (7:1): <i>Is pressure cooking the answer? In my efforts to improve the quality of my diet and move towards a healthier lifestyle, I have been eating and cooking more beans and pulses. But beans take a mighty long time to cook, and then there is the soaking - a time consuming process.</i></p> <p>m_1 (3:14): <i>She does like to joke, though, that My experiment has turned her husband into a nineteenth century housewife.</i></p> <p>m_1 (3:24): <i>What I do have is a cleaner who comes in four hours a week. Also, My daughter goes to family day care with four other kids, which by the way she loves (we neither wanted nor could afford a nanny). I pay the cleaner roughly the same hourly wage that I earn and, by my estimates, our lovely childcare provider earns a bit more than me. My wife and I have this help because we both work full time--who decided I was a stay-at-home-dad?--both for financial reasons and because we love our work.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (4:5): <i>I already have the skills to do little things, simply from years of watching her and my mom, I just can't let it pile up so much. And I might be able to develop a sewing imagination, the kind that makes cap sleeves out of cuffs, but it's going to take a lot longer than I want it to. Now, if I can cultivate the patience...!</i></p> <p>ž_11 (11:3): <i>I have to admit, the worst part of this challenge (not buying anything brand new) has been birthday parties. Making stuff for other people - especially people who are not family or close friends, really works me up, 'cause I am horribly aware that I am still so new at making stuff. So far everyone has been really gracious about it all but I do worry quite a bit anyway. Plus I find that I take so much longer to do one thing.</i></p>
ŠE VEDNO PREMALO ČASA	
še vedno v časovni stiski	<p>m_1 (8:12): <i>an old man was feeding pigeons right in the middle of the bike path. I was running late and worried about time and I didn't want to slow down and I figured the pigeons would move, and they did. But not fast enough. There was a terrible sound. It was the cry of either a pigeon's pain or an old man's dismay. I'm not sure which. Either</i></p>

	<p>way, a pigeon was dead, and the old man was devastated. I felt terrible.</p> <p>ž_11 (7:9): So I am trying to find our balance between play and housework.</p> <p>ž_2 (9:1): Hi, lovely readers. I'm sorry I've been gone so long. This blog thing is hard: with a struggle I can get 1-2 entries up in a normal week; when I've got a project going on, everything goes out the window.</p> <p>ž_3 (4:1): What a busy weekend - I am finally starting to feel the pinch of working full time and trying to keep up with what is going on at home.</p>
<p>prekrški kot prihranek časa (zmanjševanje stresa)</p>	<p>ž_2 (1:14): Perhaps I ought to take the time to tape and paint carefully - but when I think about how long that will take, the little thing is damn attractive.</p> <p>ž_2 (6:3): Overall, I break the food rule the most: I've been getting busier and rarely seem to have the time or materials on hand to cook.</p> <p>ž_3 (5:1): In the past two weeks, work has been so overwhelmingly busy that I have not had any time to post. I really enjoy blogging, but recently life has taken over. As I find myself busier with work, I feel like I have not been giving our home life the attention it deserves. I have had little time to shop for groceries, and have been feeling stressed over not preparing proper dinners. I am posting now because I am feeling a bit more uplifted and hopeful, having emerged from the craziness that was the last two weeks. I was feeling so overwhelmed that I went shopping for clothes, hoping it would provide me with some stress relief. With my brother's upcoming wedding and wanting to look nice on that special day, I went looking for a dress - I ended up buying two dresses, two pairs of summer shoes, two undergarments (for that slimming effect under the dresses, natch), and two t-shirts.</p> <p>ž_3 (5:2): I am having buyer's remorse already - I noticed that one of the pairs of shoes has a flaw, but I can't return them as I have taken the tags off. I did realize yesterday that my desire to shop was a direct result of the stress I was feeling, and once I started shopping, I only wanted to shop more. I am going to return the t-shirts and one dress, and keep the shoes, the undergarments and the second dress to wear to my brother's wedding.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:8 (219:219): Yes. There are heaps of other ways I could have handled this situation - including even buying them a healthy snack rather than a "thing". But under pressure, I ended up reverting to the quickest thing that I knew would work.</p>

Priloga G: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in družba – vsi citati

OSEBNI ZADRŽKI POVEZANI Z DRUŽBO	
občutek izključenosti	<p><i>ž_12 (6:5): We didn't realize how tenacious one must be to really live simply. It's like walking on a mountain pass, one or two false steps and you're cascading down the mountain side into an abyss. All this to say..."Can we have a do over?"Obviously, our struggle has been in isolation (hiding from the accountability of friends and fellow earthlings) so here we are, laying it all out again. Hold us to it, we need your help. Simplicity CANNOT happen without community. Isolation is our worst enemy.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:29): What's so great about trying to be right if it keeps you separate? It seems like there is something precious that has to do with holding yourself above or not just joining in and being part of. I don't know. I'm suddenly realizing that this whole project could be pretty damn hard.</i></p> <p><i>ž_1 (4:3): I am loathe to admit that I actually feel sadness at the prospect of not being able to scooter into Starbucks at 31st and 6th Avenue tomorrow morning see my girls (you girls are the best. Howard Schultz should anoint you. I love you girls!).</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (12:6): We never missed movies, per se. We never missed stuff. But there was still some kind of pull, and here's what it was: wanting to have what other people around us had, wanting to do what they did, wanting to be where they were. In other words, it was, more or less, social anxiety.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:10): I've been feeling lately that my world is really small - maybe this will make it even smaller? The idea is to make it bigger, by learning about how my own life connects to that of my family and my community in ways that go beyond consumption.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (7:6) I ve just spent a humungous amount of time with friends and family and I'm now starting to realise how much of our conversation is based on consumption. Which shops are having a sale, what such and such bought recently, what they're planning to buy, where to buy it etc etc.I managed to put in a little bit (where second-hand shops are) but I found myself not having anything to say.Don't get me wrong, I love my family and I want to spend time with them, but I have now realised that since I don't "keep up" anymore with the latest consumption of materials gossip, I actually don't have anything to contribute to their conversation.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:9): The Husband doesn't know that I am compacting. All he knows at this point is that I am making every effort to not purchase anything new for an entire year (excepting food). He is happy with this, because he is VERY frugal all on his own. I want his support, but don't want him to think I am just trying something on for size for a few weeks and then will revert to my old ways. I want the proof to be in the pudding. I want to prove it with my actions. I want to be accountable. I think that says it all.</i></p>
strah, da družba napačno razume razloge za ND	<p><i>ž_2 (10:7): I'm waffling about the office: I've worn it all day there though I haven't been quite brave enough to wear it every single day - my boss even gave me her blessing.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (3:10): Even now, when we buy local cheese at the Union Square farmers' market, we give them a reusable cheese cloth to package the cheese in. OK, we're weird. Even to ourselves!</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (3:2): how people might think I'm really scabby if they find out I bought the kids pressies from an op shop (never mind that I have managed to score some really GREAT toys that's perfect for the kids and the kids don't mind) - again my image/ego problem.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:5): I'm afraid that someone will write to say what a spoiled, entitled brat I am, and in some ways, I wish they would - only someone who has</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:7): I don't want to tell the people at my office: I'm afraid they'll think I'm taking advantage, lying, or stealing somehow.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:8): I'm afraid of my few friends in business school - that they think I'm shitting on what they really care about, disrupting their dreams or something.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:29): The only issue is it makes me feel like I am poverty stricken - need to keep reminding myself that it is for the good of the planet rather than financial necessity.</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (5:7): Our society needs to lose the silly idea that buying secondhand is somehow shameful. I think buying secondhand is clever. Instead of wasting our money on clothes, we can save our money for something far more important, such as our kids' education, or helping them to buy a home of their own in years to come - long after any clothes are gone in the dustbin.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (11:10): The other thing that this challenge has exposed me to was my own snobbery. I had deluded myself in thinking I was an inclusive type of person. Until I wasn't buying anything brand new and all of sudden, I was worried about whether people would think I was poor. So here I was thinking well, if I'm so inclusive, then why would I be so worried about such a label? So WHAT if I really am poor?</i></p>

<p>strah pred izgubo neodvisnosti</p>	<p>ž_11 (2:5): <i>Unless if I swallow my pride and ask if anyone has got any fleece off cuts or snaps.... but then I feel like I'm asking for charity... hmmm there's an interesting thought. My consumption is linked to my need to show people how "independent" and "successful" I am. hmmm.... didn't even think I had a need to prove to others about stuff like that.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:31):<i>As this challenge continues, I find myself relying on others a lot more. I am finding myself in situations where I have to actively seek out others in order to fulfill my needs. Where before, I would have just gone out to the shops to buy whatever I wanted/needed, now I have to be a bit more creative. I have to learn not only to make do, but also to connect with people on a very practical level.</i></p>
<p>PREKRŠKI KOT POSLEDICA DRUŽBENEGA PRITISKA</p>	
<p>prekrški zaradi občutka večje sprejetosti</p>	<p>ž_2 (11:1): <i>Occasionally, I'll go out with friends to eat real food. I got tired of being the weird one who wasn't eating out. (And hungry.)</i></p> <p>ž_11 (3:5): <i>Still, I'm also coming to realise exactly how consumer oriented everyone is. I am realising too that much of my own consumption seems to be more as a result of my environment - everyone consumes then so must I. Its become like a way of fitting in. I feel it more at Jade's school. I often get the feeling that I must buy 'cause all the parents are buying for their kids.... and they're buying them brand new stuff from the multinationals.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (10:5): <i>I broke down and bought some deodorant. I've got a trip coming up in which I'll be sharing pretty close quarters - I don't think this particular traveling partner will appreciate even a little bit of natural fragrance.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (3:1): <i>I was hungry and it was Friday and my work friends invited me out to eat. And I was tired and I didn't really feel like talking about the project or defending its imprecise terms. So I caved: I wanted to eat something delicious. Tapas, paella, and sangria fit the bill.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (7:5): <i>I am not feeling bold in deodorant world - am thinking I may have to go back to more conventional means of keeping on the side of social acceptability. Any suggestions?</i></p>
<p>prekrški zaradi družabnih dogodkov (praznovanj)</p>	<p>ž_2 (1:10) <i>At least I didn't order anything...but I also couldn't let my friend pay for her birthday meal! Gotta find a better way for next time...</i></p> <p>ž_3 (5:3): <i>I will be participating in my brother's wedding, both in the ceremony and giving a short speech at the reception, and I definitely want to be appropriately and nicely dressed. I do have another dress I could wear, but I have worn that dress to every wedding I have been to in the last four years, so I think it is time for a change.</i></p> <p>ž_4 (2:15): <i>I had forgotten when writing our pledge to compact, that I have to be in my sister's wedding this summer. Which means a new dress for me. So, that will have to be an exception, since finding a dress to match my sister's theme, used - might prove, well, impossible. I will go back and add an exception to our pledge. After this wedding, everyone on my side of the family will be married. Weddings are interesting things. Joyous, yes. Compact? Not so much. Probably the only time in your life where you will spend an extraordinary amount of money on things you will use once, and then hold on to forever.</i></p> <p>ž_9 (2:14): <i>Week 2 and doing well. However! This month I have a couple of conundrums. Firstly, it is my parents fiftieth wedding anniversary. The only way I can possibly see of getting out of buying new on this occasion is something from the antique store. But that means trying to find something like an Armani figurine, which would be double the price of any bought brand new! Not to forget also that brothers and sisters are also contributing. So on this occasion I think it has to be from a store.</i></p> <p>ž_7 (3:15): <i>My great-aunt passed away at the age of 95 after a great and influential life, and I was in the city after a meeting, walked into David Jones and was so upset over it, I went and bought myself a really expensive dress to wear to the funeral. It was the first one I saw, tried on, and the whole process took 15 minutes. Do you like how I've tried to justify the purchase first?? My husband's first response was "are you going to let your blog know that you've bought something new??"....(ie - not happy jan!) I've felt so guilty about it so much since that I just don't think I'll get much enjoyment out of it. I've not even gone grocery shopping this past week to try and 'make up' for</i></p> <p>ž_5 (7:5): <i>I am not feeling bold in deodorant world - am thinking I may have to go back to more conventional means of keeping on the side of social acceptability. Any suggestions?</i></p> <p>ž_9 (2:15): <i>Second, my nephew's tenth birthday. The parents may have been ok with antique but the ten year old nephew, who I might add is the youngest in our large family, tends to be somewhat spoilt and a computer freek. What to get him?? I usually try to buy presents that are environmental or educational (I'm a responsible aunty). But this makes it a bit hard now. Any suggestions??</i></p> <p>ž_7 (2:34): <i>I have caved in a few times since we started in buying presents for friends</i></p>

	<p>birthdays, a new book that I HAD to have to compete a set and a new pair or slippers (I did wear the previous pair until they were rags!). Hubby funnily enough has bought nothing (unless you count beer???)</p> <p>ž_11 (5:10): When as I was wrapping them up, I suddenly got all insecure about what I was giving them. Both of them had been very generous in the past and have bought quite expensive presents for the kids. I felt that by giving them homemade presents it wouldn't be enough. So in the last minute, I just dashed out of the shops and bought these two items.</p> <p>ž_11 (8:4): Okay so confession time. I have bought some brand new and "unnecessary" stuff. Basically, what happened was that 2 weeks ago, I received FOUR, yep, FOUR invites to children's birthday parties over the next 2 weeks! As a newbie sewer and crafter, I am fairly slow at making stuff and there was no way I could come up with pressies for 4 youngsters in the space of 2 weeks</p> <p>ž_4 (2:18): Valentine's Day was a lovely success here. I pulled out some crafty materials and made a card for Gary. Not easy, but it turned out great! I did buy something new for Gary, but as you will see once it arrives, it met my exceptions. Gary got me something new as well, which didn't meet exceptions, except we couldn't have found it used.</p>
<p>prekrški zaradi zahtev službe ali šole</p>	<p>ž_2 (2:1): I'll mark today as the first that I really broke my rules. I bought a plastic folder at Staples for \$2.16 - I have to submit a press kit tomorrow and I couldn't find anything to reuse at home or work.</p> <p>ž_3 (5:6): I just got a promotion, which brings with it a requirement to wear something other than my ratty old t-shirts to the office. I'll post my purchases with my monthly update later this week</p> <p>ž_3 (5:12): I have yet to locate a thrift store with a good selection in Vancouver (any suggestions?), and my corporate job does have a dress code. I would not have purchased second-hand undergarments, and I did purchase them with a gift certificate, at least satisfying my attempt to be more frugal. The shoes were not impulse purchases, and they are summery shoes I am wearing to work. I am vowing to buy nothing in June!</p> <p>ž_5 (6:2): However, I have decided that I do need to buy some new clothes for work. A new suit is required. So I shall buy one. I will buy what I need and no more.</p> <p>ž_5 (6:3): I have been shopping and bought a new coat and trousers (first clothing purchased since December). The trousers were a carefully planned and desperately needed purchase, but the coat wasn't (spontaneous, but it is good quality).</p> <p>ž_10 (2:4) My first blog entry ever and I have to say I've stumbled at the first hurdle. My kids went back to school this week (they're 7 and 8) and they've grown a lot - so I had to buy new shoes and new school clothes. Set me back about \$80 each for the shoes and \$60 for the clothes. With the uniform - again I didn't have much choice - can't send them in clothes which are too small and covered with last years glue and paint stains PLUS on their report card they have a 'shows pride in school uniform section'. The clothes are only sold through the uniform shop and profits at least go back to the school. There were no second hand clothes the right size or in a reasonable condition.</p> <p>m_3 (5:3): Now- if you are trying to look cool, then yes- buying new is your best bet. I can see even a high powered career being an excuse for some crisp new clothes now and then. Another reason for new clothes would be if you cant find your size. Or if the category of your need is just not sanitary- like undies.</p>
<p>NESTRINJANJE / NESPREJEMANJE OKOLICE S PRAKSO NAKUPOVALNIH DIET</p>	
<p>jeza, strah, grožnje in očitki</p>	<p>m_1 (2:39): Now then, I've had an incredible amount of support for the project from all over the world the last few days, and I've had rather a large amount of, well, hate mail. Someone wants to spray my wife and I with an Uzi and get my daughter adopted by Angelina Jolie, for example.</p> <p>m_1 (4:45): I think sometimes people are mad because they think i'm trying to tell everybody else what to do but I'm really not.</p> <p>m_1 (2:43): What I really want us to discuss are the solutions to the inherent problems of trying to green our lives. If you really believe reduced consumption would cause the economy to collapse and ultimately hurt the poor, for example, instead of just calling me an idiot, how about suggesting other alternatives that would both ensure the well-being of the planet and its people?</p> <p>m_3 (1:28): It seems that this way of thinking has really hit a nerve in those closest to me. Why is that? Why is there such fear of life outside of consuming?</p> <p>m_1 (3:23): I welcome your remarks as long as it's dialog and not invective, but I do think it might be nice if you took the trouble to get your facts straight. Attack my ideas, but saying my ideas are worthless because I have "a housekeeper"</p>

<p>dvom v uspešnost in nerazumevanje razlogov za ND</p>	<p><i>m_1 (1:15): Meanwhile, I mention to a very liberal friend, a guy who used to be spokesman for a Democratic senator, that I'm trying to figure out how to live no impact here in New York. "Forget it. It's impossible," he says. It's one thing to try it in the countryside, maybe in the woods, like Henry David Thoreau, or on a farm, where you grow your own food. But in New York City? No way.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (2:7): I find it interesting that my friends with money define the experiment as about spending money; one of them explained My experiment as making a project out of my poverty.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:18): "Has something happened? Do you need money?"</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:17): "what on earth would you want to do that for?"</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:19): to resignation ("this is one of your strange phases isn't it?")</i></p>
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Priloga H: Problemi nakupovalnih diet in inovativnost – vsi citati

NADALJEVANJE, NAMESTO SPREMINJANJA USTALJENIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
<p>preveliko kupovanje dovoljenih izdelkov – kompenzacija</p>	<p><i>ž_2 (3:17): Get this: so far in March I've purchased coffee drinks 9 times; in February I bought 11 of them. Why? Because I can. Prior to My experiment I might have purchased coffee once or twice a month when out meeting a friend. But I'm finding that when I feel bored or tired or otherwise uncheerful, I get a little charge out of the one thing I can buy.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:18): Even worse, now that my wallet is considerably fuller, I've been hopping into cabs at an alarming rate. What's more, I enjoy the experience - it's easy, it's fast, it feels luxurious.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (6:13): On the other hand, it gives free license to continue in consumer mode, which is not really a good thing and perpetuates the pursuit of the material. And in buying second hand stuff, are we salving other people's consciences so that they can happily go out and buy more?</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (6:12): I went to the preloved clothing sale on Saturday and bought a new handbag, a couple of tops, a pair of shoes and a watch. All second hand, in very good condition and at bargain prices. I guess the desire to spend some money had to come out somewhere/somewhat.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (8:1): Anyway, I dragged the reluctant Object of My Affection across a couple of suburbs and I got to shop. Bought a great pair of italian suede shoes for \$15 - got to love that - a little handbag, a bunch of books and a few CDs (all of which are a complete mystery - will give them all away if I don't like them). Happy as a lark. Ok - so now is the hard part - did I need any of those things? No. Am I glad I bought them? yes!</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (3:3): how I can see that I'm now buying more ethically BUT I'm still buying a hell of a lot. So in terms of the challenge goals - I've achieved one (ie avoiding the multinationals) but haven't gotten any closer to changing consumption habits. I have found myself quite frustrated at times 'cause I'm wanting the 2nd hand market to provide for my consumption habits and of course, its not going to do that.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (3:4): Come to think of it, I think I'm actually buying MORE. Because the products are so cheap, there have been times I can't help myself and just buy more stuff I don't really need. I am also getting quite a lot of thrills in getting that bargain.</i></p>
<p>zamenjava, namesto zmanjšanja</p>	<p><i>ž_3 (2:28): I bought two lunch sacks, and two Sigg bottles. I figure that by retiring all of the sippy cups we currently are using and replacing them with only two cups that are not leaching chemicals into Monkey's beverages, I can eliminate a lot of the plastic he is exposed to. With only two cups, I will have to wash them by hand and that will reduce the frequency with which I run the dishwasher (it currently runs once daily or every two days, and is usually half-filled with sippy cup accoutrements - disgusting, I know).</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (4:13): We are have replaced our conventional cleaners with more "green" personal care and home cleaning products - Dr.Bronner's for shampoo & general cleaning purposes, Bio Vert laundry detergent, and Method dishwasher detergent.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (6:3): I am still doing all my cleaning with baking soda and Dr.Bronner's - I don't think I will ever go back to cleaning with "conventional" products. I have purchased some Ecover dishwasher detergent, and I'll do a product review after I've had a chance to put it to the test.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (8:4): I will be receiving a small bonus next month, and am planning on purchasing him a new suit. He deserves it. While I help him fill out his closet, I am going to be downsizing my own. I am going to be donating clothing items I haven't worn since Monkey was born, with the plan for a minimal, functional wardrobe by spring.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (10:4): Right now, he is treating them a bit like diapers, but we are using them at home in the evenings and on the weekends. I purchased them from <u>Parenting by Nature</u>, and they are <u>adorable</u></i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (4:1): Sometimes we have to buy things to become more sustainable. An example might be good quality, classic shoes that will last many seasons, so we don't have to buy new shoes every year. Or buying a compost bin, so your kitchen scraps go on the garden rather than in landfill. Or a greywater hose to make your garden bloom even in the harshest of dry spells. A water saver shower head would also fall into the 'good to buy' category.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (3:1): I have purchased - and it was stuff that I do not need immediately. I have just bought a box of 6 compact energy saving light bulbs and a low water flow shower head. The way I figure I will need lightbulbs eventually - and it is better to have some that are environmentally friendly on hand. And of course, you can't buy used ones. And the shower head has to be a good thing in terms of reducing water use. But it is purchasing ..</i></p>

<p>prej pomisli na nakup kot izposojlo</p>	<p><i>ž_2 (11:3): These new habits are refusing to get incorporated into my life! I went to the used bookstore to buy a present for a friend. Right above the shelf where I located his book, I found a book I've been wanting to read for a while. I ran through the list in my head: it's used...I'm not broke this month...it's a reasonable price...it's right in front of me...I bought both books, refused the plastic bag, and left the store. As I walked back to the subway I stopped and almost said DUH! right out loud. I've had such success with the library this year and the thought did not even occur to me as I was running through my list!</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (5:7): I know realise that I *could* have asked other people if they had any spare pins lying around and not being used. I opened my mum's cupboard the other day and found a huge stockpile of pins she had accumulated over the years.... and she doesn't even sew any more than hems!</i></p>
<p>odlaganje nakupov po ND</p>	<p><i>ž_3 (5:9): The other thing on our radar lately has been contemplating the purchase of a new vehicle. The Husband has driven the same 1990-model car for the last thirteen years. It makes sense for us to purchase a car either this year or next year. I am working hard to convince the Huz that we can rent a vehicle for the couple of road trips we need to take this summer, and put off buying the new car for at least another few months. The Huz wants to buy a new, top-of-the-line car and although I don't blame him, it seems like an awful lot of dough to fork out at once. We'll save the money in the meantime, and see how things go with our car this summer.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (10:2): The doctor said I could continue to wear my old ones, but... (of course she's supposed to sell glasses too).</i></p>
<p>dodajanje oglasov na blog</p>	<p><i>ž_4 (2:3): So, as you may notice, I have added some things to the sidebars. I deliberated over this for a while, as some of what I added was advertising. At first this seemed directly in opposition to the whole idea of the blog, and I wasn't going to add them. But, truthfully, it helps me pay for the blog account, which is one of my only entertainment expenditures</i></p>
<p>kupovanje zabave</p>	<p><i>ž_4 (10:2): We went to the zoo yesterday. It was rather a perfect fall day. B has decided that she needs to walk everywhere. Not only walk, but usually without holding anyone's hand. It is easier on my back, but harder to keep track of her.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (3:13): Needless to say, it takes hundreds of tickets to get anything of substance and the games are less than willing to give out said tickets. But, we took what we collected (65 tickets I think) and exchanged them for a rubber duckie and a coin purse. The kids were happy enough to finally sit and eat.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (4:9): As many of you know, it has been a season of doubt and frustration; so, we took off for a long weekend in Disneyland.</i></p>

Priloga I: Negativne posledice deprivacije kupovanja novega – vsi citati

KRIZA OB ZMANJŠEVANJU MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
<p>občutek, da so ND (pre)težke</p>	<p>ž_5 (7:3): <i>It ain't always easy, that's for sure</i> ž_5 (7:6): <i>Since those few glory weeks I have had a few angst ridden stuff-lust attacks, I have teetered on the brink of temptation, and I have slipped a couple of times. And I have made a few (very few) considered purchasing decisions. And I have taken a long, hard look at myself and had to admit that I - having never thought of myself as much of a shopper or as being overly-acquisitive - am (was) in fact a significant consumer.</i> ž_11 (3:1) <i>With Xmas around the corner, the consumerism around me is at its peak. I am finding myself constantly having doubts over this challenge.</i> ž_11 (10:3): <i>I think every activist goes through a phase of questioning whether the fight is worth it... whether the little steps we take actually make a difference.</i> m_3 (3:1): <i>We just passed the two month mark. As my wife stated in her last post we've, "been feeling the burn." This is a hard task, but well worth it. I think this journey is becoming more difficult because we are passing the fad stage and beginning a lifestyle. It's becoming easier to identify consumeristic traps, so, we are less likely to be "tricked" into buying something we need/want. Now, we are aware of the complexities and our "stuff" is starting to get the best of us. Let me explain...</i> ž_12 (3:11): <i>I have been sick all winter, I have been depressed all winter, I have been empty all winter. Worst of all, I gave up my one vice for the season...shopping. During the winter months I used to spend amazing amounts of time in stores or on-line shopping. Even when I wasn't shopping, I was thinking about what I needed for this or what I needed for that. I used to satiate my ailing psyche with clutter. I would fill every space to push out the emptiness. So here I am.</i> m_1 (5:28): <i>We squeeze it out well so it doesn't drip. We hang it from clothes hangers on the shower rail over the bathtub. Problems: clothes with dirt ground in, getting towels dry, getting tired from the wringing out.</i> m_1 (5:9): <i>No fridge is hard so far. The milk goes bad in a day. The aforementioned arugula turns yellow in two. The pot in the pot is a bust. My dad has found a vintage Coleman cooler on eBay, where he plans to use some top-secret bidding tool.</i> ž_2 (2:11) <i>As you might guess, food is the hardest part of My experiment so far. Not eating in restaurants means that I have to think about how to feed myself for the whole day, examining what my plans are and figuring out if I have time to run home and my experiment something. And this weekend I reached a critical point: I'm almost completely out of convenience foods like cereal and crackers, and I've used up my stores of mac and cheese, frozen spinach pie, and some turkey chili I made and stashed in the freezer.</i> ž_2 (2:12): <i>but I also haven't done any serious planning or cooking yet, relying instead on leftovers from work or the aforementioned food stores. The little cooking that I have done relies on the recipes I've used forever: my friend Laura smiled knowingly, "you been making a lot of stir-fries, haven't you?"</i> ž_2 (2:13): <i>I'm away from my apartment for long stretches of time, meaning that I need stuff to carry with me (not too heavy!) as well as quick stuff to my experiment when I get home.</i> m_2 (2:11): <i>Having moved over to the UK for 12 months the idea of buying lots of things to set up home was not a good thought. but then, in the true spirit of a 'shopping sabbatical', I have become a frequent visitor to the op-shop. I have managed to get warm jackets, jumpers etc for all the family and even some toys with my ozi dollar going to charity rather than some corporation. Another great thing was when I arrived I sent an e-mail at work asking for anything people want to pass on to a poor australian. What could have been an expensive exercise (both financially and to the earths resources), we have managed to make a home out of begged, borrowed and ... well not quiet stolen... things.</i></p>
<p>občutek prikrajšanosti</p>	<p>m_1 (1:27): <i>Day one and I already have this feeling of self-denial and not being allowed to have things. All of a sudden the whole world is available to everyone else except for me. What the hell have I gotten myself into?</i> m_1 (4:5): <i>So many of my rituals were so bad for me (my health), for us (our bank account and all the family time lost to my scurrying off to cop), and for the environment. So two days in and I am sad. I am also relieved.</i> ž_12 (1:31): <i>First of all- I don't go to our grocery store anymore- I tend to over spend there, and we've just found that sticking with a bi-weekly trip to Trader Joe's is better for us. The food I'd buy would be for binge purposes only. I cant do that anymore! It's not right!Then, wasting all my home time on the computer; shopping for more than we need right now is wrong.Taking the kids down the hill to go shopping is against our</i></p>

	<p>pledge. We need nothing at Target- in fact I'm not going to Target right now. Even though there's health items there- it's just too tempting. And the mall- I've always loved the mall, but right now it just seems like such a waste of space to me. Going to Pasta Pomodoro is the toughy for me. Going out to dinner is something we all thoroughly enjoy and dont plan to give up. But tonight? Is that the wisest decision? Starbucks...sheesh- I have an expensive Barista machine here at home and tend to be more satisfied by my own Lattes than the ones I buy there. So, what now? Why is it so hard for me to have my husband gone? Do I not have enough to do around here? Laundry is piled high- the kids rooms is a disaster again. I have plenty to do. Why do I want to get out?</p> <p>m_1 (5:22): I figured, first, if I'm so attached to a consumer product that I get heart palpitations when I lose it, having it breaks the spirit if not the rules of NIM.</p>
<p>skušnjave, želje kupovati nedovoljeno</p>	<p>m_1 (6:28): Admitting that we sometimes miss Indian, Italian and Chinese takeout.</p> <p>ž_5 (2:17): Another week of buying nothing except food. So far, so good. I withstood the ultimate temptation (for me) - went to a bookshop one lunchtime and just browsed. Bought nothing. Sadly, that might be a first.</p> <p>ž_2 (9:6): Now that the year is two-thirds gone, I've been fantasizing about the items I'll buy in 2008, things I think I need or that I really want.</p> <p>ž_2 (8:3): The funny thing is, I have a cold and I'm grouchy, and still I think new clothes will make me feel better.</p> <p>ž_2 (10:1) Then there's the "new" thing: this particular dress can be justified by My experiment rules - more on that in a sec - but the fact remains that buying it would give me the delicious rush of bringing home a gorgeous new thing.</p> <p>ž_2 (10:3): Am I so desperate for new things that I'm trying to justify the purchase of glasses that I don't actually need? (Need taken in a real-life need sort of way.) I think I'm coming up against something big here on material items...The food thing hit about 4 or 5 months in, and I've had creeping moments of wanting to buy things here and there, but now it's really bad.</p> <p>ž_2 (8:2): Oooh, temptation! I recently received some gift certificates to a clothing store. A clothing store with no "organic" or "sustainable" options.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:33): Even after coming to the conclusion that I only need a small amount of supplies to get ready every morning, how is it that every time I go into a drugstore for some basic need (toothpaste, deodorant), I feel the need to pick up items I don't need or want? As I saw my shampoo supply dwindling, I committed to myself that when I needed shampoo, I would buy organic, but I still found myself in the shampoo aisle today staring at the vast wall of bottles.</p> <p>ž_7 (3:3): It's been three months and is an absolute record for me, but I too am feeling the 'need' for a lovely pair of winter boots even though it's a stinking 32 degrees here in Sydney with about 150% humidity!</p> <p>ž_5 (3:14): So far I am holding out ok (I did buy a piece of jewellery, but it's antique so it doesn't count) but it does seem an almighty wrangle. I am fighting years of social conditioning, billions of dollars of advertising and god knows what else</p> <p>m_3 (2:3): Let me give you an example. My depression, coupled with sick kids, a hectic month, and a tired wife have casued a lot of tension in our household lately. My only time of solitude is during lunch, so I snuck away and drove to catch my breath. I found my self pulling into a dozen different retailers looking for a fix...literally. For some reason, the first thing that came to my mind in crisis was, "buy something, it'll make you feel better." I resisted the urge, but the realization was terrifying.</p> <p>ž_12 (2:13): Well- apparently when I see the mall- my pupils get larger, my claws come out and I start to growl. Not just the mall- it seems when I travel out of my mountain town, I notice more of what I dont have. I start to notice that my teeth are yellow, that my pots and pans are cheap, that my clothes are irreparably stained and as always- my house is retardedly small. So- should I just stop going out? My husbands says no. He seems to think thats sort of freakish and agoraphobic. Maybe I need to work on my greed issues a little more?</p> <p>ž_12 (7:2): I always get myself into a slump over this- of course I cant get all those things. I think the problem is the fact that I even feel like I SHOULD have those things</p> <p>ž_12 (11:4): I also love to buy. I find it tremendously comforting. I often buy out of boredom in addition to buying things when I'm frustrated or depressed. I love the ritual of actually purchasing something. And I would do it all the time if I could. I still have a *bit* of a consumerism issue. Food and stuff.</p> <p>ž_4 (7:8): I need some space. Clean, uncluttered space. I need some storage solutions...and some massive decluttering. And fast. I need some time to go through the bajillion boxes. I need some time to make my house kid friendly. I think that most of my exasperation/tiredness/overwhelm comes from constantly having to hover over B to make sure she doesn't get into anything she shouldn't. I don't want to completely child proof - I don't think that is in her best interests - but just make it so she can go</p>

	<p>where she wants, and there isn't a huge risk of her getting injured, or destroying something we need. Which right now limits it to the living room and kitchen. Makes putting laundry away a bitc</p> <p>ž_4 (7:9): Since I am still losing, I haven't wanted to purchase much, and as a result, I have about 2 pairs of pants that fit, and no belts that do. Most of my t-shirts are horribly stretched, as I wore them during pregnancy, and most of my sweaters are about 5 years old. I am, let's say, not a fashion plate. Since my SIL works for <u>Stonewear</u></p> <p>ž_4 (7:10) This of course also leads to the purchasing aspect. I can't sew bras. In my size (34G...) I can't find them second hand, and truthfully, that idea skeeves me out. So, there will be some purchasing of new bras - hopefully at least 2...which will mean about \$120 (Bras in my size are about \$60 each). I have one nursing bra, which I find rather uncomfortable. But it is the only one I have, so I wear it. There will be some pants purchasing for my husband, as some of his are beyond repair, and working on seriously out of fashion. And for Miss B - well, most of her stuff can and will be thrifted or made. I will, however, be buying her new socks, and anything we can't find used. Now is a great time to look for winter kid's clothes, the thrift stores are full of it.</p> <p>ž_4 (8:3): The stuff they have is nice, inexpensive, and stylish. I have about a bazillion ideas for storage, and B's room (when she is in her own room), and, and, and.... B loved the toddler beds (she can climb in them on her own!!!) and the pop-up tent and tunnel too. (tent is only \$10!!) One of the things that I really liked was the set-ups they had. Interspersed between the room layouts - they had complete apartments/dorm rooms/studios. 590 sq ft, 340 sq ft. All brilliantly organized, and functional. Husband and I talked about the allure of having a small space like that. We both kind of like the idea of a small footprint like that. We like the simplicity.</p> <p>ž_4 (8:4) They have some nice fabric that I want to look at for recovering our kitchen chairs. And...wow. I feel like I need to go back and look for hours. I think the only strategy is to focus on one room at a time and browse that section. Otherwise there is too much! Needless to say - even just for wandering and looking - we will be going back. Oh, and did I mention the 99 cent breakfast from 9:30-11am?</p> <p>ž_8 (5:5): I think we'll be bowing to convenience, and moving. Does it count as buying something new? I'm sure it does. But I know one other thing - as a promise to the planet, if we move to a larger home, I'll be installing solar hot water and a rainwater tank. And if it has garden space, I'll be plonking in a few fruit trees.</p> <p>m_3 (2:2): As we pulled into the driveway late last night, the brakes on our van went. It's also time for new tires. Both my wife and I have teeth that hurt and the estimate to fix them is well beyond what our insurance will cover. A lot of the kids spring clothes don't fit anymore. I've ruined two of my best work shirts in the past few weeks. We need a new rug (seriously this is a need...trust me, we've thought it out in painstaking finality). Our savings are low. Our bills are high. I can't do this!</p> <p>ž_12 (3:3): I love this house? Sometimes. But alot of the time it makes me insane. It makes me face that I have too much crap. It makes me think about what I really need to live.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:5): However, I've also realised that this reaction (the "I'll never be able to get it again if I don't get it now" reaction) is a product of my consumerist view that I have not yet outgrown. Its the part of me that feels I *deserve* to have my needs and wants satisfied RIGHT NOW. So must explore that further I think because again, that's yet another delusion.</p>
NADALJEVANJE KOPIČENJA MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
<p>slabo izvajanje ND, priznavanje in pojasnjevanje prekrškov</p>	<p>ž_3 (6:1): Well, what to say about this simple life I'm trying to create for my family? We have definitely fallen off the compacting wagon with a loud thump. We purchased a barbeque. I wanted the \$50 travel barbeque.</p> <p>ž_3 (5:11): As I mentioned in my post from earlier this week, things have pretty much fallen apart in the compacting department. I have managed to successfully continue on the decluttering path (getting rid of duplicate items in the kitchen, tossing broken toys), however, the staunch not-buying-anything stance has been temporarily kicked to the curb.</p> <p>ž_3 (6:7): Failure, because although I have reduced the number of purchases I am making, I am still buying things. I think I need to come to terms with the fact that reality will dictate that I occasionally need to purchase an item.</p> <p>ž_3 (7:2): Living a compact lifestyle is about a variety of things - lessening the impact on the environment, lessening clutter in our lives, and living more simply. I am quite passionate about all of these things. I have never had too much of a problem with clutter, but compacting has encouraged me to eliminate unnecessary items in my home and has made me think twice about unnecessary purchases.</p> <p>ž_3 (7:3): My problem lies in the fact that I am having trouble continuing to feel</p>

passionate about some of the harder changes that still need to be made. I feel like once I had made some basic (what seemed to me to be common sense) choices, I wasn't feeling motivated to take it to the next step. I am hyper-aware of what I should be doing, and I feel like I am only half-way there.

ž_4 (9:1) The day started with a cupcake delivery from my SIL, Wendy, and several package deliveries. Which included an Ikea gift card (also from Wendy) and an umbrella swift (from my dad) and ball winder (from husbands's mom). For those of you who don't know, those are for winding hanks of yarn into useable balls. Saves me from having to borrow my friends, or wait in line at the yarn store. I love it!!! And my dad got me a subscription to Interweave Knits. I had a super knitting birthday - it rocked. :D Thank you all so much for the great gifts! :D

ž_12 (4:7): I feel like I have completely lost the rhythm of simplicity. Lately this blog seems to be more about our failures at simplicity than any progress or success. Perhaps we need to let go of our ideal of simplicity that we have seen on other peoples sites or at other peoples homes, and find our own path.

ž_12 (6:4): We've pretty much lost the edge and passion for change in regards to simplicity. We have slipped (not too big, but enough to impact us) back into consumerism a bit. We've given up and bought new a few times too many. We've made sporadic purchases that were unwarranted and unneeded. Most of all, we have just about lost all of our creative juice in making the whole thing workable.

ž_12 (7:1): I mean- last month (June) flew. I cant believe we are already in the middle of the summer. Its so crazy how life rolls. There are days that seem so long and then, there are days you hardly remember. In all this it has been SOOOO easy to get materialistic. Epsecially me.

m_1 (3:38): In my shame, I rushed home and emailed XY, now my confessor as well as my mentor.

ž_2 (10:4): Becoming more conscious about the things I desire, buy, consume, and throw away is transitioning to me becoming obsessed. I'm wasting a stupid amount of energy on these decisions: first about the decision to buy or not to buy, and then trying to analyze the tricks I'm playing on myself and psychologize what my desires might mean. Maybe it's just better to buy the damn things and get it over with! Of course I could be trying to justify the failures of my experiment and its ideology.

ž_3 (10:2): July & August 1. A couple hundred dollars in clothes, most of them for work - egads. 2. A pair of winter boots, to be worn for work 3. Sunglasses - my former pair was crushed by a beach umbrella. 4. A shirt for work June 2007 1. A barbeque 2. A birthday gift for Monkey 3. A yoga video and strap 3. A pair of yoga pants and top May 2007 1. five undergarments 2. five summer shirts 3. three pair of shoes April 2007 1. Socks for the husband 2. Eyeshadow 3. A yoga video March 2007 1. A vegan cookbook 2. Underwear for the Husband 3. A spring hat for Monkey 4. Socks for Monkey 5. Shoe inserts February 2007 1. Cotton lunch sacks (two) 2. Aluminum Sigg sport bottles for Monkey (two) 2. Toothpaste and body cream for Monkey 3. The Diva Cup 4. A book for Monkey

ž_3 (5:10) I have noted whether the items I have purchased in previous months are still being used. One of the reasons I started compacting was because I would buy things and then they would sit unused in a closet or drawer. What a drain on both the pocketbook and the environment!

ž_3 (6:2): With respect to other purchases this past month, I received a couple of gift cards this month, and have purchased a couple of items of yoga clothing. I am now doing yoga almost every day, and feel as though it is having a very positive impact on my overall sense of well being.

ž_3 (3:5) It is a vegan cookbook, and I can't believe how simple some of the recipes are to make and how delicious everything turns out! Since I bought this cookbook last Wednesday, I have made five things from it and am making dinner from it tonight. So, my confession is that I bought the cookbook new from the store. Bah. I am so happy to have found a cookbook that I actually use that I am over the moon!

ž_3 (4:6) I picked up two pacifiers for Monkey at HipBaby, because he needs a couple of replacements - his current ones are getting really grungy and they are supposed to be replaced after 2 (errr, 5?) months...

ž_3 (7:1): I am feeling guilty these days... I have been going a little crazy in the spending department, and am feeling like I am not doing my best with not buying anything, particularly as it relates to clothes for work. I feel GUILTY, even though I know I haven't gone overboard.

ž_4 (3:3) I have pretty much not been buying much of anything other than food. We did take a trip to Value Village (ARC's version of Goodwill) last week to get me a new pair of jeans (one of my two pairs of pants that fit split when I bent down to pick up B), to look for a rain jacket/windbreaker for B and to browse around. We came home with a pair of jeans for me, a busy bead thingy and a wooden train for B. Still no luck on the

	<p>windbreaker. I find that lightweight coats are near to impossible to find used, and I have been looking since mid-January. So, on our trip to Target yesterday, they had some, and I made an executive decision to get one. She needs a jacket, and I have been unable to find one used. So, she now has a purple windbreaker. :-) I hemmed and hawed about it while at the store, couldn't decide if I should buy it, or give it more time, or what. Eventually I decided that keeping my baby warm and dry was important enough to spend the \$10 and buy the thing new. She has been wearing sweaters until now, since she grew out of the hand me down coats she had</p> <p>ž_5 (2:1) First weekend almost over - and nothing bought. Except - the newspapers. Yikes. That was something I hadn't considered. Gave up buying them during the week ages ago, after I belatedly realised they got stock piled and then chucked. But the weekend ones - well, that is another matter. But - we only got the Saturday ones, and not the Sunday ones. A 50% reduction. Not sure how best to deal with this - the online versions just don't cut in on the weekend.</p> <p>ž_5 (10:5): I recently bought (through necessity) some new glasses. Some things you just don't want to do second hand - and glasses is one of them. There is something very personal about glasses - sort of like toothbrushes and</p> <p>ž_5 (9:3) And I think this is related, I bought some things. Nothing major, and certainly didn't go wild, but I did buy some new items that I would be hard pressed to classify as necessary.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:4): Because I was so surprised that this type of fabric was actually available in store. I felt that if I didn't buy it I would never see it again.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:6): I don't think so. Though part of it is tied up I think with my ego of wanting my stuff to look nice. Still I also hope that it being "nice" means everyone would actually use it and that it would last longer.</p> <p>ž_11 (2:4): Ok, I have a confession. I've bought some brand new stuff...I am making stuff but am finding that basic materials you just have to buy brand new. The things I've bought so far:- thread - eyelet The things I probably will go ahead and buy brand new too: - fleece fabric – snaps</p> <p>m_3 (3:6): So off to REI I went. I came back with a new Camelback backpack which I found for 50% off plus 20% off and with my dividend it was free, awesome...I thought. My wife didn't. She pointed out that even though it didn't technically cost us anything, I broke our pledge. She's right. It wasn't used, at least it replaced something I had to throw out, but it wasn't really something we "needed." I was a little perturbed at first, but after a little thought, I'm owning up to a slip.</p> <p>ž_12 (6:1): Saturday we got groceries, a dresser (we've need one for a long time and haven't been able to russle one up at a garage sale or thrift store so we went to Ikea and bought sensible).</p> <p>m_1 (5:13): My wife had some double-sided mounting tape, and the next thing I am quietly obsessing over whether my wife bought it new or whether we already had it.</p> <p>m_1 (5:12): We have this great picture of our daughter that my wife had blown up on poster board some time back. Strictly speaking, of course, the poster is not in the project's non-consumption rules. I bit my tongue.</p> <p>m_1 (3:37): One time, a couple of months ago, my wife, my daughter and I got stuck in the freezing cold a long way from our house and we had to get warm so we went into a vegetarian café (we do have our standards, even when we cheat).</p> <p>ž_5 (2:37): Have lasted through February and not bought anything apart from groceries and a couple of newspapers (and have been paying strict attention to those). Have only desperately desired a book - which I couldn't find second hand but which my wonderful friend found (a used copy) and donated to the cause.</p> <p>ž_4 (2:6): This is our third two week menu and shopping trip, and so far it is working great. We have eaten take out dinner approximately 3 times</p>
<p>obžalovanje prekrškov</p>	<p>m_1 (8:19): I'm sure it has to do with my own addiction to perfection, but I felt like a loser and a hypocrite. It's silly, because I don't think it serves anyone to think that I breeze through this project, like I can follow all the rules without a problem. Painting a picture of total ease sets other people up to feel like failures if they find their own versions of environmental living difficult.</p> <p>ž_3 (4:12): Yesterday, I almost broke my compact. Well, I did, but then I made things better today. I was shopping at Costco, picking up a cake to take to a wedding shower tomorrow. I was with my friend, and although I don't usually go into the clothing section alone, I had my former partner in shopping crime. I ended up buying two jackets and three tank tops. I should have followed the advice I saw on another blog and given myself two weeks breathing space to consider whether I really needed to make the purchase. When I got home, the rush I had felt buying those items was gone, as was the lustre of these shiny new objects. I returned all of the items to the store today, realizing that I didn't really need any of them and can probably make it through the summer without needing any new clothes. Whew! Back on track...</p>

	<p>ž_5 (2:26): I slipped in the weekend. I didn't buy any consumer goods, but I did buy a juice for lunch on Saturday that came in a nasty plastic cup. Took a while for the penny to drop. And then - I regret to say, I did exactly the same thing on Sunday. Duh! I was a bit astonished when I realised my mistake, as I have been actively trying to not buy food in non recyclable plastics.</p> <p>m_3 (3:7): I strapped up my new pack (can't return it, honestly, I checked it out)</p> <p>ž_12 (2:14): I got completely depressed when we went into town today, and I'm sort of ashamed of myself.</p>
razmišljanju o izstopu iz ND	<p>ž_2 (6:2): Recently though, I've been going through something of an adolescent stage, resenting the rules and wanting stuff. I've had more than a few moments of "I hate this #(&%&\$ project, why did I ever come up with it anyway?" A friend and I discussed the possibility of quitting - after all it is an experiment and some experiments fail. Maybe it's the change of seasons: the new summer dresses look so lovely and I've started researching possibilities for a new bike. So far, I've managed to stay with it. I don't want to give up right when it feels hard, and there is so much more I want to learn about, even though I feel a little overwhelmed by the amount of information on topics I'd like to look into.</p> <p>ž_12 (7:6): The past few months of our journey have been wholly different than the first few months. In the beginning, it was easy to stay on track. Our fervor made up for several holes in the plan. But, as time goes on, our fervor has been replaced with tired fear and; often, a sense of hopelessness. There have been many days where it seems impossible to live with less, buy less, be more sustainable. Sometimes we just feel like saying, "Ah screw it, it was a nice try. Where do we shop first?"</p> <p>m_3 (2:9): We've gotten through the initial stage of shock regarding this journey. We are getting better at analyzing our needs and our wants, we have trimmed the budget down significantly and we are clearing out more clutter from our lives everyday. Lately however, I have begun to re-think this whole thing. Why are we doing this anyway? Are we just doing it to be cool, or to piss off our families, or because we're really cheap? Also, is any of this going to really make a difference? Are we going to be any different at the end of this thing? Is there an end to this thing? Are we being too rigid, not rigid enough...</p>
prekinitvev eksperimenta	<p>ž_2 (6:5): My experimetn and I are going on vacation. That is, I am going on vacation but it is not coming with me. I decided a long time ago that the project would be too hard to maintain with 20 friends in a country I've never been to and where I don't speak the language. My trip will have an unexpected compact related component, though: I'm visiting a city that recently banned all outdoor advertising. I think it's such an extreme and curious measure - I'm really excited to be going right now.</p> <p>I won't go crazy buying stuff, I can't afford to. We'll see if the break gives me the renewed enthusiasm I need for the rest of the year.</p>
PREVEČ AGRESIVNO SPREMINJANJE USTALJENIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
pretirana nalepljenost na pravila	<p>m_1 (5:16): I'm attaching to the rules of the project the way I used to be attached to my desire for consumer items. That's no good. It's like attaching to the rites of a religion instead of its spirit. Because the rules are really just supposed to be guideposts. They are the finger pointing to the moon, but they are not the moon. The job of the rules is to help us treat the planet with self-restraint and kindness, but they are not the actual self-restraint and kindness.</p> <p>m_1 (3:26): When the project started, I was incredibly rigid about the rules. I hovered over my poor wife. "That roll you're eating, did it come in packaging?" My wife must have felt like telling me to shove the roll, well, you can guess where. And she did once or twice. I deserved it. Maybe you guessed: I'm a Virgo. I wanted to be sure that no rule was ever broken. I made myself into the police. It caused problems and arguments. It made for less fun. Only after a couple of months-yeah, I'm slow-did I finally realize that being kind to the world meant nothing if I wasn't even able to be kind to my own wife. I kept saying, "Each of us can only do what we can do," but I wasn't applying that to my wife.</p> <p>ž_2 (3:9): I'm concerned for myself in that I wonder if it's too neurotic, that the experiment is about control in a way that isn't healthy for my life right now.</p> <p>m_3 (4:11): We are connecting to the kids here like we haven't in a while. I'm beginning to realize how tough this journey has been on them. Not because they needed to change all that much (after all they mostly follow our cues), but, because My wife and I have. We have spent a lot of time worrying, and strategizing...okay fine obsessing about simplifying when, in reality, we were completely missing the point. Thanks to all who reminded us of this.</p> <p>m_3 (4:12): I want them to know that I wasn't forcing them to live with less; but, to live more, with less holding them back from a wild and adventurous life. It amazes me how quickly simplicity became another addiction, something to obtain and own. As we have</p>

said before, the rabbit hole goes a lot deeper than we thought, but, the crux of the matter is this...we have been bred to consume. Even when pursuing intangible things, we go after them like we can hold and own them.

m_3 (4:13): We cannot return to our past (consumerism) and the future looks bleak. We have often felt like we are running out of rope. But there re plenty of strawberries to enjoy. This problem is not unique to this journey. It is the same reason I left the church and the same reason that I am always looking to books for answers. I live either in the uncertainty of the future or the regret of the past but, rarely in the present.

m_1 (2:10): But I hate telling her what to do and--surprise, surprise--she hates being told. We have decided that there are now two experiments, hers and mine. They basically follow the same outline but each of us gets to adapt it in their own way.

ž_11 (7:8): One thing I've noticed, is that I have found it difficult to actually voice to my children to take care of things. I feel like I'm a "party pooper" if I tell them to not jump on the couch or the bed 'cause they might break it. I think when I had kids a part of me visualised me as the "fun mum"

ž_4 (2:21): When we went looking for the books and knitting goods for my mom, I realized another aspect of what is important about the compact. I have made a pledge. It is important to me. Letting other people buy new just because they haven't made a pledge is slightly problematic. It felt realy wrong to let my mom buy new books when I would have looked for used ones, or gone to the library. I think I may add that to my mental list of what I mean when I say our family is compacting. I certainly can't force someone else to buy used if they don't wish to, but I can steer them to used items instead of new. I think that this reduction of consumption is important enough that it should ripple out from those of us who have pledged, and hopefully help others see the value in used items.

m_1 (5:13): OMYGOD! THE END OF THE WORLD HAS COME. THERE IS SOMETHING NEW IN OUR HOUSE! MY WIFE HAS WRECKED THE PROJECT!

MANJŠI UČINEK NAKUPOVALNIH DIET OD PRIČAKOVANEGA

še vedno preveliko obremenjevanje okolja

m_1 (4:54): It's two months since I began the no impact man stage concerned with stopping trash, but my recycling bin is still filling up with paper I never bought, never used, and never wanted.

m_1 (1:30): The junk mail pours in.

ž_11 (1:13): Well, for the last 8 years we have been slowly renovating our current home. We've finished renovating it now and looking back at the amount of stuff we have carted away to the dump is amazing.

m_1 (4:15): ...how to make a meal without creating a mountain of plastic.

m_1 (1:26): The first shock is that you can't buy any individually packed items, walk into Bagel Bob's and get an everything with tofu to go wrapped in tinfoil, or even get a coffee in a throwaway paper cup from News Bar on University Place. Unless you're willing to toss something in the garbage within about five minutes of getting it, without ever having really used it, you pretty much can't get anything.

ž_5 (2:7): I bought some food yesterday - and rubbish bags. Which gave me pause for thought. You've got to put your rubbish in something - and I try very hard not to collect enough plastic bags to do the job. So then you buy them - which seems a bit silly when you think about it. I did find some biodegradable ones, which made me feel better (at Safeway). It seemed the best option at the time.

m_1 (1:4): try no impact living as an experiment for a week. No garbage. No greenhouse gasses. No toxins. No water pollution. No air pollution. No electricity. No produce shipped from distant lands. Or so we naively hoped.

ž_2 (12:3). Trying to change any habits, be they spending habits, eating habits, exercise habits, thinking habits etc., makes me think of people transitioning from welfare to work, losing weight because they risk diabetes, trying to feed their children more healthfully -- and then I'm thankful that my experiment is a choice. I'm still not certain I've permanently altered even one thing to be a little more environmentally friendly.

m_1 (2:2): Fortunately, the MoMA Store in Soho carries some Muji stuff. So-Yippee!--I have notebooks again. Of course, even though, they were recycled they were shipped all the way from Japan. Oy vey! You make your choices.

ž_3 (3:9): This seller is not local to me, and although the items are second-hand, I am forced to consider the environmental impact of having them shipped to me.

ž_11 (10:5): we have two large cars; and- we own one house and are building another house in a small acreage that is not going to be used for farming/agricultural purposes-continuing to work/participate in the city and commuting using the large cars. This little exercise has really highlighted for me how much climate change is cultural and dependent on socio-economic backgrounds. While I am pushing the boundaries of my culture by not buying brand new, I am still participating in unsustainable living

	<p><i>practices. It also clearly shows the big differences between myself and those who live in developing nations.</i></p>
<p>dvom v učinkovitost ND naspluh</p>	<p><i>ž_5 (9:2) I had a slight crisis of faith wondering whether what we are trying to do is making the slightest bit of difference. There was stuff and frenzied shopping everywhere. I was led to wonder whether or not I bought one pair of shoes a year or five really made much difference in the scheme of things. Am pleased to report that I gave myself a stern talking to and reminded myself that this is about personal values and how I want to live my life. It seemed to work, however ...</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (ž_11): 'Course now I'm also feeling a little bit conflicted. Is this challenge pretty useless now with my husband buying new things? I also now have a "way out". If I am finding it hard to meet our needs without buying, then he could always buy it instead.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (11:5): We started this whole quest for anti-consumerism in January and here I am almost December and I have hardly grown. At least I'm not at the super simplified zen place I thought I'd be. Will I get there by the end of 2007?</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (9:8): Maybe it already did - I've been lax on the food thing, and some art project materials and gifts have provided a little pressure valve. At the same time, I really won't be that much better off financially (especially since I think my rent will be going up astronomically), so I won't even have the means to buy a lot of stuff at once. We'll see - I'll do the numbers at year-end.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (12:21): The truth is, I haven't really fixed many things this year: some clothes, a lot of meals and baked goods -- I'm hard-pressed to think of even one thing I've fixed and continued to use. I have some things waiting to be fixed: a stovetop coffee maker (can't find the right size grommet that will make it whole again); a pair of flip-flops that need some Crazy Glue (I think I have some of that somewhere); some holey socks (my sister told me she darns her socks, which ups the ante a little!) Perhaps the fixing part will come in 08, as I run out of the surplus crap I've dragged around NYC for the last 10 years.</i></p>

Priloga J: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in čas – vsi citati

SPREMENJEN ODNOS DO ČASA	
<p>počasnejše, mirnejše življenje</p>	<p><i>m_1 (1:8): In that one week, we discovered that, without transportation to rush us around and junk-food media to steal our time, there is a different, calmer life to be had right here in Manhattan. No TV to oppress you with news of Britney's failure as a mother. No concerns that charging another pair of Diesel jeans might be declined by Amex. No worrying that the bad cooking oil from the Chinese takeout is clogging your coronary artery. We developed a consciousness of our actions that that felt suspiciously akin to the living in the moment that the Dalai Lama keeps coming to New York to tell us about.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (3:4): To live in the experiment, giving up the cars and machines that make life more "efficient," I've had to say goodbye to the faster beat.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:7): I noticed over the weekend that this decision to purchase only needs and not wants has given me a sense of peace with regard to spending.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:13): I have also noticed I have a greater feeling of peace when I am at home. I believe it has come from the fact that nothing new is being introduced into my home, with the exception of food.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (5:1): Here is the thing: simplicity is a journey, not a destination...that always sounded trite and pretentious (not to mention hokey) but, it is true. We will never arrive at simplicity, it is a choice that we make hundreds of times each day. But, the evidence that it is taking hold lies in the enjoyment of simple pleasures.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:44):The change of rhythm. Whether hopping in taxis or talking on your cell phone, everything is a big rush. Even on a Saturday, which is supposed to be one of the rest days, you're like okay, I'll have brunch with you at ten, and then I'll head up to the MoMa at noon, and then some friends are having a party for the kids at three, and then you guys are having a dinner at seven. We just can't move that fast on our bikes and by walking. At first you think you're losing out, but on a weekend day basically we can do one big thing and we savor it much more. That was kind of surprising to me.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:24):A gift of this project is that even though we live in the City, we have found ourselves reconnected with some of nature's rhythms. And that, I think, is a good thing.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:33): This morning, we got dressed in the gloom of the bedroom, which faces an air shaft and has hardly any natural light. I felt grumpy. I could barely see myself in the mirror when I brushed my teeth.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:23): Who knew how glorious it is when the summer arrives and all the wonderful vegetables or fruits start to be in season?</i></p>
<p>čas kot dobrina / bogastvo</p>	<p><i>m_3 (3:15): I have found that the most precious resource squandered in life is time. It's not really a surprise. We fill our schedules with clutter just like we fill our homes with clutter; usually for the very same reason. Sure, I have...wait a minute...I don't have a real excuse. In fact, I have been busying myself with many things that don't really need to be done. Things I don't even really want to do. Wow, this thing will creep up on you in the wierdest places.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:38): So yeah, now we don't do presents. Instead what we do is that we try to make that day as special as possible for the birthday person. On birthdays, we give the best thing we could possibly give. Our undivided attention and unencumbered love to the birthday person.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (4:6): I have been thinking that hanging onto stuff you don't need is like getting fat. Both are the result of overconsuming, are easy to accumulate and take a lot of time and effort to get rid of.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (8:1): Simplicity does not often yield time. In fact, it often requires more time to take a simple and constructive approach to life. So, maybe, more time is not what is important. Maybe, like the Amish have found, simplicity lies in hard work and close ties to the community around us. By making a little place in the world with our friends simplicity can be found. Then all time will be free, because all of our time will be focused on the BIG things, the never-changing things that matter.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:23): Suddenly, when I was with someone, I was really with them. When I was in a place, I was really there.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (7:6): Now, I can run my own life instead of being at a little gadget's beck and call. I let calls go to voicemail and I return them and make my own calls at 11:30 AM and 4 PM, when it's convenient for me instead of for everyone else.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:23): First off, I decided that I would have to be content with letting my calls go to voicemail and checking my email a couple of times a day. At first, I felt like the world continued on its orbit round the sun but that I had somehow spun off and was left alone in outer space. Then I noticed that I actually could get things done. I wouldn't get interrupted. No rings, no beeps, no obsessively checking my email to see if anyone still liked me. I would return my calls and emails in batches when I had time and was by a phone or computer.</i></p>

AKTIVNO, NAMESTO PASIVNEGA PREŽIVLJANJE PROSTEGA ČASA

zmanjševanje deleža pasivne zabave

ž_3 (2:40): *In terms of simplifying, we also cut back from our deluxe cable package to basic cable. This has resulting in a savings of about thirty dollars per month, and we aren't missing it.*

ž_3 (2:42): *I have also simplified the time I spend on the computer.*

ž_3 (3:1) [ne kupuje več revij] *I don't purchase magazines any longer - I used to love the bright colours on the front, the pictures of all the products I had to own... now, I only see paper and false advertisements. I do still have two magazine subscriptions, but I am letting them lapse - I will be receiving a few issues in the mail until that happens.*

ž_7 (2:31) *In that time we have joined the library and discovered a whole new world of DVDs, magazines and books.*

m_1 (1:7): *With no TV, we found ourselves playing with My daughter more, reading more, talking more and-hurray!-having more, well, you know. Having perennially struggled with finding time for the gym to wrestle off our middle-aged midriffs, a couple of pounds immediately dropped off us both. Who needs a gym when you're riding bikes and refusing lifts in elevators and walking everywhere?*

m_1 (2:9): *loves that we spend more time together because of TV*

m_1 (7:7): *Let your TV rob someone else's time: We gave ours away and now we have reclaimed the average American's daily 4 hours 35 minutes spent in front of the tube. We have that time to spend with each other, on our work, and generally doing stuff instead of watching stuff. Plus we reduced our power consumption and carbon emissions!*

m_1 (7:5): *I bake my own bread, wash my laundry by hand, cook my family's meals, do the food shopping, work on my book, film for the documentary, write this blog, spend quality time with my wife, take press interviews, give occasional public talks, play with my little girl every day, roughhouse with Frankie the dog and on and on. Where do I find the time? The answer is, in part, in the My experiment productivity tips (though I'd rather call them take charge of your life tips):*

ž_6 (2:25): *I'm going to try and keep tabs on them, then guesstimate how many messages I get per week. I don't have a TV, so it'll only be outdoor advertising, radio ads and ads on the net.*

ž_11 (7:5): *But on top of the energy savings, I think there is something to be said about setting time aside with no electricity or energy consumption. The children and I were able to interact without the constant of buzz of toys/tv/computer or even the constant opening and closing of the fridge!! Without those distractions, the children and I were able to find the quiet together in our own homes.*

ž_11 (8:1): *I don't watch TV. Well, at least I don't watch adult TV. I *do* watch some very carefully chosen children's shows but that's more for my kids rather than for myself. I haven't watched TV for adults for almost 5 years.*

ž_11 (8:3): *Consuming entertainment that is geared towards being cruel to people means I would be taking in the energy of anger, hatred, sorrow and violence. Consuming this entertainment will mean that I would become more and more comfortable to discuss people as if they were not deserving of respect.*

ž_12 (1:37): *The move was born out of an increasing awareness of how much TV influences our daily lives. We were beginning to realize that weeknights revolved around the network schedule. We found ourselves turning down dinner with friends for the latest episode of whatever. But, even more depressing was the numbing effect on our children. They played around the house singing commercials. They tried to talk us into toys with the selling points from advertisements, they were beside themselves when the TV was off. Take a risk, dump the dish. Cut the cable. Just take back your life from that horrid evil box.*

m_1 (6:33): *This was a joy we found because having no electricity (and therefore no TV) forces us to actively do things instead of just passively watching things.*

športne aktivnosti

m_1 (7:1): *It's an hour and a half bike ride there and an hour and a half back, and I'm not going to feel like writing blog entries tonight.*

m_1 (3:35): *When we first started the experiment, my wife made it clear that, if I thought she would ride a bike in Manhattan-or even worse-let my daughter ride on the back of one, I was cracked. Then we went by train to my hometown in Massachusetts for Christmas-a concession we made to plans arranged long before the project began-rented bikes so we didn't have to get around by car, and wife and daughter loved it.*

m_1 (7:15): *We don't use carbon-producing transportation during the My experiment project, so we have to find ways to make a little bit of summer vacation right here in New York City. Today, we went with my two-year-old daughter, and played in the Washington Square fountain.*

"That was so funny, daddy," by which she meant that was so much fun. And it was fun

	<p>for us, too. A couple of friends happened to be walking by and they stopped and chatted and we all laughed and cooled by the spouting water.</p> <p>ž_11 (4:13): So I have been waiting for the package to arrive. In the meantime, I went swimming at the local river with the kids a couple of days back</p>
<p>več časa zunaj, na prostem</p>	<p>m_1 (5:33): The thing is, just as I type, this no electricity thing is kind of a pain in the butt, but it does force us to spend more time outside in the evenings, and that is really nice.</p> <p>m_1 (6:22): Or who knew that without air conditioning the way to stay cool is just to spend more time outside on the stoops and in the parks?</p> <p>ž_12 (1:8): We took the kids to Eureka, CA last week. It was priceless. If you have never been there, you should check it out. It has been a very long time since we had taken a solo-family trip (without another family or our extended family) and we felt that strolling through a forest with some of the tallest living things on our planet was the way to go.</p> <p>m_3 (6:2): We are so blessed. All of us are. But we really felt it this weekend, I think. We live about 25 minutes away from a beautiful lake, and our friends invited us to join them in camping Friday night.</p> <p>m_1 (6:12): We walk around, going nowhere in particular, and My daughter shows me how she can run, moving a lot, in her toddler body, like the tin man before Dorothy gave him oil.</p> <p>m_3 (1:34): My son, my nephew, and my father joined me for a hike on Sunday afternoon.</p> <p>m_1 (7:22): The thing is, we never would have enjoyed this gem of a picnic on this gem of a beach if it weren't for the "deprivation" of the project. Our experimtn teaches us to enjoy what we have instead of wasting our time up trying to figure out how to get what we want.</p>
<p>več druženja z družino in prijatelji</p>	<p>m_1 (6:9): We build towers from a set of wooden blocks and laugh our heads off when the towers fall down.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:19): The Monkey and I had a great time together on Saturday, going to the local community centre for toddler playtime, while the Husband was at work for the day.</p> <p>m_1 (4:31): Last night was the click-over to darkness. We had about ten friends visiting to play charades. So much fun! Who needs TV? We served locally-grown popcorn and apples and filtered water (still on winter rations).</p> <p>ž_3 (3:4): There is truly nothing better than a long weekend. Taking Monday off when you know everyone else is at work is HEAVEN. The husband and I took yesterday off work as my parents are in town - they have been here since Saturday, and the weekend was filled with visiting, family dinners, and lots of laughing. We went to my aunt and uncle's for dinner on Saturday night, and then my grandparents house on Sunday night.</p> <p>ž_12 (2:6): It is becoming more and more clear that this entire process of deconsumerization is deeply changing the way we parent our children. Before, we spent a lot of time away from our home. Shopping, eating out, bowling, whatever. Now, we are home together, in a small house, a lot! The TV is usually off and the music is usually on. Our kids are great, but like all children they have difficult moments (often days, weeks, even months). The past few weeks have been especially challenging.</p> <p>m_3 (9:12): I cannot remember a more simple, relaxing, enjoyable weekend...and we have two more days to go.</p> <p>m_1 (5:2): No TV means more time with family, trying not to hurt the planet connects me to something larger and makes me feel like I'm living in accord with my values, and I get to use my core talent which is communication.</p> <p>m_1 (7:8): That wasn't what made it great. What made it great was the togetherness. We sang and gently tapped on the table to the beat and smiled at each other and pointed to the correct line in the books when we lost our place. It wasn't about perfection; it was about connection.</p> <p>m_1 (6:13): We dance and we dance and we dance.</p> <p>m_1 (6:22): Towards bedtime, we sit on the couch and listen to classical music on the crank-up radio and try to hum along. My daughter sucks her left thumb, and if she is feeling generous, she holds up her right thumb for me or my daughter to suck.</p> <p>m_1 (2:22): This is why, in the experiment, we have given up TV and other atomizing forms of mass entertainment in favor of having people over to play charades and such, which brings me back to yesterday's visit with my friend</p> <p>ž_12 (2:7): He doesn't need the TV, doesn't need new toys (he'd rather tie some sticks together and make a sword), doesn't need expensive entertainment. He needs us. He needs friends. He needs community. This journey has been about finding the joy in simplicity. Well, here it is. A more simple lifestyle gets life down to the nitty gritty. What</p>

	<p>really matters is all that counts. And all that matters to Wyatt right now is that he is loved, that he can ask questions, that he can still be carried. How much simpler can life get?</p> <p>ž_2 (5:6) The first stop was Build it Green, a building-supply store in LIC.</p> <p>ž_11 (7:1): Last night, the children and I celebrated <u>Earth Hour</u> We decided to have an early dinner, then at around 7:20pm, the children and I started to prepare our night. We then sang songs about the Earth - "What a Wonderful World"; "Colours of the Rainbow"; and my son's contribution: "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star".</p>
ZADOVOLJSTVO Z GOSPODINJSKIMI OPRAVILI	
<p>gospodinjska opravila so vredna svojega časa</p>	<p>m_1 (3:21): I'm adding is that what has to be shared need not necessarily be seen as a "burden." Again, what else important is there for me to do with my life?</p> <p>m_1 (3:16): What's interesting to me is the cultural idea that the chores are somehow not worthwhile undertaking, but that I am finding satisfaction in them.</p> <p>m_1 (3:15): Sometimes my brain tells me that manual labor is a waste of my time and that I should be undertaking so-called higher intellectual pursuits. But what higher calling is there than for me to feed my wife and my daughter? Because of the eating local-which means not eating in restaurants so much-I've been cooking for a lot of people who come over and I have to say it is a new found pleasure to do something so simply essential for my friends and family. What more important thing can I do with my life than feed them? Should I be reading Proust instead? Is my time better spent there? Or is my time better spent using food to help build our circle and strengthening our relationship bonds?</p> <p>m_1 (3:19): I feel like I'm getting in touch with something important, but probably too hard to describe when you've been awake this many hours.</p> <p>m_3 (12:2 (6:6): I have been coming to terms with this realization ever since. Lately, I've been finding new enjoyment in hard work. It feels weird to say this, but I'm actually starting to enjoy working around the house. Okay, a little background might help...I grew up in Suburban New Jersey. My knowledge of "working around the house" was limited to mowing the lawn (on a riding mower, with my Walkman on; probably playing White Lion or Bon Jovi) or shoveling snow. That was about it.</p> <p>m_3 (12:4): However, I am beginning to understand what he meant. When I spend a Saturday working hard out in the yard, or at the park, or wherever, it does not take very long for my mind to wander. Soon I am dreaming of what could be or what I could make out of those branches, or how beautiful the sky is going to be at sunset. Suddenly, my mind is wrapped around things that are real and living, in a world of possibility and splendor; a world where status, money, or power don't make a lick of difference. That is a true life.</p> <p>m_1 (4:38): And the thing is that this quiet, non-cerebral activity has provided much needed space in my life. It's a break. It's one of those things that takes the rhythm and slows it right down to what it's supposed to be. It helps me remove myself from the high-speed tempo of the Blackberry culture.</p> <p>m_1 (4:37): At times, it's been stressful. But you want to know what one of the great consolations has been? Making bread.</p> <p>No matter how many newspapers or radio shows want to talk to me, I still have to feed my family. That means, sooner or later, I have to get back to the kitchen, measure out some flour and water, and start kneading.</p>

Priloga K: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in družba – vsi citati

POVEZOVANJE / VZPOSTAVLJANJE STIKOV	
povezovanje z bralci bloga	<p><i>m_1 (5:40): Does anyone know if it's possible to buy biogas, otherwise known as renewable or sustainable natural gas, for home use? I'm looking for alternatives to the natural gas for my stove.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (1:7): I hope you'll contribute your ideas, suggestions, and skills to the effort.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (5:8): If anyone's got extra two-drawer file cabinets, please let me know.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (12:20): Thanks so much for the ideas - I hope these will trigger some gift donations from my readers.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (9:13): Since you are on a reuse/recycle kick, do you know where I can recycle my nalgene type water bottle? I am switching to the much-publicized aluminum SIGG and want to get rid of my old plastic bottle in a nice way...</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:10): In the meantime, if anyone has a copy of Alan Bennett's Writing Home they want to sell or lend, please let me know.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (ž_11):: We are exploring homeschooling and I wanted to get a particular homeschooling book. It seemed like a popular book and it wasn't very expensive. However, I really wanted to get it second hand so I don't break this challenge. I posted a wanted ad in several internet forums with no immediate replies.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:9): I needed some extra fleece to embellish a wool soaker I was giving someone. I was only needing a few, so I ended up asking some other moderators at Nappycino and by chance, 2 of them had LOTS of fleece off cuts.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:10): Its pretty amazing how asking has provided me with stuff. I can only hope that one day I would also be able to give and not just take. :D</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (8:5): Still a HUGE THANK YOU to all the people who have helped me get these pressies in time without me breaking my challenge too much.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:3): We have no real idea what we are getting ourselves into, but we know that we cannot do it alone.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:36): Since I've never quite been the best at staying in touch, she tells me that, because of the blog, she feels closer to me than she has in years (love you, mom).</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (7:7): I am finding that with not buying things, I am ending up having to spend more time with the things I do have - taking care of them, repairing/mending them etc etc. Its been good 'cause the process of doing so has expanded my social circle in real life, but I do find that it takes time. I am often tempted to just go out and buy it Then I wonder, well, if I do buy it then what else would I do...surf the net?</i></p>
podarjanje in izmenjava izdelkov	<p><i>ž_3 (2:41): In the spirit of recycling, I have put aside a few items that I have received in the past as gifts that are in MINT condition, to be passed on to friends and family members over the next year. This gaggle of items include a beautiful wedding frame, some toys, some children's books, a trendy cookbook, some cookware and some stationery. I am already brainstorming who these items will go to over the course of the year.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (7:4): So now we have a whole bunch of stuff sitting out at the front yard. People have been turning up since 9am and grabbing things. I notice that almost 2 large boxes of stuff has gone, so I'm happy.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:2): Last week 8 or 10 friends got together in Brooklyn to offload the random clothes that never worked or gifts we couldn't bring ourselves to wear. The good thing about clothing swaps rather than giving to Goodwill is that you have a relationship with where your stuff is going and some of the emotional details remain intact.</i></p>
svetovanje kako živeti zeleno	<p><i>m_1 (2:28): What I feel like telling you about today is the great place I get our low-energy compact fluorescent light bulbs (CFLs) and how you can get them there, too.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (1:3): Here is the beginning of a list of green-living actions that you can take too.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (4:10): Tomorrow is Earth Day - in recent months I have started viewing every day as Earth Day! There are a lot of things that we can all do to be more friendly to the Earth:</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (8:18): I've usually said use less of something-plastic bags, cups, air conditioners or what have you. These are good beginnings and they help to raise consciousness, but from now on I think I'm going to suggest volunteering with a local environmental group, which I'm coming to believe has the potential to have a far more powerful effect on a person.</i></p>
občutek večje povezanosti	<p><i>ž_11 (4:32): I would have just gone out to the shops to buy whatever I wanted/needed, now I have to be a bit more creative. I have to learn not only to make do, but also to connect with people on a very practical level.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:34): Its funny 'cause my spirituality has always told me that everyone and everything is interconnected but it is only now that I am starting to glimpse how much I have not practised this and have acted as if others don't exist.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:35): By consuming less, and by relying on others a lot more, I am starting to see that a HUGE part of my "isolation wall" is made up of my need to consume..... which is funny, 'cause I suspect that a part of me wanted to consume *because* I wanted to feel more connected. Okay, its late. Night night!</i></p>

POMOČ in PODPORA PRAKSE NAKUPOVALNIH DIET

razumevanje, podpora,
sprejemanje

m_1 (2:39): Now then, I've had an incredible amount of support for the project from all over the world the last few days

ž_11 (4:2) My family, friends and neighbours were very kind and said they fully appreciated all my efforts in providing them a home-made hamper and gift. So all my nerves were really for nothing. :D

ž_11 (4:33): I am still finding it hard to do. I feel like I am imposing or intruding. That I'm a scab. ...And yet, when I do ask, people are more than willing to help. I am also overwhelmed by the amount of people offering to help us on a practical level simply 'cause I opened myself up to them and shared a particular difficulty.

m_3 (1:16) We are a little more than a week in. I'm a little unnerved at how amazingly easy this all seems. A lot of people seem to be supportive -My Mother-In-Law is hardly nagging us at all about the whole thing I'm sure that hard times will come and that there is a lot of time and potential for challenging circumstances, but stepping into this experiment seems (so far) to have been the most difficult part. I think Mr. Emerson is right.

m_3 (2:4): One of the best parts of any journey is meeting new people. Well, this journey is no different. We have already met a lot of you, but we felt like it was time to get some more communication going.

ž_12 (3:10): So, my one friend, who's had hers for a few years says- "Oh, mine have the toe loop- I found a way to adjust them so you don't use the loop-- look, just like the non-loop ones!!!" Thanks alot! Now I have NO excuse for getting new ones. Why am I surrounded by such good women?

m_1: you know that I went from quietly pursuing the project to suddenly being caught up in a media whirlwind (not of my own making, by the way).

m_1 (8:21): There have been days when this blog gets 30,000 readers. Most days it gets at least 7,000.

ž_2 (3:6): I'm also afraid that people are thinking it's a bigger sacrifice than it is: I've gotten so many emails from people expressing how they could never do such a thing.

ž_3 (10:6): Thank goodness we have convinced our respective families that a ton of gifts aren't necessary at Christmas (I think Monkey got five gifts last year).

m_1 (1:28): Juiceteria is, of course, all about disposable cups and what not. My wife says she went in and talked to the lady behind the counter about bringing her own bottles or cups. By way of explanation, My wife told her that she didn't like plastic. Why is it okay not to like plastic but not okay not to like disposable things? Anyway, My wife is all happy because the woman was "very supportive" and said of course My wife could bring her own bottles or cups.

m_1 (3:9): Here is a scene that repeated itself a hundred times in the beginning of the project: we sat down in a restaurant, the server came over all smiles, we said hi, picked the paper napkins from the table, handed them to the confused-looking server, said we brought our own, and pulled our cloths from our pockets with a flourish. "We're on a don't make garbage kick," we always said. Most times, the server thought it was cool. But, um, other times...

m_1 (2:18): »I like to make bird feeders with toilet paper rolls and peanut butter and birdseeds and I like to make bird puppets out of toilet paper rolls too. And we only use recycled toilet paper and paper towels and kleenex. Almost my whole school is trying to stop global warming. It seems like the only things that open are Dunkin Donuts and Baskin Robbins and McDonalds.

podarjanje,
nadomestni potrošniki

ž_2 (1:15): Sushi is something I've been thinking I'll really miss in 2007 - except for days like today, when my boss ordered \$300 worth of sushi and handed over plenty of leftovers. I certainly couldn't buy stuff this good!

ž_2 (2:2): "Can I buy you food? My sister says no manicures. You know what, I can buy you stuff, I'll just buy you things."

ž_2 (2:5): I had nothing to worry about: Katrina is totally into it (she's contemplating her own spinoff), her dad is an accomplished gourmet cook, and they gleefully helped me cheat by buying my favorite restaurant food.

ž_2 (2:9): And then there's my mom, a great re-user, who takes the practical view: she mailed me this when I noted I didn't have the right size travel bag for my soap and shampoo.

ž_2 (8:1): Two things I've been waiting for in one week! A coworker and I rescued some bamboo from the weekly flower arrangement; when he found out I wanted it to stake my tomatoes, he brought me tomatoes and cucumbers from his Staten Island garden. And a corporate thank-you gift included a nice long-handled bath brush, something I knew would be hard to make and unthinkable to buy used...

ž_2 (10:9): I know that the city recycles itself in a lot of ways, and I can't imagine every bag gets opened up and inspected for useful/intact things. I couldn't carry everything,

	<p><i>and it pained me to see perfectly good things go in the trash...to think, this happens every day!</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (7:11): My dad passed on a camera to us, which I have been playing with. There is a distinct difference between these shots and the ones with the old camera. I really like what I can catch with this new one</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (10:8): I'm now thinking of calling in on my neighbours and asking them for some of their plastic bags.... after all, I really do need a few more for my rubbish bin!!</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (7:3): As far as reality goes, I got a lot of stuff anyway. I'm plenty blessed and my family loves me. I'm only really entitled to life and love.</i></p>
posojanje	<p><i>m_1 (5:11): But the great news is that we met a lady at the farmers' market on Saturday who rode her kid and her groceries around on a specially-built tricycle. It turned out she had a second one-who'd have thunk?-and guess where that second one now is? Parked right outside my building. She loaned it to us and we love, love, love it! Life is so much easier when you can plop your two-year-old in a rickshaw along with the groceries.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (8:6): "Well, I have another one you can borrow," the woman said, and that's the rickshaw we've been riding My daughter around in.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:6): I needed a sewing machine so I could learn how to sew. So I just mention this to a few people and XY contacts me and says she hasn't used her machine for ages and I can borrow hers indefinitely!</i></p>
svetovanje, dajanje nasvetov	<p><i>m_1 (2:6): So XY emailed me her Mom's recipe, I made it last night, and it's the best. Mix with honey. Yum. Just to have--at last!--some sort of food that I don't have to cook.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:41): So I'm giving here the recipe for the sourdough bread I make.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:4): On the subject of repairing, I've also been making stuff!! A friend of mine, XYc, has been coming over and showing me how to use a sewing machine!! I have learnt a lot! I still have a long way to go.</i></p>

Priloga L: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in inovativnost – vsi citati

PODALJŠEVANJE ŽIVLJENJSKEGA CIKLA IZDELKOV	
izposojanje, podarjanje in izmenjava izdelkov	<p><i>m_1 (5:11): But the great news is that we met a lady at the farmers' market on Saturday who rode her kid and her groceries around on a specially-built tricycle. It turned out she had a second one-who'd have thunk?-and guess where that second one now is? Parked right outside my building. She loaned it to us and we love, love, love it! Life is so much easier when you can plop your two-year-old in a rickshaw along with the groceries.</i></p> <p><i>ž_4 (2:25): We went to the library! Yippee! I am now a card carrying member. And I wrote down on the calendar when they are all due back!</i></p> <p><i>ž_6 (2:19): Anyway, you're spot on about the library, XY. I'm a member of Waverley library and its catalogue is <u>searchable</u> online. It's a small collection, sure. But my UNSW student card is still active for another month, so I have access to the big university library too. So I've no excuses.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (10:1 (45:45): I have rediscovered the joy of the library. I was going before I started this Compact gig, but now I am a library consumer big time. Tend to get a bit carried away with the number of books I can actually read at any one time, but hey - life's a challenge!</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:31): Offering products we no longer need on <u>Freecycle</u> instead of throwing them away.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (6:4): Decluttering our home is also continuing to go well. I have given away some toys</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:23): Letting go of these items I am no longer using feels great, not only to be letting go, but to be passing them on to others who will use them and enjoy them.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (3:2): Last week 8 or 10 friends got together in Brooklyn to offload the random clothes that never worked or gifts we couldn't bring ourselves to wear. The good thing about clothing swaps rather than giving to Goodwill is that you have a relationship with where your stuff is going and some of the emotional details remain intact.</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (5:6): It now looks like I'll never have to buy new again for my little girl. And the other Mums in the playgroup are now doing swaps and sales between us, saving even more new stuff from being bought! Of course, this is what mothers used to do in the "old days" - before eBay. It just took a little incentive on my part to get the ball rolling again.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (10:2): And I now buy my books from Op Shops. Does this lead to a completely different reading experience or what! Books I would never have bought, books I read years ago, books no longer in fashion ... It's great! And somehow I find it easier to part with the Op Shop books, so I am quite living on the verandah yet.</i></p>
uporaba zavrženih izdelkov	<p><i>m_1 (2:32): I couldn't buy a copy of the New York Times yesterday (Sunday), even though it contained an OpEd on the project by yours truly. So, my wife and I went through our building's recycling pile and finally found a couple of copies.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:1) My wife happened to swing by an office building that was being renovated when he saw some outdoor steel lamp posts (old Victorian style) just lying in their dumpster. He stopped and asked them what they are going to do with it and they said they were going to take it to the tip. So he offered to take it away for them, and they said "yes". Wooohoo!!! This means we now can have some beautiful stylish lamp posts to light up our driveway when we move to our property.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (2:2 (34:34): We have found some steel fence posts - again from a construction site. So that will come in handy for our new house's gardens. We'll probably use it for our vege patch and the chickens, so foxes and other undesirable animals don't get in there.</i></p>
kupovanje izdelkov iz druge roke	<p><i>ž_2 (3:3): 40% of my wardrobe consists of swap items at this point.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (3:13): Anyway, I am happy to report that the only books I have bought have been second hand. I have not bought any clothes or CDs or other stuff. Feeling pretty good about it all really, and I have new old shoes!</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (6:6): I start by buying what I can from Charity Shops, second-hand.</i></p> <p><i>ž_9 (2:16): Other than that, today I finally went to my local Trash and Treasure market, which I've never visited and clearly have been missing out! It was great! I bought a brandy bottle and glasses set - coloured glass (antique) and a desert bowl with four serving bowls. Just gorgeous. Did I need them? This is yet to be determined...</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:2): We have also found a 2nd hand tractor that is only 4 years old that was half the cost of a comparative tractor from a dealer shop.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (10:2): This challenge has forced me to really look and now at every visit to the op shop, I find at least one really good item (well, I think its good anyway). I think developing an eye for op shop clothes and not coming in with a pre-conceived notion</i></p>

	<p><i>of what I want helps. Its a totally different shopping experience anyway.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:13): Today I had to go into town and decided I would stop in Salvation Army. I don't have a single pair of jeans that don't injure me right now and so I thought I'd take my chances. Sure enough I scored a pair of wonderfully soft Calvin Klein's for \$5. And what else appeared before me in a basket of random items?</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (2:37): My daughter got a lovely, second hand rocking horse from the Housing Works</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:17): Bought a toddler bed for fifty bucks. Yesterday, I went to pick it up and tied it to the <u>rickshaw</u></i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (4:3): Since today I had the luxury of having some time to myself, I planned to go to a neighbourhood outside of downtown where I knew there were a number of children's consignment stores.</i></p>
popravljanje izdelkov	<p><i>ž_2 (4:1): My wardrobe grew considerably in the last week, without buying a thing! My grandmother and I resurrected some clothes that had been sitting in my closet for over a year with tears, missing buttons, stains, etc.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (4:5): Some of the shoes had mould on them, and man do they stink. I threw out the badly affected ones and wiped the others that were worth salvaging with tea tea oil and warm water. Seems to have knocked off the few bits of mould, but the evil smell remains. Am now trying liberal applications of baking soda (it will be interesting to vacuum the suede boots!). Next plan of attack is white vinegar and water on the leather ones.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (8:5): I am rather proud that I have fixed something. Or, to be technically correct, the Object Of My Affections fixed something at my direction (and insistence). The knob on the microwave broke (yes folks, I own a microwave with a turning knob), which made it rather difficult to operate</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:29): Oh well, I'm really happy with the end result. The applique was inspired by the book: "The Hungry Caterpillar". It fits X and Y. And better yet, Y is now wearing it and no leaks yet!!</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (12:1): Now, this is DEFINITELY beyond my capabilities to do so. I went to my local shoe repair person and asked HIM to do it. He did a great job (I think)! Anyway, I paid \$75 for him to recover the shoe and to replace the soles... okay, I know that's a lot of money but hey its the principle of the thing, isn't it? I was able to re-use materials and kept them out of landfill.... and now I have a pair of shoes that match my bag PERFECTLY.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:3): I have been spending quite a bit of time repairing clothes, toys etc. I can't believe how roughly we treat all of our things! (I'm including myself here). I have realised that our consumption habits have made us quite careless with how we treat our things.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (1:11): making my own goods (as much as possible), I hope to develop a better sense of value in the materials that I own and better appreciation for the effort required in making these things.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:5): Anyway, all this learning and extra time spent repairing and making stuff has left me exhausted. I know I'll get faster at doing stuff like this with practise, but I also realise that I need to learn how to care for stuff better too so I am not repairing something practically everyday.</i></p>
BOLJ PREMIŠLJENA RABA RESURSOV	
izraba vseh izdelkov, ki jih že imajo	<p><i>ž_2 (3:16): Yes, I've deemed soap and shampoo and deodorant necessities. But let's be honest: how many bars of soap or bottles of shampoo and lotion are moldering away in the dark corners of your bathroom?</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (5:3) I am currently working my way through stuff in the bathroom and laundry cupboards. So, all those half used little bottles of shampoo from hotels and mini toothpastes and samples of face cream are being put to good use. The hotel shampoo thing has always been a dilemma - do you bring it home and use it (or not) or leave it to be chucked out? Better to use it, I thought, except that I didn't ... I just seemed to accumulate them. Well, now I am mending my ways. I am using stuff up. Seem to be getting a bit more space as well. Funny that.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (5:7): For the wedding showers, I managed to find some great gifts in my closet, some new unopened items that I had previously purchased just for this type of occasion.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (1:2): We also did the unthinkable and even regifted a couple of things - I KNOW! I recently heard that re-gifting was an environmental necessity, and I really appreciated that definition.</i></p>

<p>varčnejša raba resursov: energije, papirja, vode</p>	<p><i>m_1 (6:29): Canceling our magazine and newspaper subscriptions and reading online.</i> <i>ž_2 (3:13): I already avoid some of the pitfalls on paper: I read the newspaper online, I use the backs of printed out directions and maps and whatnot for the nine million lists I make a week.</i> <i>2:6 (218:218) [izogibanje uporabi papirnatih brisac] I am also going to try continuing to use cloth instead of paper, particularly eliminating using paper towels and napkins. There is no reason why we can't use cloth exclusively, as I am doing it more than 50% already.</i> <i>ž_3 (6:5): The one area where I continue to struggle is with the amount of paper that enters our home. We don't get any junk mail, and I have unsubscribed from unwanted publications. However, the Huz has a need to cling to any paperwork relating to financial stuff. I wish we could get rid of some of it (much of it is way older than 7 years), but haven't quite convinced him yet.</i> <i>_11 (6:4): Grab all bits of scrap paper - you can use anything (newspaper, magazines etc etc) as long as its not metallic paper. Tear or cut into smaller bits and place into a mixture bowl. (This in itself is a fun activity for the kids).</i> <i>ž_5 (6:2): Water use - I am a bloody hero (in my own mind, anyway)! Have been showering with a bucket since December.</i> <i>m_1 (5:29): How do you charge your cell phones? From the solar panel.</i> <i>m_1 (4:30): The computer is the only thing I'll use the solar panel to power-at least for now. No lights, no fridge, no stereo-nothing electric. The sun is setting. Soon there will be no light but the beeswax candles. I'm typing fast.</i> <i>ž_5 (6:20): Energy use - thinking about this a whole lot more. Make a big effort to turn off lights and to only use heating when needed (and to keep it at 19 or 20 degrees). Not bad.</i> <i>m_1 (5:27): We are lucky that there seems to be a decent draft through the apartment. I open the top windows to let heat out and open the front door to the apartment which causes more draft. We dress very appropriately. We shower at night so we're cool when we get in bed (remember, we're not up to the water stage yet).</i> <i>ž_7 (2:32): He rides to work on a (previously unusable) bike that we fixed up, and I walk.</i></p>
<p>izbiranje izdelkov za večkratno uporabo in z več funkcijami</p>	<p><i>ž_11 (1:6): Then a few things happened in my life that came about in the space of a few years. The first was changing over to cloth nappies. It was like a whole new world opened up to me and I became aware bit by bit over the amount of disposable materials I had in the house - not just nappies but everything from menstrual products (soon changed over to reusable) to the glad wrap I used to cover our food (despite having a tonne of Tupperware). I also very slowly realised that surrounded as I was by the amount of disposable products, I also treated many non-disposable items (crockery, linen, etc) as if they were disposable. This fed into the "necessity" of increasing my consumption - eg. because of the way I treated my clothes, I need lots of clothes in rotation to reduce the wear and tear.</i> <i>m_1 (6:3): My cup and my water bottle? They are the same thing! Two for the price of one. Double economy!</i></p>
<p>zmanjševanje količine smeti, kompostiranje</p>	<p><i>m_1 (5:31): I'm composting with worms (and we no longer fight about it), and it's working a charm. I am just getting ready for my second harvesting of the worm castings.</i> <i>m_1 (2:17): And here's what we did. We began bringing our own bags to the farmers' market (pretty much the only shopping we do on this project).</i></p>
<p>DOMAČA IZDELAVA / NAREDI SI SAM</p>	
<p>občutek večje kreativnosti</p>	<p><i>m_1 (2:5): The good news is that we will be the makers of entertainment instead of the consumers of it. It's been like that a lot, what with no TV. We're finding there is something special about not letting entertainment wash over you while you passively watch or listen. We feel better making our own fun. We worry less about not having a creative output.</i> <i>ž_11 (4:32): I would have just gone out to the shops to buy whatever I wanted/needed, now I have to be a bit more creative. I have to learn not only to make do, but also to connect with people on a very practical level.</i> <i>ž_12 (5:6): This last weekend, my husband was gone and I decided, since we had the paint and flooring already, I was going to redo our upstairs bathroom. I had some help from my friend, and from my mom- and I love the way it turned out.</i></p>
<p>gojenje domačih pridelkov</p>	<p><i>m_1 (3:18): Top treated my tomato plants and they shot up. That was fun.</i> <i>m_1 (5:32): I tried tomatoes, but they didn't get enough light, so I gave them to a friend to put in her garden. In the days when we felt that doing without coffee was a terrible hardship, we grew mint, but, well, I'm no green thumb. I have some second-hand window boxes that I was thinking of strawberries for, but I couldn't find secondhand brackets to put them in, so it stalled. At the Laguardia Community Garden (which is</i></p>

	<p>incidentally under threat from NYU development), I work with a wonderful old radical whose plot has sweet peas, cucumbers, tomatoes, beans, spinach and more.</p> <p>ž_2 (9:2): The "patio" tomatoes are still chugging along, producing golf ball-sized fruit at the rate of 4-5 a week. They are flavorful, if kind of an awkward size.</p> <p>m_1 (4:51) Wanted to let you all know, first of all, that we're taking next week off to spend a few days at an organic, biodynamic farm, known as <u>Hawthorne Valley</u>, in Ghent, New York.</p> <p>ž_11 (1:4): The other challenge are my obvious lack of sewing/crafty type and gardening skills. I will learn though.</p>
domača izdelava kozmetike in čistil	<p>m_1 (2:33): A newspaper reporter asked me today by email to confirm that, among other measures, we stopped using toothpaste and started using baking soda to brush our teeth.</p> <p>m_1 (3:7): On top of the pollution aspect, my wife, is also concerned about our daughter coming into contact with the various toxins and carcinogens in the cleaning products.</p> <p>m_1 (3:8): First off, we had been using the eco-products you buy from health food stores (see below), so I saved some empty bottles to put my own goop in and gave the half empty bottles to my daughter's babysitter. Then, I bought a big bottle of highly concentrated castile soap (I use <u>Dr. Bronner's</u>), which is biodegradable and contains only saponified organic vegetable oils, a big box of borax, a big bottle of white vinegar, and, thanks to my pearly whites, I already had the baking soda. Admittedly, the castile soap came in a plastic bottle (made from 100% recycled, that is), but I figure one plastic bottle is better than twenty. I'll get around to <u>making castile soap</u> from olive oil myself later.</p> <p>ž_2 (7:2) Well, almost. I'm nearly through with the last of my deodorant. I've been supplementing with baking soda but that's not so great for my mostly black wardrobe.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:8): I am going to try this homemade laundry soap recipe and see how it goes</p> <p>ž_5 (2:36): I bought some 'cleaning vinegar' the other day. My new plan is to go down the vinegar and bicarb cleaning route - am not overly confident re results but it has to be a better way to go - ie buying less cleaning products, less packaging, less toxins, less energy used in the manufacture (I hope).</p> <p>ž_11 (5:1): I started using this 2 days ago and its been working great! Very simple recipe, thanks to the clever people at Aussies Living Simply:</p>
izdelava daril	<p>ž_2 (12:8): Of course the gift of your time is the best of all: take your friend, mom, brother to lunch, a movie, a play, for a walk. Or better yet, make him/her dinner, muffins, cake, whatever, and take it to his/her apartment to share.</p> <p>ž_2 (12:6): Looking back at the gifts I gave so far this year, I'm proud of some of the things I managed to come up with that wouldn't sit around in someone's house and then get thrown in the landfill. I gave a lot of food - chocolates, brownies, artisanal honey - and experiences - I sent my boss to <u>BAM</u> and my dad to fiddle camp. When faced with buying a wedding present, I chose a book, figuring that good cookbooks are something you hang on to for a while.</p> <p>ž_4 (2:19): I did find that I can make cards for every single birthday in both Gary's & my families this year and still have craft material to make more cards. So, homemade cards it is this year folks!</p> <p>ž_11 (2:3): Finally, I have started making the presents for Christmas. At this stage I am hand sewing. Once the kids are back at school, I will start learning the sewing machine.... Wish me luck</p> <p>ž_11 (11:5): My son was so pleased with these. And I gotta say, I had a great time making them too!</p>
učenje šivanja	<p>ž_2 (4:4) Still, I tried to learn as much as I could in this recent session: my grandmother showed me some tricks and above all encouraged me to get a machine so I can do some bigger repairs on my own.</p> <p>ž_4 (7:2): So, here is the top....not the most complex thing ever made. But it fits, looks pretty good on, and is comfy.</p> <p>ž_7 (3:4): So my project for this week is to replace buttons and sew up the hem of my jacked and fix the skirt up. Luckily I have a bit of a mending kit and a button jar happening...not too sure how flash my sewing skills are, but I'll do my best.</p> <p>ž_11 (4:16): The arms of the jumper was turned into legs. The body became the vest and scraps of the jumper was turned into a hat.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:22): I'm really proud of how this turned out. It may just be my best work to date! (I can't believe that I am actually liking sewing. I would never have thought it would become such a great hobby to take up!)</p> <p>ž_11 (5:15): Making this dress took me about 2 days and I achieved a couple of sewing milestones.</p> <p>ž_11 (11:4): I wanted two new bags for work - one to go with my cream suit and another to go with my black pants suit. After 5 years of staying at home, I was sick of</p>

	<p>using my nappy bags for work too! Though they are very cool nappy bags that don't look like nappy bags, but still....I think other mums who have used nappy bags for years and years could really understand my feelings on this. hehehe</p>
<p>učenje kuhanja</p>	<p><i>m_1 (2:4): I didn't realize, because I am an only recently converted take out king, but cooking for each other is really a romantic and lovely way of coming together. Everybody had a story about why they chose, say, local honey for their pie instead of further-away maple syrup or how happy they were to find pears instead of apples. Bear in mind, that eating local right now is hard--it's winter. But the challenge made for conversation and it was a blast.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:21): Family life now centers around the kitchen and dining table, where we talk, instead of around the TV, where we didn't.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (2:8): I mean, I making my own bread every day, for crying out loud.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (5:4): Speaking of the last four years, today is my wedding anniversary! The Huz and I are going to celebrate by going shopping for groceries at Costco - don't feel bad for me, it was actually my idea. I have the day off tomorrow and wanted to spend the day cooking and doing some baking, so I needed to have some ingredients on hand since the fridge is bare. Actually, it's not totally bare, there is a small keg of beer in it... and some baking soda.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:13): We have been doing a lot more cooking and eating a home, with healthy ingredients. I now understand how it is possible to go crazy cooking and baking while attempting to compact - it is easy just to re-direct the funds previously spent on other things to the food/grocery category.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:14): I have developed a serious passion for cooking! We have recently cut back quite a bit on the volume of meat we have been consuming - not like we ate a ton to begin with, but we are now definitely eating less, probably only consuming meat at two or three dinners per week. I have also started taking lunch to work, and this has greatly reduced the amount of money I am spending on eating out. The Husband is not totally on board with taking a lunch, but if I make him what I am taking, he is happy to take some too. All of these changes are having a positive impact, both on the bottom line (\$) and our health.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:12): Well- I like scones. I love nothing more than to sit down with a hot beverage and dunk a scone in it. But, to make scones, you have to make a crumbly mixture of butter and flour. In order to do that, you need either a pastry cutter, or-if you don't have one of those-</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (1:35): Well, she did and it was fabulous! My father was very suprised. When he and I were alone for a moment he said suprisingly, "I didn't know she could cook." That put a smile on my face for several reasons. The most important one was that I knew My wife has made a dramatic change in lifestyle. She is really living out what this journey was supposed to challenge. Also, he cooking is getting better and better. So, long story short...MY WIFE ROCKS! I love you babe!</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (2:38): In the meantime I can report that I am making an effort to bring my lunch to work (alright - this is only the second day, so maybe I shouldn't get too excited) and am trying to avoid purchasing overly packaged food.</i></p>
<p>razvijanje zelenih (podjetniških) idej</p>	<p><i>ž_11 (5:14): In the effort to change my own consumption habits, I am realising that I am also slowly gaining life-time skills and learning how to live more sustainably.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (1:22) Suddenly, projects that I have been thinking about for years are progressing and I'm realizing that writing fills me in a way that my job never will. I have to talk myself out of skipping the rest of the workday to write. Dangerous.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:18): Kate replaces plastic shopping bags for her customers with bags she makes herself from scrap cloth. If a customer brings the bag back she gets a ten percent discount on the next purchase.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:36): And with about twice as many bike stations as Métro stops, a free bike is pretty much always within reach." How cool would that be?</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (8:7): We all have this drive. And I think that, at times, conspicuous consumption can even be the result of people's appreciation of creative talent. So for me, as I left Lela's wonderful show, the question became: how can we reduce the use of resources without squashing the creative drive I think we should celebrate?</i></p>

ODGOVORNEJŠA IN ZMANJŠANA POTROŠNJA

<p>kupovanje lokalne / sezonske, zdrave hrane</p>	<p><i>m_1 (2:3): in the extreme case of our project, we eat only food including ingredients produced within 250 miles.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (2:5):What do you get when you combine no throwaway packaging with local food only? Not too many tasty treats, I can tell you.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:26): Now, I feedour dog a kibble from a local company called <u>Abady</u>. It comes in a disposable bag-sigh-and I doubt the ingredients are local, but this is one problem I haven't solved yet. Ideas for local and unpackaged dog food that would fit in with our situation, anyone?</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (5:7) :Union Square Cabbage season has ended! We spent the winter eating it boiled, steamed, fried and baked. No more. Spring has finally brought kale, chard, sweet peas, broccoli rabe and all sorts of other yummys to the farmers' market.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:20):Monotony? When at last the farmers' market is teaming with every vegetable you can imagine, you ask me about monotony? What you mean is excitement, no? After all, local eating meant we virtually survived on cabbage, apples and eggs all winter. In the heat, we've been eating a lot of salads with all sorts of yummy veggies and berries tossed in. Our diet is the healthiest it's ever been. You can see it in the whites of our eyes.</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (6:19): The last thing we tried was a cooler with reusable freezer packs from a neighbor's fridge. But the neighbor is taken to all-night parties, we could never get the freezer packs when we needed them, and the solution was inelegant anyway. Now, we just live without a fridge. We simply shop for only two days at a time, and it's all working out.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (1:21): I work a long way from home. So I spend my lunch hour alone. Before this journey, I walk around REI or Borders and usually pick up something little, or not so little during my break, then I would drive through some fast-food joint and inhale a burger on my way back to the office. Now, that we are re-orienting our life, I have found that I have a lot more time in my lunch hour than I had noticed. We have a great non-Starbucks coffee shop near work. They have free wireless internet, good coffee, and big tables. So, recently I have been spending my lunch time there; thinking, writing, and researching. You know what I have found? This journey to change rhythms is dangerous. Having time to think and write is a frightening thing.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (4:3): I gave up sweets. Ok, well not sugar strictly but cakes, cookies, doughnuts, scones, candy. I was allowed ice cream and pure dark chocolate- two things I don't usually crave-but, would get me out of a dive if needed.</i></p>
<p>podpiranje pravične trgovine</p>	<p><i>ž_11 (11:6): I went to two different Coles outlets this week and was pleasantly surprised to find that both outlets stock not one, not two but THREE fairtrade chocolate brands!</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (12:16): Buy art. OK, so this is stuff. But it is not mass-produced, commonly-available stuff made in Cambodia.</i></p>
<p>izogibanje nakupom</p>	<p><i>ž_2 (9:5): The mints I was trying to justify as a food item, but then I found some promotional Listerine tape thingies from a million years ago. I'm sure that they could survive basically anything, so I'm not too worried about it. When they run out, I'll have to make sure to carry my toothbrush with me. And then it will be time to see the dentist, who is very generous with free toothbrushes. All this stuff makes a lot of packaging and trash.</i></p> <p><i>ž_2 (1:16) So I signed up for a free cut at a high-end studio. It's not too bad. Perhaps next time I'll try cutting it myself?</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (9:2): I am hoping limiting shopping in this way will keep me away from any store other than the grocery store! My big mistake today was going into the local department store looking for an inexpensive photo frame for a gift for the grandparents. Somehow I ended up in the shoe department. It was funny that as I was holding onto those shoes, the thought that was running through my mind</i></p> <p><i>m_1 (4:6): How much money are we saving? Here's a hint: I rarely carry cash anymore unless I'm on a jaunt to the farmer's market. I forget to put my money clip in my pocket and it sits on a shelf for days on end</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (4:1): Okay, the truth is, I have been struggling this week to keep this sucker in my pants-please, the wallet:))I've found a dozen ways to sneak in a meal, coffee, a doughnut, whatever this week, so I'm leaving it home. I'll take out my ID and my insurance card, but the rest is on time out! I'm leaving it home where it can't tempt me during the day. I'm not even brining my ATM card. If I need money for something, I'm going to do it the old fashioned way and plan.</i></p>

Priloga M: Pozitivni učinki nakupovalnih diet in deprivacija – vsi citati

REFLEKSIJA IN SPREMINJANJE PRETEKLIH VZORCEV POTROŠNJE	
kritična analiza preteklih vzorcev potrošnje	<p>ž_2 (6:4): <i>I've learned that wanting-buying-consuming is very personal and deeply psychological: we each have a different schema wherein certain desires are ok and others aren't, even with material things. The most important insights I've had have been about myself - what I crave, when, how, etc.</i></p> <p>ž_3 (6:8): <i>I am the type of person who likes extremes - with me, it's either all or nothing. The hardest part of this journey is realizing that purchasing nothing is unrealistic. That doesn't mean that I am destined for a life of consumeristic gluttony. Just the opposite. I have truly begun to evaluate critically any and all non-grocery purchases, and only buying what is reasonable.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:2): <i>Making me realise how much purchasing is done by habit and without thought.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:8): <i>There are layers of complexity in this not buying business that I had never considered.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (3:12): <i>Probably because I have too much, and it is just too easy to get more.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (4:3): <i>Maybe I don't feel guilty because I think in general my consuming behaviour has changed considerably. And I concede that there are things that I will occasionally buy, but not much and not often.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:9): <i>Realised that we aren't used to waiting in this consumer society - generally I want it, I buy it (within reason). Now I am having to exercise patience. Which I am also not used to. Suspect it is not a bad thing. But of course, not being able to get it easily makes me want it all the more ...</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:21): <i>Not buying anything except food has heightened my awareness of how much food we waste. Have realised how much food we buy in our house that gets thrown out.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (8:6): <i>So now the elderly microwave will hopefully last a few more years. I am proud. Made me realise we really don't live in a fix-it society.</i></p> <p>ž_8 (3:9): <i>Confidence and happiness gets twisted into insecurity, and security is sought in the purchase of yet more items that promise to fill the gaps and make parenthood a sure success.</i></p> <p>ž_5 (2:18): <i>And we let them get away with it and reward those that continue to over-package by buying their stuff...</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:21): <i>I have come to realise how much my consumption habits have supported my own definition of my identity. Its been quite humbling for me to realise how much I actually care about what people think of me.... and how much I consumed in an effort to make them think of me in "nicer" ways.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (4:39): <i>With consumption being so central to our culture, we just focus so much on our wants and "needs" but don't think of the true cost to our greed.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (11:11): <i>So now as I reflect over the year, I realise that what I have gained from this challenge is awareness. I am now more aware of WHY I consume.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (6:6) <i>So has it finally come to this? That consumption is no longer a way to support our living but also a way to communicate who we are?</i></p> <p>ž_11 (6:7): <i>My children (currently 2.5yrs and 4 yrs old) have too many toys. Consumption has become one of the ways for me to show them I love them. Consumption has also become one of the ways I make up for my own perceived shortfalls in day-to-day parenting responsibilities - eg. I feel I can not teach them essential skills, so I buy them toys that can do the job for me. Is it laziness on my part? Or is it because consumption has become an essential in the way I communicate and relate with my children?</i></p> <p>ž_11 (2:1): <i>Well, I would have never thought I was such a disposable products user until this challenge. I have become so much more aware of all the disposable products we have lying around in the house. All feeding into the consumption mindset.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (3:7): <i>Sometimes the convenience of "things" are just well.... too convenient.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (5:18): <i>Here's the thing. I am realising that one of the seductive elements of the consumption culture is that we have the right to have everything we want right now. This impatience is what propels us to join the rat race to accumulate more and more goods. Instant satisfaction is now regarded as something we *deserve*. But do we really? As I learn more and more how long it takes to actually make things, I find myself feeling grateful for the things I have and to start really respecting the skills that someone out there had put in to make these things.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (8:2): <i>Well, I believe that consumption happens on so many levels. Going through this challenge has made me realise how much I was using the physical act of buying things as a way to "prop" my ego. My consumption habits fed my craving for acceptance (within myself and my peers) thereby creating an unhealthy dependence</i></p>

	<p><i>on those things.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (11:8): I look back on this challenge and I marvel at what I have learnt. One of the most surprising lessons I have learnt was how much of my consumption habits are tied to my own ego - my wanting to build up and express my identity.</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (11:9) :Having settled into my mid-30s, I had convinced myself that I didn't really care what other people thought. I had thought myself as a fairly confident person who is "above" such thoughts. This challenge exposed me to the lie of that. The truth was, I didn't care what other people thought because I had reached a stage in my life where I could "buy" what I thought. Or rather "buy" what I think they want to see.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:9): Simple pleasure without spending a dollar. For the first time in most of our lives we had a brilliantly fun time as a family without spending money. That may seem terribly shallow, it is; but, neither my wife or I were brought up learning that fun and money were not necessarily linked.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (1:11): The wonder in my son's eyes and the playful squeak of, "look Daddy, look Daddy," from my daughter made me realize that I often spend a lot more than money when I pull out my wallet.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (2:12): It's funny how small things can impact in a big way. The two days of sodalessness (okay I made that one up) have sparked a renewed flame for this journey. Why? Because, I have realized that the deepest issues of consumerism lie in the shadows of my life. Lurking in the dark places waiting for me to look away.</i></p> <p><i>m_3 (3:2): We are finding it easier to justify purchases because of our training. We have been trained that in order to be happy, we must buy.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (3:12): It is ridiculous how much consumerism is embedded in me. It is under every rock, in every crevice, splitting me open like freezing water in the cracks of a rock. I know...I sound like a broken record, but I am learning that I have been bred to consume.</i></p>
<p>upiranje potrošničkim trendom</p>	<p><i>ž_3 (1:4): I have been reading a lot lately about living simply and frugality. I don't know if it is because January is the time of year that we are all feeling somewhat pinched from the spending that took place in December. I can say that our family did not spend much for Christmas</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (3:8): Every department and budget store worth its salt seems to publish 'baby must-have' lists that stretch almost as endlessly - one free book provided to me when I had my son even listed a Toyota Landcruiser on its 'must-have' list!</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (7:7): It shouldn't be a surprise at all - here we are swimming against the tide in a consumer frenzied society, constantly bombarded with billions of dollars of advertising and struggling against years of social conditioning.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (8:7): Anyway, I am proud to say that I did resist a bargain. Was sorely tempted to buy a watch that I have been admiring for some time - and there it was - 30% off. A bargain! The temptation ... the force of will required to walk away ...But I did. And was inordinately proud of myself (there was some teetering on the brink involved).</i></p> <p><i>ž_11 (4:37): We don't buy pressies at all.</i></p> <p><i>ž_12 (9:2): We live in a world of plenty. But, very few of us have any. And those of us that have, have a lot. Those of us that have, feel entitled. The media tells us that we deserve a lot of things. We tell each other that we deserve better. We tell ourselves that we deserve the best. But, really, none of us deserve anything.</i></p>
<p>bolj premišljena potrošnja</p>	<p><i>ž_2 (10:6) I went back to the gallery three times before I actually bought it. I've been wearing it as a uniform, every day, which is having powerful effects. I'm waffling about the office: I've worn it all day there though I haven't been quite brave enough to wear it every single day - my boss even gave me her blessing. I've been telling myself I need a little separation between work and not-work and the clothes that I wear there (which are so limited they are like a uniform, too) help me do that.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (2:14): In the grocery store, I made a special effort to pick items with as little packaging as possible - this is not a radical departure for me, as I do not purchase a ton of pre-packaged, processed foods anyways, but I was definitely more aware of what I was putting into the cart. I found it easier to buy the most basic of items because I had recipes in mind prior to heading to the grocery store.</i></p> <p><i>ž_3 (3:16): We have made the switch from many disposable, one-use items, to re-useable products with greater longevity. We are no longer using paper napkins and paper towels. I am no longer using disposable feminine hygiene products. I am no longer buying food items in one-use sizes (yogourt, applesauce), but in larger containers (glass where possible) in an effort to limit disposable packaging. We are still using disposable diapers (as Monkey is in daycare full-time) and toilet paper (albeit recycled).</i></p> <p><i>ž_8 (6:7): I also buy classic items that are less likely to date. I buy men's clothing in preference to women's, when I can. I avoid factory-made garments as a rule, whenever possible.</i></p> <p><i>ž_5 (3:16): Happy to say I got over my bout of stuff lust, and haven't bought anything.</i></p>

	<p>Am wondering now about how this will work for me in the long term - I am fairly confident in thinking that my attitude towards consumption has changed significantly over the past couple of months - but realistically there will be times when I do buy new shoes/clothes etc. I am beginning to think that part of the answer lies in 'considered consumption' - thinking carefully about whether I do really need it/why I am buying it etc. And the other part of the equation is buying stuff that is high quality and is going to last a long time - and that I am going to want to keep for a long time. Don't know if this is the answer, but it seems a start.</p> <p>ž_5 (6:24): Mind change - huge. From 'see it, want it, buy it' consumer to considered consumer. No more spontaneous purchases. Thinking a lot more about my actions and their consequences. Starting to feel that my values and my life are getting back in sync. Got to be happy with that.</p> <p>ž_11 (4:24): So perhaps the deeper lesson I am learning here is to let go and to trust. Let go of my own ideas of what *I* should be, and to let go of my need to "control" my environment through consumption. To trust that the inter and intra dependence of the universe will ensure that I will always get what I need and what I want.</p> <p>ž_12 (11:3): So, let us all consider--every time we take out our wallet--why we are spending. Do I need this? Is this useful? Who will have less because I buy this? Is there some way that I could impact the world more positively than buying this? Let us be sure that our souls are full and that our lives are rich, not matter what we have or do not have.</p>
PORAST ZADOVOLJSTVA OB MANJŠANJU MATERIALNEGA BOGASTVA	
<p>bolj svoboden, neodvisen od materialnih dobrin</p>	<p>m_1 (4:40): Since we switched off the mains electricity and have only the one solar panel for power, I found myself complaining that I couldn't afford the electric juice to run the wireless modem. I was upset because I could no longer bring the computer to bed. What was I doing taking my computer to bed anyway?! I'm not a Luddite, but before this project began, I had begun to let technology run my life rather than the other way around. Just because technology allows us to go at a breakneck speed doesn't mean we should.</p> <p>m_1 (4:25): Want to know what we both thought when we were done? It felt good. Having a lot of stuff never makes me feel free, the way it's supposed to. Instead it makes me feel trapped, weighed down, stuck, old. Less stuff, less space needed in my head and in my home. Freedom. But I could be speaking too soon. For all I know, one day after we've delivered the books to the bookstore, one of my detractors, out of sheer spite, might suddenly up and give me a sailboat.</p> <p>m_1 (6:6): Full disclosure: recovering gadget addict that I am, I might have been in the line myself a few months ago.</p> <p>m_1 (12:2): One of the things I realized during my year of attempting to have no net environmental impact is that it really shouldn't be so hard. By this I don't mean to say that it was hard and miserable for me. If you've been a regular reader then you know that, for the most part, I found stepping off the "hedonic treadmill" to be liberating</p> <p>ž_2 (5:5): Dependence on that could seriously impact my life - imagine giving up my part-time job freedom for some face cream!</p> <p>ž_3 (2:15): I have been looking around the house and I feel a loosening of attachment to the objects that surround me.</p> <p>ž_11 (4:22): At the same time, it's also been quite empowering to start losing my own dependence on "things". I've discovered that I can learn how to sew and how to start taking care of things properly instead of treating everything as if it was disposable.</p> <p>ž_12 (1:41): As I sat there I realized that we have become slaves. Slaves to stuff. Our mind-space is filled with hundreds of billboards promising riches, success, sex, love, even fulfillment if we buy this, or go there, or have that, or do whatever. We live our lives believing ten lies for every truth. Deep down, we all know that a new car won't get us laid more often and even if it did, it wouldn't give us someone that loved us. We all know that a bigger house, a second house, a different house won't fulfill us for the long-term. But regardless of what we know, we walk down those paths everyday. We eat at places that claim to be healthy, even though we know they are not. We buy stuff we know we don't need because it fills a void, but at the same time it drives us deeper into debt and therefore deeper into work that many of us do not enjoy.</p>
<p>manj potreb</p>	<p>m_1 (8:20): Wanting less makes me consume less. Consuming less makes me treat the planet more kindly. The equation goes, therefore, gratitude equals kindness.</p> <p>m_1 (6:46): There's nothing I can buy to try to make things better. Since I've had to make the bread by hand, I've had the chance to enjoy it rather than try to escape it.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:10): With respect to consuming less, I have noticed it has become easier to pass by a store and consciously remind myself that I do not need, nor want, what is in the window.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:12): I didn't realize that I needed to make the connection in my mind that</p>

	<p>spending less and being more environmentally conscious are actually complementary behaviours. The urge to shop has actually almost disappeared.</p> <p>ž_3 (4:15): Although I haven't had any luck finding a good consignment or thrift store in Vancouver to date, the good news is we have found we haven't actually needed to buy much of anything!</p> <p>ž_4 (2:13): I do have enough. I have my husband, I have my daughter. We have food, we have clothing, a roof over our heads, vehicles, things to entertain us, to learn from. We have enough. In some instances we have too much. We are working on the "too much" right now. I am beginning to think that "too much" makes it hard to have room for the things we need, like enough money to pay all the bills on time, and I am seeing the wisdom of clearing the clutter to allow new things to enter our lives.</p> <p>ž_4 (3:2): Our first month of Compacting has been a huge success. The relieved pressure of having to buy things other than food is pretty astounding.</p> <p>ž_5 (2:23): Am surprised that having made this commitment, I am now completely disinterested in buying stuff. Just not part of that game any more.</p> <p>ž_5 (6:1): And I looked at it, and admired it, and considered buying a couple of things, and then thought 'I don't think I will use it.' I didn't buy anything - and I am fairly astonished. There I was in a vast haven of guilt free shopping, and I didn't want to buy anything. I am reeling from shock.</p> <p>ž_5 (5:8): I am noticing that I am not much interested in buying things any more - the habit of not buying is reinforcing the attitude that I don't want to/don't need to. It has been like going through a re-education process - almost a reprogramming.</p> <p>ž_2 (4:9): I'm not sure why not buying anything new also means getting rid of stuff.</p> <p>ž_2 (4:10): I guess experimtn helps me sort out what I really need.</p> <p>ž_2 (5:3): I questioned recently if we really need all the soaps and lotions and shampoos and other potions we've come to consider necessities.</p> <p>ž_2 (9:4): The mascara is no big tragedy - I rub my eyes a lot so it ends up looking bad anyway; just an eyelash curler is serving me way better.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:18): In addition to trying to limit what comes into the house, I have also become aware of the impact of things that I previously have taken for granted as NEEDS. I</p> <p>ž_3 (9:3): I am so happy to report that I am successful so far in having a no spend month! I was even in the mall yesterday and found myself holding an item, but promptly returned it to the shelf when I realized that although the item might make my life easier, it wasn't something I NEEDED. So there you have it. I am becoming reformed!</p> <p>m_2 (2:12) As we could only bring 1 suit case of things over for a year it made you consider what was really needed. It really gives you a chance to reflect on how much stuff we have but dont really need, and those things that we think you cant live without - surprise surprise - you can!.</p> <p>ž_5 (5:1): One of the great things that has come for me out of compacting is the questioning of things that I just took for granted, and the re-evaluating of what I really need and really want. Am finding that they are both considerably less than I would have thought a few months ago.</p> <p>ž_5 (10:4): All it takes is to question your habits and give it a try. Pretty low risk really.</p> <p>ž_5 (10:3): I was doing some housework the other day and I was wondering do we need to do all this stuff so often? Do we need to clean the shower/toilets etc as often as we do? Do we need to vac the floor as often? Do we really need to shower every day - wash our hair as often as we do - all of that stuff. If we did it less often, we would use less water, less energy, less resources and save ourselves a lot of hassle into the bargain</p> <p>m_3 (1:24): The same question comes to me, what do we NEED to live? Not wanting or wishing- needing..</p> <p>m_3 (3:14): What an unexpected moment. In a small little pizza shop in a nearby town, my children got to see what the world could be like if we all just took what we needed and passed on the rest to others. Pretty soon, the whole world would be fed.</p>
<p>polnejše, bolj zadovoljno življenje</p>	<p>m_1 (5:1): Everyone thinks that the My experiment regime causes some sort of deprivation, but the fact is that I was more deprived before than I am now. Here's why: happiness is simply not based on how much stuff you have. It's based on how you live.</p> <p>m_1 (3:44): People sometimes think that the experiment is about deprivation, but I would argue that we are already hugely deprived. There is a man who shows up in New York's Union Square offering "free hugs" and he gets many takers. Why? Why can we not find enough affection within our own lives? We are deprived of relationship. Paradoxically, the experiment letting go of the idea that we should spend our lives working for and accumulating more "stuff" allows space for the things that end our deprivation-like friendship and community and the time to enjoy them.</p> <p>m_1 (6:27): That may all sound extreme-and it is-but the fact is that we've found that it is tenable and possible and doesn't make us feel deprived, which is one way of saying</p>

	<p>there is hope for the possibility of living on the planet without destroying it.</p> <p>ž_5 (5:2): When I do think I really must have something, I write it down. I have a list of 'highly desirable items' that I may buy one day. Whenever I add something to the list I see something else there that I figure I really don't want all that much any more. Knowing that I can purchase these things should I really want to (at a date to be specified) stops me feeling deprived. It has been over three months and I am pretty pleased with how I am going - and astonished at how much I used to buy. And I was never an enthusiastic shopper ...</p> <p>ž_12 (1:5): My house is a good example. Where I live generally turns into a massive dirty junk heap. I realize the junking is a form of isolation. If it's a mess, no one will come there- thus making it a nice place for me to hole up and be greedy about all my stuff.</p> <p>m_1 (7:27): We pout less and smile more--we feel happier</p> <p>m_1 (1:9): We got the glimpse of a life with an entirely different rhythm. We began to think that, by depriving us of our Madison Avenue addictions, the experiment might actually make us happier. It was only a seven-day experiment, but it convinced us that living no impact can be done, it can be done pleasantly, and that we could conceivably end up happier rather than sadder--which is why, God help us, we're in it for a year</p> <p>m_1 (5:3): It turns out, you see, that once I had the courage to challenge my consumption addiction, living a life that is better for the planet turns out to be better for me, too. That's great news. To convince people to use fewer resources all we have to do is show how doing so can make them happier.</p> <p>ž_4 (2:23): Life hasn't been so simple, or so happy.</p> <p>m_1 (3:31): Most of my years I've just lived my little old life the way the people around me wrote it, but now I'm definitely turning a lot of it upside down. You know what? It's kind of a blast.</p> <p>m_1 (8:13): my one year experiment in extreme environmental living, it's that being kinder to the planet can also mean being kinder to ourselves. Eating local and seasonal, part of the experiment, also means eating more healthily. Getting ride of TV means a lot more time spent playing charades and scrabble with friends and family. The list goes on.</p> <p>m_1 (6:47): What I guess I'm driving at is that <u>buying less stuff</u> may not just be better for the planet. It may be better for me too. If I seek to escape the bread-making with a bread machine, then my bread-making will be joyless. When my bread-making is joyless, how do you think my bread will taste?</p>
<p>bolj v stiku s samim seboj</p>	<p>m_1 (6:34): If life is over in the blink of an eye, who or what is it that is doing the blinking? It's scary to remember that I'm going to die. Buying things and going on trips and seeing lots of movies and watching lots of television (not to mention drugs and alcohol and ice cream) are good ways to forget the big questions (they're also fun and joyful things to do when I do them in a balanced way). But isn't there more to my life than finding ways to get away from the big questions? Isn't there more to life than fulfilling my capricious desires? Isn't there more to life than, well, consumption?</p> <p>m_1 (7:18): For me, though, the issue settled itself by more self-referential analysis. Since the project is largely about learning to live a life more in line with my conscience, I decided to listen to what my conscience had to say.</p> <p>ž_5 (2:24): Makes me wonder how much of shopping and buying and accumulating stuff is about distraction? From ourselves, from our jobs, from our lives?</p> <p>ž_11 (12:4): But perhaps the most valuable lesson I've learnt in my year is that somewhere along the way, I have made my ego-building consumption become more important than my values.</p> <p>m_3 (1:23): Even worse, having time to think has given rise to such salacious thoughts as, "maybe I really don't need to buy something to make me happy." Or, "maybe we could survive on less money." Even, "maybe this job is taking away more than it is providing." Yikes!</p> <p>ž_12 (4:5): Before we began this process, I wasn't truly convinced that it would make any tangible difference--except maybe in our bank statement--but, it has. I know, from speaking with many of you and from reading the comments here, that others are experiencing the very same things. I wish more people would give simplifying a try. I wish more people would take a chance as consuming less and find that the process yields freedoms one never expected. It's time for this world to change a little.</p> <p>ž_12 (5:5): So much of this whole journey we're on is messing with our identities. All the failures and successes with doing the Compact and just trying to ditch consumerism has meant that My husband and I have had to take a hard look at ourselves.</p> <p>ž_12 (11:2): Because they are convinced that MORE will fill the void in their souls. Spending, saving, and simple living are spiritual acts. It is inescapable. How we spend mirrors the condition of our soul.</p>

	<p>ž_3 (6:6): After five months of trying to do my best on this journey to simplicity, I feel both success and failure. Success because I really have changed the way I think about a lot of things.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:16): I feel like my eyes are being opened to so many things all at once, and that I have been asleep for a long, long time.</p> <p>ž_11 (4:20): Its kinda funny, 'cause while this challenge has really started out of my own little rebellion against consumerism (and to basically put my money where my mouth is, so to speak), its also ending up as a journey in discovering who I am and what I'm capable of.</p>
POZITIVNI UČINKI NAKUPOVALNIH DIET	
boljše fizično počutje, več zdravja	<p>m_1 (7:23): Twenty pounds off my gut, and eight off my wife's.</p> <p>m_1 (4:18): With all the stair climbing, I've lost 15 pounds.</p> <p>m_3 (4:2): I wish that I could tell you it was easy and that I'm amazed I ever drank it before, but I can't. I decided to break my fast this morning and have a coke or 6. I did miss them, but the experiment wasn't a loss. I learned something about myself, I don't NEED soda, I CAN live without it. I also found out that my soda drinking does have significant effects on my body, to the order of 12 pounds in 40 days (with no other changes) so, while I am not abandoning it totally...I'm making a new resolution, 1 a week. That way I can still enjoy the things I like about it, while being responsible with my health.</p> <p>m_1 (7:25): Better nights' sleep and less tired days</p> <p>m_1 (7:24): No dandruff on my collar or dermatitis on my face</p> <p>m_1 (7:30): It turns out, you see, that eco-living, in our experience, is not so much about sacrifice as it is about increased health and happiness. The same would be true of big, societal eco-changes.</p> <p>m_1 (7:29): No more monthly tummy cramps for my wife</p>
prihranek denarja	<p>m_1 (4:8): Add to our savings: no airplanes, no hotels, no car rentals, no gas, no subways, no taxis, no shopping for anything new, no designer clothes, no gadgets, no movies, no cable bill.</p> <p>m_1 (4:11): Now, the money idles provocatively in our bank accounts. We're living on one salary and stashing the other.</p> <p>m_1(8:3): No TV is blaring. No video game is bleeping. No air conditioner is humming. Last month, we got a nearly \$400 rebate from the electric company-they finally got around to reading our meter after sending us estimated bills for a few months.</p> <p>m_1 (4:9): That means that our weekly living expenses, excluding our mortgage and a couple of bills, are about \$120 a week for the three of us.</p> <p>ž_2 (6:1): The first three months were easy: I didn't really feel like I needed to buy anything and I was creative and enthusiastic about finding solutions. I learned a few things about cooking and mending, and the money I saved was awesome - I ended up with enough for a weekend trip to San Francisco.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:20): Our credit cards are definitely getting a rest since I decided to purchase only food items, which has made the Husband happy.</p> <p>ž_3 (2:39) Our credit card balance is considerably smaller this month.</p> <p>ž_4 (2:24): I paid bills today, and we might actually catch up by the first of the month! Wahoo! And we will pay down a little debt with out tax return. It will be nice to see that total go down a wee bit.</p> <p>ž_7 (2:33): We've also managed to save hundreds of dollars in just a short time as a result. Not really our aim, but a great reward for our efforts I guess.</p> <p>ž_5 (2:27): I have also started to notice the financial benefits. It wasn't part of my reason for participating, but am finding that money definitely stays in my wallet longer. I hate to think how much money has seeped away to be spent on things I didn't really need. Knocking impulse buying on the head is definitely a good thing.</p> <p>m_3 (1:16): We are a little more than a week in. I'm a little unnerved at how amazingly easy this all seems. We are spending A LOT less money</p>
zmanjšanje količine odpadkov	<p>ž_3 (3:15): With respect to decluttering, I have been trying to eliminate plastic from our household, particularly with respect to items that come into contact with our food. I have been sending Monkey's lunch in reused, glass baby food jars. I have put all bulk food items into reused glass containers.</p> <p>ž_5 (6:22): Rubbish - has reduced. The worms eat all the vegetables, and the rubbish (which was largely packaging I suspect) has gone down. Not wasting so much food.</p> <p>m_1 (4:19): We produce less than half a small bag of trash in a week.</p>
manj materialnega bogastva,	<p>ž_11 (1:3): Well, my subscription to Natural Parenting Magazine has run out. My first impulse was to just re-subscribe and pretend it never happened. But I hate to already start making allowances for my own actions this early in the challenge.</p> <p>ž_11 (5:17): Okay, so my insurance company has taken my laptop and modem thingy</p>

zmanjševanje
navlake v domovih

and at this stage we have agreed to have those items replaced and the computer too if they are going to insist that it be replaced (ie pay us back upon a receipt). However, we have decided that we don't really need any of the other items so will just ask for cash....

ž_2 (4:9): I'm not sure why not buying anything new also means getting rid of stuff.

ž_3 (2:31): I should have started keeping track of all of the items I have removed from our home because I am sure the number would be overwhelming. I have recycled some things and donated some thing, and I can say that there is finally room in our closets, something we haven't had for at least the last eighteen months. My goal now is to limit the number of new items coming through the door.

ž_4 (2:4): Our decluttering has begun. 46 items so far today, and that is just my clothing and a couple odds and ends.

ž_4 (2:7): Total items decluttered for the weekend: 55

ž_4 (2:20): I added another 9 items to my decluttering pile today, bring me to an even 90 items....only 410 more to go this month! I will break 100 tomorrow.

ž_10 (2:6) One thing we have done this weekend is to give a reasonably nice bike away to another family. My partner won one in a raffle late last year and he cycles to work each day in the city. So the 'old' bike was just sitting under the house. We've agreed to do a few contra deals in Feb with this family who were in the process of getting a brand new adult bike.

ž_11 (11:2): So here's my new approach. This is how many tops/blouses I should have: 7 x short sleeve tops 7 x long sleeve tops 7 x tanks/no-sleeves tops

ž_12 (1:6): So- the downsizing has been substantial. And it doesnt stop. Every day I'm trying to look for things that can go away- and the freedom is amazing. So here I am- letting go of my stuff- sharing my space- my stuff. Because thats what real people do.

*ž_12 (2:11): We have downsized our clothing tremendously- we got rid of almost a dozen black garbage bags last summer. I'm serious. We *thought* we went right down to the basics. And we were close but look at our mess!!!*

ž_12 (4:4): Maybe this is an aside to the whole simplifying thing, but I love to write. Then again, I think that decluttering our lives leads to decluttered minds and souls. So maybe it's not an aside, just a bit of a rabbit trail." -from my Journal.

Priloga N: Vizija prihodnjega načina in vloge potrošnje – vsi citati

NAKUPOVALNE DIETE KOT NAVADA	
drugačna potrošnja	<p>ž_2 (3:14): <i>When I'm buying things again, I'll aim to purchase products with 30% or more post-consumer recycled content.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:6): <i>Looking back now, I truly can not believe that I have made a habit of buying cheap goods knowing full well that they were probably made in sweat shops</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:7): <i>Its means that I will endeavour to avoid consuming products that are the result of human exploitation. That I will endeavour to avoid consuming products that are not environmentally sustainable. And the final point, that I *will* participate economically in those products where the freedom, education and skills of people are valued.</i></p>
zmanjšana potrošnja	<p>m_1 (12:5): <i>We were finally free. This was going to be great, right? So guess what happened? We were kind of bored. The thing is, movies are okay, but honestly, it turned out we weren't missing much. Plus my wife went to look around Barneys and came out not even wanting to buy anything. Plus, we've both ended up walking out of other movies.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:5): <i>lots of not-things make me happy! And, in truth, I don't really need anything.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:4): <i>I also don't feel right about running out and buying a bunch of stuff just because it's January and I can.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:22): <i>I don't think I'll start buying again in the same way in 2008 - not-buying has become a habit, and, as is more evident every day, I don't really need anything. It occurred to me that maybe I'll keep this experimtn up until the toilet paper runs out - should happen in about Feb-March, barring any major houseguests. Still, I have this theory that buying something here and there keeps us (maybe just me) from buying a lot of little stupid things that we (I) don't really use/need.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (12:4): <i>I'm facing that myself when I reach Dec 31: which things do I buy? how much research do I do before I buy something? should I take on more narrowly-focused challenges (local eating, sewing, cooking) for shorter periods of time? I don't think I'll stop exactly at the New Year - there are many, many things I wanted to look into and think about within this context that I haven't gotten to yet.</i></p> <p>ž_2 (9:7): <i>Which makes me think this whole thing is kind of ridiculous: did I just put off my buying to Dec 2006 and Jan 2008? Should I extend the experiment even longer to see if I can determine where/when it breaks down for me?</i></p>
ponotranjenost pravil	<p>m_1 (12:9): <i>We're in the stage, as I've said, where we're no longer accountable to the rules but only to our consciences.</i></p> <p>m_1 (12:10): <i>I still want to adhere to the idea of no negative impact plus positive impact equals no net impact. Of course, that's what I hope for and it's an ideal, the ideal I'd love to be able to say I adhered to when I die: that I did more good than harm on this earth.</i></p> <p>m_1 (12:14): <i>This point, "the goal," is really just the place where you are really conscious of what you use. You don't take things for granted. You understand that your actions have consequences for other people and the planet. It is the point between asceticism and waste, between self-denial and self-indulgence. It is the place of balance.</i></p> <p>m_1 (3:33): <i>When I meet and talk to these people, I quite frankly feel ashamed that I didn't begin looking more closely at my impact on the planet before the age of 43.</i></p>
PREVZEMANJE STARIH VZORCEV	
želja kupovati	<p>ž_2 (12:23): <i>Perhaps I'll start with the H&M gift certificates - by now I've racked up quite a shopping spree, which will be a good farewell to the store.</i></p> <p>ž_11 (12:8): <i>I don't know what I want to buy. I don't actually need something. But yeah, I want to buy something. You'd think after not buying anything brand new for a year I would be over these cravings but its like experiencing some sort of withdrawal.</i></p>
brez občutka korenitih sprememb	<p>ž_11 (11:12): <i>However, I think at this stage, I have not truly learnt how to change my consumption habits. Indeed, I suspect that give me a few months and I would probably start the slide back to my old consumption habits.</i></p>