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Connecting Routine, Life Order and Recycling

--A Field Study Of Waste Management In

Augustenborg

Ling, Qin

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Supervisors

Lynn Åkesson

Magnus Wikdahl

Abstract

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Recycling station is hardly a space imbued with neutrality. Hannah Arendt observed: "public space is where a people's dominant ethos of self is decided, normalized and regulated."(1985). Normality and dominant ethos of the society are patently advocated and promoted in the recycling station, in other words, the recycling station implies within it a normative way of behavior which is systematic and consistent recycling activity. Such desired normality is latently in accordance with the interest of the society and the expectation of the technocrats who designed the recycling facilities in place. However, there exists a great diversity of recycling behaviors in reality, some of which are in sharp contrast with the normality. The normality and dominant ethos of the society congregated in the field of recycling undergo a vigorous process filled with negotiation, appropriation and modification initiated by the users. Therefore, a better understanding of how waste management is perceived and experienced on the user end is crucial to both the organization of knowledge campaigns of waste management and the design of recycling facility. Key factors, psychologically and practically, that influence recycling perception and behavior will be brought under scrutiny in the thesis. The thesis argues that the practice of recycling conjures up a dynamic personal sphere where environmental consciousness, family values, individual identity, life order and concerns for practicality congregate. Recycling is never an isolated and static event, rather, it slides on a spectrum with two polar opposites. On one hand, recycling is pushed to the background, serving as a mindless routine. On the other, recycling becomes a personal ritual fully charged with meanings. Based on the data gathered from a four-month field work in Augustenborg, Malmö, the thesis examines how recycling is perceived and experienced on the user end to make explicit the gap between the designed and the lived practices in the field of

waste management

Keywords: Waste Management, Recycling, Routine, Space Production, Purity in Waste, Materiality, Life order, Identity Construction

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1. Introduction

1.1. Waste Management In Sweden

Sweden has been in many aspects a leading country in the field of waste management. In terms of recycling infrastructure, property close source-separation of different waste fractions has been increasingly expanded in Sweden. (Swedish Waste Management, 2009). The source separation system offers basic facilities for recycling items including glass, paper, plastic and metal packaging. (Swedish Waste Management, 2008). Moreover, in the past decade, waste materials other than packaging like newspaper and food waste have been increasingly recycled in Sweden as well. Also, systems for property close source-separation of hazardous waste and WEEE (Waste Electric and Electronic Equipment) are currently tested in several Swedish municipalities. (Swedish Waste Management, 2009). New systems for collection of bulky waste are also tested in some Swedish municipalities. (Lindgren, 2009). However, the figure below shows the waste separation development in Sweden from 2004 to 2008 and it demonstrates national targets are still not met neither for several of the dry recyclable fractions nor for biological treatment of food waste (Swedish EPA, 2009) (Figure 1).

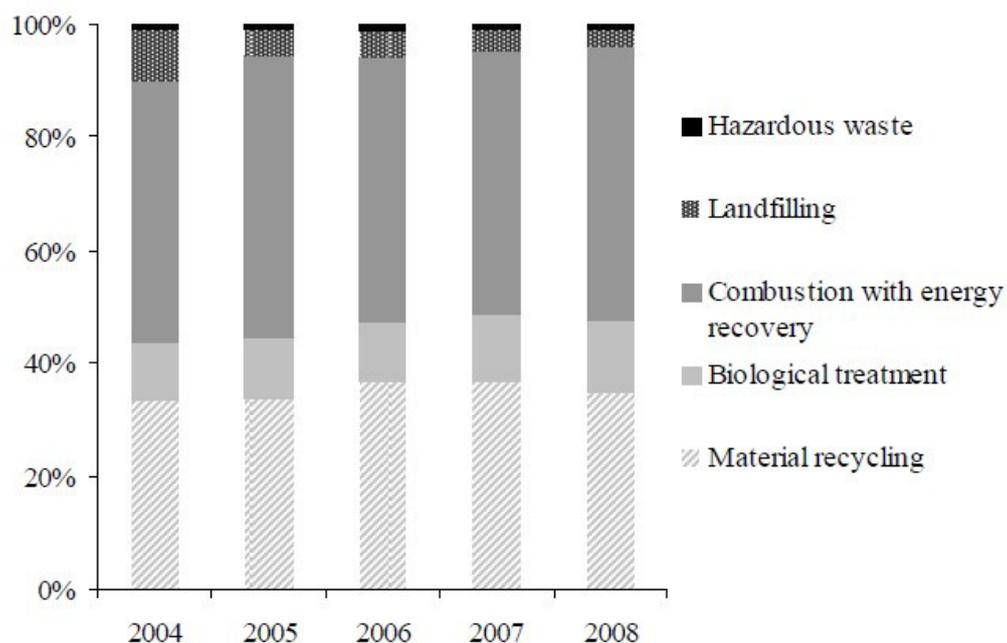


Figure 1. Waste separation development in Sweden from 2004 to 2008

With respect to the policy concerning waste management in Sweden, the Ordinance of Producer Responsibility deserves special attention. It was introduced in Sweden in 1993 for glass and cardboard packaging (SFS, 1994a), which was followed by similar regulations also for metal, plastic and paper packaging, and newsprint in 1994 (SFS, 1994b; SFS, 2006) and later also the EU regulation of waste electronic equipment (Directive 2002/96/EC). Such a policy suggests that the management of solid household waste in Sweden is shared among different agents. Firstly, households are required to take the initiative for sorting out daily waste by making use of the property close source-separation facilities installed in place.(SFS, 1994a; SFS, 1994b; SFS, 2006). Meanwhile, municipalities are responsible for providing households with correct and necessary information regarding management of household waste, including producer responsibility waste materials (SFS 1994a; SFS 1994b; SFS 2006). Secondly, private companies are commonly contracted in terms of the collection and transportation of the waste. As 75% of the collection and transportation is carried out by private entrepreneurs hired by the Swedish municipalities, while the rest is conducted directly by the municipality. Moreover, treatment for packaging waste and newspaper are often privately contracted as well, whereas treatment of residual waste and bulky waste is managed by agents owned by one or several municipalities altogether. (Swedish Waste Management, 2009).

1.2. Development in Waste Management System in Augustenborg, Malmö

The study site used for this thesis is Augustenborg, located in a southern Swedish city named Malmö. Augustenborg has been witnessing a drastic development in waste management system, which is underpinned by a municipal project named “Eco-City Augustenborg” since 1998 with the goal to rejuvenate and transform the district into a socially, ecologically and economically sustainable neighborhood. The district consists of 1631 households in 37 multifamily buildings, while 13 recycling stations are distributed over the area after the source separation system for solid household waste was introduced in the area by the end of 1990’s. The recycling stations are secured by locks while the residents are provided keys to the nearest station to their

apartments by MKB, a municipal housing-renting company in Malmö. Each resident has access to only one specific building with the use of an electronic key. Nine different types of household waste could be recycled in the property close source-separation station, including glass- (clear and colored), paper-, plastic- and metal packaging, newspapers, batteries and residual waste. Since the summer of 2008, the source-separation of waste electronic and electrical equipment (WEEE) and hazardous waste (HW) was introduced to the system with facilities installed accordingly. Moreover, the old compost reactors used for the separation of food waste were disassembled and a new system for organic food waste was installed. Residents are provided with paper bags designed specifically for organic food waste in the recycling station while 4 selected residential buildings in the area are equipped with perforated plastic cases in kitchen sites. Residents are informed to sort out food waste in the recycling station, making it possible for pretreatment and production of biogas. In the summer 2009, a system for property-close source-separation of fat, oils and grease (FOG) was introduced in 210 of the households at the study-site as well. Besides the local residents as the main agents for household waste management, several other agents are involved in the field. MKB is the municipal house-renting company in charge of the accommodation in Augustenborg. Moreover, it also provides the waste management information necessary for the inhabitants. Vasyd and Sysav are both municipality-contracted companies working for the collection, transportation and treatment of the waste respectively.



Figure 2. Exterior and Interior of the source-separation station in Augustenborg
(Visual Image, 15th, September, 2011)

1.3. Objective of the Paper and Research Question

Based on a four-month field work in Augustenborg, the main objective of the thesis is to explore the hidden mindsets of the inhabitants, to reveal the unsaid, to bring forth patterns and offer explanations to a great diversity of behaviors and perceptions that appear to be random or mundane. This thesis proposes there exists a gap between the designed and the experienced in the field of waste management. To put it more specifically, how recycling is expected to be perceived and conducted, underpinned by behavioral normality and dominant ethos in the large socio-cultural context is often not in line with how recycling is perceived, experienced and conducted in everyday life reality. Driven from such proposition, the thesis strives to bridge the gap by offering a cultural understanding of the dynamics took place in both the physical and subjective world of the inhabitants in the field of waste management. The thesis aims to address the following questions. How do social norms and ethos constructed in the recycling station affect people's propensity, perception and conduct in daily waste management? What caused the diversity of recycling behaviors and perceptions? How are the practice of recycling as well as the facilities appropriated into personal life and imbued with new meaning? How does recycling facility interact with individual emotion, routine and life order?

1.4. Outline of Thesis

The thesis would kick off by examining some of the closely-related researches in the field of waste management, categorized under two major themes: Uncertainty Regarding Waste Handling and how information strategy affects recycling behaviors. While presenting the contributions these papers delivered for an enhanced understanding of people's recycling behavior and mentality, the review also pointed out their main constraint which was they failed to illuminate what served as the key for the successful recycling and why there existed a great diversity of recycling behaviors. Subsequently, this thesis strives to provide an answer to both of these questions.

The next chapter of the thesis consisted of methodological reflections. Discussion would be given to three crucial ethnographic methods employed during field work that proved to be indispensable for the data-collection process and the success of the field work. Firstly, the approach adopted to make the entry would be elaborated in details to demonstrate the advantages of using camouflage to gain legitimate identity when entering the field while building rapport built on reciprocity. Secondly, participant observation was illustrated as an efficient approach to set the ground for building rapport with informants and as a result, recruiting potential interviewees for the field work. Last but not least, discussion would be centered around the design of interview questions. The strength of unstructured interviews was argued to lie in its capacity to be constantly open for the pursuit of new information in whatever direction that appeared to be appropriate and indicative, leading to a more enriching and comprehensive set of interview questions.

The main body of the thesis was devoted to the data analysis, which was categorized into two main chapters: the production of space inside recycling station and the examination of routine in domestic kitchen sites. In the first chapter was framed in close connection with the theory of "spatial triad", a heuristic device Henri Lefebvre coined. The analysis was driven from three aspects of space construction of the recycling station from the perceived, conceived and lived sphere respectively. By analyzing how the space of the recycling station was produced in three spheres, the chapter aimed to illuminate the gap emerged between the conceived experience underpinned by the dominant norms of behaviour and discourse in Sweden and the perceived along with the lived experience appropriated and modified by the space users. The chapter was concluded by mapping two mismatches that contributed to the emergence of the gap. They were the mismatch between long-standing routine and present recycling facility, and the mismatch between domestic recycling facility and the facility offered in the recycling station. These two mismatches were intimately correlated with each other due to the dynamic interactions among life order, routine and facility. Such insights suggested the space production was not constrained to the recycling station only, but also witnessed an extension to people's domestic kitchen

sites. Driven from this argument, the second chapter of analysis focused its gaze on domestic recycling. The analysis would firstly be concentrated on how routine and materiality were imbued with subjective meaning and family value and proceeded to elucidate the construction and function of routine in terms of offering life with order, predicability and control. Then the dynamics between routine and materiality would be analyzed by exploring how routine was orchestrated around the recycling facility both at home and the station, and how materiality served to configure, stabilize and frame the routinized practices.

The thesis would conclude by summarizing the main insights brought forth in the analysis and some further studies would also be suggested in the end of the thesis.

2. Previous studies concerning Waste recycling behavior

A number of research studies, employing either quantitative or qualitative methods, have been conducted around the theme of recycling in recent years. In this paper, I intend to reflect on three previous papers which are most closely connected with my research. It is my aim to present the main thesis while critically examining both the merits and constraints of these papers. These papers are listed as the following:

- Uncertainty Regarding Waste Handling in Everyday Life (Henriksson, Akesson & Ewert, 2010)
- Influence of Information Strategies on Waste Recycling Behavior (Bernstad, Jansen & Aspegren, 2009)
- Factors influencing households' participation in recycling (Vicente & Reis, 2008)

2.1. Uncertainty Regarding Waste Handling in Everyday Life

Based on field work completed in Augustenborg, this paper devoted its discussion and analysis on the causes and consequences of the uncertainties in everyday handling of waste. In total, four sources that gave emergence to uncertainty were identified.

1. Professional categories do not match cultural categories. Since people tend to create and manage waste categories in terms of constituent matter such as paper, plastic or metal, the professional categorization in accordance to packaging or non-packaging was therefore perceived as confusing or challenging.
2. Recycling practices operate with a high level of automaticity, making it vulnerable to be challenged by particular features or elements of the waste system, which when in collision with habit, could lead to the appearance of uncertainty.
3. Waste system lacks of certain fraction. Some kinds of items cannot be left for recycling, for instance, envelope should not be recycled with other printed paper or newspaper. This makes waste collection incomplete from the users' view, thus lowering the credibility of the system.
4. Certain regulations of the waste system, poorly justified and motivated within the context of use, contradict with peoples' daily logic and reason, which also leads to uncertainty.

Through the discussion of waste handling uncertainty, the paper developed two valuable analytic frameworks to evaluate and illuminate the potential barriers and obstacles existing in the waste system. The first analytic framework brought forward is the cultural categories of waste in everyday life. In contrast to the professional categorization of waste, people tended to perceive waste from universal categories (clean/unclean, constituent matter, value) and particular categories (E.g. environmental-friendly/hazardous), to put it another way, it is through these two prevailing cultural categories that the daily waste was being understood and daily recycling being guided. Secondly, the concept of recycling automaticity was bred and classified into three aspects respectively, physical (practical), social and habitual. It was claimed that automaticity was constructed through the stabilization of recycling practice by waste-related artifacts. The relationship among cultural categories, automaticity and uncertainty could be best illustrated by this chapter in the paper:

Uncertainties concerning waste sorting can therefore be seen as indicators of underlying tension or dissonance, between different culturally grounded values and habits. Theoretically such values and habits can be understood and divided into, for example practical arrangements, habits, and the social construction of them, using the theoretical tool presented above. (Henriksson, Akesson & Ewert, 2010, p.2809)

It was based on the dissonance and tension among cultural values, habits and waste system that recommendations were delivered, which in a general way was to adjust specific elements and aspects of the system so that they fit better with cultural categories and automaticity (material and habitual). Valuable insights and contributions were made to the analysis of the hidden barriers concerning recycling behavior in this paper. However, due to the scope being narrowed down to the discussion of uncertainty versus contentment, the lens of the paper naturally focused on a target group that generally had been doing recycling, only some barriers were at times encountered. Therefore, the group which did not have an established habit of

recycling was not taken into account in this paper, which called for a further exploration and analysis about the perception and behavior of this particular group in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of waste handling.

2.2. Information Strategy and Recycling Behavior

In the following two papers, *Factors influencing households' participation in recycling* (2008) and *Influence of Information Strategy on Waste Recycling Behavior* (2009), quantitative researches were conducted to illustrate and evaluate to what degree information strategy could influence recycling behavior.

Conducted in an urban area in Portugal, Vicente and Reis's (2008) study came to the conclusion that it was crucial to replace peoples' indifferent attitudes with concern in order to increase households' involvement in recycling. Therefore an information-driven campaign could raise peoples' concern by advocating two concepts: Firstly, everyone was a waste producer therefore recycling lied as a personal responsibility. Secondly, recycling was becoming a social trend embraced by a growing number of people instead of an isolated personal activity. Moreover, the empirical data in the study showed citizens were better informed with detailed information and clarification regarding the recycling rules, procedures and rationales generally showed greater tendency and disposition to participate in recycling. Emphasis and prominence were given to a more personal and direct way of conveying the message, as claimed in the paper that: When planning communication strategies intended to encourage citizens' co-operation with recycling, direct communication actions can effectively complement mass media messages. A direct approach to communication brings the recycling issue closer to citizens and more easily gains their attention. (2008, p.146)

Proceeded from a more technical standpoint, Bernstad, Jansen and Aspegren's study focused on the effects of oral information as a strategy to enhance recycling of solid household waste in Augustenborg, evaluation was carried out by approaches such as weighing of the waste, waste composition analysis and questionnaire. Empirical findings showed in areas where written information was combined with oral

information campaigns, recycling performance in terms of source-separation witnessed a drastic improvement after the oral information campaign. However, the evaluation in the area where no oral information had been delivered also experienced an increased amount in food waste recycling over time. Thus the conclusion drawn from such result was the oral information only served as catalyst instead of a determining factor to the recycling participations from households. Furthermore, results also implied the household recycling system must be carefully prepared and appropriated to increase the household participation in waste recycling. (2009, p.9)

In these two papers, the importance of information strategy (direct communication) was acknowledged in its contribution to raise peoples' awareness of waste handling and recycling. It was further confirmed that such approach did improve peoples' recycling performance in an accelerated pace. Nevertheless, the bottom line was still being that it did not pose as a determining factor that configured and stabilized the action of recycling into an unending and consistent practice. Consequently, there still existed the need to explore and disclose what factor (or factors) served as the fundamental reason (or reasons) for peoples' conduct of recycling.

3. Methodology

3.1. Camouflage—Making the Entry

In the work "Doing Field Research", Johnson (1975, p.50) elicited the significance of entry period of field work in two aspects. The first reason stated that "the achievement of successful entry is a precondition for doing the research", simply as in "no entry, no research", while the second was more subtle as he claimed: "the entry concerns the relationship between the initial entry to the setting and the validity of the data that is subsequently collected". The approaches entry were structured and framed had an essential impact on how the members of the setting conceived and perceived the researcher and the project, consequently, on the matter of establishing trust and rapport, which ultimately determined "the production of an objective report, retaining the integrity of the actor's perspective and its social context." The importance of the initial entry certainly rendered itself during my research. Looking back, it was safe to draw the conclusion that if it weren't for the appropriate entry, I would have never had built trustworthy rapport with the local residents to be able to conduct further research with them, therefore, making the delivery of a valid and objective account of the happenings on the field. However, making the entry was highly problematic in practice, thus my intention here was to elaborate on the methods I experimented during the field work with the aim to make the entry smooth and easily accepted.

Entry into the field involved two separated parts, declared by Patton (2002, p.310), starting with "the negotiation with gatekeeper about the nature of the field work to be done" and followed by "the actual physical entry into the field setting to begin collecting data". In my case, the gatekeeper was the local housing company MKB. I was given full autonomy for my research study by MKB. However, when asking for a contact sheet of the local residents and a MKB uniform, I was rejected for the reason of confidentiality and legitimacy by their institutional regulations. The only help being provided was a set of keys that allowed my entrance into the recycling stations in the area, and their strategy for making the entry was to initiate conversation with

people on the move in the area. It was apparent to detect that, out of the interest of safeguarding legitimate interest, the gatekeepers generally exerted limitations on the research study which essentially had impact on the actual physical entry into the field, as Patton stated that "negotiation with gatekeepers will establish the rules and conditions for how one goes about playing the role of observer". (2002, p.315). The negotiation in my case had a tendency to orient the actual physical entry in the direction of "being out there in open air and talking to people who are on the move". This was not desirable at all for the reason that one of the major concerns of my field work was to gain access to domestic households in order to explore how recycling was experienced and managed at home, and to seek opportunity to recruit informants for further interviews. Therefore, the actual physical entry into the field indispensably required gaining the access into peoples' homes.

My strategy was simply to conduct door by door visit in chosen buildings in order to explore a greater diversity of groups' behaviors and opinions in the study site. This was where all the obstacles started to emerge. I couldn't agree more with the statement of Wax (1971, p.15) that "the entry period of field work is likely to remain the first and most uncomfortable stage of field work". In the beginning, doors were shut close in front of me often, resulting in severe frustrations and anxiety on my part. Considerable resistance were shown by the residents, I somehow felt like my "gaining the entry" became what Douglas (1966, p.167) described as "infiltrating the setting". Clearly, an evaluation of the obstacles and improvement of the strategy were in dire need. Generally, the hinderance came from three major aspects. Firstly the problem lied in the language barrier. The inhabitants in Augustenborg enjoyed a great variety of nationality, meaning many of them didn't speak English while unfortunately I didn't achieve proficiency in Swedish. Secondly, the presence as a Lund University student performing a research study was perceived with skepticism and doubt. Last but not least, residents were generally reluctant to participate in a recycling study that seemed to be of no direct impact their life, especially if they consider the study is of no relevance to their personal interest, often financially. Altogether my visits were generally considered as an act of intruding personal space by the inhabitants. While

the first problem could not be easily solved, my focus was allocated to the solution of the latter two curbs, more specifically speaking, the issues of constructing a legitimate identity and cobbling up a personal impact of my study.

I would tag my main strategy to tackle the two problems as camouflage. Jackson (2006, p.136) brought forth the cultural practice of "camouflage" as a strategy "constantly at work in everyday life when you have an illness or a handicap that you don't want others to know about". People employed "camouflage" to adapt to a situation by creating a facade or smoke screen to hide behind, thus "breaking up these sharp edges so that the boundaries between oneself and the surrounding background are blurred". (2006, p.138). It was a strategy utilized to "normalize" one's identity and to integrate, thus to make a smooth entree into the surrounding setting. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.63) stated "field researchers are frequently suspected, initially at least, of belonging to some other group that may be perceived as undesirable." In the case of my study, casting aside the undesirable identity as an University student and achieving locally-recognizable identity was crucial to the construction of legitimacy and overall to reshape how the research would be socially defined by the members of the setting. The camouflage strategy in practice could be well illuminated by what Patton (2002, p.312) defined as the "known sponsor approach: observers use the legitimacy and credibility of another person to establish their own legitimacy and credibility" in order to provide a "halo feelings that will be positive and helpful". However, Patton's constraint of the "known sponsor approach" was that he limited the sponsor of legitimacy and credibility to only people, while in reality, I found sources of legitimacy and credibility could be further reaching to a greater variety of relevant events, institutions, objects and people.

The medium I took advantage of was the the local housing company MKB, more specifically, it was the food waste box installed by the company for four selected buildings for experiment in the spring of 2011. This could be better demonstrated by the comparison among different introductions I presented myself to the residents. Before adopting the strategy of camouflage, the introduction was basically an account of my academic background and currently research subject, while the introduction

after camouflage was oriented toward two main target groups respectively: the households equipped with the food waste box and the ones which did not, with the angle of presentation shifted from being merely academic and personal to more business-based.

The following was the summary of the most commonly used introductions while making the entry.

- Before Camouflage:

Hey, I am a student from Lund University and I am currently doing a research on recycling habits for my master thesis. Is it possible to have a sit-down talk with you whenever you are free? It would really help me with my research study a lot. I really appreciate it if you could participate. (24th, September, 2011)

- After Camouflage (towards households with food waste box):

Hey, I am from Lund University and currently doing a research study for MKB about the food waste box installed in your place. We are curious about how do you use it and is there any problems with it or anything that we could improve for you? It would help us a lot if you could let us know your opinion whenever you are free. (17th, October, 2011)

- After Camouflage (toward households without food waste box):

Hey, I am from Lund University and currently doing a research study for MKB. We have installed a special food waste box in several buildings in Augustenborg already and plan to make it available to all households. Do you think you need it? It would help us a lot if you could give us your preference and opinions whenever you are free. (17th, October, 2011)

Camouflage in practice delivered two crucial advantages in making the entry. Firstly, it helped me to present my study from a valid and legitimate background by naming MKB, a locally-recognizable agency as the sponsor of a master student from Lund University, therefore achieving among the residents the "positive and helpful halo feelings" as Pattern phrased it. Secondly, if the involvement of MKB in the introduction offered nothing more than legitimacy and hardly managed to exert a

strong sense of personal impact to the local residents, the discussion carried around the food waste box did fill in the hole. Jorgensen (1985, p.71) put strong emphasis on the "reciprocity model of gaining entry". He further amplified that "mutual trust, respect, and cooperation are dependent on the emergence of an exchange relationship, or reciprocity, in which the observer obtains data and the people being observed find something that makes their cooperation worthwhile". In the notion "reciprocity model", mutual exchange holds the key to connect the researcher and the informants in the same social frame, subsequently making the entry becomes more natural and smoother. In my study, the food waste box was a decisive object which not only drew legitimacy and credibility to the research study, but also acted as a symbol of exchange, bringing the study closer to a personal level. It was safe to come to the conclusion that it was under the veil of the food waste box from MKB that the strategy of camouflage witnessed great success in making the entry.

3.2.Casting the Net—Conducting Participant Observation

Argued by Rabinow that "in the dialectic between the poles of observation and participation, participation changes the anthropologists and leads him to new observation, whereupon new observation changes how he participates. But this dialectical spiral is governed in its motion by the starting point, which is observation". (1977, p.43). Moreover, Davies stated: "a sensitive study based primarily on observation is certainly preferable to one in which participation is forced or self-aggrandizing". (1999, p.27). Due to the lack of rapport with local informants, participation in this case could be perceived as imposing. However, the method of a complete observer, by perceiving events through a one-way mirror, embodied the risk of generating account from a personal assumption and attach meaning to participants observed without checking the validity of the account with those participants. Following the rationale given above, my field observation, though constantly shifting back and forth between observer and participant, mainly derived from a perspective of a "participant-observer", a term coined by Junker and Gold. (Junker, 1960. Gold, 1958), as it "simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents

and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection."(1978, p.183). It was exactly through such an approach of positioning in the field that enabled me to find out that participant observation had its potential strength of recruitment, or to put it another way, casting the net for informants, which would be the major focus in this chapter.

Given the proposition that field observation could provide the ground for recruitment, it was necessary to briefly summarize my recruitment strategy. Purposeful sampling, introduced by Michael Quinn Patton (2002,169), was employed as the main strategy for the reason that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lied in selecting information rich cases for study in depth. For different evaluation purposes and assurance data validity, three approaches were utilized, extreme case sampling, maximum variation sampling and opportunistic sampling. While the "door-to-door" visit discussed in the previous chapter of making the entry served to conduct the maximum variation sampling, the observation process took place in the recycling station helped to apply the other two purposeful sampling methods, extreme case sampling and opportunistic sampling, into practice.

The recycling station posed as a powerful arena for recruitment due to the fact people generally perceived the recycling station as a social utility and a person walking around inside with a notepad was naturally considered to be conducting certain social work. Therefore, the recycling station served as an arena to gain a legitimate identity of the researcher. The participant observation in the recycling station was targeted toward two aspects. Firstly with respect to the materiality, it was the aim to find out how the space and facilities inside the recycling station were arranged and what constituted the garbage that had been dumped inside each recycling category. Secondly, in the behavior level, the focus lied in how people managed the disposal of their garbage in the recycling station. Throughout the research, the aspect of recycling behaviour had always been my main interest. The presence of recycling behaviour coincided with the notion of opportunistic sampling, which referred to making on the spot decision to take advantage of new opportunities, or to "take advantage of whatever unfolds as it unfolds". (2002, p.170). Therefore I

often conjured up conversations with the observed in the hope to seek explanation of his/her acts and possible arrangement for subsequent interview. The same was true for applying extreme case sampling. In a sense, it was just another way of conducting opportunistic sampling since extreme case sampling was aiming at samples that are rich in information because they were unusual or special. It is based on the logic that lessons may be learned about unusual conditions or extreme outcomes that are relevant to improving more typical programs. (2002, p.173). In practice, the targets for opportunistic sampling varied while that of the extreme sampling were mainly oriented toward people who either dumped their garbage in one bag without any sort of recycling or the ones who recycled in an extremely automatic yet efficient manner. However, the problem in both cases was the individuals who didn't recycle were more or less experiencing a certain level of anxiety when monitored, therefore, the way to approach them was of great significance since sensitive questions such as "Why did not you sort out your waste? " may cause great tension or anxiety for the informant. Instead touching on sensitive aspects, I chose to use the recycling station as the topic by asking "How do you like the recycling station?" and smoothly transitioned to the concern of "How did you deal with your household waste?" Thus the individuals usually felt at ease and became more comfortable talking, which often led to an explanation to their own action of not recycling.

In total, 25 in-depth interviews were conducted, out of which 12 were conducted with informants recruited in the recycling station. Instead of seeing field observation and recruitment as two different research processes, a new perspective to see these two methods as intertwined was conducive to the overall project management and success. Being in the field involved lots of uncertainties yet also opportunities, which required the researcher to be in a constant state of alertness. As Louis Pasteur once said: in the field of observation, chance favors the prepared mind. (2002, P.260).

3.3. Snowballing--Conducting Interviews

Due to the fact that a main objective of the research was to explore the mentalities of the residents toward recycling, interviews served as a main channel to reveal what

was unsaid and to map what could be regarded as the “mind-scape” of the informants. Interviews were crucial part in the collection of data for three reasons. Firstly, not everything could be observed. Secondly, it was impossible to provide valid explanations accounting for all types of observed behaviors and events from the ethnographer’s perspective. Last but not least, situations precluded the presence of the observer could not be observed. To use a metaphor, the process of conducting interviews and gathering data from the transcriptions resembled the act of adding subtitles to silent films.

The elaboration below would be directed toward the explanation of the main strategy used during interviews, namely, “unstructured interviewing” coined by Fontana and Frey. (2000, p.652). The strength of the strategy resides “in the opportunity it offers for flexibility, spontaneity and responsiveness to individual differences and situational changes” suggested by Patton.(2002, p.343). I would also argue this strategy offered the possibility for a “snowballing” effect of interview design. When entering the field, ethnographers were typically poor of any comprehensive understanding of the community. Therefore, the design of interview questions in the preliminary phase could hardly be sufficient enough to illuminate all important aspects of inquiry. Yet by adopting “unstructured interviews”, it allowed the ethnographer to be constantly open for the pursuit of new information in whatever direction that appeared to be appropriate, indicative and enriching. This strategy was combined with the use of interview guide during my field work, which provided the basic lines of inquiry and subject areas. Therefore when “going-with-the-flow” (2002, p.344) during “unstructured interviews, I was provided with a background elucidating areas of interest while leaving space for new exploration. As a result, after a day of interviews on the field, new findings always led to the expansion of the interview guide with new areas of topics complemented to the original outline and with specific areas highlighted, all served for a better data-collection in the following interviews. Before heading to the field, I mainly perceived the act of recycling as an issue located in the the recycling station. Therefore, the interview guide was consisted of three main aspects: background information of informants, reasons (motivation) of

recycling, satisfaction & dissatisfaction about the recycling station. However, quickly it was found out during interviews that people tended to connect the act and perception of recycling with their kitchen routine and facility. Consequently, two new areas of inquiry were added to the original structure, waste management routine inside kitchen and the role of home facility in recycling. The findings from these two new areas turned out to be the major data for analysis throughout this thesis.

4. Analysis

Different agents in the field of waste management appropriated the dominant rule of conduct (the act of systematic recycling) into their everyday lives. In the process of such appropriation, recycling station, where the dominant rule of conduct manifested explicitly and consummated publicly, was domesticated, internalized and experienced as individuals' personal world. Therefore, though normality and dominant ethos of the society were patently advocated and promoted in the recycling station, the nature of being a public space inevitably made the recycling station and the ideology it alongside embodied open for negotiation, appropriation and modification in people's identity construction. Michael Jackson reinforced such statement by arguing that "the objective world not only becomes endowed with, and animated by our subjectivity, it becomes the primary source of the images and tropes whereby we identify and think about ourselves." (2006, p.17). This chapter was driven from the presupposition that the recycling station as a market place subject to bargain, therefore, the experiences people framed and witnessed during their contact with the recycling station as public space was a far cry from being either uniform or similar. The socio-cultural nature of the interface inside the recycling station could be better comprehended when situated in the Henri Lefebvre's notion of space as a social product. Borrowing the theory of "spatial triad", a heuristic device Henri Lefebvre coined, the analysis would explore the space in the recycling station "in terms of the way in which it is perceived, conceived and lived." (1991, p.38). It aimed to illuminate the gap between the conceived experience underpinned by the dominant norms of behaviour and discourse in Sweden and the perceived as well as the lived experience appropriated and modified by the agents, namely the local residents.

4.1. Spatial Practices

Spatial practice is closely related to perceived space. "It refers to the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of

performance” (1991, p.33). In another words, spatial practice was intimately connected with the embodied and non-reflexive construction of everyday reality through space-related practices. This was further elaborated by Andy Merrifield, “spatial practices structure everyday reality and border social and urban reality, and includes routes and networks and patterns of interaction that link places set aside for work, play and leisure.” (2006, p.175)

In the analysis of the spatial practice, it essentially came down to the investigation of people’s routine. I would like to present two of ethnographic accounts taken during my field work first, from which the analysis of conceived and lived space would be driven from and oriented toward an explanation of the contrast as shown in the accounts.

- Case 1: An senior female in her 50s walked into the recycling station with two plastic bags. The smaller one was fully contained and tightly knotted while the big "Coop" (Local supermarket) bag seemed to loosely comprise chunky items. She quickly dropped the smaller bag in the residual waste bin by the door upon entering. Then she walked toward the bin for carton recycling, and pulled out an empty egg container, two milk cartons and a pizza box from the big bag and left them in there. Without any hesitation, she proceeded to the bin for metal recycling and left in there 3 tuna fish food tins, which seem to be perfectly washed and cleaned beforehand. At last, she stride to the plastic recycling bin, took out an oil container, 3 water bottles and left them in there along with the "Coop" bag. So far, she had spent around one minute and half and every action seemed to be previously choreographed. She walked out of the room empty-handed and the frown on her forehead suggested that her mind was already preoccupied on something else. (Ethnographic Account, 11th, October, 2011)

- Case 2: A male in his 20s walked in with his friend while making small talk. The four bags he held were all overloaded as the newspaper squeezed out on the top and the milk cartons crushed out with the sharp edge. The bags' soaking-wet and darkish bottoms seemed to be filled with waste liquid of some kind, mixed up

with what appeared to be cigarette butts and orange peel, slowly dripping through the bag. His friend leaned on the door to keep it half-open while he opened up the closest residual waste by the door, threw them altogether in and exited with his friend after spending approximately 10 seconds inside the recycling station. (Ethnographic Account, 16th, October, 2011)

Two points concerning the selection and usage of the accounts deserved to be clarified. Firstly, the accounts described above, though sharply opposed to each other, were taken inside the same recycling station, which indicated the fact there existed no homogeneous recycling behaviour patterns within the same residential area. In other words, in each of the four areas in Augustenborg chosen for my field work, a great variety of behaviour patterns were detected.

Secondly, while it was fact-twisting to simply dichotomize the observed into two groups with people who recycles everything in the perfect sense and the ones who didn't separate anything, it was crucial to notice if judged by to what degree did people recycle, the majority of the observed either fell to one category where recycling was done in a more systematic, detailed and most often a continuous fashion or another where waste was disposed without much discretion and recycling was carried out in a less systematic and rarely continuous manner. Therefore, given such a background, the accounts given here were typical examples from these two categories. From my perspective, by exploring and analyzing the distinctively contrasted behaviour patterns exhibited, it would help to achieve an understanding of how the conceived space was appropriated into the perceived and lived sphere of space production inside the recycling station.

Though sharply contrasted, the recycling behaviors as we could see from the two cases did share one thing in common which was that both of the observed manifested a high level of mastery of what they did during their short stay in the recycling station, suggesting the experience itself was previously orchestrated and unconsciously anticipated in a sense through time of repetitive practice. In order to comprehend these two typically exhibited behaviors, it was crucial to further explore how space of

recycling station was constructed in both conceived and lived domains. Moreover, how conceived space was appropriated and modified into the lived experience would also be examined for the reason the perceived sphere, or in other words, people's routine was the direct result of the dynamics happening between the conceived and lived experience. Therefore, the following analysis of this chapter would be devoted to answer the two questions above.

4.2. Representations of Space

Defined by Lefebvre, representations of space referred to “conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent- all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived.” (1991, p.38). In other words, the representation of space, embedded with the dominant ideology, power and knowledge by the specialists or experts, was designed to influence, manipulate and control for the purpose of the successful production and reproduction of order. As Lefebvre labeled it as the “dominant space” because it is tied to “the relations of production and to the order which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to frontal relations.” (1991, p.33)

To approach the recycling station in the sense of what it was conceived meant to grasp an understanding of the green policies concerning the recycling stations, and in this case, the ones located in Augustenborg, Malmö. Three major policy-makers were taken into consideration here.

- National Government: the policy made in the national government level that has a direct impact on the examination of the conceived sphere of the recycling station would be the Producer Responsibility Ordinance. It implies that the producer has the physical and the economic responsibility for the packaging waste while the packaging consumers, on their part, must clean and sort packaging waste from other waste and transport this waste to the recycling stations. (without any financial compensation from the producers). In short, the recycling station was built upon the “producer pays” notion which required a high level of initiative

and voluntariness on the consumers' level.

- Malmö Municipality & MKB: In close cooperation with each other, the municipality and the major housing company MKB in Augustenborg launched a project named “Eco-City Augustenborg” since 1998 with the goal to transform the district into a socially, ecologically and economically sustainable neighborhood. The main drivers for this regeneration initiative included flood risk management, waste management and bio-diversity improvement. Therefore, the recycling stations, as a part of the waste management improvement, was considered not only to provide practical functions, but also to re-brand the area in a symbolic way.
- Vasyd: As the major company which is in charge of the waste management and facility design in Augustenborg, it was striving to emphasize three major features concerning the recycling. Firstly, as it was clearly stated on their web site, “our goal is to make waste sorting easier for you.” (vasyd.se/en/wastemanagement/waste_sorting/Pages). Secondly, the company aimed to promote environment consciousness through various kinds of recycling-related medias, as it was written in one of their brochures: “Everything you recycle, from newspapers to bottle caps, is turned into new products. 10 kilos of food waste makes enough biogas to drive a car over 10 km. This is doing a really good thing for the environment!” .Finally, Vasyd endeavored to build a sense of reciprocity or “personal impact” by engaging in the activity of recycling.

“Your bag of residual waste is collected by Vasyd's contractors and transported for combustion. The energy is turned into electricity and district heating, covering 25-30 per cent of Malmö's district heating deliveries.”

Infused with state policy, local rejuvenation project and urban designers' arrangement and knowledge, the recycling station in Augustenborg was essentially conceived as a space not only for the systematic and easy recycling activity per se, but also for fulfilling social responsibility, reinvigorating community reputation and image, and last but not least, a space for learning and enhancing environmental

awareness. Such conceived realms of the recycling station was materialized by its location, accessibility and interior design in order to exert its impact on the users. Lefebvre argued: “Representations of space have a practical impact that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. The intervention occurs by way of construction- in other words, by way of architecture, as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for representations that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms.” (1991, p.42). How the intervention exerted by the conceived space was experienced or resisted would be examined in the following analysis.

4.3. Representational Space

Lefebvre suggested in the discussion of the production of space that the spatial triad “loses all force if it is treated as an abstract model. If it cannot grasp the concrete, then its import is severely limited, amounting to no more than that of one ideological mediation among others.” (1991, p.40). Merrifield argued following this thought that: “what is conceived is usually an objective abstraction, an oppressive objective abstraction, which renders less significant both conscious and unconscious levels of lived experience. “(2006, p.175). It was due to the oppressive nature of the conceived space that the actually lived and perceived realms of the space was normally given less importance. However, it was the lived and perceived that injected the spatial triad with real life relationship and events, materializing and concretizing the inter-related triad. Therefore, it was crucial to examine how the conceived space of the recycling station manifested its intervention on the individuals’ recycling by exploring how it was lived in everyday life setting.

In the spatial-triad, representational space referred to the lived space, which was the “space experienced through complex symbols and images of its inhabitants and users, and overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.” (Lefebvre, 1991, p.39). In lived space, the embedded knowledge, power and ideology in the conceived sphere and experience were brought into the subjective appropriation of the users, being followed, supported, modified or resisted as the objects in the space became

imbued with new meanings. In the analysis of how recycling station was lived and how meanings are negotiated, it was significant to compare the lived experience with the conceived space. During the research, the lived experience that either sharply contrasted the conceived or framed outside the conceived were mainly located in four main aspects, which would be analyzed in the following.

4.3.1. Recycling Station as Space to Enhance Environmental Awareness

The interior arrangement of the recycling station was clearly underpinned by the environment-friendly consciousness. Leave along the systematic categories for recycling, numerous posters were also seen on the walls concerning the environmental benefits of recycling. As the figure below demonstrated the process and result by turning organic food waste into biogas.



Figure 3. Posters inside Recycling Station (Visual Image, 17th, September, 2011)

It was revealed during the field work that people generally adopted good environmental awareness and the recycling station definitely served as an facilitator of environment consciousness. As demonstrated by the feedback from the informants (For the purpose of anonymity, all names used in the selected quotes are given by the author while age and gender are presented according to the informants.),

- "It is good for the environment. Every time when I am sorting out the garbage, I feel I am doing something right. I mean that's why I recycle." (Joakim, Male, 27, Interview, 25th, September, 2011)
- "I really like the posters for I am always interested to know how the waste is

sorted afterwards. So there is a point for me to recycle, right?" (Lynn, Female, Early 30s, Interview, 18th, September, 2011)

- "I moved here (Augustenborg & Sweden) 6 years ago, and I really like the recycling station here, they have different bins for plastic, paper, metal...Haha...even battery, so I can see recycling is a big thing here, a serious thing. And of course, it is good for the environment. Yeah, I use them, you know, for the environment. (Maxi, Male, 48, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)

However, the objects that stimulated environment awareness for some simply was ignored or treated with indifference by others. Moreover, even though some acknowledged the value and importance of environment protection broad-casted inside the recycling station, there seemed to be other factors preventing them from recycling. As the following quotes illustrated:

- I never really paid attention to these posters. Now you say it, yeah, I guess its good..... I don't know why (that I don't recycle), I never thought of it. (Magnus, Male, 23, Interview, 18th, October, 2011)
- I don't care about the environment.... Seriously, I just do it (recycling). I am used to it like this. (Male, Mid 30s, Interview, 25th, September, 2011)
- Yeah, it's good for the environment, everybody knows that.... But it's just easier this way (not sorting waste out). Its not like today I throw my shit out and not put this here that there, something terrible will happen tomorrow. (Poldoski, Male, 23, Interview, 7th, October, 2011)
- I know its for the environment, and I really want to do it, but nobody else around is doing it, I go to the garbage station, you open the box for paper, you see glass, you open the box for metal, you see food, Then what is the point for me to do? (Tom, Male, 24, Interview, 5th, November, 2011)

Insofar, three conclusions could be reached with respect to environment awareness. Firstly, the interior design and arrangement of the recycling station did promote environment awareness, however, the impact was largely on the ones who already embodied consciousness toward environmental protection. In other words, it merely

served as an motivation for the people who already engaged consistently in recycling. Secondly, environment awareness should not be perceived as an attribute owned exclusively by people who recycled as it was detected that a large number of people who didn't recycle at all or not as systematically and consistently as expected shared the importance of environment protection. However, other obstacles or reasons seemed to get in their way of conducting recycling. Last but not least, environment awareness as it was aimed to popularize and promote inside the recycling station did not serve as the determining factor underpinning the recycling routine for the fact that there was considerable number of people who recycled while adopting an indifferent attitude toward the environment.

4.3.2. Recycling Station as Space to Fulfill Social Responsibility

Informants rarely employed the word “responsibility” in their description of recycling action. However, for some, when commenting on the experience of recycling, they implied the fact that recycling, instead of being treated as an individual activity, was resonated with what was expected from community or society as we could see from the following quotes.

- It just feels good when I finish the recycling. I mean, I did my part, I did what I should. I did the right thing. (Max, Male, 29, Interview, 15th, November, 2011)
- It is all about mutual respect. I recycle and I expect other to recycle as well. I don't wanna open the bin for plastics and see milk carton or newspaper in there, it just annoys me. You recycle to respect others living in your community. (Aneta, Female, Early 30s, Interview, 17th, September, 2011)
- I drove to work, that's not so environmental-friendly and we have a big family, so we have a lot of garbage to throw. So the least I could do is to separate them. (Elin, Female, 28, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)

Perceiving recycling as a social responsibility usually came with a sense of reciprocity, to put it another way, the act of recycling ought to exert certain personal impact on the individual. As it was shown by the quotes above that people typically experienced a sense of “satisfaction” or “self-gratification” after completing recycling.

To some extent, the socially-constructed responsibility was transformed into a personal responsibility, a matter of personal importance.

On the other hand, for some the act of recycling could be hardly connected with social responsibility that lied on their shoulders. This was due to the fact that they perceived recycling either as a job which should be handled by paid labor or a routine that hardly embodied any meaning.

- I am not getting paid recycling, it's the garbage man's job. (Male, 20s, Interview, 15th, October, 2011)
- Its garbage! I dumped it in the place where it should be, isn't that enough? (Male, 30s, Interview, 23th, September, 2011)
- (Recycling) it's like brushing your teeth, you do it everyday, every year. You know, you just do it. You don't really think about why while you do it. (Alex, Male, 29, Interview, 18th, November, 2011)

Apparently the way they perceived recycling lacked a sense of reciprocity. Recycling was rarely considered as a matter that would cause change, pleasure or benefit in the personal level. However, what deserved to be noticed was the fact that though some people generally became reluctant when it came to the act of systematic recycling, there were particular waste objects that they did recycle. For example, the following two informants gave an account of this particularity.

- I don't care about the garbage, but these beer cans and coka, you know, I paid for them, so I leave them aside and take them to the supermarket and get the money. (Jasper, Male, 28, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)
- Yeah, the newspaper, I usually don't put them in my garbage bag. Because if I do, then I have to take out garbage everyday, my garbage bin is too small for newspaper. (Male, 30s, Interview, 26th, September, 2011)

The accounts given above were commonly noticed during interviews and observed in field work. While the personal importance for the ones who took the responsibility to recycle rest mainly in the moral domain, recycling was also often related as a personal matter in two other realms. Firstly, it was the realm of economy where the connection came from the economic gainings. Secondly, it lied in the realm of

practicality. It was out of the necessity of convenience and a family life under control that people became engaged in recycling.

4.3.3 Identity Construction

The space of the recycling station was also imbued with peoples' desire for identity construction. Two distinctive groups could be detected in such aspect: For local Swedish, recycling was perceived and utilized as an approach to preserve or strengthen their selfhood of being "Swedish", often in an unconscious manner. On the other hand, the immigrants tend to use recycling as a strategy to integrate into the Swedish society, in other words, recycling was intentionally manipulated as a way to construct a new "Swedish" identity. The application of recycling as identity construction could be epitomized in the following quotes.

- Hey, it's Sweden. Everyone recycles. (Elin, Female, 28, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)
- When I first moved here, everyone around me is recycling, so I simply took some time to get to know the system and started doing it myself. You know, I want to fit in. (Maxi, Male, 48, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)

Recycling had long been a social practice in Sweden, supported by continuous waste management policies and infrastructure construction, as discussed in the introduction part. Without doubt, recycling had become a rule of conduct or a social norm in contemporary society. A rule of conduct was defined by Erving Goffman as "a guide for action, recommended not because it is pleasant, cheap or effective, but because it is suitable or just" and "Attachment to rules leads to a constancy and patterning of behavior" (1956, p.473). As elaborated previously, a great number of people achieved a sense of satisfaction or contentment after recycling for they felt they had completed a task that is "suitable or just", and through time, the rule of conduct configured them into a "constancy and patterning" behavior of recycling. The rule of conduct could be better comprehended by drawing reference to what Bourdieu discussed about "field".

"In a game, the field (the pitch or board on which it is played, the rules, the outcome at stake, etc.) is clearly seen for what it is, an arbitrary social construct, an artifact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy - explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space." (1990, p.66)

From Bourdieu's discussion, the rule of conduct, as an indispensable component of the field, serves to structure and stabilize the autonomy of its existing field. Following this logic, the social conduct of recycling construct the domain of waste management in Sweden. Moreover, the analogy between social field and a game of chance, often employed by Bourdieu, shed light on the fact, the emergence of the rule of conduct came from the domination of the a particular group of agents who are endowed with rich "cultural capital". It is a group who "does not embark on the game by conscious act, one is born into the game, with the game." (1990, p.67). In practice, such a group generally refers to the local Swedes, who has the feel for the game as their second nature. The dominant rule of conduct (domination) in the field of waste management, argued by Deborah Reed-Danahay, therefore "did not occur through direct coercion by a set of agents who could be clearly identified as a dominant class but, rather, indirectly through the actions of the dominant in the fields of power" (2005, p.134). When individuals participated in the game, conforming themselves to the dominant rule of conduct, they also put in their "cultural capital" into the game as gambling chips, as in the "field of forces, whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces" (Bourdieu, 1998, p.32).

In the case of the field of waste management, it was truly a "field of struggles within which agents confront each other". Although the ends in the two groups mentioned above (Local Swedes and Immigrants) tended to be distinctive in the process of identity construction, the means they used are generally similar, which was simply the adoption of the habit of recycling. To anatomize the dynamics happening

in the identity construction process, it was beneficial to return to Goffman's theory of rule of conduct. Rules often embodied a reciprocal nature, or as Goffman labeled as "the actor-recipient character", exemplified in rules' dual impact on individual:

"Rules of conduct impinge upon the individual in two general ways: directly, as obligations, establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself; indirectly, as expectations, establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him." (1956, p.473)

Obligations and expectations were the two general ways that rules manifest themselves in individual behavior and perception. The obligation undertaken in the field of waste management was the action of recycling, which "consonant with the proprieties of his group and that failure to perform them can become a matter of shame and humiliation" (1956, p.474). However, the ways people perceived obligation and formed their expectations in this case are rather distinctive between these two groups.

The prevailing opinion toward obligation and expectation from the local Swedes could be identified in the following quotas:

- "I think you respect not only your surroundings but also the people around you by recycling. It is just a matter of mutual respect. If someone living in my building does not recycle or just throw garbage around, I will feel offended. I will also feel embarrassed if I don't do it right, leave" (Max, Male, 29, Interview, 13th, September, 2011)
- "You can say I am proud that in Sweden everyone recycles, I mean, I always recycle ever since I was a kid. So I also expect the people around me to do the same. I don't want to call it a rule, it is more of a culture thing to me." (Aneta, Female, Early 30s, Interview, 17th, September, 2011)

On the other hand, another different pattern of thoughts were detected from the people who immigrated to Sweden in the middle of their life:

- "I moved to Augustenborg 4 years ago, and I got some brochures from MKB about the recycling rules here, and also you can see these notices on the walls telling you to recycle, so I just followed the rules and started doing it. I don't want to break the rules here, you know, I wanna do what everyone else does here and not to make trouble."(Lynn, Female, Early 30s, Interview, 5th, October, 2011)
- "I think it is nice that everyone in Sweden recycles, it is a good habit to have. So I began to do it as well. Also, I don't want people to judge me, I just want to be normal."(Male, 40s, Interview, 6th, November, 2011)

From the perceptions from the two groups, it was easy to detect the obvious fact that one's obligation was often the others' expectation. For both groups that engaged in the act of recycling, it was essentially the result of the dominant rule of conduct, which in this case, formed the prevalent expectation that everyone recycles. Moreover, while undertaking recycling as an obligation, people naturally form a "take-for-granted" expectation for others to conform to the same conduct, and "only when things go unexpectedly wrong will he suddenly discover that he has grounds for indignation" (Goffman, 1956, p.474). Consequently, the dynamics existing between obligation and expectation contributed to the maintenance and reproduction of the rule of conduct, and further more stabilized the autonomy in the field of waste management.

By appropriating obligation and expectation, people are implicitly involved in the process of identity construction. According to Goffman, "when individual becomes involved in the maintenance of a rule, he tends also to become committed to a particular image of self." (1956, p.474). For the local Swedes, instead of "identity construction", it would be more appropriate to perceive it as "identity confirmation", which most often was carried out in an unconscious way. As discussed above, being "born into the game, with the game", the local Swedes shared and embodied the recycling culture as what Bourdieu called "homogeneity of the conditions of existence" by their earliest upbringing, producing a habitus that "enables practice to

be objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm". (1990, p.80). The maintenance of the habit of recycling thus confirmed rather than constructed the immanent quality, known as the habitus of the local Swedes. The possession of this particular habitus furthermore reflected and displayed the shared identity as Swedish as Swartz argued "the habitus creates a 'sense of one's place', an understanding of what people consider as being for them and not for them respectively". (1997, p.106). While on the other hand, the immigrants strive to conform and maintain the rule for the elimination of their sense of "being out of the place" as well as for the recognition of others as being "normal".

4.3.4. Recycling Station as Space For Easy Recycling

It was apparent that the recycling station was designed for the purpose of easy recycling and a typical example would be that the illustrations above each recycling bin clearly stated what to put and what not as figure 4 demonstrates.



Figure 4. Informational Posters inside Recycling Station (Visual Image, 17th, September, 2011)

However, the experience of easy recycling was shared by some yet denied by others. For the ones who experienced the easy recycling as expected, they generally labeled the activity of recycling as "automatic" and positive feedbacks were given toward the interior design of the recycling station.

- "I can manage (recycling) with just two bags. I have been doing this ever since I moved here, like 4 years ago. So one for the waste and the other for the recyclables and just sort them out when I am in the garbage station. I know in the

head where to throw magazine, paper and plastics..... it is just automatic".
(Alexander, Male, 24, Interview, 19th, September, 2011)

- "The recycling station has all these garbage bins for different types. You don't even have to know Swedish to do this (recycling), they have pictures showing you what each bin is for, so you just brought your stuff and throw them in the right place here, I mean, how hard it can it! It wasn't much effort there." (Elin, Female, 28, Interview, 13th, November, 2011)

On the other hand, numerous informants regarded the experience of recycling as "time-consuming" and "mind-consuming". There existed two types of mismatch that could account for such a drastically different experience of the recycling. The first was the mismatch between peoples' kitchen facility and the recycling facility. Informants often complained the size of their kitchen was not spacious enough for sorting out the waste. Therefore, when waste was not sorted out domestically, recycling in the station would prove to be much more painstaking and often neglected. As we could see from the quotes below:

- The recycling system is really good actually. People should use it. I should use it. Haha...But the thing is my kitchen is pretty small, especially the closet under sink, there is no space for me to put several bins in there to sort things out. (John, Male, 38, Interview 13th, November, 2011)
- First I don't have the cases for me to recycle, and second, even if I do, I have no space to put them. (Lotta, Female, 36, Interview, 28th, November, 2011)

Therefore, it was crucial to rethink the space of recycling as only events took place inside the recycling station. The production of space in the sense of lived sphere didn't constraint itself only to the recycling station, it embodied an extension into peoples' domestic kitchen. Moreover, the transition from domestic waste management to station recycling, whether smooth or problematic, proved to serve as one of the keys for successful recycling.

The second mismatch lied between the routine and recycling station facility. For the ones who didn't recycle as systematically and consistently, the way to conduct

recycling in accordance with the recycling station in Augustenborg was in conflict with either their previous routine or the present. To demonstrate this point, I would like to provide an account of an incident happened during my field work.

One day while I was casually strolling around inside the recycling center, a man in his 40s came in with two garbage bags clearly full of mixed up household waste. He opened the lid of the closest residual waste bin only to find out it was already full. However, he didn't hesitate to stuff his garbage into the bin and then could hardly put the lid back. He turned his gaze at me and put on a awkward smile. I smiled back and started a conversation with him. He claimed: "For most of my life, I think throwing out garbage is just putting things into a big bag and throw it in a hole without even leaving the building. (Referring to the old recycling system) I am 40 years old now, so this is a new system, it is OK, but it is just not what I am used to. I try to cope with it. Sometimes I feel proud of myself when I take the shit out into this garbage house, put the paper here, and plastic there. Then I asked "why cant you keep up the recycling to feel proud about yourself?" His answer struck me. Without any sense of embarrassment, he argued: "But I do, I feel proud whenever I am here, even if I put everything into the same bag. Because to me, bring the garbage here is already a big thing for me to do. I am leaving the building!" (Ethnographic Account, 15th, October, 2011). Apparently, his opinion was slightly extreme, given the sharp and intense conflicts he experienced between a long established routine and a set of newly implemented recycling facility. Yet it did provide a glimpse into the reality that people's behaviour and discourse were conspicuously underpinned, constructed and stabilized by long-cherished routine.

The two types of mismatch described above proved to be the most important factors in affecting peoples' recycling behavior. Moreover, the two kinds of mismatch, instead of being perceived as two separate matters, had an inherent connection which could be explained by exploring the dynamics between routine and facility. Firstly, routines constructed distinctive recycling experience in terms of utilizing the recycling facility and secondly, recycling facility helped to configure, reshape and stabilize people's routine of recycling.

These two inter-related factors would be further analyzed in the following chapter “Routine, Life Order & Materiality”.

4.4. Routine, Life Order and Materiality

In the previous chapter, two types of mismatch was illuminated as crucial factors affecting peoples’ recycling behaviors. They were the mismatch between long-standing routine and present recycling facility, and the mismatch between domestic recycling facility and the facility offered in the recycling station. It was further suggested that the two types of mismatch was inherently connected with each other in mainly two ways. On one hand, routines underpinned the distinctive experience in utilizing the facility. On the other, facility served to configure, reshape and stabilize routine. In this chapter, the spotlight would be shifted to domestic kitchen as the main site for analysis. Firstly, we will examine how routine was felt and meaning imbued by exploring the different ways waste was perceived in the kitchen and the simple act of managing waste was embedded with various family value. Driven from this insight, the analysis would proceed to identify the function or purpose of the mundane routines in our daily life to provide life with order, predicability and control. Furthermore, we would explore how routine was orchestrated around the recycling facility inside kitchen to provide rhythm and flow that were essential for the construction of life order. Last but not least, the role of materiality in the making and unmaking of routine would be analyzed to suggest the design of materiality elicited a crucial impact on the building of routine. Reckwitz brought forth the conception of a routinized type of behaviour “is consisted of several elements, interconnected to one another: form of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.” (2002. P.249). In line with Reckwitz’s argument, this chapter was an analysis of the dynamics among the “routine”, “materiality” and “mentality”, or in other words, the “behaviors”, “things” and “emotions”.

4.4.1. Purity In Waste

This part of the analysis is designed to elucidate how people imbued meaning into their routine of waste management. More specifically, how peoples' desire for the creation of purity in the process of waste management was injected in the activity of recycling. By and large, human being are, defined by Berger, not only homo socius, but homo faber/ homo pictor. Society is a world-making activity (1984, p.24). Driven by people's constant need to grasp a sense of certainty and security of being, what is rendered and aspired for throughout the constant world-making activity is the establishment of patterns, both cognitive and behavioral that underpinning the order of life. As Berger elegantly elaborated in "The Sacred Canopy", "Social world constitutes a nomos both objectively and subjectively...., seen in the perspective of individual, every nomos represent the bright day side of life, tenuously held onto against the sinister shadows of the night. Every nomos is an edifice erected in the force of potent and alien forces of chaos" (Berger, 1967, p.23). Analyzed from the micro level in the field of waste management, such craved pattern and nomos can find its equivalent in the concept "Purity and Pollution", coined by Mary Douglas in her book "Purity and Danger". Employing such concept as the main analytical framework, I will be scrutinizing the relationship between people's recycling activity and the yearning for purity in daily waste management to shed light on why people hold various perspectives on what is dirt/pollution, how domestic kitchen and the facility inside was embedded with what was defined by "purity" and consequently how their routines of recycling was constructed and felt differently.

The central idea Mary Douglas put forward is "If uncleanness is matter out of place, we must approach it through order.....Defilement is never an isolated event, it cannot occur except in view of a systematic ordering of ideas" (1966, p.40-41). Dirt was, from Douglas's view, the by-product of ordering and classifying, existing only in a certain system. Nevertheless, before we moved deep into exploring the reciprocity between classification and dirt, it was crucial to illuminate on what Douglas meant by the "systematic ordering of ideas". Peter Berger argued in his book "The Sacred Canopy" that "human being is externalizing in its essence and from the beginning"

(1967, p.4). Through externalization, humans essentially infuse their subjective meaning to the objective reality in the constant outflow of physical and mental activity. In other words, when humans are engaged in the conduct of labelling classifications and making categories, it was not only an objective and external structure that was being created but also a meaningful social reality underpinned by moral order and significance. With reference to Robert Wuthnow, James Davison, Albert Bergesen and Edith Kurzweil in their work "Cultural Analysis", a chapter well articulated the above argument, "The moral order is so infused into our structuring of reality that activities such as sorting, tidying, cleaning, and putting things in their place in general, act to reinforce not only the structure of social reality but of moral sentiments too"(1991, p.87). Therefore, empirically speaking, to ask the question why a used milk carton is perceived as dirt is not only to ask why this milk carton does not belong to where it is supposed to be, but also an inquiry about what moral value and order were being challenged or threatened by the misplacement of the milk carton. Driven by such a rationale, let's first take a detour to grasp an understanding of what moral sentiments people had that were vulnerable for the intrusion of dirt. Given the fact that a big part of the waste management was being performed and handled in kitchen, it's essential to go through the prevailing perceptions about kitchen.

- Kitchen In Sweden - Family Order At Display

Kitchen, serving as a significant site in domestic life, especially in Scandinavia families, naturally became a hot spot for the arrangement of meaningful order. The following comments, selected from interviews conducted in Augustenborg, Malmö, represent the most commonly aired opinions during my research. A working woman in her 30s emphasized the provision of "family quality time" of the kitchen by saying: "In a family today I guess it's an important place because that's where everyone meet. Everyone's busy during the day, My husband and I are at jobs, and kids in school, so the kitchen is a very important place where the family is gathered after their busy day to discuss things and have "quality time". (Interview, 4th, November, 2011). On the other hand, a male university students addressed the "gathering power" of kitchen by comparing it with living room. He stated: "Living room has no special importance as

kitchen I would say, it's a room where you watch TV and that you could just as well do on your computer nowadays, so the "gathering power" of the living room is not as valid compared with kitchen anymore. And that's where my parents start to butt in my life. Haha...". (Interview, 14th, November, 2011). Moreover, kitchen was typically referred to the most common place at home to host guests, a man in his late 20s claimed: "Whenever I have friends over, I always take them to the kitchen first because it is spacious and it's just a cozy place to sit down and converse. And it's closer to the beers in fridge". (Interview, 21th, November, 2011). It was safe to draw the conclusion that kitchen couldn't be perceived simply as a room to make food anymore, rather, it was a place for gathering, discussion and bonding, constantly at display and under examination. For the family members, it is a space for the arrangement of an ideal domestic life, offering a sense of stability and control. As one female informants stated: "I think the kitchen is the place where I clean up most often at home, I want it to be clean and tidy, not just for my family to have a nice place to sit down and have dinner, but also for having a fika, reading newspaper and my kid to do her homework." (Interview, 13th, November, 2011). In the eyes of the guests, kitchen offers a glimpse into the others' life, exhibiting taste, lifestyle and value which are brought under comparison and judgement, as a girl jokingly commented: "you can tell how organized the guy's life is by counting how many empty pizza boxes are there in the kitchen", (Interview, 25th, November, 2011), which certainly embodied certain truth in it. A glimpse into the sink told you if the person was clean or not while a peek into their fridge reveals how structured or healthy the owner's life was. Michael Jackson argued in his book "Existential Anthropology" that "this phenomenological fusion of personal identity and physical environment is, of course, not a product of contemplation but a by-product of our everyday relationships-sensible, corporeal and imaginative--with and within the built environments we inhabit.", and consequently "this objective world not only becomes endowed with, and animated by our subjectivity, it becomes the primary source of the images and tropes whereby we identify and think about ourselves." (2006, p.17). Therefore, kitchen became a space where family value, expectation and identity had been not only imbued into but

potentially reflected by objects and the arrangement of the objects in the kitchen.

Moreover, as exemplified in a mid-aged wife's statement: "I like spending time making my kitchen clean and organized, it simply makes me happier. And when I feel distressed or upset, I simply clean up my kitchen". (Interview, 27th, September), 2011

By maneuvering the physical reality, people were reassured of their life order and regain a sense of certainty and control over reality. Mary Douglas suggested: "inner turmoil or disorder may be managed by ritually reorganizing one's mundane environment-cleaning or redecorating a house, rearranging furniture, weeding a garden, buying new clothes. In both these cases, changes in one's experience were induced by working on an aspect of one's life world that is amenable to manipulation" (1966, p.12). Generally speaking, people displayed a strong yearning and desire for an organized kitchen experience as a manifestation of a ordered life reality. Cleaning and arranging kitchen offered respite, assisted focus and induced a sense of being in control of one's circumstances. Then, a well-established set of categories bolstered such an commonly-desired organized kitchen experience as demonstrated in the following quota:"I sort out my cereals into different glass jars, like coco pops in one, kellogs frosties in another, and different sorts of muslis. It just looks good this way and I feel happy." (Interview, 16th, November, 2011)

- **Dirt as By-Product of Systematic Kitchen Order**

It was under these precise moral sentiments people attach to their kitchen that boosted and reinforced the order (classifications) being assigned inside kitchen. Now let's zoom in the lens to the central idea Mary Douglas brought forward in the book "Purity And Danger" that the concept of cleanness and dirt does not depend on the object per se, but its location within a organized system, as we could see from this excerpt: "we are left with the old definition of dirt as matter out of place. This is a very suggestive approach. It implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt then is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt, there is system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements." (1966, p.35). Examples

were: "shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining table; food is not dirty in itself, but it is dirty to leave cooking utensils in the bedroom, or food bespattered on clothing; similarly, bathroom equipment in the drawing room; clothing lying on chairs; outdoor things indoors; upstairs things down-stairs; under-clothing appearing where over-clothing should be and so on." (1966, p.48).

Bearing such analytic concept in mind, let's turn to some typical opinions people had toward the order in kitchen and where daily waste fit into the classification/order. A woman in her mid-thirties aired her ideas toward kitchen: "My ideal image of my kitchen is it looks empty. Not empty empty, but I don't want to see plates, folks or frying pans lying out there, and of course not garbage. Plates, folks and frying pans should be inside either the closet or draws, and the garbage should be inside the garbage bin in the closet underneath the sink". (Interview, 4th, November, 2011). Her idea was bolstered by another male in his late 20s as he slowly opened the door of the closet under the sink, and said: " See, this is the bin, and that's where I put all the kitchen waste..... Yeah, this is where the garbage all end up. So once you close the door, it's a clean kitchen." (Interview, 13th, November, 2011). Clearly recycling was not a part of the kitchen routine for these two informants since all the waste (including recyclable items) were being piled up in one bin hided inside the closet under the sink. For them, waste was defined as one unique category distinctively separated from other kitchen items, and for the nature of this category being dirt/pollution, it naturally became a defacement to an clean and organized kitchen, potentially jeopardizing moral structure from which their "being-out-of-place" derived and threatening an organized kitchen experience, which furthermore called for concealment for it to be out of the sight. In most cases, the category of garbage/ dirt was located in the closet under the sink. However, moral value and a organized kitchen experience were not the only hindrances for all the garbage to be allocated into the same category. Space also posed as a significant barrier. As we can see from this voice: "I simply don't have room for the recycling. I wanted to, but my kitchen is too small, and I don't want to see milk cartons or newspaper piling up on the floor when I walked in, so I just have

to squeeze everything in this bin".(Interview, 17th, October, 2011)

On the other hand, for the ones who consistently recycled, their kitchen embodied another set of order. The most pronounced difference lied in the fact that there existed a set of classifications within the category of waste as we shall see from the following comments. A man in his mid-20s stated: "You know the room there (under the sink) is too small, so for pizza box, milk cartons or these big Coka bottles, I have these big plastic bags for them in the corner". (Interview, 4th, October, 2011). Similarly, a woman in her 50s said: "I have the garbage bin under the sink for the garbage, but for plastics, cartons or metals, I just put them in one bag to recycle later....I usually leave them by this tea table." When asked why she separated plastics, cartons and metals from garbage, one noticeable comments came up: "I usually leave my cigarette ashes and food waste in the garbage bin, so it is quite smelly and dirty. But the plastics, cartons or metals don't really smell, so I can just leave them together outside". (Interview, 26th, October, 2011). Therefore, people who recycled, in the exact same fashion as the ones who didn't, were assigning order/ categories in kitchen in accordance to their desire for a clean kitchen with an organized experience. Although the recyclable items were still attributed to the category of waste, numerous sub-categories were voluntarily conjured up for dual functionality. Firstly, the sub-categories made it possible to separate residual waste from the recyclable waste. Secondly, both of them had their place of being, therefore milk cartons, beers cans and food cans were not "out of the place" even when located outside the closet under the sink because they were carefully placed in the bags for the recyclable.

The different approaches people employed to give order to their kitchen, as discussed above, shared the same purpose which was to create consistency and uniformity between the physical experience in the kitchen and the moral value and identity dedicated to a the kitchen space. In this process of creating purity in the kitchen, different sets of categories emerged to mark the order people aspired for. Furthermore, two distinctive sets were utilized to create the purity in waste in the designation of categories. The people who didn't recycle as a routine create the purity of waste by compounding the residual waste with the recyclable items. Therefore, a

yogurt box was perceived as dirt/pollution when they were not placed in the bin for all waste articles. On the other hand, the same yogurt box would either be placed in a bag/container with other carton recyclables or other general recyclable items in order to eliminate the possibility of being perceived as dirt or out of its place, thus constituting the purity of different kinds of waste. In this case, if this very yogurt box were being placed in the bin for the residual waste, it instantly became a sort of dirt/pollution. Now let's return to Mary Douglas once again, as she articulated: "our pollution behaviour is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications. Defined in this way it appears as a residual category, rejected from our normal scheme of classifications" (1966, p. 48). Whether the yogurt box was perceived as dirt or cleanness essentially depended on the system/classification lying behind itself. Whenever there was dirt, there was a system.

- Creation Of Purity In Kitchen

There still remained two observations during the construction of purity in kitchen and waste management that deserved to be further explored. Firstly, the underlying systems/classifications people assigned to waste management were not permanently unchangeable. Peoples' structuring of reality was simultaneously infused with their moral value and order, which naturally succumbed to the fluctuation of subjectivity. The emergence of dirt, as most cases exemplified above, mainly corresponded to things being out of places, and when this occurred, boundaries would be reaffirmed and categories reinforced by getting rid of the dirt and cleaning up the mess. Nevertheless, this was not the only modality associating the emergence of dirt. In the work "Cultural Analysis" authored by Robert Wuthnow, James Davison, Albert Bergesen and Edith Kurzweil, an illuminating chapter stated: "the community's rules shift when there is a crisis in its corporate identity or collective existence, creating an organic need to manufacture enemies to bring the community closer together" (1991, p. 90). This statement brought forth the same truth when perceived in the micro level of waste management within the scope of family life as well. The rules and orders concerning purity in the kitchen could also witness a drastic shift when the inhabitants

experienced distress, anxiety or uncertainty from life. As Michael Jackson stated: "often appeal is made to a domain analogous to the domain in which anxiety is located, and this relatively, though only momentarily, neutral domain is then subject to manipulation and play in the hope that it will change one's immediate situation and alleviate one's distress."(2008,p. 104). It was precisely in the process of manipulating the kitchen objects with the hope to find an escape from life distress and uncertainty that people changed, or more specifically, tightened or modified the customary orders and systems in the kitchen. In this case, there posed a need to "manufacture enemies". The inhabitants no longer waited for objects to stray across the usual boundaries, but rather, the boundaries were being shifted to redefine what was normally conceived as cleanness as now being out of the place. A man in his late 20s claimed: "I usually don't fuss about these cartons or metals I collected in the bags, but when I have guests over, I feel the need to take them out so the kitchen looks a bit nicer". (Interview, 4th, November, 2011). An mid-30s working wife commented: "sometimes if I had a bad day at work, I just started clean up my kitchen, tidying things up and taking out all the garbage (including recyclable items). So I can make myself a nice dinner in a clean kitchen". (Interview, 27th, October, 2011). A bag full of recyclable items, previously perceived as clean and in place, suddenly became the "manufactured enemy" out of its place in the kitchen that required to be eliminated. An important understanding could be achieved based on this modality of the emergence of dirt. Waste, both residual and recyclable, was fundamentally attributed with a quality that Mary Douglas labeled as "marginal state", given the fact that waste would ultimately be taken out of the house, it simply did not belong to kitchen. To put it another way, its existence in the kitchen was only transient. Being in a marginal state thus posed potential danger to order, as Douglas argued: "Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable. The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others". (1966, p. 54). Although Douglas was referring to the danger emanated by a person presented in a marginal state, it was certainly analogous to the world of objects.

Such an acknowledgment that all waste in kitchen existed in marginal state in the

long run was illuminating to the second observation in peoples' attempt to create purity and order in the kitchen. It could be briefly summarized as: although people employed different approaches to categorize waste and set boundaries, one common ground was found among most of the informants, which was the desire to conceal waste. As shown by numerous comments in the above discussion, the most dominant and popular area in the kitchen to place waste was the closet under the sink. Almost all my informants had at least one garbage bin located there. The reason being simple, as we could see from this comment, "See, this is the bin, and that's where I put all the kitchen waste..... Yeah, this is where the garbage all end up. So once you close the door, it's a clean kitchen". (Interview, 13th, October, 2011). The door of the closet offered a small miracle for the waste to be temporarily disappearing. Even in the cases in which the inhabitants separated the recyclable items from the residual waste, and left them outside in the kitchen, the recyclable items were not scattered around the kitchen nor placed by the entrance, they were cautiously placed inside either a bag or a plastic case located in the corner or somewhere obsolete. Mary Douglas argued: "the danger (of being in a marginal/transitional state) is controlled by ritual which precisely separates him from his old status, segregated him for a time and then publicly declares his entry to his new status." (1966, p.96). In a similar fashion as the boy involved in initiation ceremonies, temporarily outcast from the society and licensed to waylay and steal until his new status was achieved (1996, p.96), waste was not only categorized for a transient purity of its own, but it was also separated, masked and concealed from other objects inside kitchen in order for it to be out of sight, at least before it was taken out to the garbage station, which marked a new status for the waste.

4.4.2. Recycling Routine inside Kitchen

The role of habits or routine was intrinsically associated with human's fundamental need to encounter with the environment and manage the surroundings. Scheffler noted that "people need to be able to bracket out stimuli as non-threatening and establish a minimally ordered relationship with their environment if they are to flourish, and

habits enable us to economize and simplify our actions by storing the fruits of the past experience so that we can act without having to devote heightened attention and consciousness to every move we make". (Shilling, 2008, p. 12). This notion was supported by Richard Sennett, as he perceived a life without routine would turn easily into chaos. He contended: "To imagine a life of momentary impulses, of short-term action, devoid of sustainable routines, a life without habits, is to imagine indeed a mindless existence." (Shove, E, Trentmann, F. & Wilk, R, 2009, p.100). In everyday life settings, routines functioned to, as Ehn and Löfgren claimed, "link to order, predictability and control...and a central part of busy family life was the establishment of routines to provide stability. (2010, p.80). For the ones who embodied recycling as a routine, recycling became a natural task which provided a basis for family security, order, control and most importantly, a sense of satisfaction and happiness. On the contrary, the inhabitants who didn't recycle as systematically and consistently may perceive the act of recycling as a disruption of their family routine, causing the loss of control, order and convenience. As routine essentially was developed as "our obedient tools that ease everyday life, generally serving our interests and purposes" proposed by Frykman and Löfgren. (1996, P.10). As the act of non-consistent/systematic recycling contrasted their view toward environment, these inhabitants often blamed themselves as being "lazy" or "too slack to think when managing garbage", which could be further interpreted as recycling daily waste was "going out of their way" and "a mental work" from their perspective. While on the other hand, the ones who recycled more efficiently often perceived recycling as "automatic" and "easy". Brought forth by Ehn and Löfgren that routines are often taken for granted and anchored in the body-"they are just a part of me!" Routines had often sunk into invisibility, naturalized as something given once established. Given its internalized quality, routine became mindless activity, liberating us from energy-demanding choices. (2010, P.82).

By repetition, routine slowly acquired the nature of "Autopilot mode", "invisibility" and "taken-for-grantedness", and served the purpose of "creating life order and smoothening time flow" as its aim. However, a crucial question emerged

meanwhile: what were repeated and how were they repeated in routine? In the case of recycling, instead of conceiving the routine as a whole totality or a single seamless activity, it would be more constructive for the understanding of routine-making if we approached it as a symphony, successful only when different parts of the orchestra were well sequenced and synchronized. Therefore, in order to understand how recycling routine turned from novelty into invisibility, it was necessary to put a close gaze at how exactly recycling was physically constructed and conducted by decomposing people's home recycling routine into two steps most commonly observed in the process of waste management. They included: arrangement of home recycling facility and classification of the waste.

- Arrangement of Home Facility

With respect to home facility in Augustenborg, it was hardly referring to any type of high-tech or complicated tool or machine. Besides the garbage bin stored in the closet under the kitchen sink, which was observed in almost all households, other recycling facilities were most often to be merely "DIY" projects, for they could be just plastic bags or empty mail boxes as we can see from the figure below. (Some of the tenants received plastic cases for recycling from MKB, however, they were only the minority.)



Figure 5. Home Recycling Facility (Visual Image, 13th, November, 2011)

Two main observations in terms of facility arrangement deserved to be elaborated here. Firstly, for people who recycled more consistently and systematically, they generally took the initiative to set the facilities in place, most often in a "Do It Yourself" fashion. On the contrary, in the kitchen where lacked a set of facilities, the inhabitants didn't recycle as efficiently for they simply stuffed everything in a single

bin from the first place. The underpinning reason being that the arrangement of the kitchen was intrinsically connected with life order and family value. By creating order they reduce the complexity of tasks and uncertainty, save time and energy, and reduce what economist call transaction cost. For both of the patterns, having facilities and having not, the basic aim was to inject a sense of predicability, control and convenience to the domestic life.

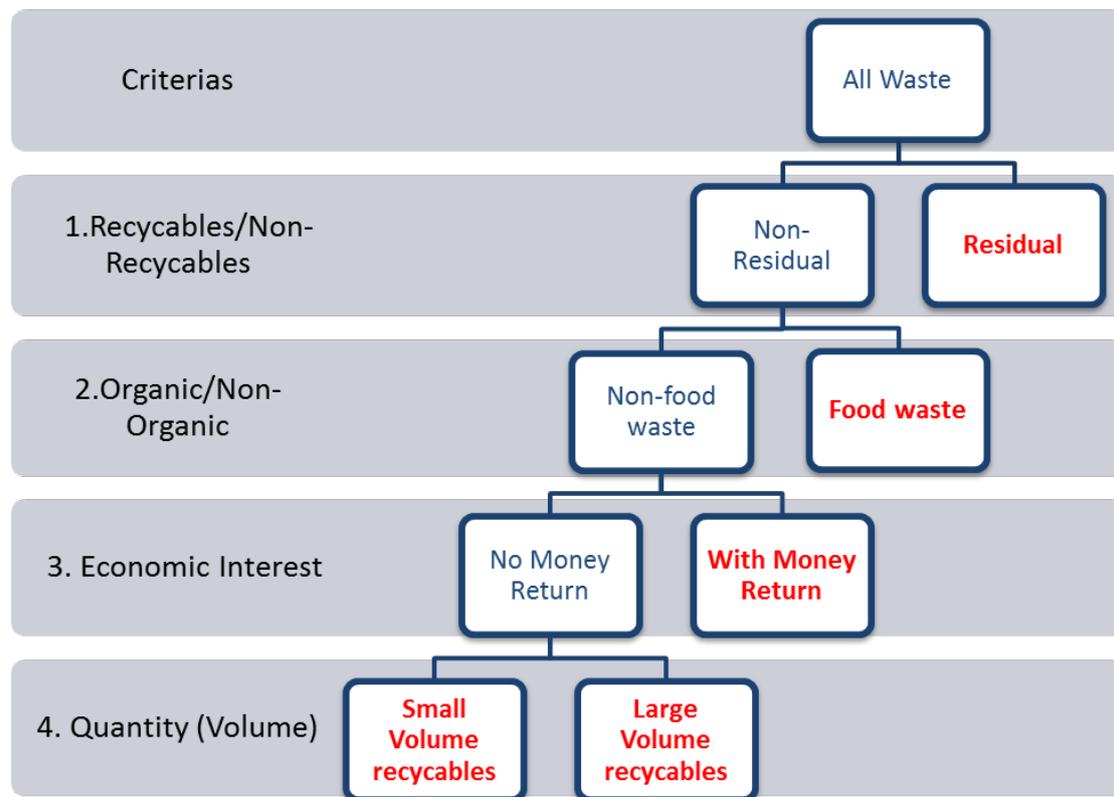
Secondly, as discussed in the purity in waste chapter, people generally had the tendency to cast aside or conceal these facility from sight for the simple reason that the mere existence of these facility containing waste could jeopardize the cleanness and ordered life image at home, or to use Mary Douglas's concept, the purity, both physical and mental, of family life. In accordance with this tendency, the facilities were generally cast aside from the main site of kitchen and left in the corner, or squeezed together to fit in the closet under the sink. As people were generally eager to hide and conceal the facilities along with the waste, they simply found out their kitchens were simply too small. This was an opinion constantly aired by informants. For instance, 28 years old Izzy saw this as the main reason why she didn't recycle at home, "I just don't have the space to put any cases in my kitchen for recycling. You see, the dining table and chairs already take a lot of the room, and I want enough space left to walk around in my kitchen". (Interview, 12th, November, 2011). On the other hand, Johan, a male in his 30s, though successfully managed to store all his recycling cases and bags inside the closet under the kitchen sink, expressed a desire for improvement: "But you see the space (in the closet) is very small, they should have some standard size, built in cases for the sorting out.....I would like something that can be taken out on wheels." (Interview, 14th, November, 2011).

- Classification of Waste

As discussed in the chapter of space production in the recycling station, one statement was made clear that the lived sphere of recycling space embodied an extension to the home kitchen, which suggested an understand that the recycling activity done inside the station was merely an end on the continuum of the recycling routine while the major tasks were previously carried out domestically. Numerous informants claimed

that one of the major reasons why recycling in the station being “automatic” or “easy” was due to the fact the waste was previously categorized at home, which left the job inside the station being merely putting things into the right bin. On the other hand, the complaints from the informants who didn’t recycle systematically and consistently that recycling was “energy-consuming” and “mind-consuming” was exactly due to the fact that the process of waste classification was by and large missing from their kitchen routine since the majority of them never took the effort for any arrangement of domestic recycling facility. Consequently, when carrying a garbage bag filled with smelly food waste, cigarettes ashes, metals, plastics and paper into the recycling station, few would like to go through the painstaking process to separate the dirty smelly waste.

Moreover, another critical observation made in terms of waste classification at home was people typically sort out waste not totally in accordance with the categories offered in the recycling station, but more often with the quality of the waste assigned by the users. In total, 5 major classifications were typically displayed in domestic recycling: residual waste, food waste, recyclables with economic benefit (refer to recyclables which could be exchanged for money), recyclables without economic benefit and waste in large volume. The classifications were conducted in accordance with 4 criterias improvised by the users. The chart below could better illustrate the classification process in details.



As demonstrated in the chart, the top two criterias were adopted in accordance with the category offered in the station. However, the latter two was underpinned by private interest. Another important take-away from the process of classification was the first two types of classifications were conducted most often by people who recycled systematically and consistently, the latter two were observed to be a common practice by the majority for they were more tightly connected with peoples' private interest and the construction of family order and convenience. With respect to the separation of none-organic waste, the criteria used was driven by economic interest. In Sweden, as "part of a national-wide deposit and return system, customers can get anywhere from 0.50 to 2.00 Swedish Krona for returning most glass, aluminum and plastic containers at any local supermarket". (WWF, Sweden, Web Page). People apparently perceived the recycling of beer cans or soft drink bottles as a matter of economic benefit instead of attributing it directly as an recycling activity. As Linoel, a male in his 30s commented: "I paid for these cans, and I am going to get my money

back.” (Interview, 8th, October, 2011). The fourth process of classification was conducted under the criteria of volume. For example, in most households, newspaper, magazines and large cartons were preserved at home for a special clear-out. The reason was mostly for the convenience of waste management. A male in his 50s said: “If I put the newspaper with the rest of garbage, then I have to take out garbage everyday. It was too much trouble. So I just leave them in a stack and when it gets to a big pile, then I remove them.” (Interview, 7th, November, 2011). On the other hand, the ones who didn’t recycle often used the volume as an excuse. For example, a male in his 20s argued: “when I have a little bit of this and a little bit of that, I just mixed them today. You know, it won’t really matter. But if I have a lot of metal or plastic, I think its necessary to separate them.” (Interview, 12th, November, 2011). During field work, I unpacked a dozen of unsorted waste bags and it was found out that they often contained a great diversity of waste types, each of which was in small volume. As we could see from the figure below.



Figure 6. Unsorted Waste Bag (Visual Image, 13th, October, 2011)

This insight again coincided with the previous discussion of the importance reciprocity in recycling. It was crucial to attach a sense of reciprocity in the act of recycling for it to exert certain personal impact on the individuals. Moreover, it was obvious through the data that economic interest and practicality were the two most commonly felt impacts during the recycling process.

Insofar, the typical kitchen recycling routines were examined in contrast to the

non-recycling routines. It was illustrated that the home recycling routine successfully boosted the recycling activity inside the station while for the ones who didn't recycle as efficiently in the recycling station, the major reason was the lack of both domestic recycling facility and routine. Therefore, besides the basic attribute of routine being essential and necessary for human to construct relationship with the surroundings and organize everyday life, offering a sense of control, predictability and order, it could also be concluded that routine functioned as a double-bladed sword, emerging as both constructive and restrictive. The reason routine could exert such influence to either enlarge or restrict our relationship with the world could be traced to the fact that "it is so intimately a part of ourselves. It has a hold on us because we are the habit" as Shilling suggested. (2008, p.13). Ehn and Löfgren also claimed there existed "a juxtaposition of routines as wither constraining straitjackets or supportive corsets. There are routines described as prisons of ingrained and inflexible habits that constrain actors or prevent people from changing their life, and then there is the opposite view of routines as a comforting and helpful supportive structure that offers security and predictability." (2010, p.101). Apparently, in the case of recycling, the routinized act of recycling, as a liberating and constructive force, enabled individuals not only to lay structure of a ordered family life but also helped them master how to utilize the recycling facility in the station . Yet the routine that embodied inconsistent waste management triggered the "uneasiness" and "mind-consuming-ness" during recycling and caused the misuse or neglect of the recycling facility in place, therefore posing as constraining and restrictive.

In order to change and improve the routine of inconsistently and less systematical recycling as well as preserve and facilitate the routine of efficient recycling, an imperative question needed to be addressed which was how routine was shaped, stabilized and emotionally charged. In the following, discussion would be focusing on the making of routine.

4.4.3. Routine Making

When discussing the making of routine, Ehn and Löfgren draw the analogy between

routine and route (2010, p.100). The convergence lied in the fact both were created through repetition....moreover, “once the path is established the moment of conscious choice is diminished” (2010, p.100) and the same went true for routine. Routine as mentioned before, often set the body on autopilot.

Wilk brought forth an analytical framework to better locate the dynamics throughout the repetition. More specifically, he defined two types of routine making: cultivation and naturalization. As Wilk argued: “cultivation refers to the process which bring unconscious habits and routines forward into consciousness, reflection and discourse.”(Shove, Trentmann & Wilk, 2009, p.149). In Bourdieu’s sense, cultivation brings thing out of the habitus and into the realm of praxis. (1997). On the other hand, naturalization “describes the process which push conscious practices back into the habitus, or keep them from surfacing into consciousness in the first place.”(2009, p.150). The two types of routine making were not separate phenomena, instead, they were intimately correlated. For the people who recycled as a routine, they perceived waste management as automatic since through years of repetition, the routine of recycling slowly sink into invisibility, which corresponded with the naturalization aspect of routine making. Yet they also experienced emotional satisfactions about an ordered family life, fulfilling social responsibility and protecting the environment by conducting recycling in a systematic way, indicating the cultivation quality through routine making. On the other hand, the routine embodying less systematic and consistent recycling also demonstrated the dual routine making aspects. As most of the time, the individuals took their ways of waste management for granted, however, when encountering conflicts due to the mismatch between either the routine or their kitchen facility with the facility in the station, they witnessed certain level of mental uneasiness yet still yielded to their existing family order. Ehn and Löfgren strengthened the perception toward the interplay between naturalization and cultivation by suggesting there was a continuum of routine making process, starting from “mechanical-reflex-like-routines over to emotionally charged habits, collective traditions and symbolically elaborated rituals”.(2010, p.101). In the continuum, the change direction could go both ways, as “ritual can turn into mindless

reflexes, and even the most trivial routines may be transformed into more conscious acts....as reassuring, and comforting or give some symbolic meaning.” (2010, p.101).

Given the fact that cultivation and naturalization co-existed in the routine-making process, I proposed that naturalization served as the stabilizing force of a routine while cultivation functioned to strengthen and enforce the persistence of a routine. In other words, the fundamental reason for different recycle routines to persist was due to the fact they were naturalized as something given, conducted most often in an unconscious manner without reflections. While through the process of naturalization, people cultivated different values, emotions and perceptions to rationalize and strengthen the persisting routines.

Therefore, in order to change and improve the routine of inconsistent and less systematical recycling as well as preserve and facilitate the routine of efficient recycling, prominence would be given to both cultivation and naturalization while keeping in mind their different roles in the the routine-making process.

Though changing a long lasting routine as well as facilitating an existing routine could both be painstaking, it was not impossible at all. Ehn and Lofgren destabilized the notion that routines are “just going through the same movements”, in fact, “the repetitious nature of routines often hides important micro-changes that eventually may transform them into something else.” (2010, p.99). Moreover, the efforts made to change or facilitate routines are usually most successful when “there is a corresponding change in the contextual environmental conditions that form part of their routinized behaviors”, suggested by Shilling. (2008, p.15). In the case of recycling routine, the most immediate contextual settings that were open for re-arrangement and manipulation was the facilities, both at home and in the recycling station. Driven from such insight, let’s move on to explore what interplay existed between facility and routine, or simply “having” and “doing”.

4.4.4. Materiality and Routine

Materiality posed as an extraordinary force in shaping and sustaining practices and routines. As a result, gaining insights concerning how recycling facilities are

experienced and used was of great importance in the research. It was discussed already that people who handled their daily waste with better efficiency in the recycling station typically came with material partially sorted out already at home. Therefore, all the work left undone in the recycling room was to match different waste to different bins. On the contrary, the ones who didn't recycle by and large came with waste mixed up in one or several bags, often filthy and smelly, leaving little possibility for recycling. Such comparison challenged the conventional perception that considers recycling as an activity mainly taking place in the recycling station. In reality the factor determining the success of recycling lied in to what degree and how well was the daily waste being managed at domestic sites. Following this argument, it was illustrated that the home recycling and facility were essentially determined by the existing routine of family life, especially the routine in domestic kitchen. Moreover, meanings and values were imbued into the arrangement of home recycling facility. This insight led to the first dimension of the interaction between materiality and routine. Materiality was employed to maintain and strengthen life routine and order, with an image subtly expressing the household value and order. Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley argued that material devices are prone to be "appropriated into already established patterns of domestic order." (Silverstone & Hirsch, 1992, P.76). Materiality at home in a way objectifies the vision the occupants had of themselves in the eyes of others and as such it became an entity and process to live up to. The people who have the routine of recycling showed great initiative of assembling mundane material into recycling facility for the convenience of their established routine of recycling at home, meanwhile, the facilities in the recycling station were well appropriated into their domestic order and made useful for their recycling practice. By repetition, the materiality utilized to support the flow of their routine essentially became an indispensable component of the structuring of life order and organizing time. In other words, materialities were assembled and used in ways that "reproduce existing habits, routines and moral economy of family life." (Shove, Watson, Hand & Ingram, 2007, p.8). Therefore, the modified recycling facility further locked the users into the practice of recycling, and in this way, the their established

routine is being maintained and reproduced. Following this rationale, the second dimension of the interaction between materiality and routine was materiality gave rise to habitual practices, configuring and stabilizing the users into the maintenance and reproduction of such practice, which is gradually being transformed into routine.

While on the other hand, for the people who didn't recycle in systematic and consistent manner, there typically existed only one bin for various types of garbage produced in kitchen. The facilities in the station was then appropriated to fit the waste category in domestic kitchen sites, and instead of being efficiently used for recycling, it was perceived and experienced simply as a "waste-disposal" place. Again, it demonstrates that "new technologies are transformed (in effect), and stabilized by the contexts and situations in which they are adopted" suggested by Shove and Watson. (Shove, Watson, Hand & Ingram, 2007, p.8). The recycling station was submerged within their domestic order of non-recycling. The new practice the recycling station required are in severe conflicts with their embodied routine, therefore lost its quality of configuration of its users.

5. Conclusion

A major reason that Sweden ranked in the forefront in the field of waste management worldwide was due to the fact that recycling had been publicly perceived and privately internalized as a code of conduct by the majority. Recycling had long been a social practice in Sweden, supported by continuous waste management policies and infrastructure construction. Being the dominant social norm, recycling was either perceived as a way to conform to normality and prevailing ethos of the society or employed as an approach to avoid being marginalized or deemed as the deviant in the society. Such conformity often took the form of obedience for the field of waste management was infused with power and struggle. The conduct of recycling was typically passed through generations for the long-standing recycling policies and infrastructures in place, and individuals in their early life learned to adopt recycling as a normative rule of conduct to show their obedience to the elderly in the family. For the people who immigrated to Sweden in the middle of their lives, the act of recycling was not coerced but self-initiated as a manner to show their obedience to the dominant ethos and rule of conduct in the society. By endorsing recycling as the normative rule of conduct, the majority chose to conform to the the norm, which in return configured them into a constancy and patterning behavior of recycling.

However, while acknowledging the force of norms and social ethos in shaping people's recycling behavior, it should also be noticed that people were constantly involved in the appropriation of the dominant rule of conduct. During this process, the sense of reciprocity proved to be of great importance in maintaining recycling behavior. It was often considered that people conducted recycling due to their environmental awareness or willingness to fulfill social responsibility. However, what needed to be recognized was the two factors were typically transformed into the personal realm often as a source of achieving satisfaction and moral lifting. Moreover, it was discussed that two other factors were contributing the sense of reciprocity in the course of recycling, on one hand lied the economic motivation while the other was connected with issue of practicality in life. Pursuing the importance of reciprocity in terms of practicality essentially led to the discovery of the force of routine in the field

of waste management.

The essential need for routine to structure life order and organize the flow of time from people revealed the fact that routine was perceived and used as a tool serving our interest, liberating us from constant decision-making and offering a sense of order, predictability and control. Recycling was framed as an indispensable part of people's daily routine due to its repetitive nature. Therefore, when encountering the great diversity of recycling behaviors, we were essentially in the presence of numerous routines people embodied. For the ones who conducted recycling in a more systematic and consistent manner, their routine concerning waste management was by and large in accordance with the facility installed in the station, making the activity of recycling automatic and easy and consequently contributing to an ordered life and a smooth time flow. On the contrary, conflicts were often displayed for the ones who didn't embody recycling as a daily routine in their use of the recycling facility in the station. Therefore, recycling was perceived as mind-consuming and potentially jeopardizing their life order and convenience. In tracing the source of such conflicts, the employment of domestic recycling facility was brought under spotlight for examination.

Home recycling facility turned out to be crucial in shaping people's recycling behavior. In other words, facility helped to configure and stabilize people's practice in terms of waste management. Different routines were underpinned by sharply contrasted recycling facilities utilized at home. The arrangement of home recycling facilities in a general DIY fashion and the classification of waste into self-initiated categories were typically indicative of a successful recycling activity. While on the other hand, the lacking of domestic recycling facilities eliminated the possibility of a systematic waste management at home, which furthermore caused the failure of successful recycling in the station. Both cases demonstrated the facilities inside recycling station were prone to be appropriated into people's waste management routine at home. Moreover, it was brought to the surface that in the course of domestic recycling, the facilities used for waste classification was rarely in complete line with the categories offered inside the recycling station. This insight unraveled the fact

home recycling facilities were constructed as carriers and resources of family value and the desire for the creation of purity inside kitchen. Therefore, it was critical to achieve an understanding of the role of kitchen in Swedish families. Instead of being perceived simply as a room to make food, Kitchen in Sweden was a place for gathering, discussion and bonding, a space for the arrangement of an ideal domestic life, offering a sense of stability and control while it was also employed as an exhibition of lifestyle, taste and value for comparison and judgment. To put it another way, kitchen had become a space where family value, expectation and identity had been not only imbued into but potentially reflected by objects and the arrangement of the objects in the kitchen.

Due to the lack of local informants, a main constraint during my field work lied in the fact that the recruitment for either interviews or participant observations was conducted without taking into consideration factors such as age, gender and occupational background. As a result, the data produced in my research were unable to reveal whether behavioral and perceptual patterns also differed according to the four factors listed above.

However, during the field work, I was constantly given the impression that middle-aged and senior citizens displayed a better propensity to recycle while teenagers seemed to adopt a more indifferent attitude toward recycling. Moreover, certain males connected the activity of recycling with femininity with the metaphor that “I don’t sort out my garbage just as I don’t separate my laundry. With respect to occupational background, it could also be constructive to approach the issue of recycling from different occupational fields or classes to see if there existed behavioral and perceptual diversity. Therefore, it definitely would be interesting to approach the issue of recycling from a demographic perspective in the future projects.

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