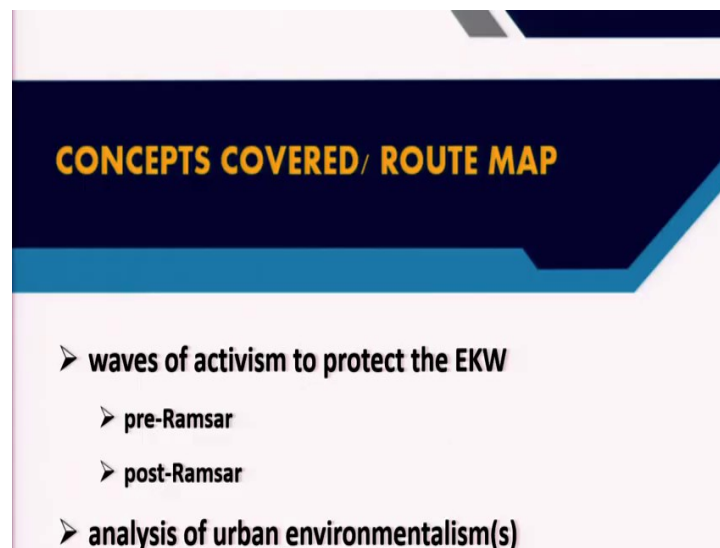


Urbanization and Environment
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Module - 04
Urban environmental social sciences frameworks
Lecture - 36
Urban Environmentalisms: Case Study 2: Protests to Protect the EKW

Alright. So, now, we would discuss the 2nd Case Study. So, in the previous lecture, I discuss the first case study which was the Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan. So, this case study through this case study, I would take you through the protests that occurred in Kolkata in order to protect the East Kolkata Wetlands.

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So, we will be basically talking about waves of activism. So, different waves of activism and you know if you study this protest movements or activism, you will see that you know the environmental movement that occurred in the initial years that remained quite successful.

Because we will see that how it also kind of brought the Ramsar designation or status for the East Kolkata Wetlands, where the Ramsar committee kind of declared these wetlands to be the wetlands of international importance and wise use wetlands in its list. So, we can you know categorically trace wave; a wave of protest a very significant and strong wave of protest or activism towards wetland conservation and protection, during the pre-

Ramsars period which kind of brought the Ramsar designation for these Kolkata wetlands.

And then, unfortunately even after it was declared as a as the Ramsar site even after that even during the post-Ramsar period with this constructions and development project even within the purview or within the boundary of EKW went on.

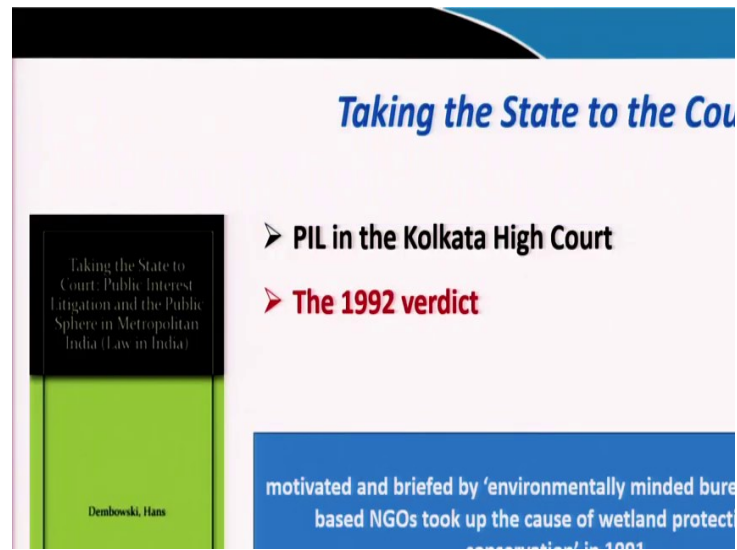
And on one hand, as there the, this construction activities went on and it is still going on in an undaunted fashion and it is definitely also drawing whole lot of attention so far, as different actors and stakeholders are concerned. And that is why what I am I will be trying to show, during this post-Ramsar period that how parallely you know this developments pre is going on.

On the other hand, the movement or this protest to protect the wetland is still going on you know with its very sharp edge. And finally, I mean in this lecture, I will be doing an analysis of urban environmentalism. Because if you remember we started with this very topic of urban environmentalism and focused on the Indian context and I discussed why and how like bourgeois environmentalism is an important conceptualization, but at the same time it has its own limits.

And then, I discuss the first case study; the Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan you know to kind of complicate the notion of bourgeois environmentalism a bit. And then, I will discuss East Kolkata wetlands the protest surrounding East Kolkata wetlands in Kolkata now, and then finally, I will end this entire chunk of discussion on urban environmentalism by making an analysis of these two you know environmental activism's within one particular city.

And even within these two you know variety the different kind of, kinds of varieties that we come across and I mean making the whole narrative so very complicated, but at the same time enthralling and plural.

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So, this is a book by Hans Dembowski Taking the State to the Court. So, when I first access this book, I found the title to be so provocative; Taking the State to the Court. So, where for the first time you know the citizens; they took the state to the court they actually drag this take to the court and the state was bound to answer you know their questions.

And I mean it is a; it is a; it is a positive part of the story that the state was actually compelled to bow down under or before the pressure that civil or civic activism could actually assert on the state. So, this book is all about the public interest litigation in the Kolkata high court which they and this public interest litigation was drafted and the repetition was actually submitted, in order to protect the wetlands from encroachments and from illegal filling up and construction activities and.

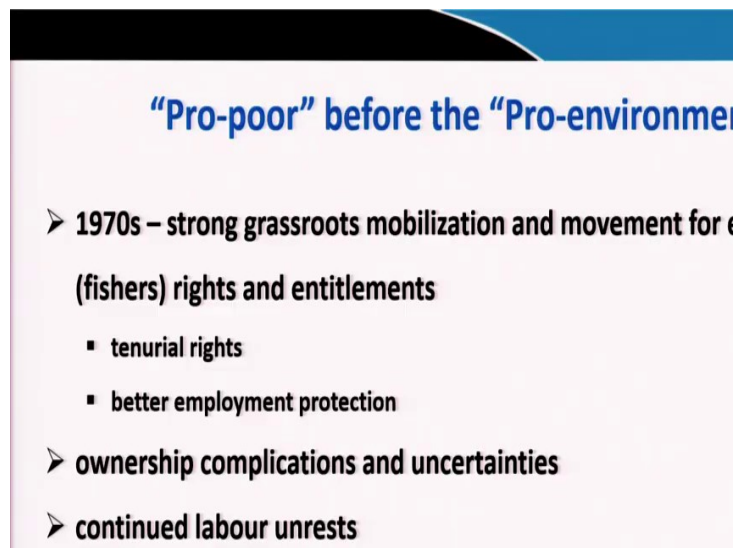
So, the verdict as I mentioned that this was actually, I mean this I, it was a revolutionary accomplishment in that sense. And when we will discuss in more details the 1992 verdict provided by the Kolkata high court, we will see why you know this was a revolutionary accomplishment.

So, Hans Dembowski; he shows that how and or he rather discusses how motivated and briefed by environmentally minded bureaucrats, city-based NGO's took up the cause of wetland protection and conservation in 1991. So, it is again a very I mean different kind

of a story an exciting story of how the bureaucrats. Of course, you know pro conservationist or environmental minded bureaucrats and the NGO's.

The NGO's mainly working on the on environmental justice, social justice the in this NGO's in Kolkata how you know these groups they came together to kind of I mean with a consolidated purpose, with a consolidated agenda of providing protection to the East Kolkata Wetlands.

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Now, before you know this movement or the environmental movement or environmental activism so far as wetland production was concerned. Before that, actually there is an unwritten story or you know much undiscussed kind of a story that is also there. So, and I kind of, I was fortunate to get to know these stories from Dhruvajyoti Ghosh, but also more importantly Naba Datta who is the key person, so far as the very active NGO called Sabuj Mancha is concerned.

So, he told me that you know before 1990's, during the 1970's. Since 1960's and 70's actually, strong grassroots mobilization and movement by employee's or rather the I mean the fishers or mainly the employees, who walked in the private bheris and bheris owned by zamindars; how these people actually they you know started protesting against the zamindars and against the private bheri owners. Because they wanted their right to be protected and they wanted the entitlements in terms of you know their tenurial rights and in terms of better employment protection and like.

So, I also talked to Nitai Kundu. So, all these people Dhrubajyoti Ghosh, Nitai Kundu Naba Datta, Ashish Ghosh; they are the people who are you know who are absolutely you know kind of related or associated to the story of the East Kolkata wetlands from day one. So, they also and they were there, they were, they are like they are activists, they are practitioners and they are also, they are scientists right.

So, it is a very unique combination, which really and that is why which make this East Kolkata wetlands, I mean activism surrounding East Kolkata Wetlands so very enthralling. So, you know also this people when I interviewed them through KII; Key Informant Interviews, etcetera.

And also, you know whole lot of stories I could learn from them through the course of you know a kind of a personal rapport and detailed like informal conversations and all. And this happened you know not in a very systematic way, but I mean, but for a period of like almost 10 years time and again through series of conversations. And unfortunately, Dhrubajyoti Ghosh and Ashish Ghosh Sirs they are no more.

But yeah, they are the stalwarts I mean so far as the story of East Kolkata Wetlands activism is concerned. But anyway, sorry for this personal story and narrative and for these emotions, but anyway what is important is that before 1990's, we can actually trace grassroots activism, whether it will be right to kind of portray or project this as environmentalism or not is again a big question which I want to you know throw in front of you.

So, but, because these questions were mainly related to you know economic components, or I mean this these were economic needs.

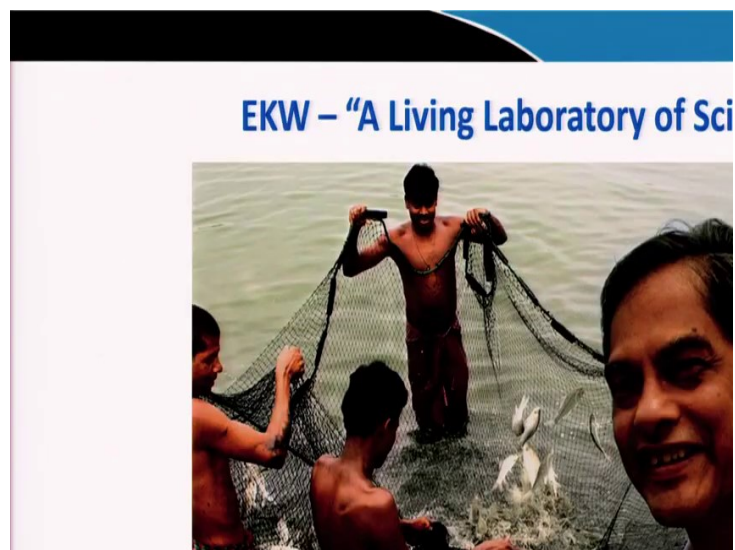
There these were the people were actually fighting for their basic provisions for employment protection and for several other I means a protection in terms of several other survival needs, you know of the time and they were paid very meager amount actually and that is why, the zamindars and the private bheri owners complained that there were continued labour unrest and sometimes this would actually affect fish production and agricultural productivity in wetlands.

And the bheri owners were also they were not very happy, because there were lot of complications in this part of bheri urban Kolkata during this, that time, because in 1960's

and 70's, this land reform movement actually took place and during this time like land grabbing actually occurred.

So, some of the bheri owners; they were actually owning this land as and this land were still like kind of illegal. So, they were kind of owning or rather there is a whole story of illegal land holding you know so far as, because this the people who grab the land, but they were actually lacking any official or formal land transfer documents of land transfer or land sale or rather land deed in that sense.

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So, when all these complexities and anxieties and uncertainties were flooding the scene, when East Kolkata wetlands was actually brewing you know these uncertainties, complexities and anxieties. During this time this sanitation engineer Dhrubajyoti Ghosh he discovered and he was fascinated you know to discover the resource recovery mechanisms in this particular in the backyard of Kolkata.

And this resource recovery mechanisms practiced and pursued by the fishers themselves using what you call low-cost folk technology. And he is the person who has to be credited you know so far as this mission, vision and agenda of incorporating this low-cost folk technology in mainstream ecological science is concerned.

And what he discovered changed his life forever and also, opened a new chapter in urban ecology. And he himself writes and he also says that he said that what I discovered in the sewage and muck of Kolkata actually can be considered as a living laboratory of science.

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Wetlands Research

- **1986 – Institute of Wetland Management and Ecological Design (IW MED)**
 - **environmentally sound and sustainable**
 - **economically attractive**
 - **health-wise safe**
- **first map on the Waste Recycling Region (WRR) prepared**
- **national, international appreciation and applause**

And Dhruvajyoti Ghosh's long term interest and he is like deep interest in the subject and his association with people of influence and also his passion actually mainly, it led to the; led to the formation of this Institute of Wetland Management and Ecological Design IW MED in 1986.

And IW MED started you know conducting detailed research on the recovery resource recovery practices pursued by fishers in the wetlands. And to see to really you know kind of confirm that whether these practices were ecologically or environmentally sound and sustainable or not whether they were really economically, attractive, lucrative and whether they were safe health wise.

So, whether it is safe to you know kind of consume a fish produced and vegetables and fruits you know produced from the, from garbage farming and also from the bheris or the sewage fed ponds of the East Kolkata Wetlands.

And IW MED definitely came up with several reports where it really kind of acknowledged the significance of the East Kolkata wetlands. And why it is absolutely safe to you know consume fish and vegetables produced by the or produced at the East

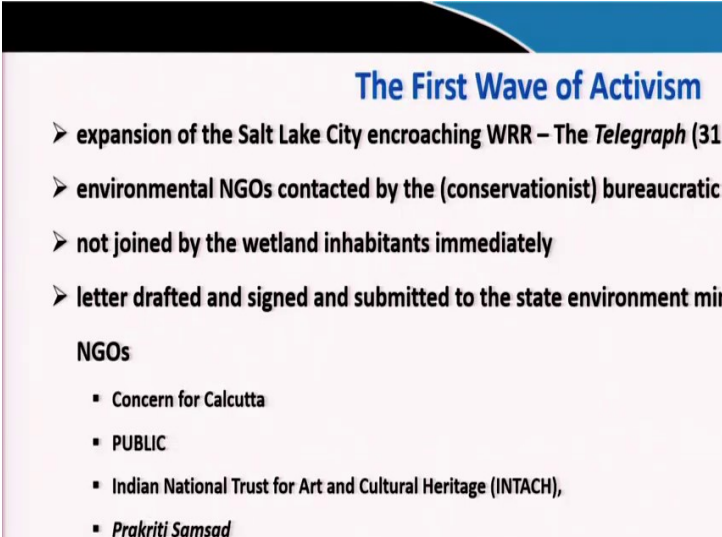
Kolkata wetlands. And IW MED can also be credited, for producing the first map on the Waste Recycling Region, WRR.

So, they prepared a map where they try to kind of divide the entire area into several zones or parts like the core zone or the waste recycling region followed by you know the buffer zone and so, these wetlands started gaining national, international appreciation and applause.

And even in the Ganga action plan, the Calcutta model was mentioned. So, the Calcutta model of the functioning of the sewage fed ponds or bheries. And in 1988, a conference was organized on you know ecological sustainability in Kolkata and several international delegates from different international institutes and think tanks participated in this conference and this entire resource recovery practice mechanism in Kolkata wetlands is were presented by IW MED delegates.

And World Bank, FAO and several other you know German institutes really I mean appreciated and appreciated the wise use value of the wetlands. And in this way, the wetlands could actually draw national international attention you know during the 1980's or late 1980's itself.

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The First Wave of Activism

- expansion of the Salt Lake City encroaching WRR – *The Telegraph* (31.
- environmental NGOs contacted by the (conservationist) bureaucratic
- not joined by the wetland inhabitants immediately
- letter drafted and signed and submitted to the state environment mir

NGOs

- Concern for Calcutta
- PUBLIC
- Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH),
- *Prakriti Samsad*

So, when this was going on at the same time in 1988 in *The Telegraph*, there was a report which talked about the expansion of the Salt Lake City encroaching, directly

encroaching on the WRR, which is the Waste Recycling Region which is the heart of the East Kolkata wetlands.

So, when this report was published there was whole lot of human cry. And the environmental NGO's were actually contacted by the conservationist wing or the conservationist lobby of bureaucracy or the bureaucratic network of the state of West Bengal.

And this is such a fascinating story and I again apologies for the personal note, but I feel so provoked to mention it here. So, I think I had learned or I had learned this story from Ashish Ghosh. So, he was like the director of the Zoological Survey of India and later he formed his own NGO and the cooperative society like ENDEV, Environmental Development and there was also another wing to this Center for Environment and Development.

And so I got in touch with him and became one of his one of his favorites later. And I think hundred times I had listened to this story that how like when this report was published and when you know the promoters and you know the development lobby of the or anti-conservationist lobby of the bureaucrats; they were or bureaucracy they were trying to kind of encroach on the waste recycling region.

How he called Bonani Kakkar the again the chief person so far as the leading environmental NGO of Kolkata PUBLIC; People United for Better Living in Calcutta. So, how Ashish Ghosh actually called Bonani Kakkar and how you know together they kind of started this movement to save the East Kolkata wetlands. So, it is a; it is a unique story of how environmentally minded bureaucrats, they actually, they backed the NGO's, they motivated the NGO's to start a movement actually against them, against the bureaucracy.

And that is how you know together they could finally, drag the state to the court, where the state was compelled to answer the questions which were raised by you know these NGO's definitely backed by another wing of the bureaucracy who did not want the wetlands to get encroached upon.

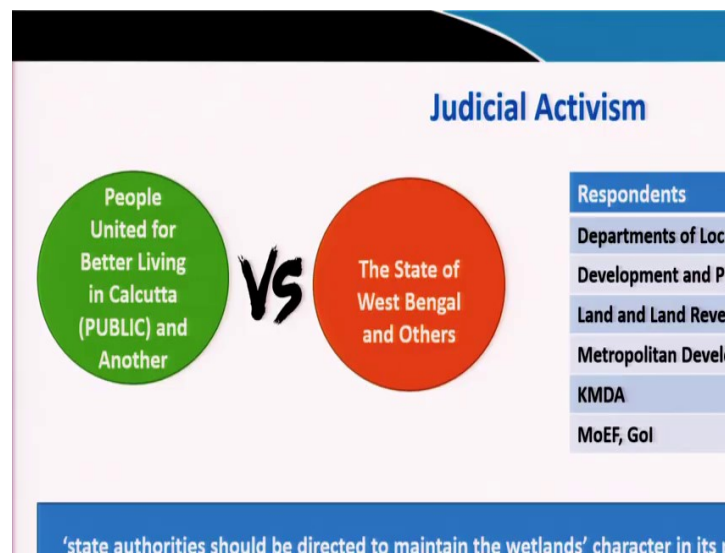
So, this movement was immediately not joined by the wetland inhabitants. So, what was happening is that there was I mean the petition was I mean the petition, petitions were

filed and a writ petition was filed and submitted before the Calcutta high court. So, first letter was drafted and submitted to the state environment minister by leading NGO's of the city of Kolkata.

NGO's like Concern for Calcutta, PUBLIC, INTACH Prakriti Samsad, WWF and others. And lot of public awareness was drawn through media, social platform.

And another public letter was also sent to CM, Chief Minister the then; Chief Minister Jyoti Basu and this letter had 8000 signatures. So, one can understand the kind of attention you know this could actually draw.

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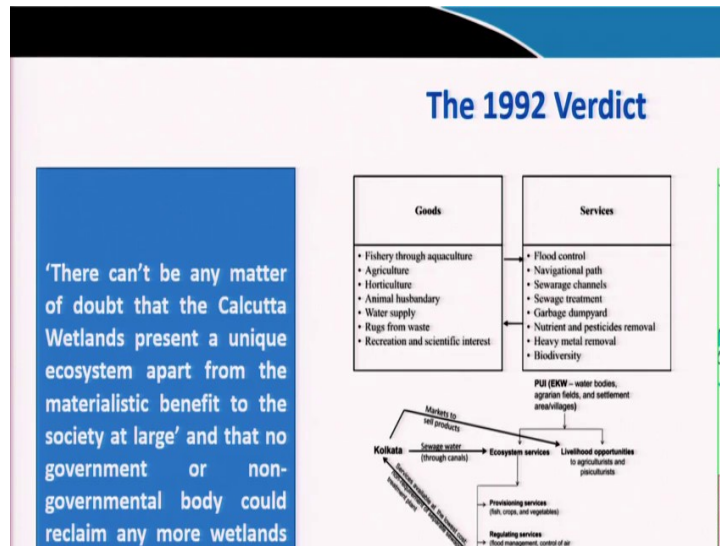
So, then the phase of judicial activism started. So, as I mentioned, a writ petition was filed and submitted before the Calcutta high court. So, this was the case.

People United for Better Living in Calcutta; PUBLIC and another versus the state of West Bengal and others where the secretaries of departments of local government and urban development, development and planning, land and land revenue, metropolitan development, the chief executive of KMDA that is Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority and also the secretary of Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India they were listed as respondents.

So, state authorities should be directed to maintain the wetlands character in space and form. So, this was what was mentioned you know in the writ petition to stop all

development plans and to prevent any further encroachments. They should also be ordered to prohibit any further reclamation as well as any change of land use from agricultural to residential and or commercial you know usage seem to be extremely harmful.

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So, in 1992 the Calcutta High Court finally, provided the verdict in the month of September. So, and this is a unique case, because what happened is that the chief justice; he after a particular point of time, he did not really feel convinced with the maps which were being submitted to him by the different departments of the state government.

So, after a point of time he actually decided to visit the East Kolkata Wetlands by himself. And he visited the wetlands and not only once, but number of times. And he also started you know looking into the technical aspects of it that how you know this resource recovery mechanisms are practiced by the fishers right.

And what kind of like I mean; how it is done, what are the things which are actually used. So, he started looking into this entire knowledge system for that matter and expertise. And definitely, you know then the 1992 September verdict went in favor of the wetlands and also in favor definitely of the public, of public.

And the verdict was that there cannot be any matter of doubt that the Calcutta Wetlands present a unique ecosystem apart from the materialistic benefit to the society at large and

that no government or non governmental body could reclaim any more wetlands. So, it is a historical verdict and historic verdict rather.

And one of the revolutionary accomplishments of this verdict was that the high court recognized not only the ecosystem services provided by the wetlands and to them, the wetlands appeared not only to be, only you know patches of swamps and marshlands and water bodies.

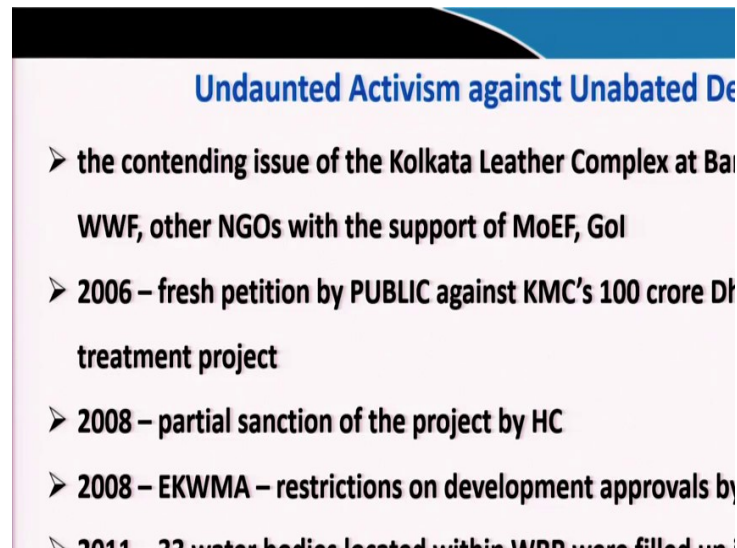
But the wetlands the significance of the wetland they mentioned lies in the fact that it serves as the entire spill basin for the delta and that is why encroachments should not be allowed. So, yes, so, you can see these Kolkata wetlands here, but the significance of the wetlands like the fact that it is connected to the entire geohydrology of this whole basin or this entire region.

So, this you know this particular significance or importance of the wetlands could actually be recognized by the Calcutta high court. And the result of this verdict and lot of awareness and the you know this campaigns and this awareness and this media attention, discussions it went on. And finally, within the next 10 years that is exactly in August 2002 the wetlands East Kolkata Wetlands also could gain the status of the Ramsar site.

So, it availed or it could gain the Ramsar recognition and in 2006 the East Kolkata Wetland Management Authority and the East Kolkata Wetlands Conservation and Management Act was passed.

So, the East Kolkata Wetland Management Authority comprised of 19-member body you know consisting of chief secretary of the state, several secretaries of different departments and representatives from NGO's and you know the owners of bheris, etcetera. So, this was a major achievement actually.

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But unfortunately, unabated developments pre. So, the developments pre it means unabated development. So, unabated development continued and against this developments pre activism also continued in an undaunted fashion. So, undaunted activism against unabated developments pre. So, like the and one of the significant or like major contending issues of the was the, issue relating to the Kolkata Leather Complex at Bantala.

So, what happened is that in 1995 actually, the Supreme Court of India it provided a verdict where 538 tanneries were asked to relocate you know from the Topsia, Tangra and several other parts of Kolkata to other remote location, because this tanneries seem to kind of pollute the tributed distributors of the Ganga and the canals of Kolkata.

And what happened is that you know the Kolkata Leather Complex in 2005. I mean after this passage of the Supreme Court verdict also different analyze you know their operations continue, but in 2005 Kolkata Leather Complex it shifted its base from Tangra to Bantala.

But again, Bantala is actually located at the heart of the WRR region waste recycling region, WRR. So, and Bantala has a like this common effluent treatment plan, but it is absolutely inadequate. So, what is happening is that you know the storm water canal remain extremely polluted and choked by the rotting animal fat, skin and hair.

So, if you go there, we will, I mean at places the canals or the canal is actually visible and where the canal is visible it is like; it is like dull red as a result of like animal blood and you can also see like shining like bubbles and, because these I mean the outcomes of the leather shavings which are processed by this; I mean within the Calcutta leather complex.

So, protest of course, were like led by WWF in association with other NGO's also with support from the MoEF, GoI some like the. Then, the capacity of the common effluent treatment plant has increased, but you know the issue has still not been absolutely resolved.

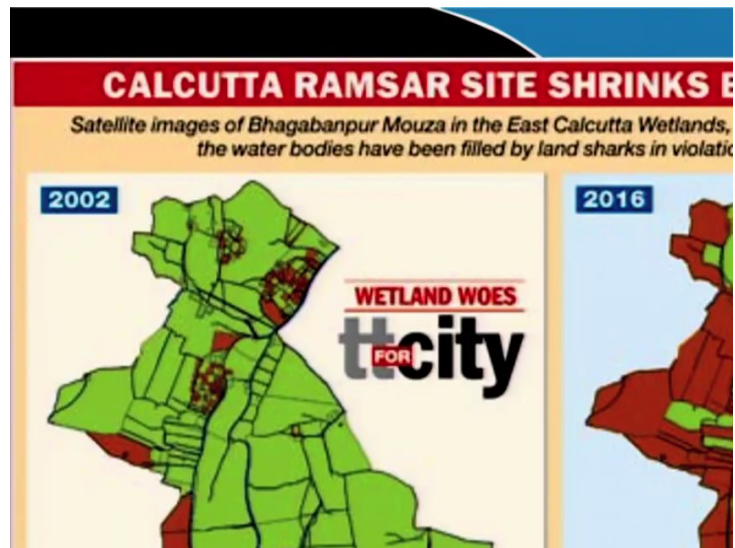
2006 again fresh petition was filed drafted and filed by public against Kolkata Municipal Corporations 100 crore Dhapa water treatment project. In 2008, unfortunately the high court gave partial sanction provided partial approval to this project against you know some compensatory greening and like.

The Calcutta high court said that the KMC should keep updating the high court and also you know publicly information relating to the kind of materials they are using for the construction of the water treatment project, etcetera.

But you know the essence was lost in that sense the plot altogether was lost. So, in 2008 again, it is a good thing that EKWMA; East Kolkata Wetland Management Authority provided restrictions on development approvals by local authorities. But unfortunately, just in the next year EKWMA is sanctioned some of the projects which were actually long pending, because it encroached part of the wetlands. So, projects like Sanjeeva Towers, etcetera.

So, by 2011, 33 water bodies located within waste recycling region were already filled up illegally for the construction of New Town Rajarhat. And of course, the result was large scale protests and protests not only by the fishers, but then you know it was a protest where like agriculturist and the people from the agricultural lobby also joined hands.

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So, this is from a report actually published by SCOPE. So, SCOPE is the Society for Creative Opportunities and Participatory Ecosystem which was actually run by Dhruba Dasgupta a disciple and student of Dhrubajyoti Ghosh sir and Dhruba jyoti Ghosh sir himself.

Now, it is being led by Dhruba Dasgupta actually. So, they did a very detailed study on one of the very significant mouzas within the East Kolkata Wetlands this is the Bhagabanpur Mouza which comprise like 5 percent of the region. And they could show you know you can see the map and the map itself you know from the map the change in the land use is absolutely or clearly visible.

So, this in the report if you go through the 2017 report, you will see that they talk about like how almost like 464 acre of habitation actually has come up by converting you know the East Kolkata Wetlands and so, many like I mean the water bodies had made way to real estate projects. And Dhrubajyoti Ghosh also mentioned that in a 2017 report that in the last like one decade that is roughly between 2006 and 2016 like more than 50 bheris or water bodies were converted to concrete.

So, this is, I mean this seem to be the fate of the East Kolkata wetlands. And lot of new like development projects have been approved unfortunately. And in the meantime, the draft wetland bill, wetlands bill was passed in 2007. There has been an amendment in the East Kolkata Wetland Conservation and Management Act and unfortunately all these

amendments and draft wetland bills they are not in favor of the health and well-being of the wetlands and her dwellers.

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#Activism

#SaveAndSustain
#HandsOffEKW

Kolkata's Citizens Issue Statement Demanding Protection of East Kolkata Wetlands

- Actions must be taken with respect to the EKWMA at various police stations. Offenders should be identified. Further, police officers who have been negligent should be identified.
- In cases of reluctance and indifference in implementing the law, necessary actions should be taken to protect the EKWMA.
- Appropriate and precipitate action should be taken to protect the EKWMA.

And there is now the latest controversy you know surrounding the construction of a flyover which is supposed to connect Eastern Metropolitan Bypass with you know with New Town Rajarhat. So, the idea is that if it is constructed if the project gets an approval.

So, there will be like 146. So, 146 piers will be constructed on through the East Kolkata Wetlands affecting at least 8 water bodies in the region. And like there is renewed civic activism now, on this issue and it has now, taken the form of hashtag activism which is very interesting to find out.

So, there are hashtag movements like Save And Sustain, Hands Off EKW, where you know like faculty members and students from academic institutes, common people of course, you know the NGO's which were which actively participated in this movement since day one; like PUBLIC and WWF all these organizations together.

They have now launched this hashtag movement and they also came up with a charter called Kolkata Citizens Issue Statement Demanding Protection of East Kolkata Wetlands and this was read in the Calcutta Press Club in March 2017.

So, in this charter the activists talk about why is important to take actions today with respect to more than like 200 FIR's, launched by the EKWMA at various police stations against violation in wetland area and offenders should be identified and so, in case of reluctance and indifference in performing their duties in implementing law, necessary actions must be taken against concerned officials of EKWMA.

Appropriate and precipitate actions must be taken with respect to other FIR's complaints launched by individual communities against wetland violations in the area to enable prompt action and emergency helpline must be set up to enable citizens to lodge complaints.

So, one can see how actively you know the people like I mean as I mentioned the teachers of institutes, universities, students, scientists, experts, NGO's everyone you know came together and activism you know kind of visualize a renewed phase a renewed wave and the activism is still going on.

The good thing is that you know and Bonani Kakkar the again the key person so far as public is concerned. She kind of she said that you know these particular project this flyover project is a monstrous project and if it is sanctioned, then you know it will kind of it will really be the last nail almost in the coffin. So, the whole idea is not to make this happen, but you know this clashes and the conflicts and the activism is going on you know and it is quite difficult to say whether these activists; they are emerging as victorious or the state, right.

So, because I would not take a pessimistic you know perspective to say that is Kolkata wetlands have been absolutely converted, because I would rather say that this activism had really remained significant to save the wetlands till date and that Kolkata is still being able to function as a city without any sewage treatment plan.

And with you know such I mean with such population and population density, it itself to a great extent you know needs to acknowledge the role and the participation of the activist who I mean, who have made this possible, right. So, I mean urban environmentalism I think it entails like a complex narrative of both victories and violations, which is actually shaping the fate of urban environmental conjunctures.

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Beyond "Bourgeois Environmentalism"	
The Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan	Protest
Middle-class environmentalism – the "heritage" argument (pro-environment)	Consolidated ca
Grassroots environmentalism – basic livelihoods provisions (pro-poor)	Multiple actors (bureaucrats, N organizations, a
Clashing yet supportive gestures	Various protest (judicial activism
Case(s), agendas lost with the death of	rallies on-site fi

So, finally, I would like to now quickly analyze you know these two movements to establish or to validate why it is important for us to accept, but at the same time also go beyond the Baviskarian notion of Bourgeois environmentalism.

So, if we see these two movements now you know; the Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan that I discussed in my last presentation as the first case study on urban environmentalism and this one you know the protest to protect the East Kolkata Wetlands, the waves of protest pre-Ramsar and post-Ramsar period. So, Adi Ganga movement you can see like two like varieties of environmentalism with their distinct agendas and purposes.

So, one is the middle-class environmentalism and where the pro-environment lobby they wanted to save the river, because they considered the river to be or the canal or river stretched to be a heritage river canal stretch.

And they were also not very bothered with the idea of the displacement of the shanties or the squatters inhabiting the canals, because to them, the functioning of the canal the restoration or the rejuvenation of the environmental flows in the river canal stretch was the most important I mean the most important thing I mean in the 1980's and 90's.

On the other hand, when the metro railway project was implemented or there were like discussions at the, that the project will be actually implemented. And even before this metro scheme when like you remember right, when this national conservation, national

river conservation directorate, it came and there was a idea that the river would be cleaned, but at the cost of squatter clearance already there was a movement you know by the grassroots organizations.

So we see that a parallel movement of grassroots environmentalism you know existed where the people they, the major cause or the major agenda of environmentalism was or remain basic livelihood provisions. So, we find a parallel pro-environment environmentalism and pro-poor environmentalism so far as the Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan is concerned.

So, and of course, these two movements clashed with each other with their different sets of agendas and priorities, but at the same time, I also find clashing yet supportive gestures. So, for example, like when you know when this protest against slum demolition is going on, because the slums were actually getting ruthlessly demolished and displaced.

So, many leading intellectuals, so called middle-class you know of the city like; Nabaneeta Dev Sen, Badal Sarkar, Debesh, Chattopadhyay they definitely, they this they supported you know this grassroots organizations and this activist from APDR, Manthan and Nari Nirjatan committee, Sanglap and others.

So, we, but unfortunately the outcome I mean both this environmentalism lost ground and they turned out to be vanquished. When the metro scheme was finally implemented, which led to the death of the river and at the same time the demolition of the shanties. So, this is the typically, the. what happened so far as the Adi Ganga Bachao Andolan is concerned.

So, now if we look into what happened you know so, far as East Kolkata Wetlands you know protest to protect East Kolkata Wetlands is concerned. So, the environmental activism that the city visualize in different waves so far as wetland protection or conservation is concerned.

We find that you know that we immediately see or we immediately understand that the state is not a homogenous the state and its various departments for that matter the states and the various department and agencies they it they cannot be understood as a, you know kind of sacrosanct homogenous entity, because within the state and various departments we find different wings you know of bureaucracy.

So, for example, the environmentally minded or the pro-conservationist wing bureaucratic wing and on the other hand you know the pro-development bureaucratic wing. So, while the pro development bureaucratic wing they actually propose and promoted urban development.

On the other hand, the pro-conservationist wing they were definitely against the encroachment, against encroachments or encroachment drive or illegal filling up of the wetlands and water bodies. Again, within you know this pro-conservationist lobby we find different types of people with their diverges, you know their divergent take on conservation, conversion and also the larger questions of urban planning and development.

So, for example, while the soft line conservationist, they wanted to only mainly protect you know the waste recycling region which was I mean, which for the first time invade prepared in their first map and how the that particular area was designated as WRR. So, this soft line conservationist they were happy, if WRR was actually protected, but on the other hand, the hard line conservationist they discouraged any kind of development.

I mean they discourage the approval of any kind of development projects on the eastern part of Kolkata in terms of like you know the larger discussions or the larger rationale of geo-hydrological, hydrological, geomorphological needs of the city and the well-being of the citizens.

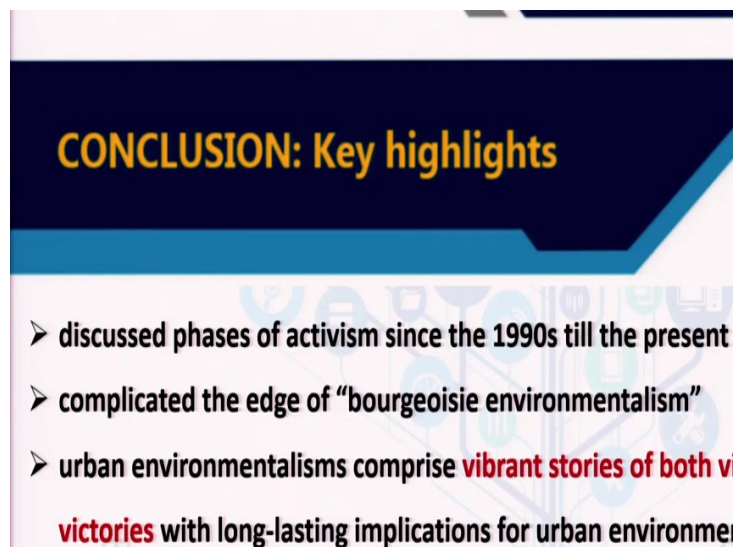
So, and the whole story gets very complicated, because we find like multiple actors and networks here you know coming together the bureaucrats environmentally minded bureaucrats of course, the Ashish Ghosh, Dhrubajyoti Ghosh and the NGO's, PUBLIC, Concerns for Calcutta, WWF , said grassroots organizations academic institutions you know coming together with a consolidated cause of saving the wetlands against encroachment.

And saving the wetlands against encroachment of course, to ensure livelihood provisions of the inhabitants you know inhabitants of the wetlands who you know, who I mean the fishers for that matter the fishers and agriculturist who draw their sustenance from this region and not only draw their sustenance, but also enable the wetlands to provide its ecosystem services.

And here, we find you know the protest mechanisms also I mean it is a, it consist or comprise of array of strategies or tactics from judicial activism, public interest litigation to media mobilization to rallies on site field meetings, protest, hashtag protests and what not.

So, I have argued in my book that why it is important to actually analyze and explore multiple trends and trajectories of environmental activism across complex mediations among various stakeholders in situated contexts, yes.

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So, I think in the last I mean including this lecture; three lectures on urban environmentalism, urban environmentalism as the concept then, when focusing on India discussing Bourgeois environmentalism and these two case studies. So, you know they kind of complicate the mainstream notions so far as urban environmental activism is concerned.

So, in this particular lecture, I had discussed phases of activism in terms of protection to these Kolkata wetlands since 1990’s, till the present time. I actually had also talked about the pre-1990’s period very briefly, but mainly I talked about you know the pre-Ramsar. So, 1990’s phase and the post-Ramsar waves of protest.

So, I also brought to the fore victories and violations you know the I mean the complex story and the plural stories or the story lines in terms of victories and violations and East

Kolkata Wetlands and for that matter the city of Kolkata had visualized so far as this particular movement is concerned.

So, and I think today's discussion and the discussion or the lecture the first lecture the first case study on the Adi Ganga through. So, through these two case studies, I have been able to complicate you know the edge of Bourgeois environmentalism and that is why I argue that you know urban environmentalism comprise vibrant stories of both violations and victories with long lasting implications for urban environmental conjunctures.

Thank you.