

HIGH-SPEED RAIL IMPACTS ON SHANGHAI S URBAN FRINGE COMMUNITIES: AN INTEGRATED APPRAISAL FROM SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE PERSPECTIVES

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1 Introduction

High-speed rail (HSR), the advanced rail system normally operates at a speed of new tracks or 200km/hour on conventional tracks, is advocated as an effective transport mode with dwindling energy supplies, severe air pollution, and increasing traffic congestion. The benefits of this transit system includes: increasing traffic efficiency; improving spatial logistics connections; promoting regional equity and economic coordination; and providing an alternative to air transportation in regions where geography allows competitive high-speed railway (Gutiérrez, J. 2001; Givoni, 2006; Albalade and Bel, 2012). For China, HSR is essential considering the country's massive population that needs efficient transport between regions demanding for equal connection, and the state goal of city-region integration by rail upgrade (Takagi, 2011).

On July 1st, 2004, China's Ministry of Railway developed a Middle- and Long-term Railway Development Plan and announced investment targets through 2020 (Fridley, Zheng, and Aden, 2008). The components include:

- Total operational railway track of 120,000 km with a 50% share of rail electrification and double-tracking;

- 12,000 km of dedicated high-speed passenger railway tracks with speeds of 200 km/h or above;

- Four north-south and four east-west high-speed passenger rail networks to link major cities and hubs; and

- Three regional intercity rail networks.

China's interest in HSR construction is rooted in the desire to improve the transportation connection and economic productivity. Although there are sound economic incentives for HSR development, given its very recent implementation and controversial impacts, further research on the quality and problems with HSR development should be undertaken. Different from previous studies on the lens of spatial-economic impacts and accessibility analysis (Kim, 2000; Chen and Chen, 2012; Chen, 2013; Jiao et al., 2014; Shaw et al., 2014), this study sheds light on the perspectives of HSR impacts at a local community territorial scale by investigating the excluded, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups of population (i.e. farmers, elderly, and disabled) who live with HSR's daily operation in Shanghai's urban fringe. The research uncovers how everyday life has been affected by the HSR projects, utilizing an integrated conceptual framework linking social sustainability and environmental justice. Guided by this integrated framework, the research will answer three major research questions: (1) What are the major impacted communities in Shanghai's urban fringe? (2) Who are the main recipients of the impacts and how has their every day life been affected? (3) What political institution and procedure have led to the current situation?

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: first, a literature review of HSR impacts and a conceptual framework will be provided to lay the theoretical foundation for analysing HSR impacts.

and social impacts on surrounding neighbourhoods. The next section will introduce the area and present our research methodology. Then the research findings and are presented in three sub-themes: (1) the unfair distribution of environmental burden and inequity in compensation arrangements; (2) procedural concerns for environmental justice and social inequity in relation to public consultation inadequacy and social exclusion; (3) institutionalisation manifested by local pro-growth governance. Finally, a conclusion summarises the research findings and offer policy implications.

2 An Integrated Conceptual Framework

Since the Brundtland Report of Our Common Future (WCED, 1987), there has been a vast literature devoted to the general topic of sustainability. The 1992 Rio Declaration suggests that sustainable development keep the balance and achieve certain trade-offs. The three pillars of sustainability, namely ecological, economic, and social sustainability, have received considerable academic and political attention. However, considerable attention has been paid to the discussion of economic development, social dimension of sustainability is the least conceptually explored and practically under-implemented among the three pillars (Littig and Griener, 2005; Dillard, 2009; Cuthill, 2010). In addition, comparatively insufficient studies have explored the theoretical connections and interplay among the three pillars of sustainable development (Griener, 2005; Boström, 2012).

Just sustainability proposed by Agyeman and his colleagues (Agyeman, Bullard, 2002 and 2003; Agyeman and Evans, T., 2003; Agyeman and Evans, B., 2004) continues to further exploring the social dimension of sustainability and advocates an integrated conceptual framework that link environmental analysis with anthropocentric concepts. The recent years, environmental justice campaigns globally are being reformulated to integrate sustainability, and vice versa (Agyeman and Evans, B., 2004, pp.160). Parag and his egalitarian conception of sustainability (1999), their definition of just sustainability as a common ground between human rights and environmental issues and highlights four key concerns on: quality of life, present and future generations, justice and equity, and allocation, and living within ecological limits (Agyeman, Bullard, and Evans, B., 2004).

Based on the just sustainability discourse, we aim to structure an integrated conceptual framework connecting social sustainability and environmental justice in assessing HSR impacts on communities. There exists an area of theoretical and practical compatibility between social sustainability and environmental justice. An integrated conceptual framework can provide a more inclusive approach to assess how changing built-environment affects people's daily life.

2.1 Conceptual Origins and Definitions

Social sustainability is an open and contested concept (Boström, 2012) that has led to various develop schemes to define it. Based on an experimental research in Australia, Parag identified an interdependent and self-reinforcing relationship between four key elements of social sustainability: (1) social capital that provides a theoretical starting point; (2) infrastructure that provides an operational perspective; (3) social justice and ethical imperative; and (4) engaged governance that provides a methodology to bring them together. Littig and Griener (2005) extended the fairly vague notion of needs-based sustainability to a linkage of political pragmatism and social theory. According to them, sustainability is about a quality of societies, and it signifies the nature of social relations mediated by work, as well as by relationships within the society (p.72).

Similar to social sustainability, environmental justice has multiple definitions. Environmental Protection Agency (2008), Environmental justice is the fair and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, colour, national origin,

respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws and policies. Bryant (1995, p.6) referred to environmental justice as the cultural rules, regulations, behaviours, policies and decisions to support sustainable people can interact with confidence that their environment is safe, nurturing. Looking beyond time and space, Stephens et al. (2001) maintained that to guarantee justice is to ensure a healthy environment for future generations and to ensure one region will not cause negative externalities for other people's health. For the responsibility of carrying on this value requires us to transcend individualism (Beckerman and Pasek, 2001; Beckman and Page, 2008).

2.2 Conceptual Common Ground

Among the definitions provided by governmental officials, grassroots associations, and scholars, we can find common ground between social sustainability and environmental justice. The overlaps indicate an opportunity for incorporating the two concepts in access to resources on local communities.

Anthropocentric Perspectives: both social sustainability and environmental justice are anthropocentric perspectives. Until recently, eco-centric models have dominated sustainable development and environmental issues. Heavily influenced by environmental movements, these models highlight the negative impacts of human intervention on the environment and emphasize the need for more efficient use of resources. The anthropocentric models reflect people's anxieties about environmental collapse, limited resources, and threats to biodiversity. In contrast to an eco-centric model, an anthropocentric model focuses more on impacts of natural or built environments on human beings. Caring for human relationships, life quality issues, as well as environmental impacts on human health, sustainability analysis often takes an anthropocentric perspective (Littig and Groll, Lloyd-Jones, and Allen, 2010). Different from ecological justice, environmental justice mainly focuses on the justice concerns of people, regardless of their social, economic, or cultural background (Low and Gleeson, 1998; Agyeman and Evans, T., 2003; Schlosberg, 2007).

Substantive and Procedural Characteristics: Both social sustainability and environmental justice concepts include substantive (what) (i.e., equal right, justice, and equity) and procedural (how) (i.e., meaningful involvement, social inclusion; citizen participation) characteristics. Bell (2004) held that environmental justice has both procedural and substantive components. A substantive component of environmental justice underscores a fair and equitable sharing of environmental burdens (e.g. harm and risk) and benefits (e.g. resources). To achieve that, three questions need to be answered: (1) Who are the recipients of the benefits? (2) How are they distributed? and (3) What is the principle of distribution? Procedural perspective on environmental justice includes the pursuit of justice for all people regardless of their background and the meaningful involvement of these people in the decision-making process (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 1998; Bell, 2004; Schlosberg, 2004). As a concept with priorities for social equity, as well as equal access to resources, participation and social justice, sustainability has both substantive and procedural characteristics. (Manzi, Lloyd-Jones, 2010). A critical aspect of social sustainability is social justice and equity. This substantive perspective provides an ethical foundation when formulating social policy or strategy, and when implementing operational initiatives (Cuthill, 2010). The procedural characteristic of social sustainability cannot be guaranteed without legal and institutional enforcement. Additionally, Boström (2012) pointed out how procedural aspects of social sustainability affect its substantive aspects ought to be pondered through a long-term perspective, which is also true for environmental justice.

Two Inter-related Political Dimensions: The major actors involved in the two concepts are both perceived in two inter-related political dimensions (Littig and Groll, Lloyd-Jones, and Allen, 2010; Boström, 2012). On the activist level, individuals and

capitalize on social sustainability and environmental justice to pursue political mobilization, and rightful resistance. On the government level, these concepts are policy guidelines to ensure that no public action would disproportionately affect a specific social group (Agyeman and Evans, B., 2004). Social sustainability is to tackle the relationships between individual actions and the created environment between individual life-chances and institutional structures (Jarvis et al., 2004). Environmental justice exists along with intense interaction between political and grassroots forces.

2.3 Conceptual Significances for the Chinese Context

In recent years, the Chinese leadership has made sustainable development an important part of the recent Five Year Plans. The central governments strong promotion of sustainable development policies and environmental protection is buttressed by a renewed public environmental consciousness, a newly formed domestic environmental civil society, and an increasing reliance on international aid (Lam, 2006, pp. 362). Witnessing frequent natural disasters and their outcomes, Chinese are increasingly concerned about the environmental conditions in their living places. However, concepts such as environmental justice and social sustainability are not part of the ordinary Chinese people, and grass-roots social mobilization has not included environmental justice in their campaigns.

In China's planning system, economic growth enjoys priority. The concerns for social and environmental justice have not been explicitly raised and addressed in planning implementation. Many urban planners believe that sustainability and justice could be achieved later (Wu, 2006). Wu pointed out that Chinese scholars have been conspicuously absent in addressing the issues of social and environmental justice. For example, the existing discussions on HSR impacts in China mainly focus on the spatial and economic aspects. Few of them have expanded the scope to include work that critically analyses social and environmental impacts on the surrounding neighbourhoods and further explores how the growth-centred urban development and construction has affected the socially excluded, marginalized, and disadvantaged groups. This study provides an integrated conceptual framework that connects social sustainability and environmental justice, which is imperative for assessing China's growth-oriented urban transition driven by HSR projects such as high-speed rails.

In Shanghai's particular social, economic, and political context, the empirical study will examine the applicability and power of integrating social sustainability and environmental justice in analysing HSR impacts on nearby neighbourhoods. In particular, it examines the impacts on the socially excluded, marginalized, and disadvantaged who live with HSR's daily noise and vibration in Shanghai's urban fringe.

3 Case Study and Methodology

Informed by an integrated conceptual framework of social sustainability and environmental justice, this study employs a case study in Shanghai's urban fringe. The reason we focus on urban fringe is because this particular geographical setting is the most contentious location where competition for land has been intensified and social conflicts have frequently occurred (Wu, 2009; Hsing, 2010). In urban fringe, low land acquisition compensation rates are common due to large scale infrastructure development (Dai et al., 2013). In the case of Shanghai, HSR stations are located in central city and two of them are sited in the city fringe (Figure 1).

The case study fieldwork was conducted from June to August in 2012 in two villages along the Shanghai-Hangzhou HSR line. The data collection method included participant observation, household surveys, and in-depth interviews. As residents' perception of HSR might vary due to different socioeconomic circumstances, we chose two villages for comparison. With about 800 households in each village, we chose two villages for comparison.

in an area of 2.88 square kilometres, Xuejia Village is located in Songjiang and undergoes the fastest economic development among all the suburban districts in Shanghai (Shanghai Municipal Government, 2013). The majority of young people have left the village for better job opportunities in urban centres, and the remaining elders take care of their household plots. During the last decade, industrial parks have been developed near the village, attracting an influx of migrant workers and rent rooms from the villagers. The other case study site Weixing Village has approximately 600 households in an area of 3.27 square kilometres. Almost all are local residents with rural household registration status (hukou) (Jinshan Arc). Weixing Village shares some similarities with Xuejia Village such as the out-migration of young people. However, the economic development of Weixing village is slower than that of Xuejia Village. Jinshan district, where Weixing Village belongs to, is one of the three districts in Shanghai without a subway connection. The Weixing villagers think their village might be the poorest in the district.

The structured questionnaires were completed through face-to-face interviews. They were designed to identify what social groups form the recipients of the HSR's environmental and social impacts. The surveyed households were asked to provide each family member's age, education attainment, household registration status (hukou), residency time, and monthly household income. This was followed by more detailed household interviews with the village members' perceptions of and reactions to the HSR operation from the perspective of social sustainability and environmental justice. In total, we collected 30 valid questionnaires, which 10 local households were from Weixing Village, 10 local households from Xuejia Village, and 10 migrant households from Xuejia Village. The selected households are located in the areas closest to the rail tracks, with the assumption that the closer the residences are to the tracks, the more visible and remarkable the HSR's perceived impacts might be.



Figure 1. Research Sites in Shanghai's Southwest Urban Fringe (Source: Authors)

4 Findings and Analyses

4.1 The unfair distribution of environmental burdens and the social inequ arrangements

We found the co-existence of the unfair distribution of environmental burdens and in compensation arrangements after the HSR construction. This is certainly not s rapid urbanization always prioritizes economic pursuit, compromising its social influences (Ma, 2007; Wu, 2015). The Shanghai-Hangzhou HSR service runs 177 tr (including 128 trains from Shanghai to Hangzhou and 49 trains from Hangzhou to the beginning of the HSR operation, residents in Xuejia and Weixing Villages h from various sources of disturbance including noise caused by passing trains, v electro-magnetic interference, flashing-headlight pollution, and increasing ai Among those negative externalities brought by the HSR, noise is the most sever dwellers. The sound waves produces a sound pressure level (SPL) that is gene decibel A-weighting (dBA). The rapid approaching of a high-speed train is accom increase in noise. Commonly, sounds of approaching vehicles carry a sense of cor greater annoyance than receding sounds (US Federal Railroad Administration, 19 Japanese Ministry of Environment promulgated regulations to control HSR noise surrounding areas. Tested from the nearest residential areas, the maximum SPL o be no more than 70 dBA. In China, the relocation red line for HSR construction households whose residence units are within 30 meters from the rail centrel relocation to avoid severe noise disturbance. In our cases, the majority of hou lines still have to endure the noise because the distance of their housing unit over 30 meters. Table 1 is a sample of SPL results obtained in Xuejia Village meters from the rail centreline. When an HSR train is passing by without slowi over 80 dBA, which is not safe for human beings according to the Japanese standa

Table 1. Maximum HSR Sound Pressure Level at the Distance of 90 Meters

Test #	Time	Type of operation	Decibel A-weighted (dBA)
1	15:32	Passing by	83.1
2	15:35	Passing by	83.1
3	15:42	Passing by	83.7
4	15:49	Passing by	82.9
5	15:51	Slowdown for Station	65.8
6	15:55	Slowdown for Station	65.7
7	15:57	Slowdown for Station	68.0
8	15:59	Slowdown for Station	66.0

Source: Authors.

Two social groups shoulder the environmental burdens, especially the noise caus local elders and the young migrants. They both have limited social and economic difference between the two social groups is that the local elders have lived 1 years while the average residency length for migrant household heads is about Without convenient transportation and adequate urban facilities, most local you and Xuejia Villages prefer to move to city centres. As the economic situation better than Weixing Village s (in terms of average monthly household income per the elder population situation is more remarkable in Xuejia Village. The other s from HSR disturbance is migrant workers and their families. Different from the 1 70 per cent of the migrants are young or middle-aged adults. Many choose to live because rent is much cheaper than that in urban centres, landlords are friendly, industrial parks are close by.

Education levels of the surveyed adults over 18 years old are lower than those of the local dwellers. Half of the local dwellers have only obtained primary education or even lower. The interviewed migrants have obtained higher education such as a university degree. The surveyed migrants typically farmers and workers in nearby factories. Male migrants are usually engaged in physically demanding or dangerous lines of work, most notably in construction. Female migrants are either in factory production lines or in service industry. The per capita monthly income of urban residents in Shanghai is 3,349 yuan (around \$536), and the per capita monthly income of rural residents in Shanghai is 1,450 yuan (around \$232) in 2012 (Shanghai Statistical Yearbook, 2013). The average of the surveyed households (rural in our cases) is lower than the abovementioned rate, which indicates that the recipients of environmental injustices comprise an economically marginalized social group.

Table 2. Demographics of Surveyed Households

Household Type	Socioeconomic Attributes	Age Distribution (%)				Education Attainment Adults over 18 (%)			Residency Length Average for Household Head (Years)	Average per capita monthly Household Disposable Income (Yuan)
		0-20	21-40	41-60	>60	Primary & Below	Middle & High	University		
Local Households (Weixing Village)		9.8	26.8	29.3	34.1	54.4	11.5	40.5	8.1	1370.9
Local Households (Xuejia Village)		10.5	18.4	42.1	29.0	50.0	11.5	47.1	2.9	1550.3
Migrant Households (Xuejia Village)		30.3	48.5	21.2	0	25.0	75.0	40.2	0	1170

Source: Authors.

Mohai, Pellow, and Roberts (2009) provided socio-political explanations for environmental injustice in social or economically marginalized communities by arguing that industry and government do not want to generate controversy or experience delays. If they have to implement plans, they try to avoid confronting communities with abundant resources. Poor communities therefore, become a preferred target for environmental burdens. Lacking socio-political resources, village members are vulnerable to the current environmental

Besides the environmental burdens, affected residents also complained about the compensation arrangements. China's Ministry of Railways sets 30 meters as the compensation and relocation arrangements, which led to social inequity within the village. For those who lived within the 30-meter areas, they were able to enjoy the benefits of the HSR. Xue used to believe that her family might never be able to move into an expanded central area of Songjiang district. Along with other relocated families, they developed a new neighbourhood that is close to the Songjiang district centre. The difference to the life of her family. Her daughter no longer needs to spend much time between her company and home. She felt quite grateful to the HSR construction as her life quality was truly improved.

However, the HSR compensation is unevenly distributed. Very few households were the Xue family. In the meantime, the compensation for agriculture land is much lower than for residential properties. Some interviewees stated that the compensation for farmland was around \$ 160 U.S. dollars per mu (1 mu is equivalent to 666.7 square meters). Those whose family agricultural plots were expropriated for HSR construction felt that they were treated compared to their neighbours whose housing units were expropriated. Moreover, for those relocated and non-relocated, the current HSR seldom benefits the village members. The preferential price policy. One of the major complaints from HSR users in China is the high cost and beyond the affordability of a majority of passengers in the country (Chuang et al., 2015). The village members are reluctant to take the expansive train and actually have no service.

The co-existence of social inequity and environmental injustice severely harms the communities within the communities. Village members can be divided into three camps: (1) those who are compensated and relocated to nearby new towns or urban district centres; (2) those who live near the rail tracks and still suffer from the negative impacts of HSR without any compensation; and (3) those who live farther away from the rail tracks and care much less about the impacts. This illustrates how the change of built-environment, in the context of China's rapid urbanization, has resulted in unequal and unfair societal consequences.

4.2 Procedural concerns for environmental injustice and social inequity in public consultation inadequacy and social exclusion

As discussed in the section 2.2, besides substantive meaning, both social justice and environmental justice concepts are closely related to procedural analyses. In our study, the environmental injustice has been reinforced by the social exclusion, significantly affecting sustainability. Faber (1998, p. 14) emphasized, the struggle for environmental justice is not about distributing risks equally but about preventing them from being produced in the first place. A remarkable fact of limited procedural justice lies in the public consultation is that if people are involved in the decision making process, they are more likely to be supportive of the project and implementation (Potapchuk, 1996). Wu et al. (2010) revealed that Chinese villagers are reluctant to arrange negotiation that involves various stakeholders because they fear that negotiation slow down urban development. The state dominance in mega urban projects and public consultation is more at the stage of policy implementation rather than project implementation (Wu et al., 2015). Lack of community participation prevented the HSR project in those villages from being endorsed by the local residents. Ms Zhang mentioned that she had never heard of the project until one day when she saw large trucks carrying construction materials on the road. While for Mr Xun to understand what was going on, No one ever asked our feelings. We were uncertain about the potential HSR impacts at its early construction stage. It was not until the whole process of HSR construction, there was no meaningful and transparent public participation. Mr Zhu concluded three points regarding the decision making process: (1) the construction was conducted without any hearing process in the communities; (2) the compensation arrangements and negotiations were not open to the public; and (3) the final compensation was not released to the affected communities.

Manzi et al. (2010, pp. 10) maintained, The general idea of social exclusion is that social, political and economic processes erect barriers that prevent specific groups from participating fully in the society in which they live. The effects of these barriers, in conjunction of material poverty and the processes that define particular groups, are that the barriers also prevent people from improving their circumstances through their own efforts. Protests, as a response to social exclusion, are not tolerable in China. From the numerous stories about how the local authorities set barriers that discouraged villagers from protecting their rights. To counteract villager resistance, local governments have deployed public security, and required village committees to intimidate or placate the villagers. Mr He shared a story of his petition for relocation:

Our family went to Yongfeng Sub-district Office many times to consult about the decision. Our house is very close to the rail line, just three meters over the line. The time we went there, the officials asked us to write down our case and then go home and wait for the result. For half a year, we frequently visited the Office to inquire about the fact that nothing would happen. One day, my son and I declined to leave the Office out of our discontent. The officials contacted my factory to call me back. My son was taken away from the Office by the security guards. When he came back home, I saw wounds on his face.

For the grassroots, social exclusion is somehow doomed because civic social capital is not sufficiently strong to fail the launch of urban mega projects in the name of public interest. As the land-related rural protests are increasingly frequent and violent, peasant movements are largely fragmented and localized (Hsing, 2010). In our case study, village members were cautious in expressing their discontent with the HSR project. They were afraid to be proactive in resistance, they might be deprived of the potential compensation benefits. Because they were afraid of being punished if they participated in resistance activities, the only organized protest against the HSR's negative impacts was rarely over ten people within the village jurisdiction boundary. Scattered expressions of discontent persisted but lacked the scale insufficient to draw media attention or impose any significant pressure on local officials. The situation was even worse with the absence of clearly articulated regulations and procedures.

The social exclusion was not only perceived by local residents, but also by migrant families who lived in the villages. Agnew (1987) pointed out three elements of place: physical location and sense of place. A place has a physical location that includes the material environment, social relations, and a sense of place that represents people's emotional attachments. In our research, we assumed that the migrant households did not have strong attachment to the village. They might not care much about the HSR impacts as the locals did. However, such an assumption is oversimplified. The migrant families we interviewed were worried that they would be forced to move to other places because of the HSR construction following their landlords' voluntary relocation (arranged relocation). Originally from Anhui Province, Mr Li earned his life by recycling. His family had lived in Xuejia Village for many years. His two grandmothers lived in the village. He felt gratitude to his landlords and regarded the village as his home. In the interview, Mr Li expressed his emotional attachment to the village and concerns about the HSR's impact.

Being a scavenger is not easy. Fortunately, my family is not looked down here. It is a bit annoying, but we migrants are more worried if local households will move away. We do not need to leave this peaceful village. Renting a place in suburban regions is getting more and more difficult nowadays. Construction and relocation are everywhere.

Similar to He's situation, many migrant families had lived in the study areas for a long time and considered the places as their second hometowns. However, rapid infrastructure construction on the urban fringe forced them to move more frequently in recent years. Constrained by their economic status, they were not entitled to any compensations or subsidies. Worrying about being evicted on short notice without government support, the migrant families we interviewed expressed a strong sense of social exclusion. When asked to make choice between leaving the place or staying, most of them chose to stay. Despite the HSR's daily disturbance, most of them intended to stay.

4.3 Political institution manifested by local pro-growth governance

Local pro-growth governance has driven the discussed social unsustainability and social injustice. The devolution of state power to lower-level governments and the increase in local government revenue from fiscal decentralization have combined to push local authorities to advocate and support economic activities with high revenue returns. Local officials play an entrepreneurial role in economic making activities. Eaton and Kostka (2014) argued that Chinese local government's growth-centred administrative manner without long-term vision is similar to that of the United States in the 1980s.

maximizing and rent-seeking behaviour of the roving bandits described by Man Chuang's study (2014) about the local government's bureaucratic absorption mechanism. Farmers from their lands portrayed how local cadres came up with strategies to growth development. Tricky land expropriation conducted by local authorities in interviews such as the following one.

In 2000, we heard that our Cangqiao Town would become a sub-district next year. Village residents' hukou would change from rural to urban status. The village committee came and asked us to sign for returning our lands to the village collective. After the procedure we would soon become urban residents and receive social welfare in the district. We agreed. On one hand, our young generations work and live outside the village. They don't have enough labourers on our lands. On the other hand, the promised welfare would come to our villages. As our previous lands were already acquired by the village committee and rented to individuals who were either village committee members or outsiders, we were not the recipients of the land expropriation compensation and what we received was only the land along with all sorts of annoying disturbances from the trains.

Land rights transfers in urban periphery are very profitable for cities (Dai et al., 2014). China's Land Administration Law, 70 per cent of land lease premium goes to municipalities and 30 per cent to the central finance (Land Administration Law, Article 51). Property conveyance fees, land lease fees, and sales or business taxes that local officials, developers and users make up a significant portion of local revenue. Ong (2014) argues that the government maximizes construction land quota by relocating farmers from their sites to high-rise apartments. In our study, we found that compared with former village houses, newly relocated farmers have minimized open space and green areas for the purpose of reducing costs (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Two relocation sites: Yongfeng Garden for relocated residents in Xueji Village (left) and Weixing Garden for relocated residents in Weixing Village (right). (Source: Author's fieldwork)

Ms Mei, one of our interviewees, wanted to show me a creek at the northern edge of the village. When we reached the site, there were only just construction trash and grasses. Embarrassed, Ms Mei emphasized that the creek was there before. Along one side of the village, a highway was built in 2005 and a high-speed rail was constructed along the other side. Compared with this landscape change, the disappeared creek is probably not remarkable.

The changes that have occurred in our village in recent years make me feel the loss of familiarity. In our experience of places there is a close attachment, a familiarity that comes from being known in a particular place. It is such attachment that constitutes our sense of place. This familiarity that it involves is not just detailed knowledge, but also a sense of belonging to a place (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976). Unfortunately, the local pro-growth government

disturbed the local dwellers' deep attachment to their places, an important y socially sustainable society.

5 Conclusions

City development is not merely about concrete and glass. People's perception is equally important. Even when only a small group of citizens suffers from urban c means that they should be taken for granted for the wellbeing of the rest. B conceptual framework combining social sustainability with environmental just illustrates how the HSR construction has negatively affected the daily life of t and disadvantaged such as farmers, local elders and migrants who live in subu integrated conceptual framework helps to have an inclusive understanding of the and political institution of HSR development in suburban neighbourhoods.

Social equity coexists with the distributive justice concern. The environmental by social exclusion, impeding social sustainability. Lack of meaningful public hinders the achievement of environmental justice. Such procedural deficiency in is exacerbated by the social exclusion of rightful resistance. The pro-growth lo the major institutional drivers behind social unsustainability and environmental

Finally, it is worthy to note that the purpose of the research is not to offer a framework, but to help generate more innovative and better-developed discourse environmental appraisals. Urban transformation and its outcomes can be unde tripartite analysis of the control of environment, the power involved to enfor institutional flows that direct the process.

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