LUISS

Department
of Political Science

Course of Population, Environment and Sustainability

Global Cities and Environmental Justice: How the Mismanagement of Waste in Rome is an Environmental Injustice to Future Generations

Rosaria Battista: Politics, Philosophy and Economics

Prof. Marcello di Paola

SUPERVISOR

ID No. 082782

CANDIDATE

Academic Year 2020/2021

Table of Contents

Introduction:

Arguments and literature for liberal justice have traditionally focused on the distribution of goods among groups and individuals, their recognition as participants in politics and their power to influence various policies and actions which may concern them. Many of the power asymmetries that have been analyzed are between race, gender or class, specifically highlighting the discriminations which these different groups may endure.

Environmental justice can also be analyzed through the same liberal justice arguments mentioned above. The main issue however, is that arguments for environmental justice have seldom been expanded from the traditional 'Rawlsian' distributional approach. Also, not all environmental injustices are discriminatory in nature. They may also derive from the mismanagement of environmental resources and services. In addition, environmental politics do not only involve ecology and nature, but are often conducted in the context of urban spaces and communities such as cities, which are a central focus of this thesis.

Cities have evolved over the years. Their definition, roles and importance are shaped within the growing globalized world. Sociologist Saskia Sassan, studied and formulated the concept of the **global city**. Global cities are no ordinary city. As the world has become increasingly interconnected due to globalization, global cities act as important hubs for socio-economic relations within the globalized world. They act as central nodes for the global socio-economic network, and hold dominance over the control of these interconnected relations. Examples of global cities include New York, London or Tokyo.

This thesis will take Sassen's definition of the global city and expand it by applying it to a different context, one that is not focused on economic and financial relations, but on the cultural and historical role that it may have instead. In this study, the city of Rome will be exclusively examined. Rome may not play such a significant role in the global, economic and financial network. Nevertheless it would be incorrect to completely ignore its global importance, because of its influence and preservation of its rich cultural and historical heritage.

Chapter one will focus on defining and understanding what makes a global city, and how Rome is to be considered one in its own way. It will argue that Rome is a global good which must be protected using the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and how the city's symbolic name, the *Urbs Aeterna* (the eternal city) has evolved over centuries. This goes in line with the idea of environmental justice, because the context is to provide and preserve a city that is seen as a global good.

Environmental justice however, is not only a matter of injustices between contemporaries. One cannot speak of environmental justice without looking at the core purposes for sustainable development, especially for cities. If the purpose of sustainable development is to meet the needs of the present, without compromising those of the future generation's (as defined by the UN Commission on Environmental Development in the Brundtland Report of 1987), then environmental justice must be studied beyond its temporal limits. The second chapter of this thesis will provide various arguments for intergenerational justice, including arguments for the past and future generations. This will be explored through the original

notions of liberal distributional justice, but also expanded through different works, specifically those of David Scholsberg, Avner de-Shalit, Lukas Mayer and Dale Jamieson.

As aforementioned, environmental injustices are not only discriminatory in nature but they may also derive from the mismanagement of environmental resources and services. In the case of Rome, the city has a very poor and inefficient system of waste management, which has consequently led to trash-filled streets, especially within its UNESCO protected areas. This has led to various urban, physical and psychological issues for the residents of the city. Since Rome is a global good, then the fundamental question which this thesis will explore is:

How is the mismanagement of waste in Rome and environmental injustice to future generations?

To answer this question, the third chapter will provide the evidence of how the city's waste is being mismanaged and the consequences that it has caused. The fourth and final chapter will then use the arguments from chapters one and two, to discuss why the mismanagement of waste in Rome is an environmental injustice to future generations. The evidence provided by chapter three will be used to support the discussion. This final chapter will also discuss any of the challenges that may obstruct the improvement of the city's waste managing system.

1. Chapter One: What is a Global City?

1.1 The ordinary city and the global city:

People use the words '*city*' and '*urban area*' rather interchangeably between one another. However in the past, the two were not as commonly used in the same manner and there is a distinction. The word '*city*' is referred to a community of citizens, whereas an '*urban area'* is the physical space where a community resides (Jamieson, 2003). An urban area can include a city, but it also includes the surrounding areas that may not be part of the city. This means that when speaking of an urban area, one may not necessarily be speaking of a *city*, but when speaking of a *city* one is surely speaking of an urban area.

To identify a *city*, Jamieson describes three different traits labeled as "marks". The first mark is that a city must hold a moderately high population density. The second mark is that non-agricultural industries dominate the city's job market. The third mark is that a city must be the center which holds the main cultural, administrative and economic functions for the regions which surround it (Jamieson, 2003).

Cities in the modern world are forever evolving, they are no longer the same as they were in ancient times and perhaps the most notable modern development of the century is the **global city**. The term became popularized by sociologist Saskia Sassen after publishing *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* in 1991. The distinction between cities has become increasingly important. Jamieson argues that cities are not necessarily equal, in the sense that, a small Illinois city of the USA is not comparable to "Tokyo or Singapore" (Jamieson, 2003). The same can be applied between global and ordinary cities. For instance, there are many cities with an extremely high population density which may be important for the country itself, but may not necessarily be recognized as a global city. This poses the question:

*What exactly is the difference between an ordinary city and a **global** one?*

First and foremost, the most important condition which developed the notion of the global city is globalization. Economic trends of the 1980s depict a large growth of international transactions taking place between, not only large corporations and commercial banks, but also through a variety of new and increasingly specialized agents which continue to play a crucial role in today's global market. As a result, a new global network of production sites and trade between different countries was created where the aforementioned agents participate in. These agents include non-bank financial institutions and advanced corporate service firms (Sassen, 1991). The coordination of the international transactions by these agents predominantly take place in a "limited number of cities" (Sassen, 1991). Cities which dominate the management and coordination of this new system (such as New York, London and Tokyo) as well as other socio-cultural networks between countries are recognized as global cities (Gemminiti, 2015). In short, the **global city** is "a window to a larger global world" (Sassen *ISPS intervi*ew, 2015). In comparison to an ordinary city, a **global city** acts as a node in the global socio-economic network.

In the common understanding of a global city, most scholars have focused on their role as "command points" or centers for finance and trade (Gemminiti, 2015). This thesis attempts to go beyond that by defining the city of **Rome** as a **global city** through a different lens, one which is not strictly focused on the city's financial role in the global economy.

Tokyo, London and New York hold different roles in the global economy. Tokyo is the center which exports capital, London is the center which processes capital and New York is the center which receives capital and makes investment decisions to produce innovations which maximize profit (Sassen, 1991). These however are all different functions which focus on finance and trade. Thus,

What makes Rome a global city and in what ways can the idea of a global city be recontextualized through a different lens?

As aforementioned, a global city is a node in the global, socio-economic network. The "socio" aspect of this definition includes society, therefore also including culture (and history). Rome is less financially important compared to other European cities. This is especially the case when comparing Rome to Milan, Italy's financial powerhouse. Nevertheless when looking at the cultural impact that Rome has (and has had in the past) on global society, it cannot be denied that Rome is in fact a global city of its own.

The *ING* study of the *World's Most Talked About Cities* ranks Rome in the seventh place, and fourth in Europe's *Most Talked About Cities*, but what do these indicators imply? By "most talked about", ING refers to "digital visibility". Social media, news, internet blogs and forums have become more interconnected with globalization, especially in the last decade. This has made "recognition and cultural clout" between cities increasingly competitive (ING, 2019). Quoting ING,

"Digital visibility is key for cities building a global brand." Measuring a city's "digital visibility provides a clearer insight into how cities and major towns perform as brands compared to their regional and global peers" (ING, 2019).

Rome is therefore a perfect example of a global city when analyzed through this cultural lens. Its cultural impact is evident throughout the almost three millennia that the city has existed for. The following section will explain how its cultural influence has evolved and why it is still so important today.

1.2 The Evolution of the "URBS AETERNA" and Rome's World Heritage

1.2(i) The meaning of "Urbs Aeterna" and its significance to Rome's Heritage

The *Urbs Aeterna* (for the ancient Romans) or *La Città Eterna* (The Eternal City) is the symbolic name for the city of Rome. Over almost three millennia, the historical significance behind this name has taken different forms. *Urbs Aeterna* was first mentioned by ancient Roman poet Tibillus circa 19BC, who saw *eternity* through an imperial lens. Tibullus believed that the city would exist forever, defying a prediction that it would fall twelve centuries later. Eternity was later believed to mean that the city would infinitely regenerate itself, thus taking on a more cosmic definition. Such temporal notions however took a change with the reign of emperor Augustus. The meaning took a religious definition because Rome was to be considered the Eternal City of God. Rome became a God-given empire ruled by The Holy Roman Emperor (Hom, 2010). This Christian view of eternity became important in the renaissance period because it made the historic city an central site for Christian pilgrimage. This is what "laid the foundations" for Rome to become the modern tourist spot that it is today (Hom, 2010).

The *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* ("Marvels of the City of Rome") is an influential Latin text which codified the pilgrimage routes of the city, and included other secular "marvels" (sites) that were deemed important to see. It may be considered as a type of historical guidebook to Rome. According to Hom, as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* was copied and passed on throughout generations, it became a physical and textual symbol which constructed the global "privilege of" Rome's "heritage" (Hom, 2010).

Rome has evolved from a city that would last an eternity to a "city that is" eternally "frozen in time" (Hom, 2010). The changing significance of the *Urbs Aeterna* constructed a "non-modern" city by "projecting its eternity into the past, rather than into the future" (Mazzoni, 2010). Rome's heritage is therefore tied to its past. This makes Rome a type of historic and cultural global good that merits to be visited by both religious and secular "pilgrims" around the globe (Hom, 2010). The notion of a global good will be explained later in the chapter.

These pilgrims have evolved into what one now calls a modern tourist. According to Hom:

> *"Tourism is an exemplary practice of cultural production"* (Hom, 2010, pg.91)

As above-mentioned the evolution of secular pilgrimage into modern tourism has created a wave of numerous visitors to the city for centuries. *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* aside, there have been countless documented trips by travelers to Rome. A famous example is Johann Wolfgang von Goethe 1786-1788 Italian Journey, where he describes Rome to be "the locus of all history" through the German word "*Weltgeschichte*" (Hom, 2010).

The latest data recorded by the *ISTAT Annuario Statistico Italiano 2019* Survey shows that in 2018, Rome almost reached a number 29 million (28,992,098) overnight stays. This makes it the most visited municipality of the country (Lock, 2021).

1.3 Rome as a Global Public Good and The Importance of its Preservation

1.3(i) Rome and the UNESCO World Heritage List

When speaking of history and culture, one must not forgo the *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization*. The role of the UNESCO is to,

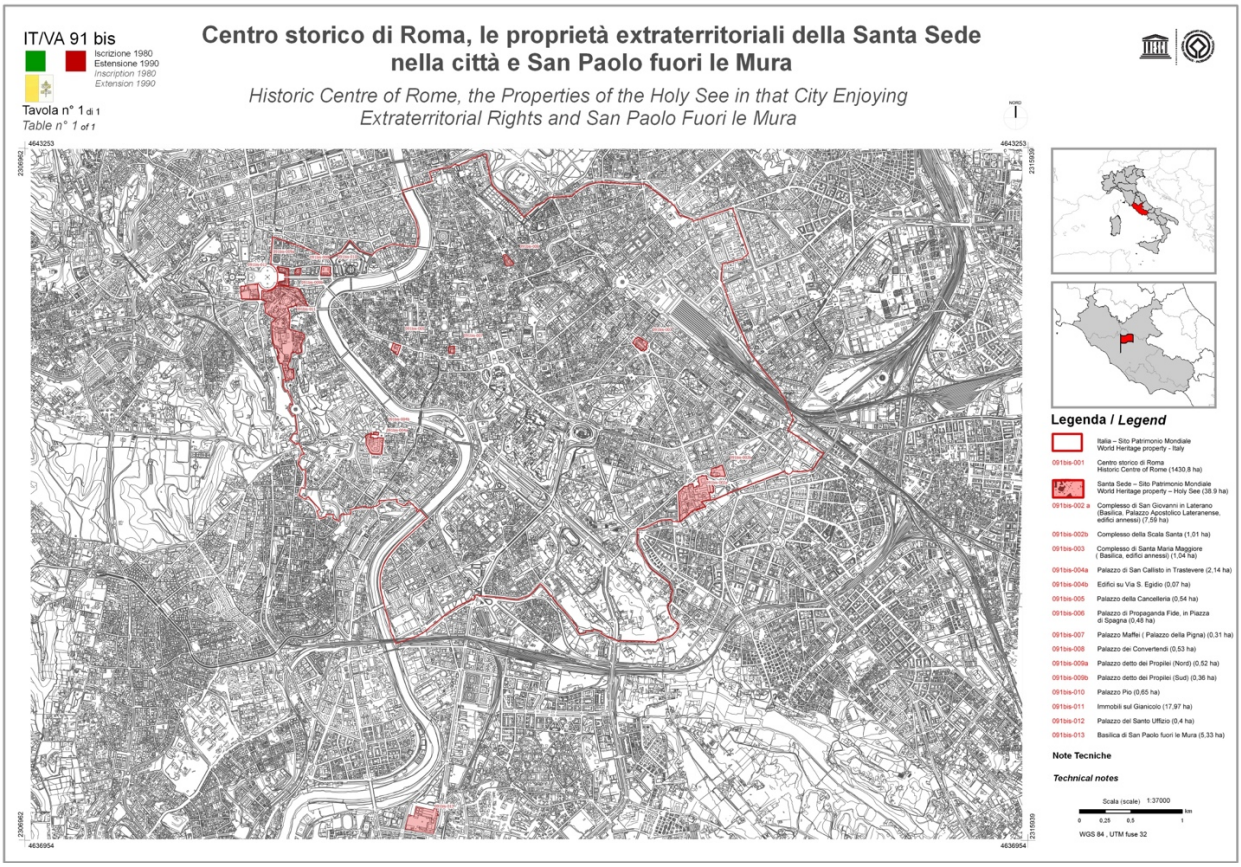
> "*The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. This is embodied in an international treaty called the* ***Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,*** *adopted by UNESCO in 1972"* (See *Appendix I*)

World Heritage is defined by *The World Heritage Convention* of 1972 as,

> *"our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located".* (UNESCO)

Rome has been described as a "living, open-air museum" whose "history is incarnated in Rome's topography" (Hom, 2010). The historic center, "the properties of the Holy See" and *San Paolo Fuori le Mura*" (UNESCO) all make up part of the official UNESCO World Heritage List (see *map below)*

MAP B



Source: UNESCO World Heritage List – Maps – Rome, 2015

In order for a site, monument or group of buildings to be considered as part of this list, it must be considered to be "of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria" (UNESCO) (See *Appendix II*).

Rome meets criterions (i), (ii), (iv), (vi) (see *Appendix III*). UNESCO describes Rome's World Heritage as "complex and stratified" with "outstanding archaeological areas integrated in the urban fabric, which result in a highly distinguishable ensemble" (UNESCO). In addition, the city is itself a type of living, open-air museum. The modern "new" city "cohabits" with its past (Mazzoni, 2010). Mazzoni highlights that Rome's architectural cohabitation "impacts the city's identity" by seeking out a sense of "Romanness" in "the quest of an identity that is uniquely Roman, grounded in place and time" (Mazzoni, 2010). This is an important factor to consider in the conservation work of Roman culture because it includes the "entire historic fabric of the city" (UNESCO).

For these reasons, it is important for the UNESCO World Heritage to effectively protect the city of Rome (UNESCO). Rome's position on a notable index such as the UNESCO World Heritage List is another key reason which recontextualizes Rome as a global city through a historical and cultural lens. This, along with the city's "digital visibility" and the evolution of *Urbs Aeterna* are all indicators that Rome should be considered a **global good**. This will be further explained in the following section.

1.3(ii) Landmark Preservation and Rome as a Global Good

In "*The City Around Us*", Jamieson argues that when considering environmental problems, one mustn't think only of "nature", "green areas" or oceans. One must also include issues apparent in urban areas and therefore, cities. He argues that there are two main characteristics of urban environmental issues:

(a) They often concern the provision and preservation of a **public good**

(b) Often arise because individuals find it rational to behave in a way that is collectively irrational

Public goods according to Jamieson are defined by two features:

(a) Everybody benefits from public goods

(b) There is a universal belief that everyone is entitled to public goods

The same concepts can be applied on a global scale, thus formulating the notion of a **global good**. Urban environmental problems are usually targeted through an economic approach. This is because public goods themselves are usually seen through an economic point of view. Jamieson addresses this approach as a limitation because not everything can be measured purely from an economic standpoint. This is especially evident when speaking of landmark preservation. The definition of a landmark is rather broad, but Jamieson scales the definition down to any type of "plausive candidate for preservation" (Jamieson, 2003).

Rome is surely a plausible candidate for preservation. The *Urbs Aeterna* is essentially a **global good** because of its historical and cultural value. This is demonstrated in the examples shown in the previous sections of this chapter. Rome is an "archeological archive of western culture" (Hom, 2010). The city is still a considered a "center of civilization" and a hub of cultural exchange today (UNESCO). It is a continuously

evolving global good which everyone, including our future generations are entitled to enjoy. Therefore it is the duty of our present generation to preserve this city not only for us, but also for our future generations.

2. Chapter Two: Defining Environmental Justice

It would be impossible to speak of sustainability without speaking of intergenerational justice. This is because sustainability expands the horizons of time, which provides humans with a sense of responsibility towards our progenies. How would our current generation feel if it were deprived of global goods inherited from our past? According to Thiele, "the welfare of our future generations is a foremost concern" however, it is not that the current generations should dictate precisely how our future people will live. What is important is that we conserve the options for them to decide on how to live their conception of a "good life" (Thiele, 2016). There is no doubt that the decisions contemporaries make will affect the lives of our future generations. Thus, we must practice sustainability so that we do not deprive our future generations from the ability to meet their needs. The definition of sustainable development is that,

> *"Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" – (Brundtland Report, UN Commission on Environmental Development, 1987).*

Thiele also addresses that preserving environmental goods for our progenies to enjoy them is not only a matter of sacrifices. In this thesis' example, the ancestors that have built Rome and our predecessors have helped preserve it must have "taken pride in leaving a legacy to future citizens" (Thiele, 2016).

In summary, present generations have a variety of intergenerational environmental responsibilities which must be taken into considerations. To what extent do we owe these responsibilities? There is no single definition of environmental justice. This chapter will explore it through the lens of intergenerational justice and how it has expanded from the traditional notions of liberal justice. This chapter will also address any philosophical problems which may have emerged from scholars in the intergenerational justice discourse.

2.1 The Meaning of Justice in Political Theory and Environmental Movements

Defining Environmental Justice by David Scholsberg is a book which aims to define the meaning of environmental justice in a variety of ways. The discourse on environmental justice has existed between scholars and activists for over two decades, with a variety of justice literature being published in the broad context of political theory (Scholsberg, 2007). Although Scholsberg does not deny the validity of these theories, he believes that they are incomplete. Thus, he attempts to address the ways which these gaps may be filled.

2.1(i) The Distributional Meaning of Justice

Firstly, despite the fact that many scholars have expanded the notion of justice in political theory, these expansions have seldom been applied to environmental justice movements (Scholsberg, 2007). Scholars have mainly focused on justice as a liberal distributional principle, notably expanding the works of John Rawls and *The Theory of Justice* published in 1977. This means that justice studies have mainly focused on who between the least well-off receives goods in a society and the principles which dictate the distribution of such goods (Scholsberg, 2007).

As aforementioned, Scholsberg does not criticize or find that defining justice through a distributional lens is wrong. He states that, a distributional means of justice "makes sense" because many environmental justice movements emerged from some type of violation in the distributive justice principles. This is especially relevant to the topic of cities. Many of those who are considered the 'least well off' are oftentimes groups and minorities of people living in cities. These people often do not have a loud enough voice to express the environmental injustices brought upon them. This is why environmental movements to speak on behalf of those people, lobby their respective governments and raise awareness of these issues exist. These less-well off people, are also often victims of environmental 'bads' caused by negative externalities. A negative externality is a cost that a person or party must pay although they are not directly involved in the creation of it.

An example of a negative externality within that city would be polluted fresh water produced by toxic waste which has trickled down from a garbage treatment plant that does not take into consideration where the toxic waste goes. This would cause a huge health problem for communities living near the garbage treatment plant who depend on that source of water for drinking and other utilities. The same would apply if the garbage disposal uses an incinerator which causes toxic gases to may into the atmosphere, polluting the air which the city's inhabitants breath. Perhaps the plant has been constructed after the communities where already living there, thus the garbage disposal may make profit for the local economy and even give jobs to the surrounding communities. However in this case the communities would still have to bear a huge cost of something that they were not directly involved in. Even though the garbage disposal plant may be located in a more sub-urban area, which is further away from the main residential and central areas of the city, this would make the communities living near the plant less-well off than those living away from it. This makes the distributive principle of justice still an important part of environmental justice, especially in the context of a city. Nevertheless, Scholsberg argues that aside from a distributive justice principle, the understanding of justice should also be approached in a variety of different ways (Scholsberg, 2007). Using only a distributive approach to justice is therefore a rather limited one. Examples of other approaches to the conception of justice (in addition to distribution) include**: recognition**, **participation** and **capabilities**.

A complete understanding of justice should include all of the above mentioned conceptions. However, there is an important note to consider. Scholsberg does not wish to create a "single", "all-inclusive" and

"holistic" definition of justice. He merely wishes to "expand the discourse" through a "variety of tools and notions" which would apply to "various", particular "cases" (Scholsberg, 2007, pg.8).

2.2 Expanding the Notion of Justice: Intergenerational Justice

According to Wissenburg, adapting distributive justice to the "environmental agenda" requires the inclusion of **future generations** to be regarded as "subjects of" liberal "justice" (Scholsberg, 2007). This is because liberal justice has its flaws, as liberalism is "systematically biased against the interests of **non-citizens**", especially if they are interests within the context of environmental justice (Scholsberg, 2007, pg. 109). By **Non-citizens**, Wissenburg refers to the natural world (which will not be discussed in this thesis) and **non-contemporaries** (past and future generations). This bias can be found in two types of relations:

The first relation is the asymmetry of power between current and future generations. Any decision made by current generations will influence the future in some way, including the existence and identity of people. Therefore, if current generations only focus on their current interests, the interests of future generations may negatively be impacted (Meyer, 2020). The second relation is the one between current and past generations. If current generations only focus on current interests and disregard the interests held by those who existed in the past, they may be violating a type or moral obligation which shows no appreciation to our past's inheritance (Thiele, 2016).

Intergenerational arguments of justice are complex, but it is important to include them in our understanding of it. This importance is also highlighted by scholar, Avner de-Shalit who states,

"…we have not considered all aspects of environmental policies if we do not address the question of the distribution between generations and our obligations to future generations, in addition to that of distribution among contemporaries." –(de-Shalit, 2005)

Any issues to the discourse will be explained further in the chapter, and although it may usually make more sense to speak of the past before the future, this thesis will first analyze the duties to our future generations before analyzing the duties to our past's.

2.2(i) Intergenerational justice: future generations

Two interconnected properties of intergenerational relations are to be considered. The first is an environmental relation (e.g on the production of pollution, destruction of rare plant species), while the second is an economic relation (distribution of resources and "economic burdens" which affect both "present and future generations") (de-Shalit, 2005). Economic relations may not comprise of activities relating to the environment "*prima facie*" (de-Shalit, 2005), however policies which may cause economic burdens to future generations can often touch on the environment. For example, current policies may involve the depletion of natural resources to the point of leaving future generations with only expensive and difficult-to-extract

alternative resources (de-Shalit, 2005). As aforementioned, Scholsberg notes that a distributive argument alone is not enough to analyze intergenerational justice, and Avner de-Shalit believes so as well. Avner de-Shalit wrote *Why Prosperity Matters* in 2005, a book which expands the analysis of intergenerational justice from the distributive justice lens. He introduces and applies an argument for the transgenerational community. First however, the following section will look at the intergenerational distributional justice.

2.2(ii) Intergenerational distributive justice

It was mentioned above that the majority of justice theories have expanded from Rawl's liberal *Theory of Justice* (1977). **Intergenerational justice** is a concept that was actually first introduced by Rawls himself. He believed that a central element of justice theory was that current generations have certain "obligations to future people" (Meyer, 2020) because current generations could possibly cause "environmental harm" to future ones. This concept was proposed through a principle known as the "*just savings principle*" (Scholsberg, 2007). Rawl's *Theory of Justice* also offers an "alternative distributive principle called the *difference principle* (Lamont, 2017).

"*The Difference Principle permits diverging from strict equality so long as the inequalities in question would make the least advantaged in society materially better off than they would be under strict equality*."—(Lamont, 2017)

Rawl's *just savings principle* is an extension of the *difference principle* to future generations. He argues that it is the present generation's obligation to maintain the "sufficient" conditions needed to "establish and preserve" **just** institutions "over time" (Meyer, 2020).

There are two societal development stages distinguished by Rawls in order to apply the *just savings principle* which are the accumulation stage and the steady-state stage (Meyer, 2020). In the accumulation stage, the present generations must accumulate or *save* a sufficient amount of material capital to allow future generations to establish just institutions. Under a sufficientarian threshold (Meyer, 2020), justice aims to make sure that everyone has "enough" rather than having the "least-well off" have it "as good as possible" (Gosseries, 2011). In the steady-state stage on the other hand, no more material capital is in need to be accumulated, therefore the present generations no longer needs to *save* for future people. Instead they only need to steadily maintain the conditions for future people to "live under just institutions", meaning that the present generations need to "at least" leave "the equivalent" of what" their predecessors left them (Meyer, 2020).

According to Scholsberg, Through the *just savings principle* the idea of the "least advantaged" or the "least well-off" is "**extended to future generations.** This makes the *just savings principle* is a form of **environmental justice to future generations**" (Scholsberg, 2007).

"Savings is achieved by accepting as a political judgement those policies designed to improve the standards of life of later generations of the least advantaged. Here, Rawls extends his difference principle to the least well-off of the future. If we accept that the least advantaged of the future may be least advantaged in environmental goods, this savings principle can bring a form of environmental justice to future generations"—(Scholsberg, 2007, pg.113).

How does this distributive argument apply to environmental justice within cities? Well, the previous example of residents being affected by negative externalities is an example of this. The city is a place with countless inequalities among those who are more well off and those who are not. The main principle of distributive justice is to reduce this unequal gap. Rawl's *just savings principle* applied to the future generations in the context of cities can be seen in the same way. For instance, if a person was to bear children, and these children were to bear other children (grandchildren), how would the person feel if their children or grandchildren would have to bear the same and/if more of such environmental costs? Taking the garbage disposal example of before, if nothing is done then not only would the current communities already have to bear the cost of the negative externalities. If the children and grandchildren were to live in the same city in the future, they would have to bear even more costs, both in the context of health and economics because the toxicity created from the plant would only worsen. The future generations may not have enough resources or money to protect themselves from the toxic waste issue, which could cause a great environmental harm. If the garbage plant can in no way be removed, then the sufficientarian principle can be applied here. The current generations must abide by the *just savings principle* by either providing a compensation to this harm, for instance through economic means (enough money to deal with the hospital and health bills, or the purification of water), or find a way to replace this essential resource for the community (for instance provide air purifiers or potable water for each family affected by the plant's negative externalities). Chapter four will focus on the distributive argument with the problem of waste mismanagement in Rome. The following section will expand the distributive argument by analyzing de-Shalit's expansion of intergenerational justice through his notion of transgenerational communities.

2.2(iii) de-Shalit's expansion of intergenerational justice:

Scholsberg notes that although an intergenerational approach to justice still focuses largely on the "distribution of environmental goods", extending the argument to human communities across time gives it an innovative approach (Scholsberg, 2007). He expands on Rawl's *Theory of justice* by presenting de-Shalit's argument for the transgenerational community from *Prosperity Matters* in 1995. It is a "communitarian theory of intergenerational justice" (Scholsberg, 2007, pg.114).

Firstly, de-Shalit notes that intergenerational justice "has taken a new direction" (de-Shalit, 2005). When looking at future generations, one should not just focus on the provision and distribution of non-renewable resources, but also the inclusion of other environmental issues as "the destruction of aesthetically pleasing landscapes" (de-Shalit, 2005). This means that a comprehensive theory of intergenerational justice also includes,

"...rapid urban development irrespective of a prima facie duty to preserve the overall character of ancient cities such as Rome, Athens, or Jerusalem"—(de-Shalit)

This quote is important as it directly relates to the topic of this thesis.

There are also two important considerations to de-Shalit's communitarian theory of intergenerational justice. The first is that obligations between contemporaries to near-future and remote future generations are different. Near future generations include both 'positive' and 'negative' obligations, while for the remote future generations, the 'positive' obligations diminish with time (de-Shalit, 2005). This is because what should be demanded from the principles of intergenerational justice should not be impossible to achieve. They should be reasonable and "imaginable" (de-Shalit, 2005). The obligations to near-future and remote-future communities will be further explored in the following sections. It is first important to note however, that despite the presence of these differences, "the importance of" the obligations towards the remote future should not be undermined (de-Shalit, 2005).

a) Obligations to the transgenerational community and the near future

De-Shalit's idea of transgenerational community exceeds a conservative idea of community, which focuses on obligations towards our past. He believes that his extension of the community is one which can appeal to many "progressivists" (de-Shalit, 2005). In essence, his notion of the community is an extension of a person's identity. He first takes Aristotle's assumption that a person who does not live within "the community" is "non-human" (de-Shalit, 2005). With that assumption, being part of a community and the obligations one has towards this community is what constitutes a person's identity. Any change in the obligations towards the community would change the person's identity. (de-Shalit, 2005). De-Shalit states,

"If one admits the existence of a community, and if one acknowledges that the community constitutes one's identity, then it is absurd at the same time to deny any obligation to the community of its members. If one acknowledges the importance of the community, then one wishes the community to be sustained, and even to flourish"—(de-Shalit, 2005)

If the community constitutes a person's identity, then it would be reasonable for the person to wish that their community, (therefore their identity) is "sustained" (de-Shalit, 2005). Following this statement he quotes Norman Care,

"Relations with others are not purely external to the self, my commitment towards a social movement or a my children may be a part of my own deepest being, so when I devote myself to hem, my overriding experience is not of sacrificing myself but of fulfilling myself."—(Care, 1983) (de-Shalit, 2005).

If a person wishes for their community to flourish or be sustained, it is not only a matter of sacrificing their experiences to fulfil their communal obligations, but it is also a matter of "self-fulfilment".

How does this apply to **future generations**? De-Shalit argues that if a person accepts their communal obligations towards their present generations, it would make sense for the same principle to apply to a "transgenerational community" which extends "into the future" (de-Shalit, 2005).

He claims that,

"*the constitutive community extends over several generations and into the future, and that just as many people think of the past as part of what constitutes their selves, they do and should forgot the future as part of their selves*."—(de-Shalit, 2005)

But,

*"**Why** should people feel a part of the transgenerational community which extends into the future?" –(de-Shalit, 2005)*

And,

How does this communitarian feeling extend to future generations?

These are rather complicated philosophical questions. De-Shalit provides two alternative models to answer them. The first is the fraternity model and the second is model grounded on the concept of a "rational transgenerational community".

(1) The fraternity model

The fraternity model uses "emotions and sentiments" to extend the notion of a transgenerational community (de-Shalit, 2005). For instance, it is sensible to say that people are concerned with the conditions of their children's future environment because they "care" for and "love" them (de-Shalit, 2005). However, there is a problem with this model because "emotions and sentiments" are not enough to justify the creation of a "constitutive community". The constitution of a transgenerational community cannot rely on "sentiments alone" (de-Shalit, 2005). This brings forward the second answer to the question above, the one of a "rational transgenerational community". This model focuses on "self-transcendence" and "one's relationship with the future". It is "rational" because is it a self-reflection-based, "more voluntary model of community" (de-Shalit, 2005). The philosophy behind this model is rather complex, but the following segment will nonetheless attempt to explain it.

(2) The rational transgenerational community

According to the oxford dictionary, the word "transcendence" is defined as the existence or experience beyond the normal or physical level. Self-transcendence is a concept introduced by Ernest Patridge, who believed that it was a "psychological need, common to all healthy people"(de-Shalit, 2005).

"Well-functioning human beings identify with, and seek to further the well-being, preservation and endurance of communities, locations, artifacts, ideals etc…that are outside their selves and that they hope will flourish beyond their lifetimes". –(Partridge, 1983)(de-Shalit, 2005)

Firstly, the "unity of the self" implies that a person's experiences, memories and expectations make part of what a person "is". It is what constitutes their "self", and make part of their identity (de-Shalit, 2005). This entails that a person's identity relates to their past experiences. Secondly, according to Partridge, there is a psychological motivation for humans to care about the fulfilment of their ideas and desires, even if this fulfilment occurs after we face death and no longer exist in the present. When a person wishes to fulfil their desires, they care less about whether this "takes place in a person's lifetime", but more about whether "it takes place at all" (de-Shalit), 2005. This means that it is plausible to say that the "fulfilment of present intentions" is done so by "future experiences". This is the relationship that de-Shalit highlights between future and present. This relationship is,

"what makes the future selves as a part of the person." It is not *"Not the fact that both present and future experiences belong to an identical subject as an immaterial soul. It is the relationship between my future selves and my present selves that causes me to care about the future." –(de-Shalit, 2005)*

Therefore, it's not necessarily that experiences of present and future belong to one "identical" person (de-Shalit, 2005).

De-Shalit states that,

"the future in general can be regarded as part of one's self, provided that the events in the future reflect one's desires and intentions, inasmuch as now, in the present, one knows, wishes, or hopes they will occur" – (de-Shalit, 2005).

The reason as to why people should feel as part of a future transgenerational community is because of this future-present "self" relationship. Through this enlarged "conception" of the 'self' and our identity, humans are able care about their future community (de-Shalit, 2005).

Another example as to why current generations should care about future ones is proposed by Samuel Scheffler through his notion of the "**collective afterlife conjunction**". The main point of this argument is that contemporaries, and the formulation of their values, are more connected to future generations which extend beyond their deaths than one may expect. He first supposes that there is a "**collective afterlife"**. By this, he does not mean the spiritual or religious notion of the afterlife, but rather, that there is "an existence of other human beings after their own death" (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 5). Subsequently, this "existence of people" that are "unknown to us and yet unborn" (in other words, future generations) in reality "matters more to us than the existence of ourselves or anyone else alive" in this moment (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 8).

*"The coming into existence of people we do not know and love matters more to us than our own survival and the survival of the people we do know and love"—(*Scheffler, 2013, pg. 8).

Scheffler explores this concept through two scenarios. The first is the doomsday scenario. In this scenario he states that, supposing "you knew that, although you yourself would live a normal life" all of humanity will "end thirty days" after "your death" due to an asteroid collision on earth (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 8). The second scenario is the "infertility scenario", which is where although everyone will live a "full life", human beings have suddenly become infertile and thus there would be no future generation as humanity would eventually become extinct (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 5)

Scheffler argues that if these two scenarios were to truly occur, many of the values we own or the activities we value would no longer matter to us as we would be "emotionally declined to them and have weaker reasons to engage with them (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 6). If one greatly values a cultural or religious tradition which has been preserved for generations, or if many of the projects one invests in today are known to only truly become fully successful in the remote future (such as the cure for cancer or the development of biofuels), then how would these values and activities still matter to us if they were to suddenly disappear

within thirty days? Even if it would occur after our unavoidable death? People are born with the expectation that one day, they will die, however they do not shape their expectations and values based on the idea that humanity will suddenly end. Therefore, Scheffler suggests that if the afterlife conjunction is correct, it means that "there are limits to our individualism and in that much of what we value depends on implicit collective preconditions". There are also "limits to our egoism" as "we are more emotionally vulnerable to what happens to others, even" if they are distant from us in the near or remote future (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 8). These limits are shown through different "reactions" to the doomsday and infertility scenario which "highlight the phenomenon of human valuing" (i.e the way we value things) (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 32). These include, a *non-experientialist* reaction, a *non-consequentialist* reaction and lastly a *conservative* dimension. The first and second matter most to the topic of this thesis, thus the *non-consequentialist* will not be discussed.

The *non-experientialist* reaction shows that humans do not only care about their own experiences (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 32). For example, it does not matter if the true and successful cure for cancer is not found within one's lifespan, as long as their lifework contribution eventually leads to finding it, even if it is found after their death. They do not have to participate in the 'finding experience'. However, if one knows that humanity will die thirty days after them, how does that shape the person's conception and value in their cancer-research lifework? The sudden disappearance of humanity affects people's "motivations and choices" on "how to live" (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 23). A person would be less emotionally invested in pursuing such an activity if they know that it will no longer benefit "large numbers of people" into the future Scheffler, 2013, pg. 24). The *non-experientialist* dimension is especially true for many science and tech- projects as well as political activism (Sheffler, 2013).

The *conservative* reaction to the doomsday and infertility scenarios shows that simply the destruction of humanity and disappearance of things or people we value and love, is enough of a reason to leave us "in dismay" (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 21). Since humans react to sudden death with grief and sadness, the same is likely to occur to the "to the prospect that every particular person and thing that we treasure will soon be suddenly destroyed at once" " (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 22). Scheffler states,

> *The fact that we would have these reactions highlights a conservative dimension in our attitudes toward what we value, which sits alongside the non-experiential and non-consequentialist dimensions already mentioned. In general, we want the people and things we care about to flourish; we are not indifferent to the destruction of that which matters most to us. Indeed, there is something approaching a conceptual connection between valuing something and wanting it to be sustained or preserved. During our lifetimes, this translates into a similarly close connection between valuing something and seeing reasons to act so as to preserve or sustain it ourselves.*—(Scheffler, 2013, pg. 22).

Humans therefore inherently wish to sustain and preserve the things they value over time (Scheffler, 2013, pg. 32). Through the *conservative* dimension, current generations personalize their relations to future people.

There is a certain relationship between current generations and their children, or other networks within their communities. It is human nature to shape one's values in a way which allows these future generations to flourish, but also to preserve the same values and activities which we currently enjoy for them to experience as well. These values and activities can include, according to Scheffler, the participation of traditions, differing ways of life, but even more material things such as the arts and literature (Scheffler, 2013). Therefore, a sudden destruction of humanity has a "depressive effect on people's emotions" and what constitutes their conception of the good life. If we want our future generations to enjoy the same constituents of this 'good life', and we know that in a doomsday or infertility scenario these future generations will not come into existence, the "extent of worth" in the preservation of these activities for the enjoyment of future generations will be limited (Scheffler, 2013).

To summarize, according Scheffler, his collective afterlife conjunction is true. This shows that contemporaries, and the formulation of their values, are more connected to future generations than one may expect. As shown by the doomsday and infertility scenarios, people shape their values based on their expectation of the values' continuance into the future, and that what happens after one's death "matters in its own right" (Scheffler, 2013). Scheffler's collective afterlife junction also shows how de-Shalit's contemporary "communitarian feeling", as stated in the question above, is extended to future generations. De-Shalit's transgenerational communitarian argument can be connected to Scheffler's collective afterlife conjunction. Scheffler's argument that humans tend to personalize their relations towards the future generations, and have an interest in preserving the values and traditions which they shape in their lifetimes for their progenies, is precisely an example of that transgenerational relationship described by de-Shalit. This relationship between present and future is the transgenerational community. Scheffler's collective afterlife conjunction is therefore a reason which explains **why** people should "feel a part of the transgenerational community which extends into the future" (de-Shalit, 2005)

b) Obligations to the remote future generations

As aforesaid, for the remote future generations, the so called 'positive' obligations diminish with time (de-Shalit, 2005). This is because what should be demanded from the principles of intergenerational justice should not be impossible to achieve. They should be reasonable and "imaginable" (de-Shalit, 2005). De-Shalit uses the example that, if a current policy was to require the sacrifice of important resources because of moral obligations to the remote future, the present generations would not realistically approve of it. In reality, people today would feel less of a moral obligation towards, for instance, people in the year 2100 if it meant the compromise of their needs today. Of course, this does not make remote future generations any less important to 'near-future' ones. What de-Shalit tries to argue is that our obligations to the remote future imply a type of compensation principle which focuses on the basis of humanity, rather than justice. If we cannot provide the same amount of good A (an indispensable good for people's livelihoods) that we need today to remote future generations, we should at least be able to provide them a sufficient amount of money to find an alternative good. It would be immoral to completely disregard the state of remote future

generations, and thus we should not cause any "severe predictable harm" to future human beings, whether they belong to our community or not (de-Shalit, 2005).

De-Shalit states that there are "varying degrees of obligations".

"Obligations which derive from considerations of justice are more basic than obligations that derive from humanity, although obligations that derive from humanity are sometimes more pressing."—(de-Shalit, 2005)

He uses the example that the issue of children dying from starvation in Somalia is more pressing than, say, "a monopoly over the control of water" in England (de-Shalit, 2005). However, obligations to the remote future are not about "charity" or "generosity". De-Shalit refers to these obligations as 'negative' because the current generations should both "pursue active policies" whilst also pursuing ones which would prevent undesirable situation in the future. Current generations should still "sacrifice something for the sake of remote future" ones, but it would be "unreasonable to share the control over goods with people who will live" a millennia from today" (de-Shalit, 2005).

In simple terms, to summarize De-Shalit's communitarian argument, he argues that the present generations should think of their future progenies as part of their selves, in the same manner which we think of our past generations as part of ourselves (conservative idea of community). The community of the presently existing generation is the same, but it is extended into the future. Therefore if we were to wish that our present generation, our present community, should not be "overburdened" with "environmental problems", the same should apply to our future community. We should allow both the current and future community with an "ample supply of environmental goods" (Scholsberg, 2007).

This argument for the transgenerational community is one which goes beyond Rawl's contractarian argument. This is because unlike his *just savings* principle or other justice theories which focus on optimism and individualism, de-Shalit creates an argument that understands the condition of groups and communities that are present now and that will be in the future. This type of argument is realistic because it is how a majority of people in the political world interpret our duties to future generations (Scholsberg, 2007). In addition, Scholsberg states that de-Shalit's argument is strong as it emphasises the necessity to provide intergenerational environmental justice to our contemporaries before doing so to our future generations. Any existing injustices must be rectified, and this must be a prerequisite for intergenerational environmental justice. It is inequitable to be environmentally unjust to both our future and present generations (Scholsberg, 2007).

"According to Burke, there is a partnership between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. De-Shalit's argument is able to appeal to a variety of other ideologies including this one." –(Scholsberg, 2007, pg.114)

Before diving into the issues that may arise when considering the current generations duties to future ones, the following section will explain how de-Shalit's argument of intergenerational justice from a transgenerational communitarian point of view applies to the context of cities. Chapter one began with the distinguishment between the 'city' and 'urban area' that was often used in the past. The word 'city' defines a community of citizens, and an 'urban area' is the physical space where that community resides (Jamieson, 2003). De-Shalit's transgenerational community can be applied to this context of the word 'city'. Future cities can be considered as future communities in the same way that de-Shalit defines them. Current 'cities' are communities living in the 'urban area', if we consider current cities as current communities, constituting their identity and 'selves' then the same should apply for their future generations. The current 'community' living in the 'urban space' today should consider the well-being and environment (urban space) of their future's.

A similar distinguishment between cities and urban space is made by Sociologist Richard Sennet. Sennet compares a *cité* from a *ville*, two words which derive from the French language. The *ville*, is the urban area, the physical environment that is built for people to inhabit it. The cite' on the other hand, refers to the inhabitant's attitudes towards each other, in other words, the community's 'way of life'. The *ville* is the complete built urban city space, while the *cité* is a more specific environment within the urban space, which shows the socio-cultural interactions between its inhabitants (Sennett, 2018). These social attitudes and socio-cultural interactions also constitute part of the community's identity. When looking at de-Shalit's transgenerational community argument, one can consider the *cité* as part of the transgenerational community's identity. If a current *cité* of a *ville*, or in other words, a current community of an urban space is to be protected and not be deprived of environmental goods, then the same notion of de-Shalit's transgenerational communitarian justice for future *cités* can be applied.

Take for example, Sennett's study of the Shikumen in Shanghai. The Shikumen is an architectural style belonging to Shanghai's modern history. Vast areas of interconnected shikumen-style housing created a *cité* within the Shanghai *ville* (Sennett, 2018). Many poor locals moved into the shikumen community, which created a collective life between its members. This is because communal activities such as "cooking in the open air" courtyards, creation of communal toilets and the sharing of "food and fuel when scarce" would take place (Sennett, 2018, pg. 112). Once the 1990s came around, many of the houses because new, modern individual apartments and private properties. The shikumen community began to disappear along with its communal activities. This created a "social disconnection and isolation" and a neglect of the elder generations (Sennett, 2018, pg. 112). These "isolating circumstances" caused by the modernization of the shikumen increased rates of suicide and anomie among the younger generations (Sennett, 2018, pg. 112). All of these consequences have created a vast **intergenerational disconnection**, illustrating how the construction of a modern and "world-class *ville*", has destroyed an important cultural "*cité"* Sennett, 2018, pg. 113).

The shikumen is crealy an example of a cultural good which should have been protected, but was destroyed in preference of urbanization and modernization. Looking at this event through de-Shalit's argument for intergenerational justice, there seems to have been no regard for the flourishing of the transgenerational community. Although it seemed that modernizing the shikumen would have created a sort of urban improvement, it instead led psychological and physical harm to the future communities which came to live within the new 'shikumen spaces'. The shikumen example of Sennet's cite and ville, and the difference between an urban space and the 'city' (community), are two examples of how de-shalit's communitarian argument has affected both the past generations (elderly and their culture) and future (**intergenerational disconnection,** increased suicide rates and anomie).

Lastly, de-Shalit himself specifically noted that environmental intergenerational justice is now not only focused on distribution of resources, but also other factors such as the preservation of the "overall character of ancient cities such as Rome" (de-Shalit, 2005). This is an example which shows that, apart from renewable or nonrenewable resources, we must also protect cities themselves. This also includes the important cultural landmarks which represent the character and identity of these cities.

2.2(iv)Problems when considering Duties to Future Generations

The discourse on intergenerational justice is rather complex, it comes across a variety of problems. One of the problems identifies by some scholars when discussing our duties to future generations is known as the *non-identity problem* (Meyer, 2020). It is mentioned above that through the present generation's relation to the future's, the sole existence (identity) of future people is dependent of our current generation's actions and decisions (Meyer, 2020). Jamieson uses the following example:

"First, it must be recognized that virtually everything we do deeply affects members of future generations. Indeed what we do even affects the identity of who will exist in the future. The slightest change in the remote past would have made it highly unlikely that we would now exist. Look at it this way. A necessary condition for my existing is that I originated in the union of a unique sperm and a unique egg. If my mother had stubbed her toe on the way to bed on the might of my conception, I would not have been conceived. For if a child would have been conceived an instant later it would have originated from a different sperm uniting with the egg. The result might have been someone very much like me, as much like me as my brother is, but still a different person. Once we see the radical contingency of our existence, it is obvious that different policies concerning historical preservation (and also environmental policies) *would result in different people being born in the future*—(Jamieson, 2003, pg.264).

The non-identity problem poses a philosophical question. If future people do not exist in the present, how can they be a "subject of anything, including rights" to environmental justice (Meyer, 2020)? Meyer argues that firstly, making the assumption that our future generations will be bearers of rights is a safe one. Secondly, these future rights will be "determined" by our future people's "interests", which would be

affected by our present policies and decisions. If in the present, a violation of rights is a severe frustration people's interests, the same claim would hold for our future people (Meyer, 2020). This means that the future people's "inexistence" argument is not sufficient to claim that our current generations have no way to violate future people's rights (Meyer, 2020).

Another question is,

To what extent must our contemporaries' decisions and policies be guided by our obligations towards future generations?

Meyer proposes a direct response to the *non-identity problem* itself. The present generation cannot be influenced by concrete duties towards future generations, **however,** this does **not** mean that we owe no obligations towards them at all. Present obligations are not guided by the **future persons' identities**, instead, they depend on the mere fact that our future generations will "share those properties of **being human that permit and require us to relate morally to them as fellow humans"** (Meyer, 2020). The present generations can, with some accuracy, predict the future**.** Thus, if we destroy the environmental goods today the consequences will likely have unfavourable impact on our future generation's rights to those goods (Meyer, 2020).

2.2(v)Problems when considering duties to past generations

There are also some issues when considering duties to past generations. According to Jamieson, the basic argument behind our obligations towards past generations is that when people create cities, communities, buildings or other, most of the times they intend for these creations to stand and exist "beyond their deaths" (Jamieson, pg. 266). However, this argument contains a few flaws.

Firstly, some believe that we may not have a duty to the dead because they no longer exist. If one makes a promise to a family member that has passed away, how strong is that obligation towards them if they are no longer living? Another issue is the fact that promises tend to fade away with time. One may feel obliged to maintain promises towards their parents, grandparents and even great-grandparents. However, does one feel the same amount of moral obligation towards their great-great grandparents, or their ancestors dating back many generations from the past (Jamieson, 2003)? Jamieson argues that although these issues seem like persuasive enough arguments to not maintain a promise, there is some level of irrationality within them. If a promise has no such strong obligation towards someone that is perhaps no longer living, what would the point of making a promise to take care of" someone's "children" or "art collection" be in the first place (Jamieson, 2003, pg. 267)? Are promises merely "exercises in collective self-deception" or a "cruel hoax" (Jamieson, 2003, pg. 267).

This argument is similar to the non-identity issue presented in the section above because it can also be applied to future generations. The general question is again, how can one have an obligation to somebody that is not currently existing? The answer to this similar to the answer given to the non-identity problem. Surely, current generations cannot be imposed by concrete and specific obligations to those of the past, but this does not mean that there is no obligation at all. Again, present obligations to the past generations depend of "**the properties of being human that permit and require us to relate morally to them as fellow humans**" (Meyer, 2020). Present generations would likely want to preserve their existing creations, and perhaps continue to preserve (for instance) existing communities that have been passed on for centuries. Once the future generations will come into existence, and time shifts to their 'present', then they would have these same obligations towards the now-current generations, which for them would be their 'past'.

2.2(vi)Intergenerational justice: UNESCO conventions, world heritage, and our obligations to past and future generations:

Chapter 1 talks about the importance of Rome as global, historical, and cultural good. This was considered through various examples, especially through its importance defined by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. As aforementioned, **World Heritage** is defined by *The World Heritage Convention* of 1972 as,

"our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to ***future generations****. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration.* ***World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world****, irrespective of the territory on which they are located".*—(UNESCO)

It is evident in this definition that the existence of the UNESCO itself, and the conventions it follows, are an existing institutional example of how present generations feel an obligation towards our past and future. By "all people of the world", this description can be viewed as a "world community", which, when bringing back de-Shalit's transgenerational community argument, can be regarded as a world community which extends to both the past and future. A supporting argument to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention is Dale Jamieson's *common wisdom argument.* This argument justifies the preservation of landmarks, and is rather inclusive because it encompasses duties to various subjects, including past, future, present generations, as well as the right to the existence of a "landmark" itself.

The basic idea of the *common wisdom argument* is that current generations must provide a "sensible urban policy" for our cities in order to provide the necessary conditions for "the good life" as mentioned in the arguments above (Jamieson, 2003). Jamieson also states a good life should not only encompass "material amenities" which cities provide, but also "social, psychological and emotional factors" (Jamieson, 2003). These factors include "landmarks" (Rome as a global good in this case) because "they are part of a physical and cultural ecology which is conducive to the living" of the good life (Jamieson, 2003). This is a clear

example of environmental justice towards **future generations**, which the UNESCO World Heritage aims to provide.

In addition, Jamieson argues that "landmarks" embody the "*common wisdom* of those who have built, lived and worked in them" (Jamieson, 2003, pg. 276). This idea addresses present generational duties to those of our past because 'they permit greater community" which would be of a "higher quality" than "anything we may invent in the future" (Jamieson, 2003, pg.276). Their preservation is symbol of "deep appreciation" and "respect" to the past generations which we inherited them from. This makes the common wisdom argument an inclusive one for the duties that we owe to our **past generations**. Jamieson's argument is again, evident through the existence and application of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.

An additional connection to both Jamieson's *common wisdom argument* for the preservation of landmarks, and the UNESCO World Heritage Convention is again, through the notion of de-Shalit's transgenerational community. If people in the past and present had certain desires which constitute part of their "selves" and identities, and these desires include the preservation of landmarks and environmental goods (as shown by UNESCO's commitment to preserve world heritage), the fulfillment of these desires (whether by current intentions/experiences or future intentions/experiences), show how there is a transgenerational community that is linked through this relationship of the 'self'. Both past, current and present generations are linked through this notion of the 'self' and thus take part of the same "transgenerational" community.

3. Chapter Three: The Mismanagement of Waste in Rome

3.1 Rome: An open-air garbage disposal

3.1(i) An urban eyesore for the city:

The issue of waste for the city of Rome is not a new one. Whole peripheries and neighborhoods within the city's 15 municipalities have been perceived by its citizens as completely abandoned by the government. However, in recent years the issue of waste has gotten more attention by the media because the problem has spread to the city's historic center. New York Times chief for the Roman bureau, Jason Horowitz, dedicated a whole article titled "*Rome in Ruins*", highlighting the concern that the city is becoming a literal "open-air garbage dump" (Horowitz, 2018). Horowitz, interviewed popular blog *Roma Fa Schifo* (Rome is disgusting) founder Massimiliano Tonelli on the present issue whilst touring the city together. The article shows a photo of Tonelli sitting on a park bench which faces the Colosseum whilst being completely "surrounded by trash" (Horowitz, 2018). Horowitz describes the sights surrounding the city's iconic landmarks such as the Colosseum being covered with,

"…empty beer bottles, cigarette packs, stained paper towels, soiled clothes and littered food" which *"were spread around like some grotesque picnic."*—(Horowitz, 2018)

"In the neighborhoods around us, sidewalks were cluttered with soaked mattresses, refrigerators and armchairs."—(Horowitz, 2018)

Source: Ronchini Andrea, Garbage at the Historic Centre of Rome, 2018, Rome, Getty Images

Source: Ronchini Andrea, Waste in Rome – AMA Strike, 2018, Rome, Getty Images

"Unrestrained Beauty, overflowing dumpsters" (Horowitz, 2018) is an honest description for the current state of Rome. The sight described by Horowitz is not one which the thousands of tourists who come to visit Rome, and experience the cultural goods it has to offer, expect to see. In addition, the problem is not only an aesthetic one but a sanitary one as well. In their itinerary, in addition to the cultural landmarks, tourists not only have to experience piles of trash on the roads, but they must bear the stench which comes along with it, one that is particularly potent during the summer times. As for the citizens of the city who must navigate these roads on a daily basis, it has become a health concern for them as well. The sight of a dumpster catching on fire is not a rare one, in fact, already in the first month of 2021, seventy dumpsters were damaged or set on fire (AMA s.p.a, "*Incendiati e distrutti già 70 contenitori stradali*"). Toxic carcinogens created by the burning of waste from the dumpsters can create a potentially harmful health hazard, especially for those who are more sensitive to them. This problem was made even more evident after the *Salario* waste plant caught on fire in December 2019, creating both an environmental disaster and a dangerous health hazard to residential areas in its proximities.

Likewise, the overflowing garbage dumpsters and rubbish bins located around the city have attracted many rats, wild boars (mostly in the surrounding neighborhoods) and most notably, seagulls. The seagulls have grown to colossal sizes, twice as big as their "Australian cousins" (Horowitz, 2018) and have become a big nuisance to people in the city center, both tourists and residents. As the *larus michahellis* seagulls are considered both scavenger and predatory animals, their abnormal size is directly a cause of the availability of food which is provided by the garbage found in the city. They are a rather invasive and territorial species. They feed on garbage scraps and have been caught preying on rats and pigeons (Horowitz, 2018). Their growing presence may also be a reason as to why the seasonal flocks of swallows had long disappeared in Rome during the springtime. It is clear that their growing presence has caused a "man-made" disruption of equilibrium in the Roman ecosystem. The only way to reduce their invasiveness and population is to "clean the city" (Horowitz, 2018). Seagulls are shoreline birds, it is rather odd to see them in a city where the sea is approximately 60km away.

Rome's mayor, Virginia Raggi organized a plan to replace the old plastic and inconvenient "eyesore" of rubbish bins. New urn-shaped bins have been placed in certain areas of the city center such as the Pantheon, for now only as an experiment. However they have already received a lot of criticism, specifically by Massimiliano Tonelli who compares his take on Rome's failure to provide a public good to the way Paris handled a similar situation. He states that the whole design-project was an issue in the first place for two reasons. Firstly, that it took five years for the project to be officially implemented (it was introduced in 2015) and secondly, that it would have been a perfect opportunity to render it an international contest for young architects and designers to bring fruitful innovations to the city's problem. The architect of the project, Marco Tamino, was directly assigned by the government which by law is allowed to grant a maximum of forty-thousand euros as payment. Anything more than this number would require a public contest to be held. Tamino was given 39,500 euros as payment and although it met the governmental

guidelines it still received criticism for the fact that it was so close to the threshold and that the opportunity for an innovative contest was completely disregarded (Tonelli, 2020).

The second point of criticism is that Rome took much longer than other European cities to resolve similar issues. Paris for instance, already begun a similar project in 2013 which was officially implemented in 2015. They were designed by a more renowned, award-winning designer, Jean Michelle Wilmotte and in contrary to the new Roman urns, the Parisian bins are more "aesthetically invisible to the eye whilst still being robust"(Tonelli, 2020). "They are also almost impossible to vandalize it with graffiti and stickers" (Tonelli, 2020).

Source: Massimilliano Tonelli, Roma fa Schifo Blog, December 2020

Source: Massimilliano Tonelli, Roma fa Schifo Blog, December 2020

To summarize, the above statements pose some fundamental questions for this thesis,

How can a city that is so renowned for its beauty, history and culture be reduced to this state? How is it acceptable for the current generation to allow a global good such as Rome to be left in these conditions to our future generations?

Before answering these questions, the following sections will show how Roman waste has been managed throughout the years until today. It will also analyze the issues that have emerged within its managing systems.

3.2 How waste is managed in the City

3.2(i) Who manages waste?

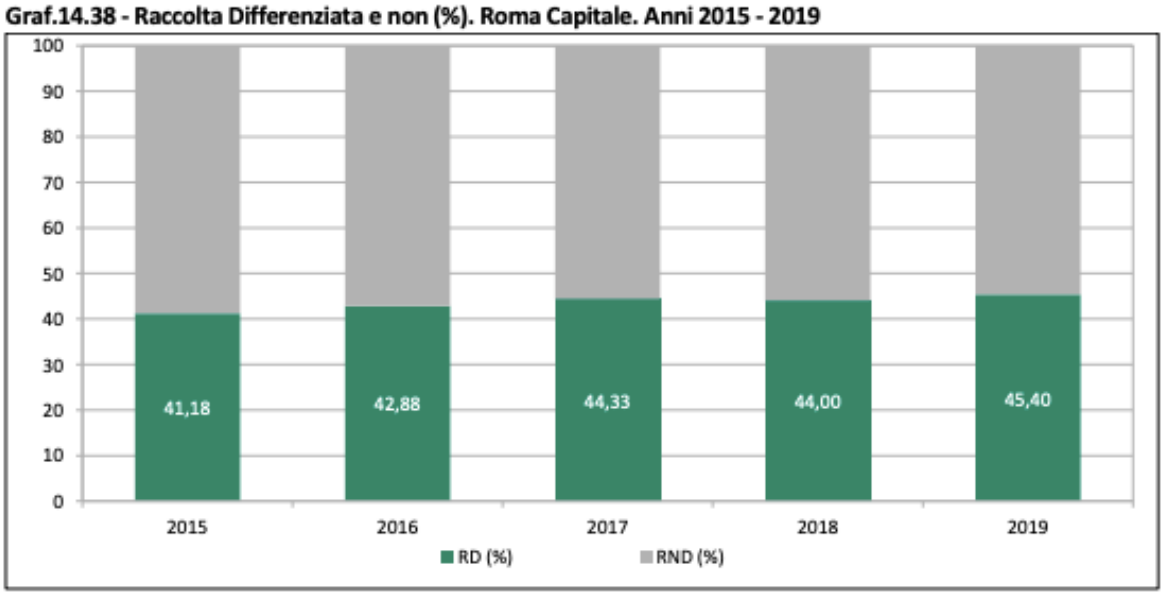
The Republic of Italy is divided into regions, provinces and communes with the "smallest local governmental unit" being the organs of the communes (Brittanica). These organs include "the popularly elected communal council, communal committee/executive body and the mayor" (Brittanica). *Roma Capitale* is the organ for the Roman *comune* (commune), which autonomously administers ordinances and is responsible for running public health services, transportation, garbage collection and street lighting. They also have the power to levy and collect taxes (Brittanica).

According to the *Roma Capitale* website, **AMA s.p.a** (*Agenzia Municipiale Ambiente società per azioni*, Muncipial Agency for the Environment) is the agency which manages the city's waste. These services include the procurement of urban hygiene, garbage collection, separation and disposal. It is an agency that is entirely owned by *Roma Capitale*.

3.2(ii) Statistics of Roman Waste

According to AMA s.p.a, Rome produces an average of 4,600 tons of waste per day. 2,600 tons of the 4,000 are non-recyclables and the remaining 2,000 tons are the differentiated waste (such as recyclables and organic waste) (AMA s.p.a, "*Raccolta Differenziata*."). In 2018, there was a total of 1.73 million tons of waste produced which was recorded, and according to the assessed data of 2019's first semester, it is suggested that in 2019 a total of 1.71 million tons of waste was produced, of which 46% of it was differentiated and/or recycled (ACOS *Roma Capitale*). According to the following graphs, it is evident that the production of waste over the years has reduced and that the differentiation of recyclables and non-recyclables has shown a slight improvement. ***Graph 1***, shows an increase in differentiated waste (recyclables and compost) whereas ***Graph 2***, shows a reduction in total waste produced.

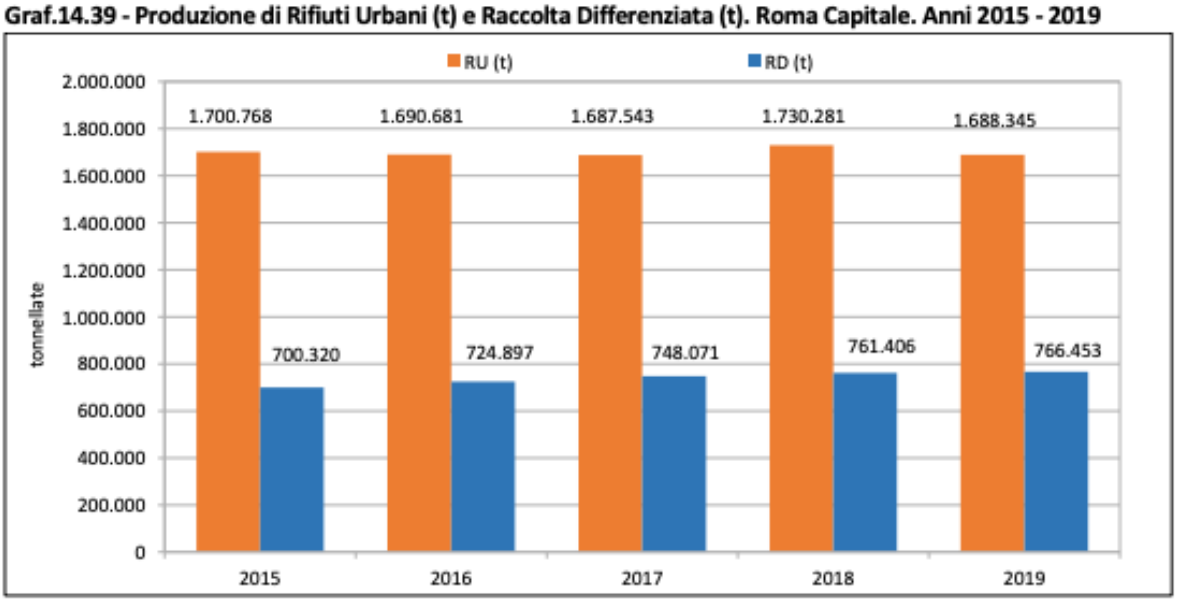
Graph 1: Differentiated and non-differentiated waste (%) of Rome from 2015-2019



Fonte: Elaborazioni Ufficio di Statistica - Open Data di Roma Capitale su dati AMA, Anagrafe dei rifiuti (2015-2018); AMA per ISTAT, Dati ambientali nelle città (dati provvisori 2019)

Source: AMA for ISTAT, , Ufficio Statistico di Roma Capitale

Graph 2: Urban waste [RU(t)] and differentiated waste production [RD(s)] in Rome from 2015-2019 Measured in Tons



Fonte: Elaborazioni Ufficio di Statistica - Open Data di Roma Capitale su dati AMA, Anagrafe dei rifiuti (2015-2018); AMA per ISTAT, Dati ambientali nelle città (dati provvisori 2019)

Source: AMA for ISTAT, Ufficio Statistico di Roma Capitale

Nevertheless it is important to note that, the city's recyclable and compostable waste (differentiated waste) still **does not** meet the necessary EU norms for waste differentiation (AMA s.p.a, *Statistics Report of the Roma Capitale Environment,* 2019).

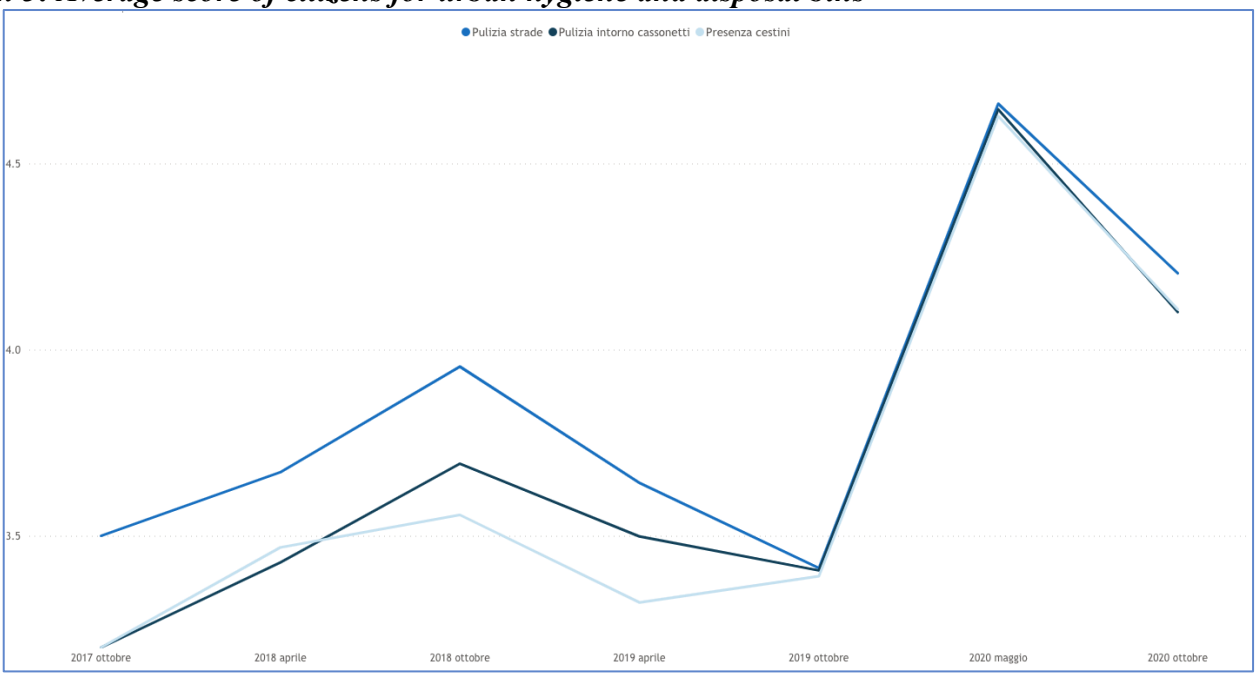
Another indicator to consider is the citizen satisfaction of waste disposal services were surveyed by AMA s.p.a. An average of **4.6** was scored for urban hygiene which includes garbage collection, separation and disposal as well as road cleaning services (AMA s.p.a, Roma Capitale). Looking at ***graph 3***, in 2019 the overall satisfaction of urban hygiene was scored below 3.5, a very low score. This was very likely due to the

"*emergenza rifiuti* (emergency of waste)" period of summer 2019, where the state of urban waste was in some of its worst conditions recorded. The mayor, Virginia Raggi, had to resolve this emergency by sending the excess waste to other regions of the country. Although there was a rapid increase of scores in early 2020 to approximately 4.6, this was most likely an anomaly from less waste being discarded on the roads during the 3 month Covid-19 quarantine period. As soon as it ended, by October 2020 the score fell again to below 4.5. Similar

Graph 4 shows a similar pattern to ***graph 3***, with a slight improvement during the quarantine but again a decrease in citizen satisfaction for door-to-door waste collection (4.97) and roadside waste collection (4.39). The door-to-door service of garbage collection or "*servizio a porta"* was initiated by major Virginia Raggi who had plans of improving Rome's waste management system since her election in 2016.

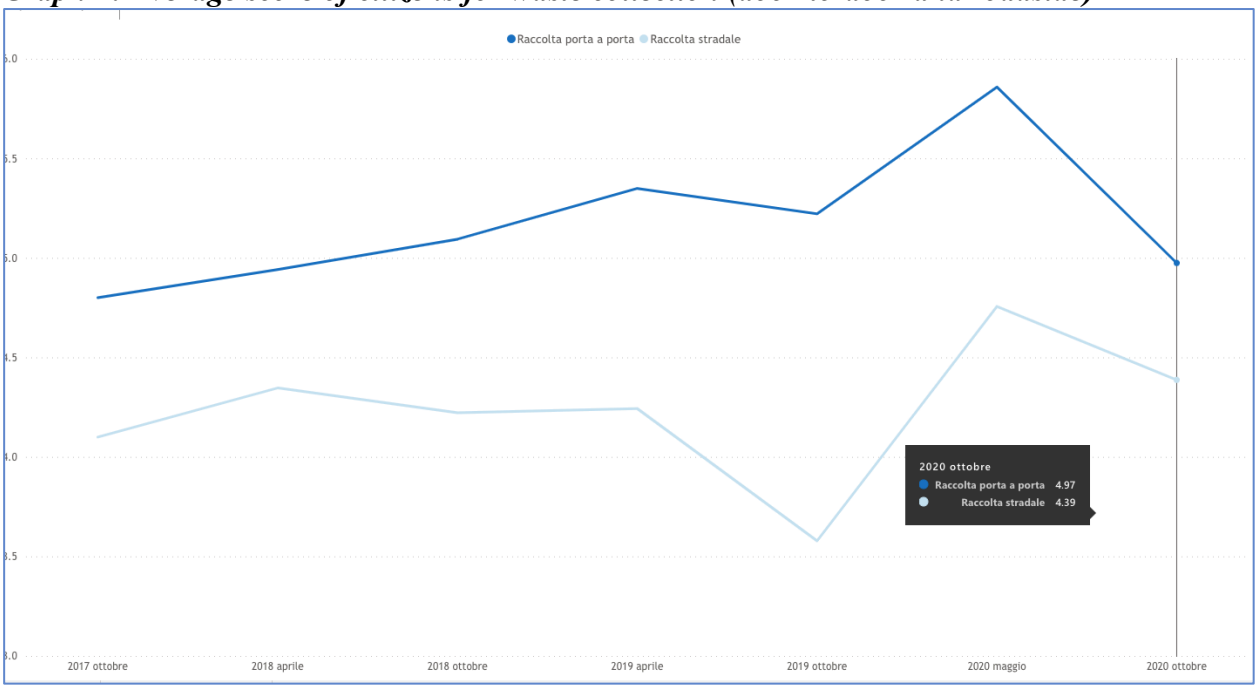
Lastly, ***graph 5*** shows the average score of citizens for waste collection centers and call centers reserved specifically for the disposal of domestic appliances and furniture. Again, ***graph 5*** shows similar patterns in citizen satisfaction of services to the previous graphs, however the latest average score for both services was a 5. Although this number is slightly higher than the ones for the services stated above, it shows that Roman citizens remain rather unsatisfied.

Graph 3: Average score of citizens for urban hygiene and disposal bins



Source: AMA s.p.a, Agenzia Roma Capitale

Graph 4: Average score of citizens for waste collection (door-to-door and roadside)



Source: AMA s.p.a, Agenzia Roma Capitale

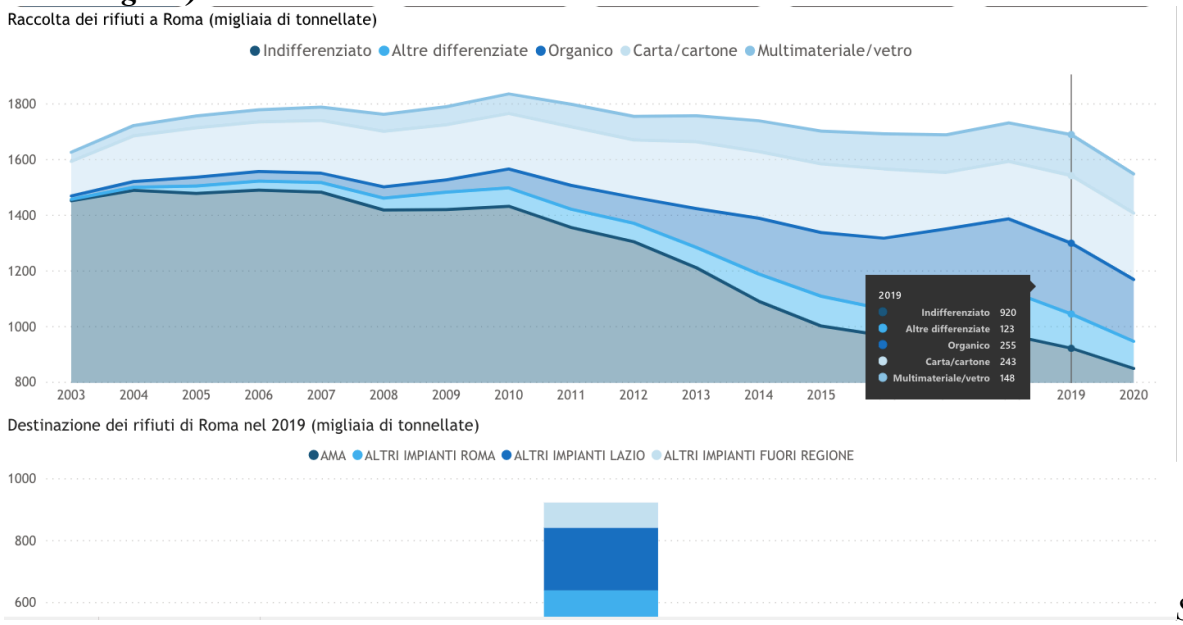
Graph 5: Average score of citizens for waste collection centers and call centers

Source: AMA s.p.a, Agenzia Roma Capitale

3.2(iii)How is Roman waste disposed of?

Waste collection in Rome is divided into five categories as seen in ***graph 6***. These include, *non-recyclables, recyclables, organic, paper, multi-material/glass.* Total production of differentiated recyclable and non-recyclable waste has slightly decreased but is still inefficiently managed and disposed of.

Graph 6: Overall waste collection in Rome (non-recyclables, recyclables, organic, paper, multi-material/glass)



Source: AMA AMA s.p.a, Agenzia Roma Capitale

Non-recyclables are treated mainly in **Mechanical biological treatment (MBT)** plants. These plants are able to separate some recyclable material (10%) from landfills and from material used for "energy recovery" and "secondary solid combustibles" (a type of fuel derived from non-dangerous urban waste material) (DiRE, 2018). 38% of waste is separated into "secondary solid combustibles" and 62% is sent to landfills (DiRE, 2018). Rome has two landfills that manage non-recyclable urban waste while the rest is sent to plants outside the Region (DiRE, 2018). It used to rely on the Salario and Colleferro waste-to-energy conversion plants, but they both have been closed. The Salario plant closed due to a disastrous fire incident in December 2019 while Colleferro was closed after being pressed by environmental assessment agencies and activists (Romatoday, "*Giornata storica per Colleferro, dopo 26 anni chiude la discarica"*).

According to these statistics, the present management of urban waste in Rome shows a shortage of efficiency. There is a shortage of sufficient plants to manage organic waste and waste-to-energy plants within the region (DiRE, 2018). There is also a low efficiency of the MBT system, as less than 50% of urban waste is recycled which can be seen above in ***graph 1*** and ***graph 2*** (DiRE, 2018) (AMA s.p.a*, Ufficio Statistico di Roma Capitale*). In addition, Rome shows to be highly dependent on waste plants and intermediaries in other regions, showing the "vulnerability and fragility of the" management "system" (DiRE, 2018). Rome is the only capital city in the European Union that is in the "vulnerable" state that it is today, as all other capital cities have both higher, more efficient recycling rates and own at least one waste-to-energy conversion plant (DiRE, 2018).

3.3 Culprits of Roman's waste mismanagement

3.3(i) Who is to blame?

There is a history for the malfunction of Rome's waste management. This dates to the times of the Malagrotta landfill, which was officially shut down in 2013 by European authorities who deemed it "unfit to treat waste" (Zampano, 2019) and an "ecological disastrous dump" (Horowitz, 2018). According to the European Commission,

"100 trash disposal sites were illegal, because they did not pre-treat waste with chemicals that reduce their volume and toxicity, as required by European guidelines. It ruled that Malagrotta, the worst offender among the illegal sites, could no longer collect garbag"—(Di Giorgio, 2014)

The Malagrotta plant was the biggest garbage disposal landfill in Europe, thus being the main location for Rome's urban waste for approximately 30 years. The plant was owned by Manlio Cerroni, known as "*Il Supremo*" by locals, who monopolized urban waste management for Rome before AMA s.p.a took over (Zampano, 2019). Cerroni was notorious for being involved in a corruption scandal and exploited by infamous mobster Massimo Carminati, also known as the "The Pirate" (Povoledo, 2014) (Horowitz, 2018). Cerroni became a powerful business man. He had connections to many politicians which would also allow him to keep his competitors away from his business. He was eventually persecuted and issued an arrest warrant due to his profit-maximizing "criminal" monopoly (Di Giorgio, 2014). Persecutors have also investigated whether potable water in the vicinity of the landfill had been polluted by any toxic waste (Di Giorgio, 2014).

The Malagrotta landfill was closed without an alternative plan, which left Rome without a "major site to dump or treat" the million metric tons of waste that it produces per annum (Zampano, 2019). Although waste management is now completely in the hands of AMA s.p.a which is completely owned by *Roma Capitale*, subsequent administrations failed to overcome the consequences of its closure. This led to the capital's growing dependence on waste exportation to other regions outside of Latium (*Lazio*) which in 2018 reached an approximate of 490 thousand tons spread over a distance of 430 km (AMA s.p.a, *Roma Capitale*). The garbage which Rome exports to other regions costs approximately 180 million euros. Roman citizens are also among some of the highest paying municipal-waste taxes in Italy (Zampano, 2019).

The capital city's mayor is Virginia Raggi who was elected in 2016. She had a plan for 2017-2021 to offer and expand "door-to-door" garbage collection services and also set a target to reach 70% of differentiated (recyclable) waste by 2021 (Zampano, 2019). It is clear in the statistics section above, the planned target was not met (still less than 50% of urban waste is recycled).

AMA s.p.a is also in serious debt (600 million euros), with some of "its former managers being investigated" including "dozens of local officials and mobsters, in a corruption probe by Rome prosecutors"

(Zampano, 2019). These officials were “accused of teaming up to rig bids for city contracts” (Zampano, 2019). Lorenzo Bacagni, the official in charge of AMA s.p.a pledged in 2018 that “Rome will become a model for Europe in Waste management” as the agency plans to “build thirteen new facilities” three of which would “specialize in recycling organic waste” (Zampano, 2019). According to this plan, the new plants would process 880 thousands of “recyclable waste” (Zampano, 2019). These plans however, are met with suspicion by environmental experts. For example, environmental policy professor Lanza says that there is resistance to the building of new plants in certain areas by local residents. Overcoming this would has proven to be difficult (Zampano, 2019). The North of Italy is looking to implement waste-to-energy plants, while Rome still has difficulties in deciding “what to do with its” urban waste (Zampano, 2019).

Government officials however are not the only ones to blame. Despite few attempts to protest, such as in October 2018, where “thousands of outraged residents” flooded the “Renaissance piazza in front of City Hall” to protest again urban degradation, the overall urban waste mismanagement has been met with “resistance to change” from a majority of Roman residents (Zampano, 2019). Horowitz states that the main response from Roman residents has been online, mostly the sharing of “memes on social networks” and “photos of garbage piles growing on the streets” between each other (Horowitz, 2018). Of course the problem is a never-ending cycle. If the government in charge is not showing proper signs of taking action, citizens eventually adapt to the state of things without showing much care. They eventually become disillusioned with their local government. As citizens do not pressure local governments in such a way that could lead to potential change, the government may not feel a huge urgency to change the state of things.

To conclude this chapter, it is evident that Rome has an issue of urban waste mismanagement. This issue has become a full-blown crisis which must be resolved as soon as possible. Waste mismanagement causes a variety physical consequences (health and sanitary hazards) and psychological consequences (degradation of important historical and cultural sites). These consequences pose a threat to environmental justice because they restrict the ability to live the “good life” (mentioned in chapter two) for both contemporaries and non-contemporaries. If it is already environmentally unjust that the current generations must deal with this, it would be unjust to allow our future generations to do so as well. We cannot push such responsibilities to them because by the time they reside our world, the situation will continue to become too complicated to resolve. This would creating the possibility for a large-scale environmental disaster.

The final chapter will discuss how the arguments from chapter two for intergenerational justice apply to the evidence of the waste mismanagement in Rome that has been highlighted in this chapter.

4. Chapter Four: Why is the Mismanagement of Waste in Rome Considered an Environmental Injustice to Future Generations?

Firstly, it was argued through a change in context of Sassen's 'global city', that Rome is an important global city of its own, through a historical and cultural context rather than an economic and financial one. It is widely recognized on a socio-digital scale as it was ranked highly within ING's World's and Europe's most talked about cities. Additionally, Rome's symbolic nature of the *Urbs Aeterna* has made it a hub of cultural exchange for years, as pilgrims (now tourists) have flocked to see the city's beauty over the course of centuries until today. It also is safe to assume that many more will continue to do so in the future.

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention's role in the protection of Rome's historical and cultural heritage are clear indicators that Rome is a global good to both present and future generations. UNESCO recognizes Rome as an important city of cultural exchange and historical civilizations, thus placing it on the UNESCO World Heritage List, meeting points (i), (ii), (iv), (vi) of the Convention's criteria (see appendix).

If Rome has been preserved for so many years by its ancestors and previous generations, would it be just to deprive the future generations of such a good that both the past and current generations have been able to enjoy on a global scale?

Is it environmentally just to allow so much trash in the city to the point of bringing in invasive and seagulls which disrupt the city's equilibrium, and harass the visitors and residents of the city?

Is it environmentally just to mismanage the city's waste in such a way that it has clogged the streets around important historical landmarks with trash, also causing sanitary concerns and disruption to the psychological wellbeing of the city's residents? If so, how would this violation of justice be extended to non-contemporaries?

The main answers to these questions are clearly **no**. This chapter will proceed to provide the answers and evidence as to why waste mismanagement in Rome is an environmental injustice to first, current generations and then also to non-contemporaries.

4.1 Rome's trash problem is an environmental injustice to current generations

As aforesaid, it is evident from chapter three that Rome has been surrounded by trash, disturbing the wellbeing of its tourists and residents. Horowitz and Tonelli describe what the city has unfortunately been reduced to. It was said that Rome, according to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and List, is an important global good that must be preserved to avoid is 'impoverishment' for the whole of 'mankind' (see *Appendix I*) (UNESCO). For such reasons, the trash problem in Rome, illustrating the poor treatment of the city's sites, monuments and groups of buildings (as defined by the World Heritage Convention and shown in

Appendix II) is a clear evidence of a violation in the UNESCO Convention (see *Appendix I*). The highlighted text of *Appendix I*, shows specifically how the trash problem is threatening the World Heritage of Rome. Also, **Article 4 part II** of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (*Appendix II.a*) states,

> ***II. National Protection and International Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage***
>
> *Article 4*
>
> *Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain*

The waste mismanagement in Rome and its consequential trash problem in the city center, is a direct violation of this Convention's Article for the current generation (and also future, which will be further discussed below).

The trash problem in Rome has not only ruined the aesthetic aspect to its world heritage sights, but also created health concerns for its residents. The overall trash problem also has the potential to bring psychological harm because if residents have to deal with this issue on a daily basis, it clearly disrupts their potential to 'live the good life'. As for tourists, the trash problem interferes with their enjoyment of the city's historical and cultural richness. If and tourists residents have to navigate through piles of trash daily, and be distracted by the stench that it produces when it is left to rot for days, how can they physically and psychologically feel comfortable to live or deal with such a situation? Also, why is it not considered a rarity that garbage bins and dumpsters are often ruined or lit on fire as shown by the AMA s.p.a statistics in Chapter 3? The current conditions of the city due to its waste mismanagement are clear violations of environmental justice. These conditions are not only ruining an urban space aesthetically, but they are ruining the ability for the community within the urban space to live a healthy and 'good life'. Jamieson also showed through his common wisdom argument, that the necessary conditions to live a 'good life' should encompass material amenities (a proper and effective system of waste management in Rome's case), but also **social**, **psychological** and **emotional features** (Jamieson, 2003). The historically important landmarks which make part of the Roman community and identity, for which tourists come to enjoy and learn from are part of the "physical and cultural ecology" "conducive to the living" of the 'good life' (Jamieson, 2003, pg. 273).

The resident's dissatisfaction with the city's waste services show how the social and emotion needs to live the 'good life' not being met. As shown by all of the graphs in chapter three, the satisfaction of citizens for the services of Rome's urban hygiene and garbage disposal has been rather stagnant in the last few years. Yes, there has been very slight improvement but the overall score still remains unsatisfactory (score of 4.6 average). The same applies to the amount of trash that is has been differentiated and recycled

(which is below 50%). The poor management of Rome's waste is also illustrated by the insufficient MBT system AMA s.p.a uses to treat non-recyclable waste (as seen in the statistics of Chapter three). The method which AMA s.p.a uses to treat and dispose of waste does not meet the European norms for waste differentiation (AMA s.p.a, *Statistics Report of the Roma Capitale Environment,* 2019) and Rome is the only capital city in the European Union that has not even one waste-to-energy conversion plant, and scores much lower in the efficiency of its recycling rates when compared to other modern European capitals (DiRe 2018). All of these examples are another indication of environmental injustices to Roman communities, because important environmental and health norms are not being met.

In addition, Tonelli showed more evidence of citizen dissatisfaction with the attempt of the local government to tackle the trash problem in Rome. The new urn-shaped garbage bin project was highly criticized, not only for its impracticality but also for the slow, bureaucratic process that could have been more efficiently managed if the proposals that Tonelli gives were taken into consideration (public contest and using other city's functioning models such as Paris as an example). The disregard for a public contest shows how an opportunity for political participation to provide a solution to an environmental problem was completely disregarded. Not only that, but a group of people who could have essentially been interested in creating more environmentally just conditions for the city was completely put aside. In other words, there was a misrecognition of people who could have potentially been interested in providing a solution to a problem of which the majority of Roman residents are very vocal about. This dissatisfaction and criticism illustrates a poor example of activism taken by the local government to find a solution to the environmental injustice caused by the urban trash issue.

Furthermore, the seagulls that have been attracted by the abundance of overflowing trash as a food source has created a disruption in equilibrium of both the ecosystem and urban areas of the city. Seagulls have invaded the city, especially the city center. They create a greater mess by picking into the city's trash bins and dumpsters, they have grown to abnormal sizes and drawn out local bird species that would often show in the city's landscapes. As aforementioned, the reason as to why the seasonal flocks of swallows had long disappeared in Rome during the springtime may be caused by the invasion of seagulls in the city. Not only that, but now they mostly rely on the remnants of food waste as their main nutritional source which is a man-made dependence that will be difficult to control. For all of the reasons mentioned above, this man-made disequilibrium in the ecosystem and urban areas, caused by the invasion of seagulls as a result of the unresolved trash problem, is another example of a violation of environmental justice in Rome.

Lastly, the corruption scandal, the criminal monopoly that ran the Malagrotta plant, and the inefficiencies of the subsequent governments to tackle the consequential trash issue are other examples environmental injustices to the Roman community. The whole issue surrounding of the Malagrotta landfill plant (an environmental disaster according to European authorities), and its shut-down is perhaps the core reason for Rome's trash problem and waste mismanagement. As aforesaid, the Malagrotta landfill treated Roman waste for approximately 30 years, and was owned and managed through a monopoly by Manlio

Cerroni (also known as *Il Supremo*) before the public Roma Capitale agency, AMA s.p.a, took over. He was notorious for collude with politicians to keep his monopoly and also being involved with the *Mafia Capitale*'s corruption scandal (Di Giorgio, 2014) (Horowitz, 2018). Prioritizing profit over the proper treatment of urban waste is an environmental injustice as it can cause various ecological and environmental disasters, such as the pollution of potable water used by the city or the landfill's surrounding communities.

Chapter three also illustrates that subsequent governments failed to provide a proper alternative system of waste disposal, which put AMA s.p.a into huge debt and caused Roman citizens to become the highest tax payers for waste management in the country (Di Giorgio, 2014). The Malagrotta event, and the lack of proper waste management by the subsequent (and current) governments by the Roman government is what caused the conditions which render the city, the 'open-air' garbage disposal that it is today. The issue has degenerated to the point of reaching the city center, ruining many aspects of Rome's global, historical and cultural richness. This is why in general, the waste mismanagement in Rome is a clear violation of environmental justice to the community of Rome.

How does this environmental injustice also extend to non-contemporaries?

This answer will be answered in the next and final section of the chapter.

4.2 The Roman trash problem is an environmental injustice that also extends to non-contemporaries

The following sections will apply the arguments used in chapter two to provide reasons as to why the Roman trash problem and its mismanagement is not only an environmental injustice to the present generation as stated in section 4.1 above, but it is an injustice which also extends to non-contemporaries, for both past and future.

4.2(i) Past generations:

The reasons stated above, which show how Rome's environmental is unjustly being violated, can be applied to non-contemporaries as well. In the case of duties to past generations it is the duty to preserve the heritage given upon us as stated by Jamieson's *common wisdom argument* and the UNESCO's role in World Heritage Preservation. It is safe to assume that for a city with great importance such as Rome, the ancestors who have built and preserved it would expect us to do the same. There is a sense of pride for them to leave a legacy to their progenies (Thiele). Although one may argue that with the *non-identity problem* that was analyzed before, promises towards our past generations fade away with time. However this does not mean that we have zero obligations towards them at all. Obligations to the past generations also depend of the properties of "**being human that permit and require us to relate morally to them as fellow humans"** (Meyer, 2020). Jamieson argues that "landmarks" embody the "common wisdom of

those who have built, lived and worked in them" (Jamieson, 2003, pg.276). Rome is a perfect example of a city that embodies this statement. Clogging its historical landmarks with trash is a symbol of immense disrespect towards the past generations, and the present generations should morally relate to the past builders and preservers of this city as other "fellow humans" (Meyer, 2020).

This can furthermore relate to de-Shalit's notion of the communitarian 'self'. If people in the past and present had certain desires which constitute part of their 'selves', and these desires include the preservation of landmarks and environmental goods, then the fulfillment of these desires show how there is a transgenerational community that is linked through this relationship of the 'self', connecting past (and also future) to the present. Thus, if the past generations had a desire to preserve the 'beauty of Rome', then current generations are failing to fulfill the past's desire to preserve the 'beauty of Rome' as shown by the mismanagement of waste in the city. The expanding notion of a transgenerational community is what gives the current generations obligations towards the past, because of there are interconnected desires to make the community flourish, which includes the preservation of its heritage.

Lastly, since Rome is protected by the UNESCO Convention, the mismanagement of waste leading to trash-filled streets is a direct violation of the convention as seen in section 4.1 of this chapter. Therefore because of this violation, and all of the obligations towards past generations which are not being met according to the evidence provided above, the issue of waste mismanagement in Rome is an environmental injustice towards past generations.

4.2(ii) Future generations:

Again, for evidence provided by chapter three and the reasons that have been states in section 4.1 of this chapter can also be applied to future generations. This section will focus mostly on environmental justice through de-Shalit's transgenerational communitarian argument and the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Firstly, de-Shalit believes that a comprehensive theory of intergenerational justice also includes,

"...rapid urban development irrespective of a prima facie duty to preserve the overall character of ancient cities such as Rome, Athens, or Jerusalem"—(de-Shalit, 2005)

Which is a clear indication that the city of Rome is a global good that must be preserved for future generations as well. This is also indicated in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention as seen in *Appendix II.a*, which states that,

II. National Protection and International Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage

Article 4

Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to ***future generations*** *of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain*

This article of the convention clearly states that the purpose of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention is to preserve what the Convention defines as World Heritage, and transmit it to future generations. Since Rome meets the criteria as stated above, there is a duty to preserve and transmit the cultural heritage offered by Rome to future generations.

De-Shalit's transgenerational communitarian argument argues that, the present generations should think of their future progenies as part of their selves, in the same manner which we think of our past generations as part of ourselves. We also know that, we inherently do care about future generations because of Scheffler's collective afterlife conjunction. Since our values are shaped with the expectation that there will be humans existing after our death, we essentially care that people in the future are able to enjoy the same values we have today (Scheffler, 2013). This personalized relationship with non-existing and unborn people is a representation of de-Shalit's transgenerational community. Thus, the community of the presently existing generation is the same, but it is extended into the future. Therefore if we were to wish that our present generation, our present community, should not be "overburdened" with "environmental problems", the same should apply to our future community. We should allow both the current and future community with an "ample supply of environmental goods" (Scholsberg, 2007). This means that the current generation should consider the Roman waste problem as an environmental issue which should not be left for our future progenies to take care of. We should not financially overburden them with the costs of dealing with the issue of waste since Romans are already currently among the highest taxpayers for waste management and AMA s.p.a is in serious debt. This is an environmental justice issue which concerns both distribution and recognition.

There is a maldistribution of environmental goods (in this case a better waste management for Rome and preservation of its cultural and historical 'beauty') towards future generations. The current generation has not yet been able to meet Rawl's 'sufficientarian' threshold for the accumulation stage in his just savings principle. The environmental degradation caused by the trash issue in Rome has created conditions where there has not been "enough" capital accumulated (or of environmental goods in this case), to allow future generations to establish environmentally just conditions for themselves.

In addition to this, the inefficiency of the waste management system, and the lack of actions to properly find a solution will lead to great physical and psychological harm to future generations as well. Because of this, there is a complete misrecognition of future generations in the notion of environmental justice in general As the arguments proposed by de-Shalit and Scheffler state, current generations inherently care for future generations. Scheffler states that the personalization of relations towards future generations through the acceptance of a collective afterlife, and the care people inherently have towards future generations in being able to enjoy the same values and activities, illustrates the existence of de-Shalit's transgenerational community. This also proves that a generation of humans which will exist beyond our deaths must be recognized. If one wishes enjoy Rome as a global good, which is part of something that constitutes the 'good life', then one cannot deprive this from future generations. Therefore one must recognize the existence of people who will live beyond our deaths. Jamieson's common wisdom argument, also states that the future generations should not be deprived from the ability to live a 'good life', thus he recognizes their existence. The constituents of a good life include physical and psychological wellbeing of humans. These can also include environmental goods, the preservation of landmarks or other material things such as the arts and literature as stated by Scheffler in his collective afterlife conjunction (Scheffler, 2013). Rome's cultural and historical landmarks are an example of such things. Therefore, as stated in section 4.1 of this chapter, the current conditions of Rome's trash problems are already psychologically and physically damaging to the current generations. It would be unjust to overburden the future generations with the same issues.

It was stated in chapter two, that a strong aspect of de-Shalit's transgenerational communitarian argument is the fact that it emphasises the necessity to provide intergenerational environmental justice to our contemporaries before doing so to our future generations. Any existing injustices must be rectified, and this must be a prerequisite for intergenerational environmental justice. Section 4.1 of this chapter, shows how the evidence of chapter three for Rome's waste mismanagement is an environmental justice to current generations. This includes, the conditions of the city's trash-filled streets as described by Tonelli and Horowitz. The dissatisfaction of the city's waste management as shown by the citizens score, the inefficiency of the waste system as shown in chapter three's statistics section, and all the health and psychological concerns which may affect the community of the current generations. All of these injustices must first be rectified as a prerequisite for environmental justice towards the future generations. In doing so, one is also recognizing that future generations are a group which could potentially suffer from environmental injustices which were indirectly caused towards them.

4.3 Challenges to Environmental Justice in Rome

There are various challenges which make it difficult to resolve the issue of waste management in Rome. The main issue is that according to scholar Mari Cristina Antonucci, *Roma Capitale*'s system of governance is perhaps too complex. Another issue is the social attitudes by Roman residents shown towards the issue of waste mismanagement in the City. Both challenges will be further explored in the section below.

4.3(i) *Roma Capitale*'s system of governance and its complexities

In many European and global "state systems", a "specific statue" will designate a city's role as a capital city within that State (Antonucci, 2020). Capital cities thus by law, play important role to host the State's "main national institutions, international organization, and hubs of infrastructures of access to the State (such as airports or train terminals) (Antonucci, 2020). Rome as a capital city is endowed with special powers and resources to play a leading "political, economic and social role", assuming tasks "related" to its "urban" space, its "human load", and other social, economic and institutions" (Antonucci, 2020).

Rome was endowed with the "*Statute of Roma Capitale*" in March 2013, through the *no.8 resolution* approved "by the Capitoline Assembly" (Antonucci, 2020). The *Statute of Roma Capitale* is the founding document for the *Roma Capitale*'s "regulatory and organizational autonomy" (Antonucci, 2020). This means that as of 2013, *Roma Capitale* is an autonomous organ which administers and coordinates respective functions to the "Roman municipal area" (Antonucci, 2020). There is a "division of powers and resources between" the 15 Municipalities and the autonomous governmental organ (*Roma Capitale*) (Antonucci, 2020) making the model of Rome's governance rather complex and "peculiar" (Antonucci, 2020). Rome is a geographically large scale city. It's large *1,287 square km* geographical scale, along with the poor "articulation of powers" between its de-centralized government has made it difficult to integrate various levels of governance" within it (Antonucci, 2020).

The *Statute of Roma Capitale* has a set of "incomplete" rules, which "fall into a specific urban situation" requiring "targeted interventions for the management of" public services such as urban planning, roads and transportation systems, economic development and **waste management and urban hygiene** (Antonucci, 2020).

Each of the 15 *Municipi* manage a series of 'management services' such as urban maintenance, sport, cultural and recreational activities, school and education, and the management of green areas (Antonucci, 2020). These tasks are rather broad and funded through economic resources which are transferred from "the capital to the municipal dimension" (Antonucci, 2020). Decentralizing powers from *Roma Capitale* to the *Municipi* so that they coordinate and control their respective servies and "organizational activities" seems appropriate, as Rome's large geographical scale almost equates each *municipio* to a type sort of small town of its own. However, it appears that,

> *"…especially where the delegation of functions is not total, an unfinished model of decentralization, often causing doubled skills and frequent delays in capacity to provide timely answers."—(Antonucci, 2020)*

For these reasons, the complex system of governance in Rome is a challenge to overcome in order to further improve the services of the city's waste management overall.

4.3 (ii) Social attitudes

The social attitudes from the residents of Rome pose another challenge to the improvement of waste management in the city. Although there is an overall dissatisfaction with the system of urban hygiene and waste disposal, there has been little advocacy and resistance to change from many Roman citizens. Most of the dissatisfaction is shown online, but not much action has been taken to resolve it a part from a few protests in a year or another. A lack of political participation, which in this case is shown mostly through internet 'slack-tivism', is a challenge which obstructs the possibility for Rome to resolve its trash problem caused by its poor waste management. Political participation and recognition through democratic decision-making procedures are fundamental elements and conditions for justice in general. There is however a cyclical nature to this issue. When local governments fail to provide goods and just services, citizens become disillusioned with them. This makes them more resistant to change because they believe that it would be useless to protest or take any further action, as they do not expect the government to meet their needs. Therefore yes, there may be little advocacy on behalf of the Roman residents, but there are also little opportunities provided by the government for residents to be recognized, and participate in the actual environmental policy-making for the city. The government indirectly silences any voices and opinions which could potentially impact and influence the city's environmental and management policies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis has observed the how Rome is a global city due to its historical and cultural significance. It has also provided various arguments for intergenerational justice (specifically focusing on the obligations that current generations have towards past and future), provided evidence of how Rome's waste is currently being mismanaged, and analyzed how this mismanagement is a violation of justice toward contemporaries and non-contemporaries.

It is evident that Rome is a global city of its own. It is a 'global good' with great historical and cultural significance that must be preserved and protected for the enjoyment and wellbeing of all generations. These different generational groups can be viewed through de-Shalit's notion of transgenerational communities, which shows that there is in fact, a moral relationship between past, present and future generations. This relationship binds them with different obligations towards each other. There is one transgenerational community which extends from the past, into the present and into the future. The current generations must protect the desires of the past's and attempt to reduce any potential harm that may be caused to their future community whilst also promoting the wellbeing of their own selves.

Using the example of Rome, the transgenerational community has a right to this global good. There are obligations that the present generations have towards the past ancestors who have built and preserved the city. Degenerating the city's cultural and historical heritage, which is protected by the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and clogging the Roman city with trash is not only a sign of deep disrespect towards the past generations, but also a violation to the environmental justice that is owed to them. The same applies to current and future generations. As shown by the chapters three and four, the degenerating conditions are of the city is clearly an environmental injustice to contemporaries, and if not taken into consideration or resolved, will most certainly leave future generations with either great debt, environmental harm and physical and psychological consequences. This means that in summary, yes, the mismanagement of waste in Rome **is an environmental injustice** to past and present, but most importantly to future generations.

Appendix:

Appendix I: Excerpt from "The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization meeting in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972, at its seventeenth session"

Noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction,

Considering that deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world,

Considering that protection of this heritage at the national level often remains incomplete because of the scale of the resources which it requires and of the insufficient economic, scientific, and technological resources of the country where the property to be protected is situated,

Recalling that the Constitution of the Organization provides that it will maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's heritage, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions,

Considering that the existing international conventions, recommendations and resolutions concerning cultural and natural property demonstrate the importance, for all the peoples of the world, of safeguarding this unique and irreplaceable property, to whatever people it may belong,

Considering that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole,

Considering that, in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an efficient complement thereto,

Considering that it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a convention establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods,

Having decided, at its sixteenth session, that this question should be made the subject of an international convention,

Adopts this sixteenth day of November 1972 this Convention.

Appendix II: Excerpt taken from 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention

I. Definition of the Cultural and Natural Heritage

Article 1

For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage":

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

Appendix II.a

II. National Protection and International Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage

Article 4

Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain

Appendix III: Selection Criteria of UNESCO World Heritage List

(The highlighted points are the ones which the city of Rome meets)

To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria..

(i)

to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;

(ii)

to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iii)

to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

(iv)

to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

(v)

to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

(vi)

to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

(vii)

to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;

(viii)

to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix)

to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x)

to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

Appendix IV: Points which Rome meets for UNESCO World Heritage List selection criteria

Criterion (i) : The property includes a series of testimonies of incomparable artistic value produced over almost three millennia of history: monuments of antiquity (like the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the complex of the Roman and the Imperial Forums), fortifications built over the centuries (like the city walls and Castel Sant'Angelo), urban developments from the Renaissance and Baroque periods up to modern times (like Piazza Navona and the "Trident" marked out by Sixtus V (1585-1590) including Piazza del Popolo and Piazza di Spagna), civil and religious buildings, with sumptuous pictorial, mosaic and sculptural decorations (like the Capitoline Hill and the Farnese and Quirinale Palaces, the *Ara Pacis*, the Major Basilicas of Saint John Lateran, Saint Mary Major and Saint Paul's Outside the Walls), all created by some of the most renowned artists of all time.

Criterion (ii): Over the centuries, the works of art found in Rome have had a decisive influence on the development of urban planning, architecture, technology and the arts throughout the world. The achievements of ancient Rome in the fields of architecture, painting and sculpture served as a universal model not only in antiquity, but also in the Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassical periods. The classical buildings and the churches, palaces and squares of Rome have been an unquestioned point of reference, together with the paintings and sculptures that enrich them. In a particular way, it was in Rome that Baroque art was born and then spread throughout Europe and to other continents.

Criterion (iii): The value of the archaeological sites of Rome, the centre of the civilization named after the city itself, is universally recognized. Rome has maintained an extraordinary number of monumental remains of antiquity which have always been visible and are still in excellent state of preservation. They bear unique witness to the various periods of development and styles of art, architecture and urban design, characterizing more than a millennium of history.

Criterion (iv): The historic centre of Rome as a whole, as well as its buildings, testifies to the uninterrupted sequence of three millennia of history. The specific characteristics of the site are the stratification of architectural languages, the wide range of building typologies and original developments in urban planning which are harmoniously integrated in the city's complex morphology.

Worthy of mention are significant civil monuments such as the Forums, Baths, city walls and palaces; religious buildings, from the remarkable examples of the early Christian basilicas of Saint Mary Major, St John Lateran and St Paul's Outside the Walls to the Baroque churches; the water systems (drainage, aqueducts, the Renaissance and Baroque fountains, and the 19th-century flood walls along the Tiber). This evidently complex diversity of styles merges to make a unique ensemble, which continues to evolve in time.

Criterion (vi): For more than two thousand years, Rome has been both a secular and religious capital. As the centre of the Roman Empire which extended its power throughout the then known world, the city was the heart of a widespread civilization that found its highest expression in law, language and literature, and remains the basis of Western culture. Rome has also been directly associated with the history of the Christian faith since its origins. The Eternal City was for centuries, and remains today, a symbol and one of the most venerable goals of pilgrimages, thanks to the Tombs of Apostles, the Saints and Martyrs, and to the presence of the Pope.

Bibliography

AMA S.p.a. "Incendiati E Distrutti Già 70 Contenitori Stradali." *AMA Roma*. AMA S.p.a, 11 Jan. 2021. Web. <https://www.amaroma.it/media/news/4854-incendiati-e-distrutti-gi%C3%A0-70-contenitori-stradali.html>.

AMA S.p.a. "Raccolta Differenziata." *AMA Roma*. AMA S.p.a, 2020. Web. <https://www.amaroma.it/raccolta-differenziata/2725-i-dati-della-raccolta-a-roma.html#:~:text=La%20citt%C3%A0%20di%20Roma%20produce,tonnellate%20sono%20invece%20rifiuti%20indifferenziati>.

Antonucci, Maria Cristina. "I Problemi Di Governance Di Roma Capitale, E Come Risolverli." *Le Nius - Si Legge Come Si Scrive*. LeNius, 19 Oct. 2020. Web. 07 Feb. 2021. <https://www.lenius.it/governance-di-roma/>.

Comune Di Roma. *Annuario Statistico Ambiente 2020*. Rep. Comune Di Roma, 2020. Web. <https://www.comune.roma.it/web-resources/cms/documents/14_Ambiente2020.pdf>.

De-Shalit, Avner. *Why Prosperity Matters*. 1st ed. Taylor and Francis, 2005. Print.

Gemminiti, Roberta, Silvia Ciccarelli, and Luca Salvati. "Global City or Ordinary City? Rome as a Case Study." *International Journal of the Latest Trends in Finance and Economic Sciences* 2.2 (2012). *Research Gate*. 24 July 2015. Web.

"Gestione Rifiuti." *ACOS Roma Capitale*. Roma Capitale, 26 Mar. 2020. Web. <https://www.agenzia.roma.it/it-settori-7-gestione_rifiuti>.

"Giornata Storica per Colleferro, Dopo 26 Anni Chiude La Discarica: "Qui Mai Più Rifiuti"." *Roma Today*. 16 Jan. 2020. Web. <https://www.romatoday.it/politica/discarica-colleferro-chiusa-cosa-succede-ora.html#:~:text=La%20discarica%20di%20Colle%20Fagiolara,di%20Colleferro%2C%20%C3%A8%20ufficialmente%20chiusa.&text=la%20procedura%20di%20copertura%20definitiva,poi%20la%20gestione%20post%20operativa.>.

Grosseries, Axel. "Sufficientarianism." *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Taylor and Francis, 2011. Web. <https://www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/sufficientarianism/v-1>.

Hom, Stephanie Malia. "Consuming the View: Tourism, Rome, and the Topos of the Eternal City Author(s):." *Annali D'Italianistica* 28.Capital City: Rome 1870-2010 (2010) (2010): 91-116. *Jstor*. Arizona State University. Web.

Horowitz, Jason. "Rome in Ruins." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 24 Dec. 2018. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/24/travel/rome-pollution-trash.html>.

Horowitz, Jason. "When in Rome, Sea Gulls Do as They Please." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 04 Sept. 2018. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/04/world/europe/rome-seagulls-italy.html>.

I Numeri Di Roma Capitale - Ambiente 2019. Rep. Comune Di Roma, 2019. Web. <https://www.comune.roma.it/web-resources/cms/documents/Ambiente_2019_Numeri_RC.pdf>.

ING. "Europe's Most Talked about Cities." *ING.* ING, 2019. Web. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c73c3eeb914490d5772554e/t/5d231a7aad1955000136b6d2/1562581627702/ING_Global_Cities_Digital_Visibility_Series-Europe-s_Most_Talked_About_Cities-report.pdf>.

ING. "The World's Most Talked about Cities." *ING.* ING, 2019. Web. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c73c3eeb914490d5772554e/t/5df253265b62b55cb76aa323/1576162097654/ING_Global_Cities_Digital_Visibility_Series-2019-The-World-s_Most_Talked_About_Cities-report.pdf>.

ISTAT. "Tourist Flow in Italy." *ISTAT - ISTITUTO NAZIONALE Di STATISTICA*. ISTAT, 28 Nov. 2018. Web. <https://www.istat.it/en/archivio/224433>.

"Italy - Political Process Electoral System." *Britanica*. Web. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Italy/Political-process>.

Jamieson, Dale. "The City Around Us." *Morality's Progress: Essays on Humans, Other Animals, and the Rest of Nature* Oxford University Press (2003). Print.

Lamont, Julian, and Christi Favor. "Distributive Justice." Ed. Edward N. Zalta. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* Winter 2017 Edition. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 2017. Web. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/justice-

distributive/#:~:text=John%20Rawls'%20alternative%20distributive%20principle,would%20be%20under%20strict%20equality.>.

Lock, Published by S. "Top Municipalities Visited by Tourists Italy 2019." *Statista*. ISTAT, 25 Jan. 2021. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1092713/leading-municipalities-in-italy-by-overnight-stays-in-tourist-accommodations/>.

Mazzoni, Cristina. "Capital City: Rome 1870-2010." *Annali D'Italianistica* 28.Capital City: Rome 1870-2010 (2010 (2010): 13-29. *Jstor*. Arizona State University. Web.

Meyer, Lukas. "Intergenerational Justice." Ed. Edward N. Zalta. Summer 2020 Edition. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. 2020. Web. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/justice-intergenerational/>.

Povoledo, Elisabetta. "Italy Gasps as Inquiry Reveals Mob's Long Reach." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 12 Dec. 2014. Web. 07 Feb. 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/12/world/italy-gasps-as-inquiry-reveals-mobs-long-reach.html>.

"Rifiuti a Roma, Tutte Le Fragilità Del Sistema: Ecco I Numeri." *DiRE Agenzia Di Stampa Nazionale*. 18 Dec. 2018. Web. <https://www.dire.it/18-12-2018/274119-rifiuti-roma-fragilita-sistema/>.

Ronchini, Andrea. *Garbage At The Historic Center Of Rome*. 2018. Rome. *Getty Images*. Web. <https://www.gettyimages.it/detail/fotografie-di-cronaca/detail-near-the-colosseum-a-green-space-used-as-fotografie-di-cronaca/1013238508?adppopup=true>.

Ronchini, Andrea. *Waste in Rome - Ama Strike*. 2018. Rome. *Getty Images*. Web. <https://www.gettyimages.it/detail/fotografie-di-cronaca/view-of-via-delle-botteghe-oscure-in-rome-italy-fotografie-di-cronaca/1057695496?adppopup=true>.

Saskia Sassen IPSP Interview. Perf. Saskia Sassen. *Saskia Sassen IPSP Interview*. International Panel on Social Progress, 22 July 2015. Web. <nternational Panel on Social Progress>.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City - New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeston UP, 2013. Print.

Scheffler, Samuel. *Death and the Afterlife*. Ed. Niko Kolodny. New York: Oxford UP, 2013. Print.

Scholsberg, David. *Defining Environmental Justice: Theories, Movements, and Nature*. New York: Oxford UP, 2007. Print.

Sennett, Richard. *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City*. London: Penguin, 2019. Print.

Thiele, Leslie Paul. *Sustainability*. 2nd ed. Key Concepts, 2016. Print.

Tonelli, Massimiliano. "Perché I Nuovi Cestini Ama Sono Un Progetto Sbagliato. E Il Confronto Con Parigi." *Roma Fa Schifo*. 17 Dec. 2020. Web. <http://www.romafaschifo.com/2020/12/perche-i-nuovi-cestini-ama-sono-un.html>.

Tonelli, Massimilliano. *Nuovi Cestini Roma*. 2020. Rome. *Roma Fa Schifo*. Web. <http://www.romafaschifo.com/2020/12/perche-i-nuovi-cestini-ama-sono-un.html>.

Ufficio Di Statistica Di Roma Capitale. *I Numeri Di Roma Capitale, Ambiente 2019*. Presentazione: I Numeri Di Roma Capitale, Ambiente 2019. Rome, 2019. Print.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage." *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <http://whc.unesco.org/?cid=175>.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in That City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori Le Mura." *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/91/>.

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "The Criteria for Selection." *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*. Web. 03 Feb. 2021. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>.

UNESCO. *Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in That City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori Le Mura - Inscribed Minor Boundary Modification*. 2015. UNESCO, Rome.

Villani, Antonio Sergio. *Waste in Rome*. 2019. Rome. *Getty Images*. Web. <https://www.gettyimages.it/detail/foto/waste-in-rome-immagine-royalty-free/1187655409?adppopup=true>.

Zampano, Giada. "Why Is Rome Drowning in Trash?" *ThePointsGuy*. 2 Feb. 2019. Web. <https://thepointsguy.com/news/why-is-rome-drowning-in-trash/>.