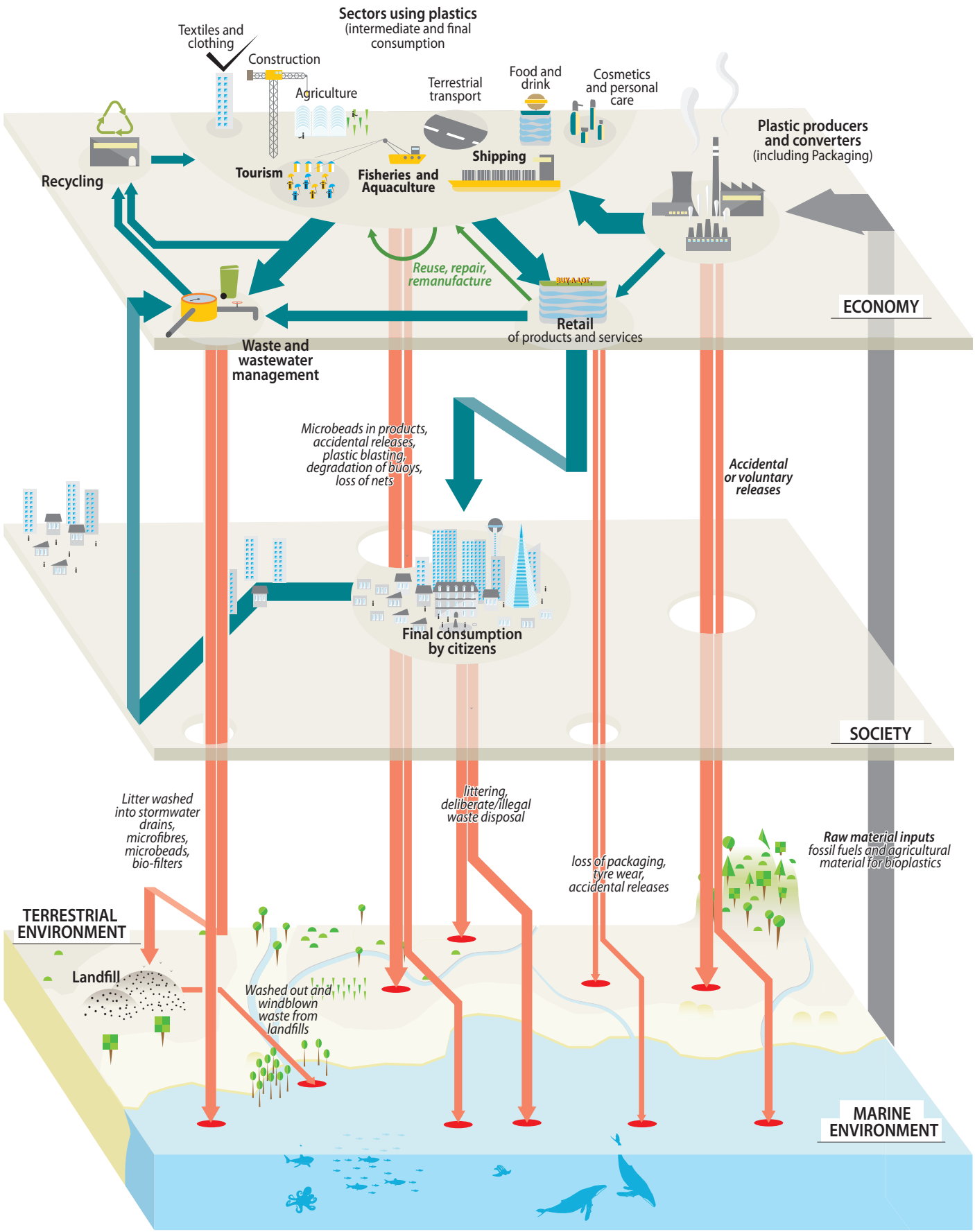How plastic moves from the economy to the environment