

Sustaining the ‘Kidneys of Kolkata’: Ecology, Law, and Governance in the East Kolkata Wetlands

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Sumit Mondal

Assistant Professor (Political Science)

Durgapur Institute of Legal Studies, WB, India

sumitmondal0369@gmail.com

Abstract— The East Kolkata Wetlands (EKW) represents one of the most distinctive examples of an urban ecological system where natural processes are integrated with human livelihood practices. It is situated on the eastern fringe of Kolkata, these wetlands serve as a natural wastewater treatment facility, while also supporting fisheries, agriculture, and biodiversity. This article critically examines the ecological importance, socio-economic roles, legal structures, and governance challenges associated with the East Kolkata Wetlands. It posits wetlands as a sustainable urban ecology based on resource recovery that exemplify a form of circular economy, where waste is transformed into valuable inputs contributing to sustainable urban ecological processes. The threats to their long-term viability are significant, posed by rapid urbanization, encroachment, environmental degradation, and weak institutional frameworks. The article highlights the gap between legal provisions, their implementation, and governance challenges thereby emphasising the need for a balance between them. However, sustaining the East Kolkata Wetlands requires rethinking urban development in alignment with ecological resilience, environmental justice, and sustainable governance.

Keywords: East Kolkata Wetlands, sustainable, urbanization, biodiversity.

1. Introduction

Wetlands are among the most productive ecosystems on Earth, providing essential ecosystem services such as water purification, flood regulation, biodiversity conservation, and climate mitigation (IPCC, 2022, pp. 41–45). These roles become important in increasingly urbanizing environments as wetlands operate as ecological barriers against the negative effects of industry, urban growth, and demographic pressures.

The East Kolkata Wetlands (EKW) located on the eastern fringe of Kolkata, India, represents a singular example of an urban wetland ecosystem where human livelihoods and ecological processes are intricately linked. The wetlands, which span over 12,500 hectares, are made up of marshes, canals, agricultural fields, and sewage-fed fisheries (known locally as bheris) (Ghosh, 2005, pp. 23–27). In recognition of their sustainable resource recovery system and global

biological significance, the wetlands were named a Ramsar Site in 2002 (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2002, p. 2).

A significant amount of Kolkata's sewage is treated by the EKW using natural processes that include microbial activity, sun radiation, and nutrient cycling. In addition to producing economic benefits through fish production and agriculture, this ecological function lessens reliance on traditional wastewater treatment infrastructure (Kundu et al., 2019, pp. 118–120). Notwithstanding these contributions, urbanization, environmental deterioration, and poor governance pose a serious threat to the wetlands. The East Kolkata Wetlands are examined in this article by using an interdisciplinary approach that includes governance, law, and ecology. It makes a case that integrated policy strategies that balance environmental preservation with socioeconomic growth and urban sustainability are necessary to maintain this ecosystem.

Linking social and ecological systems: Management practices and social mechanisms for building resilience (1998) mentions the East Kolkata Wetlands as a socio-ecological system where ecological processes and human activities are interconnected and mutually influential. Such systems have feedback loops involving environmental resources and socio-economic practices, necessitating governance strategies that are flexible and inclusive (Berkes & Folke, 1998, pp. 4–6). In the context of EKW, the urban core produces wastewater that is directed into wetland regions, where it undergoes natural purification and is later reused for aquaculture and agriculture. This cyclical process demonstrates a type of ecological metabolism in which waste is converted into valuable resources (Mukherjee et al., 2015, pp. 52–55).

This system is in line with the principles of a circular economy, focusing on resource efficiency and minimization of waste (OECD, 2023, pp. 14–18). It also embodies the concept as it reflects the concept of nature-based solutions, where ecological processes are harnessed to address environmental challenges in a sustainable manner (UN-Habitat, 2020, pp. 9–12). However, socio-ecological systems are inherently vulnerable to external pressures such as urbanization, policy failures, and environmental change.

Moreover, a comprehensive understanding of the East Kolkata Wetlands requires an interdisciplinary analytical framework that integrates ecological, socio-economic, and

political dimensions. This study draws primarily on three theoretical perspectives, socio-ecological systems theory, political ecology, and circular economy.

Socio-ecological systems (SES) theory provides a conceptual lens for understanding the dynamic interactions between ecological processes and human institutions. According to Berkes and Folke (1998), SES are characterized by feedback loops, adaptive capacity, and resilience. In the case of the EKW, the interaction between wastewater inflows, biological treatment processes, and livelihood systems illustrates a complex adaptive system. Political ecology offers a critical perspective on environmental governance by examining how power relations, economic interests, and institutional structures shape environmental outcomes. It highlights the role of inequality, marginalization, and political-economic dynamics in influencing access to resources and decision-making processes. In the context of the EKW, political ecology is particularly relevant for understanding issues such as land encroachment, policy failures, and the marginalization of local communities. The concept of the circular economy further enriches the analysis by emphasizing resource efficiency and waste minimization. The EKW represents a practical embodiment of circular economy principles, as wastewater is recycled into productive uses, thereby reducing environmental impacts and promoting sustainability.

By integrating these theoretical perspectives, the article adopts a holistic approach to analyze the ecological functions, governance challenges, and policy implications associated with the East Kolkata Wetlands. Thus, the sustainability of the East Kolkata Wetlands, therefore depends on maintaining a balance between ecological functions, socio-economic demands and the legal and institutional framework within which the wetlands operate.

2. Ecological Functions and Environmental Significance

Ghosh in *Wastewater-fed aquaculture in the East Kolkata Wetlands* (2005) opines that the ecological importance of the East Kolkata Wetlands mainly stems from their ability to serve as a natural system for treating wastewater. These wetlands accept untreated sewage from Kolkata and process by mixing biological, chemical, and physical methods that involve algae, bacteria, and sunlight (Ghosh, 2005, pp. 45–49). This approach transforms waste into valuable resources, supporting both fish farming and agricultural activities. The nutrient-laden wastewater boosts productivity, making the wetlands an exceptionally effective and sustainable ecological system (Mukherjee et al., 2015, pp. 56–58).

Beyond their role in wastewater treatment, the wetlands offer numerous essential ecosystem services. They function as a natural mechanism for flood control by absorbing surplus water during heavy rains, thus mitigating the risk of urban

flooding. The wetlands also contribute to climate regulation through carbon sequestration and microclimatic stabilization (IPCC, 2022, pp. 52–56). The vegetation within the wetlands absorbs carbon dioxide, thereby reducing greenhouse gas concentrations. The wetlands also help to regulate local temperatures and humidity levels, contributing to urban climate resilience.

Biodiversity is another critical aspect of the EKW's ecological significance. The wetlands support a wide range of species, including fish, birds, amphibians, and aquatic plants. This biodiversity enhances ecosystem resilience and stability. However, increasing pollution levels, habitat fragmentation, and land-use changes pose significant threats to these ecological functions (Bera et al., 2020, pp. 214–216).

The characterization of the wetlands as the 'kidneys of Kolkata' reflects their vital role in filtering pollutants and maintaining environmental balance. However, increasing environmental pressures threaten the sustainability of these ecological functions, thereby affecting the socio-economic conditions of the people.

3. Socio-Economic Importance and Livelihood Systems

The East Kolkata Wetlands are essential for supporting local economies and urban food networks, with around 50,000 individuals relying on them for their income, primarily through fishing and farming (Kundu et al., 2019, pp. 121–123). A unique aspect of the wetlands is sewage-fed aquaculture, which is the cornerstone of the wetlands' economy. Nutrient-rich wastewater promotes the growth of plankton, which serves as a natural feed for fish. This system is highly cost-effective and environmentally sustainable, as it minimizes the need for artificial inputs. The fish produced in the wetlands contribute significantly to Kolkata's food supply.

Agricultural practices in the wetlands also take advantage of nutrient-rich wastewater, which lessens the dependence on chemical fertilizers and improves soil quality. These practices are a manifestation of traditional ecological knowledge that has been refined over the years. This not only lowers production costs but also promotes environmentally sustainable farming practices. (Mukherjee et al., 2015, p. 60).

Economically, the wetlands offer various advantages, such as job creation, food production, and savings on wastewater management. From an economic perspective, the wetlands provide multiple benefits, including employment generation, food production, and cost savings in wastewater treatment. The natural treatment system reduces the financial burden on municipal authorities, highlighting the economic value the ecosystem provides. (Kundu et al., 2019, p. 125).

The socio-economic system of the EKW can thus be understood as a sustainable livelihood system embedded within a circular economy framework. However, the viability

of this system is increasingly threatened by environmental degradation and policy neglect, which calls for a proper legal framework in protecting the EKW.

4. Legal and Institutional Framework

The East Kolkata Wetlands are governed by a multi-layered legal framework. Wetlands are acknowledged as a site of global ecological significance by the Ramsar Convention, which encourages their conservation and sustainable use on a global scale (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2002, p. 5). The East Kolkata Wetlands (Conservation and Management) Act, 2006 creates the East Kolkata Wetlands Management Authority (EKWMA) as the principal regulatory body and offers statutory protection at the national level (Government of West Bengal, 2006, pp. 6–10). Sustainable management practices, land use regulation, and encroachment prevention are the goals of the legal framework. The Wetlands Rules (2017) and the Environment Protection Act (1986) are two more environmental laws that strengthen wetlands protection in India.

Nevertheless, enforcement of these legal provisions is still lacking, as problems like institutional fragmentation, insufficient oversight, and unlawful land conversion create problems in governance.

5. Governance Challenges

The governance challenges facing the East Kolkata Wetlands are deeply rooted in political, economic, and institutional dynamics. Rapid urbanization has led to increased demand for land, resulting in encroachment and land-use changes (Bera et al., 2020, pp. 214–216). This process is often driven by real estate interests and facilitated by weak regulatory enforcement.

Institutional fragmentation further complicates governance as numerous agencies with overlapping mandates create coordination challenges. This leads to inconsistencies in policy implementation and weak accountability. The absence of a unified governance framework undermines conservation efforts. From a political ecology perspective, power asymmetries play a crucial role in shaping governance outcomes. Local communities, despite being primary stakeholders, are often excluded from decision-making processes. This marginalization undermines both social justice and ecological sustainability.

Environmental degradation due to excessive pollution and waste dumping threatens the ecological functioning of the wetlands. While the system is designed to process wastewater, its capacity is not unlimited, and overloading can lead to ecological breakdown. The marginalization of local communities in governance processes also undermines sustainability. Excluding stakeholders from decision-making reduces the effectiveness of conservation efforts and disregards traditional knowledge systems. Additionally,

climate change introduces new uncertainties, affecting hydrological cycles, biodiversity, and productivity. These challenges necessitate adaptive and inclusive governance approaches, which entails policy suggestions in the relevant field. (IPCC, 2022, pp. 60–62).

6. Policy Recommendations

To ensure long-term sustainability of the East Kolkata Wetlands requires a comprehensive and integrated policy approach that combines legal enforcement, institutional coordination, and community engagement. Strengthening the enforcement of existing legal frameworks, particularly the East Kolkata Wetlands (Conservation and Management) Act, 2006, is essential to prevent encroachment and environmental degradation. This should be supported by stricter penalties, regular monitoring, and enhanced accountability of regulatory authorities (Government of West Bengal, 2006, p. 12).

An integrated governance framework is necessary to address institutional fragmentation and improve coordination among agencies. The use of technological tools such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and remote sensing can enhance monitoring and enforcement capabilities (OECD, 2023, pp. 22–25). It is equally important to include the local communities in governance processes as participatory approaches can improve conservation outcomes while ensuring social equity and recognition of traditional knowledge.

Moreover, urban planning must incorporate wetland conservation as a central component, promoting nature-based solutions and sustainable land-use practices. Public awareness and academic engagement are also critical for fostering long-term conservation efforts.

7. Conclusion

The East Kolkata Wetlands act as a paradigmatic example of how urban ecological systems can use an embedded circular economy to balance livelihood security with environmental sustainability. The wetlands defy traditional boundaries between development and conservation by serving as a natural wastewater treatment system, a reservoir for biodiversity, and a socioeconomic support structure (Ghosh, 2005, p. 72; Mukherjee et al., 2015, p. 63). Rather, they show that when suitable institutional and regulatory frameworks are in place, natural processes may be effectively utilized to maintain urban life.

But this socio-ecological balance is still unstable. The complex feedback loops that support wetlands are at risk of becoming unstable due to the combined effects of unlawful encroachment, rapid urban growth, environmental overload, and disjointed governance (Bera et al., 2020, p. 218). These

vulnerabilities are further exacerbated by the continued weak enforcement mechanisms under current legal instruments, such as the EKW (Conservation and Management) Act, 2006, which reveals a crucial gap between formal statutory provisions and practical realities (Government of West Bengal, 2006, p. 14).

From a theoretical perspective, the East Kolkata Wetlands highlight the importance of political ecology and socio-ecological systems theory in comprehending environmental governance. They demonstrate that sustainability is a highly political process influenced by institutional capabilities, stakeholder participation, and conflicting developmental priorities rather than just a technical or ecological issue (Berkes & Folke, 1998, p. 10).

A move toward integrated and adaptive governance that prioritises ecological resilience, democratic decision-making, and policy coherence will be necessary for the wetlands' sustainability going ahead. Important actions include bolstering law enforcement, enhancing interagency collaboration, and integrating technology monitoring tools like GIS into governance frameworks (OECD, 2023, p. 28). In addition, social justice and ecological sustainability depend on local communities being meaningfully included.

Ultimately, safeguarding the East Kolkata Wetlands is not only a matter of preserving a unique ecological asset but also of reimagining urban futures in which environmental integrity, social justice, and economic viability are mutually reinforcing. Their continued survival will serve as a critical test case for sustainable urban governance in the Global South, offering lessons that extend far beyond the geographical confines of Kolkata (Ramsar Convention Secretariat, 2002; UN-Habitat, 2020, p. 21).

Thus, the East Kolkata Wetlands are a special example of sustainable urban ecology, where human livelihoods and natural processes coexist in a way that benefits both. The wetlands, known as the 'kidneys of Kolkata,' sustain livelihoods, offer vital ecosystem services, and increase climate resilience. However, urbanization, environmental deterioration, and governance issues are posing an increasing threat to their sustainability. This article necessitates an integrated strategy that harmonizes social justice and ecological sustainability with legal frameworks, governance mechanisms, and policy interventions. The EKW must be preserved by rethinking urban growth in balance with ecological systems and making sure that sustainability continues to be a key component in future urban planning.

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