



Dalian's Urban Planning and Design in Evolution

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ABSTRACT

Many Chinese cities have witnessed the introduction of Western town-planning ideas, modernity, and new townscapes. Dalian in Liaoning Province, North of China, is one of the earliest cases. International urban planning and design were transplanted and imposed by the Russians and the Japanese during the late 19th-century colonial period, which shaped Dalian's unique urban forms and are still visible today. At the same time, Dalian was advertised as a tourist city because of its naturally endowed scenery and strategic position, while it took time before proper tourism planning was developed for the city. With the global trend of sustainable development and collaborative planning, various stakeholders including regulators, producers, and users of the urban space, are gaining increasing attention in urban planning and design. However, the conflict among stakeholders brings new challenges to the city. This paper reviews and reflects on the urban planning and design history of Dalian. Through the analysis of Dalian's planning and design at different development stages, it reveals how the city's distinctive urban features were shaped, evolved, and formed under the influence of national and international theories.

Keywords: Dalian, colonization, urban planning, tourism planning, modernity, China

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1. INTRODUCTION

The characteristics of a city's urban planning system is the outcome of a long process of interaction between built form and political, economic, and cultural forces. These characteristics reflect the overall socio-economic and political environment within which cities operate. Traditional Chinese cities were constructed in accordance with the feudal ideology of social order and hierarchy^[1]. A significant node in the historical evolution of Chinese cities' form was the opening up of treaty ports in the 1840s, which signaled the influence of Western planning ideas on the development of Chinese cities^[2]. The economic activities generated by the treaty ports caused labor migration from the countryside to the cities, and resulted in rapid growth in cities' economic functions, population, and urban areas^[3]. With the introduction of Western technologies and capital, modern industrialization started, and substantial changes took place in cities. For example, many modern industrial districts were constructed in these treaty ports which significantly impacted urban form with the spatial separation of production, circulation and residential activities, and the functional zoning of urban land^[2]. The Western influence made those port cities differed strikingly from traditional Chinese cities in morphology and demonstrated characteristics of colonial cities^[3].

With the arrival of Western colonialists, Chinese cities experienced rapid growth, particularly those port cities along the coast^[2, 4]. These cities witnessed a significant decline in traditional urban structures and the prevalence of Western-style structures. Much like colonial cities elsewhere around the world, a dual-city form consisting of Western-style but fully functional colonial settlements, alongside inadequately serviced Chinese settlements, coexisted in Chinese cities. For instance, in Guangzhou, European-style architectures were erected on carefully manicured grounds along quiet tree-lined avenues devoid of the bustle of the Chinese commercial district just a few meters away^[4]. In Shanghai, a new type of central business

district marked by a concentration of multi-storied commercial buildings emerged, which contrasted with the traditional streets lined with crowded shophouses^[2]. Traditional urban forms were gradually modified to make way for new developments that were designed to facilitate the growing economic functions of the cities. The coastal cities, especially those commercial and industrial centers, were equipped with modern transportations and strongly linked to the modern, global economic system^[5]. Although metropolises like Shanghai and Guangzhou are often taken as important sites to explore themes of cosmopolitanism, and many studies tend to use cities of that size to represent a distinctive Chinese modernity^[6, 7], Dalian is also a typical example with a hybrid of foreign and Chinese modernity, but has received relatively less attention.

Situated in the northeast of China, today's Dalian is the second largest city in Liaoning Province with a sub-provincial administrative status. It has a population of 5.987 million and covers an area of 12,574 sqkm^[8]. Due to its geographical location on the southern tip of the eastern Liaoning peninsula, Dalian serves as a gateway to Beijing and Tianjin, and is an important international shipping center, as well as an international logistics and regional financial center^[9]. Its agreeable climate, multiple beaches, natural landscape, and the colonial architecture have made it one of the most popular destinations in China for both domestic and international tourists^[10]. Dalian's development stemmed from successive colonial occupations, each of which left lasting imprints on the city's urban planning and urban landscape. Different from those places that had foreign districts grafted on the built Chinese cities, Dalian was planned and constructed by foreign powers, and its developmental history is closely entwined with colonization^[11].

This paper traces the evolution of Dalian's urban planning and design from colonization to today, and reflects on how different theories have impacted on the city. The political, economic, and cultural factors

that have influenced the urban planning and design at different development stages are discussed. The various stakeholders involved in the urban development are also a focus of the study. Through the analysis of Dalian's changing planning and design, it helps to understand how the city's distinctive urban features were shaped, evolved, and formed under the influence of national and international theories. Furthermore, the analysis critically assesses the merits and drawbacks of those planning and design ideas, which provides valuable insights into the planning and design of a city in the future.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed the methods of case study and document review. The city of Dalian was selected as a case due to its special developmental history. As stated above, Dalian's development witnesses the hybrid of foreign and Chinese modernity, and demonstrates a trajectory of urban development and modernity that is different from other metropolises in China. Thus, it acts as an excellent example to examine how different theories and principles have influenced the Chinese urban planning and design. To conduct document review, relevant literature on the subject written in both English and Chinese was collected and reviewed at three scales. The first scale focused on documents regarding Dalian's urban planning and design. Documents including books, journals, magazines, dissertations, and government reports, were collected from Dalian Library, Dalian Archives, Dalian Urban Planning Museum, and online databases such as CNKI and Google Scholar. The second scale centered on the urban planning history, theories, principles, and characteristics in China and focused on the period from 1920 to 2020. Online books, journal articles, and government documents and reports on this topic were reviewed. The third scale examined literature on the international urban planning and design theories which have impacted on Chinese cities, especially Dalian over the last 100 years. The reviewed

literature included books, journal articles, and dissertations. Additionally, as a supplement to document searching, the references of the applicable literature were then explored to source additional relevant studies. Through the qualitative content analysis, the features of Dalian's urban planning and design were distilled from the examined documents, and they were categorized and summarized in six developmental stages as presented in the following sections.

3. DALIAN'S PLANNING IN THE CHINESE IMPERIAL PERIOD

Dalian was a small fishing village without many constructions before the arrival of foreign invaders in 1898^[11]. But the two towns situated in the northern and southern part of Dalian, which are now two districts of the city, were constructed earlier than Dalian. In the north, the Jinzhou district was a walled town and a center for political and economic activities during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911)^[12]. Like the urban morphology of traditional Chinese cities, Jinzhou town was built in a rectangular shape with walls serving both as the city defense and a barrier between the city and the rural areas^[2,12]. A temple served as the center of authority was erected in the central location of the town and streets were planned in a regular grid pattern^[12]. In the south, Lvshun district was built as a naval base in the 1880s by the Qing government to strengthen the coastal defense^[10]. Urban constructions mainly centered on a flat land with a few scattered settlements^[11]. Although the area was heavily fortified, it was forcibly occupied by the Russians who started Dalian's constructions in 1898, dreaming of a military port in Lvshun and a commercial port in Dalian^[13].

4. FIRST COLONIZATION: RUSSIAN GRANDEUR WITH A PRONOUNCED EUROPEAN STYLE

To better understand the urban planning in Dalian, it is necessary to review its planning from the very beginning in 1898 when Russia took control of the city. Though it is beyond

the time scope of 100 years, the planning in that period laid the foundation of contemporary urban layout of Dalian. The Russians invaded Dalian in 1898, and immediately started the planning of the city. They designed the first master plan of the area which aimed at creating a modern port city serving global trade on Chinese soil ^[11]. Influenced by the urban design principles from European countries, especially France, the Baroque axial system was employed [Figure 1]. The urban layout was planned with a combination of radial and chessboard systems, which is similar to Rome, and Christopher Wren's plan for London after the Great Fire in 1666 ^[14]. A circular square with a diameter of 213 meters was laid out at the core of the town, upon which 10 long straight streets converged, and 10 structures were built around the town center, with each in its

own separate block ^[15]. Circular squares were also built at the transportation nodes, forming a radial road system. These design features resemble Haussmann's renovation of Paris in 1853 ^[16], where, to create a sense of formality and grandeur, wide boulevards were arranged in central areas. The major boulevards and prospects intersect at roundabouts to form a grid pattern. During this period, public squares were a main element of the layout and the road system of the city ^[17]. They were constructed as the transportation node, and as the culture and entertainment center of the city. The plan also combined some clear urban design features, for example the construction of squares and the buildings around them, to beautify the visual landscape of the city and to endow the city with culture and life.

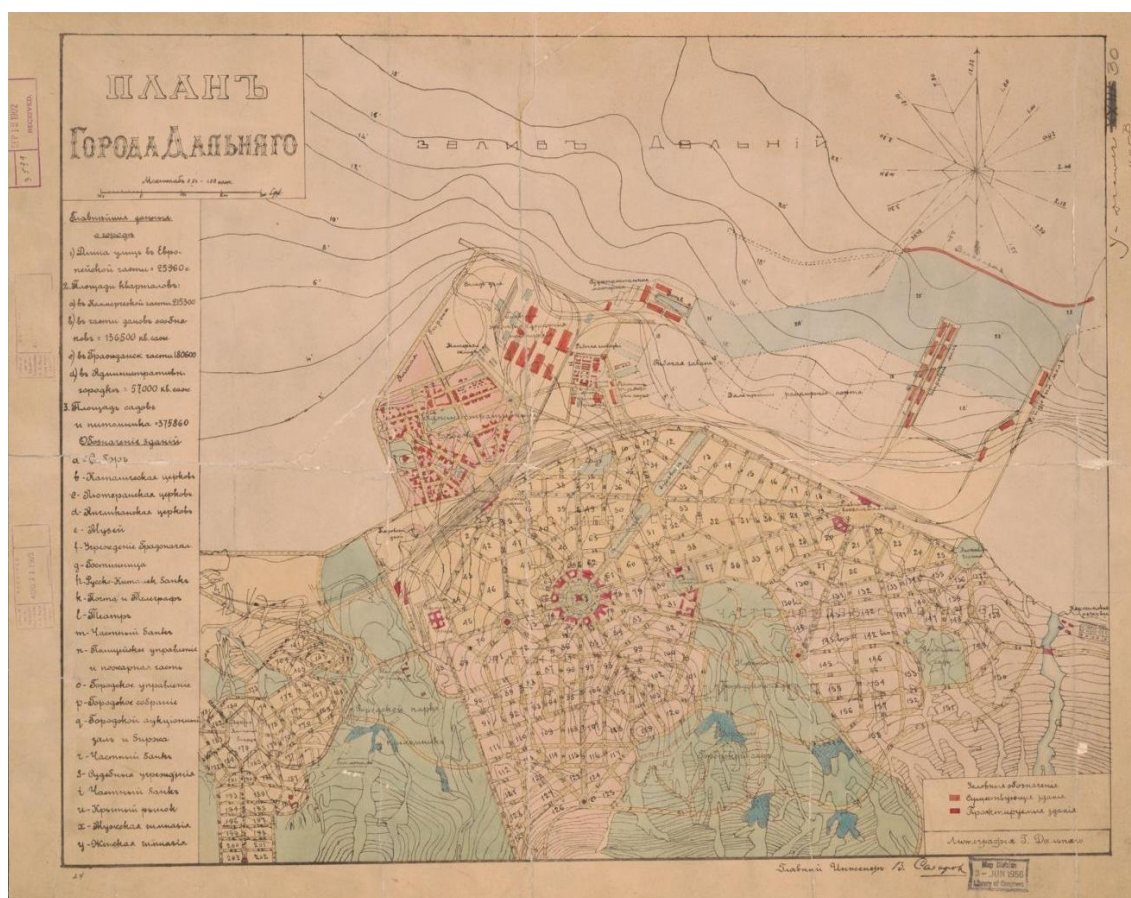


Figure 1. The first master plan of Dalian with a combination of radial and chessboard systems. Source: Dalniy city plan / Engineer V. Sakharov. [Russia]: Lithograph T. Dalniy, [around 1899]. Map, lithographic print. Scale approximately 1:21,000. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. LC call number G7824.D3 1899 .S3

Under the notion of strict zoning, the city was divided into three quarters: the Administrative District in the north, the European District in the center (including a commercial area and residential areas), and the separated Chinese District in the southwest [Figure 2]. The concept of Garden City was also reflected in the design. Large areas of parks, gardens, and tree-planted thoroughfares were designed to beautify the urban environment, although some of them served the function as segregation from native Chinese residents ^[16]. The design considered local landform and landscape since seascape and mountain-scape were incorporated to make the city more livable ^[17]. Modernity's assimilation into contemporary urban planning was also exemplified by the railway and the vital link it had with the port ^[18]. The plan identified the construction of the seaport and the railway as a leading strategy, making them as major considerations in future urban development. Although modern planning ideas and techniques had arrived in the city, it was embryonic and unevenly distributed. The Chinese area did not show any indications of modern town planning and was set aloof from the European area by a large public park to reinforce segregation ^[14].

As a result, the urban layout of Dalian was in contrast with other Chinese cities in

that period. Most Chinese cities exhibited the symbolic elements of traditional Chinese cities, including the central location of palaces or administrative buildings, a gridiron street pattern, and a north-south orientation ^[19, 20]. In addition, influenced by the feudal, autocratic political system of imperial China, the center of traditional Chinese cities mainly functioned as a political and administrative core; therefore, few open spaces were left for public activities ^[2]. Contrary to this, the core area of Dalian acquired a large public square, which made the urban center a lively space for public activities and transportation. Overall, the Russian town planning provided a new base for Dalian's development as urban infrastructures were properly designed, positioned, and implemented, while prominence was given to urban environment and public space. The construction of seaports and railways developed Dalian into an important land-sea hub, giving full play to the potential of its superior geographical location. Although Russian planning and design aimed at providing a splendid framework for the exercise of imperial power, it enhanced the livability of the city. Today, many parks and squares designed under this Russian era are kept in the city, and some Russian-style buildings also remain.



Figure 2. © Lucile Jacquot, 2019 based on Skolimowski's Plan of Dalian, which was divided into three areas: Administrative, European, and Chinese. Source: Jiang, 2013

5. SECOND COLONIZATION: JAPANESE MODERNISM ADAPTED FROM AMERICAN STYLE

The Japanese army occupied Dalian in May 1904 and started their 40 years of city planning and construction. When the city fell in the hand of Japan, the Russians had finished the construction of most of the port and approximately half of the urban infrastructure. Therefore, in the early period of Japanese colonization (1904–1918), efforts were made to the fixation and completion of the infrastructures left by the Russians to maintain the normal function of the city ^[11]. The Japanese kept the circular and radiating system of the city designed by Russia, and continued Russia's strict zoning. As electric trams were operated as public transport in Japan at that time, three tram lines were designed and constructed in Dalian to serve as the primary means of public transport ^[21]. The architectural legislation in this period played a leading role in shaping Dalian's urban form. For example, the height of buildings was restricted to no more than 30 m to prevent earthquakes ^[22]. With the fast-growing economy and rapidly increasing population, the Japanese soon started their new planning in 1919 to expand urban development.

As Figure 3 shows, in the middle stage of Japanese ruling (1919–1929), influenced by American ideals of municipal progress, an extensive grid system was adopted to stretch the city westwards from the Russian-planned core ^[21]. The notion of functional zoning was introduced to Dalian's urban planning, which divided the city into four areas, i.e., residential, business, industrial, and multifunctional ^[11]. Due to the growing number of vehicles, the former road system with a spider web pattern was changed to a gridiron pattern in the new area. In heavy traffic areas, different traffic systems such as overpass bridges, roundabouts and underground pedestrian streets were used accordingly, which was innovative in that era ^[22]. Meanwhile, more squares were planned in the west to keep the consistency of the city. However, the squares in the new area were

very isolated, they were not closely linked as those built previously. In the 1919 Plan, following the zoning code developed by America at that time, the size, location, materials, and façades of buildings were strictly regulated to provide more public space ^[21]. However, the living environment of the Chinese area was not much considered by the Japanese ^[19]. The plan during this period formed the rudiments of the present urban structure. It also deeply influenced the planning of the city onwards.



Figure 3. Map of Dalian in 1921 showing an extensive grid system to the west of the previous city core. Source: Jiang, 2013

In the late stage of Japanese colonization (1930–1945), comprehensive planning and construction were carried out to mitigate the pressure brought by the fast-growing population and developing industry ^[10]. During this period, the flourishing American idea of regional planning was borrowed by Japanese and introduced to Dalian's planning ^[22, 23]. Different from other cities in China which mostly developed on a concentric ring pattern, Dalian's growth was limited by its special topography ^[21]. Considering Dalian's long coastlines, together with the wide influence of Howard's idea of satellite towns in the 1930s, a poly-nuclear development mode was formed in the city ^[22]. From 1930 to 1937, a comprehensive plan was made which sought to relieve the pressure on the old city center by creating new suburbs that were linked by new wide roads and a modern tram network. Main roads leading from the city were widened, and modern trams wove their way to the expanded areas. The planning

theory of this period used traffic time to determine the service radius of facilities at all levels ^[22]. For example, the tram lines were designed to connect all the coastal resorts and enable people to reach the scenic spot in the coastal areas within half an hour ^[24]. In the city center, old markets were replaced by sanitary indoor facilities and fashionable department stores ^[14]. According to the last plan developed during the Japanese colonization in 1941, the urban land use was expected to be enlarged to 195 sqkm with a population of 1.28 million, and when the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the land area in Dalian was only 45 sqkm with a population of 0.7 million ^[11]. By that time, the general structure of Dalian was established with road systems and urban infrastructure roughly completed.

During the 1930s, tourism experienced an overall boom in Japan with heritage tourism played a significant role in building, maintaining, and justifying an empire ^[25]. Among the Japanese colonies in China, tourism was highly promoted, battle sites and memorial monuments in these places were developed into attractions for Japanese tourists ^[25]. Dalian's splendid natural landscape and strategic position also made Japan spent much effort to promote urban

tourism development during its ruling period. On the one hand, tourism provided a chance to show Japan's "achievements" in building such a "modern" city to international visitors. On the other hand, tourism worked as a special means to spread colonial culture ^[26]. In order to consolidate its dominance through tourism, the Japanese heavily invested in the construction of urban infrastructure, especially urban traffic facilities ^[27]. With the booming commercial and trade development, the service industry was rapidly developed, which provided important support for tourism. Numerous hotels, restaurants, and cultural facilities such as theaters, clubs, and museums were erected, and diverse festivals and activities were arranged in this period ^[26]. The Japanese also made efforts on tourism advertising through mass media, meanwhile many postcards, brochures, and souvenirs were sold at the scenic spots [Figure 4]. The development of tourism in Dalian added impetus to its urbanization and modernization, and increased the influence of the city. However, the tourism industry was marked by colonizer's political control and its ambition for permanent occupation. The tourism industry was unable to follow its own law of development, and gradually became a political tool.



Figure 4. Postcards showing Dalian in Japanese colonial period. Source: www.997788.com

During the Japanese ruling period, many other Chinese cities also experienced the pervasive influence of American planning ideas in reshaping Chinese urban form. As westerners began to settle in increasing numbers of Chinese cities, these cities were in a race to become more up-to-date by metropolitan standards that have shaped the American urban landscape for most of this century^[28]. They tore down the old city walls; changed alleys into boulevards; using zoning to outline residential, commercial, or industrial districts; erected centralized civic centers; created gardens and open spaces; and invested in infrastructure such as bridges, power generating stations, radio transmission towers, and airports^[29]. Despite the influence of western ideas, Chinese planners were concerned with westernizing China, while retaining significant indigenous qualities^[30]. It was this concern that helped save China's urban heritage, such as city walls, in the urban development process. In fact, it was not just Chinese planners who were trying to mediate between a pride in architectural tradition and a passion for modern cityscapes based on western standards, the Japanese planners also fused their traditions with up-to-date construction methods in building Dalian^[14]. Moreover, in the planning of some cities, there was discussion about the need to think of housing not just in terms of style, but also considering the healthy living conditions for people^[31].

During the 40 years of ruling, the Japanese government constantly revised urban plans due to the dramatic population growth. Most of these plans paid special attention to the construction of the transportation system and urban infrastructure to mitigate the conflict between growing population and limited urban resources. Since the plans were conducted in such a reactive way, they failed to look at the city as a whole and did not adequately consider future developmental needs, resulting in choke points for the future expansion and reconstruction of the city. The Japanese also planned many factories in the city, while, unlike the Russian plan, the

quality of life was not much addressed in the Japanese plans. Although the urban environment and public space were concerned in urban expansion, most of the new squares planned by the Japanese were used as transportation squares without space for people to enjoy public life. Despite the problems left behind for future urban planners, the planning and design ideas employed by the Japanese planners turned Dalian into a model of modernism. The general structure of Dalian was formed in the period of Japanese governance, and during these 40 years, the road system and urban infrastructure were roughly completed.

6. TURBULENT URBAN PLANNING INFLUENCED BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

After Dalian's return to China, the city went through a 10-year (1945–1955) transitional period under the Sino-Soviet alliance. During this period, there was hardly any progress in city development as Dalian was in a state of geopolitical limbo; most of the urban construction was just restoration^[32]. It was not until 1958 that Dalian had its own first plan. Influenced by Soviet socialist theory, industrial development was regarded as an important prerequisite to strengthen the socialist economy and to consolidate power^[24]. Consequently, the Soviet model of industrial-oriented economic development was adopted, which resulted in an attempt to achieve industrialization without a high level of urbanization^[11]. In the 1958 Plan, Dalian was positioned as an industrial base in northeast China. As Figure 5 shows, the 10 planned industrial zones took up to 30 percent of the urban land use^[21]. During this period, the city underwent a radical transformation in its internal structure and form in response to the socialist ideologies and national policies. Heavy industries were located in major industrial centers in order to make use of the existing industrial bases, skilled labor, and transport facilities. Urban planning and design were deeply influenced by Soviet practices, and gradually deviated from China's own conditions. For instance, some

roads in the residential area were built as wide as 35 m to 40 m, which greatly exceeded the actual need ^[21]. The Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) worsened the situation. The

large amount of land allocated to factories resulted in the slow development of urban infrastructure and other public service facilities.



Figure 5. The industrial areas in Dalian's 1958 Plan. Source: Dalian Urban Planning Museum (DUPM), 2018

From 1960 to 1976, China went through a series of political catastrophes and economic disasters. In this period, urban planning was blamed for the country's economic failure and thus abandoned; city growth and urban planning halted and even set back ^[33]. As the Western planning concepts and Soviet planning principles were criticized, many features of the traditional city form were found in newly built-up areas throughout the country, such as rectangular city layouts, chess-board street systems, monumental or symbolic city centers, closed-yard-style construction units, and standardized buildings ^[34]. In short, during these turbulent years, Dalian's urban growth was characterized by an unplanned and disorderly spatial expansion.

The socialist political and ideological values were introduced to China's modern urban planning in the 1950s. It was in this

period that a two-tier planning system, namely, the master plan and detailed layout plan, was established ^[35]. Urban planning was in a form of centralized planning in which major decisions as well as the regulation mechanism of society were decided at the central level, while municipal officials had little influence over the form and content of urban development. This was to help achieve the national needs and goals. Since urban planning was supposed to support industrial projects that were guided by the planned economy, the function of development control in the planning system was minimal ^[1]. Meanwhile, as priority was given firstly to production, residential facilities were less considered in planning, resulting in serious imbalances in urban development. The same results could be found in cities like Guangzhou and Zhengzhou ^[2, 4].

7. STRATEGIC PLANNING WITH THE INTEGRATION OF MODERN WESTERN THEORIES

Urban planning has recovered and re-established since the adoption of economic reforms in 1978. The reform and opening up of China created the need for new ways of developing cities. New development and changes have also occurred in Chinese cities through the introduction of Western ideals of urban planning. As neo-liberalism took hold worldwide from the 1980s, strategic planning enjoyed general growth in the West and was applied in development and town planning [7]. In the Chinese context, the creation of four special economic zones and 14 coastal open cities in the early 1980s, as a means to attract foreign investment and promote economic development, indicated the adjustment of the development strategies [36]. Following the market economy, cities became the engines of the country's economic growth. Along with other coastal open cities such as Shanghai, Tianjin, and Qingdao, Dalian received much attention.

In the first comprehensive plan issued in 1985, Dalian was designated as a port, industrial and tourist city [21]. During this period, efforts were made to build Dalian into an open and attractive center of trade, transportation, finance, information, and tourism that focuses on economic development. The city was divided into three functional areas: trade, finance, and business were developed in the city center; Jinzhou and associated development areas in the north were built to mitigate the pressure of growing population; Lvshun in the south was still used as an area for coastal defense but was also developed as a tourist site for its abundant heritage and natural resources [37]. As great attention was paid to environmental protection, the industries that were unreasonably distributed in the city were moved to industrial areas [Figure 6]. Foreign advanced technologies were brought in to update the old industrial areas and reduce pollution [38]. The port and railways were made full use, while aviation and highways were further developed to facilitate transportation. To boost tourism

development, coastal scenic areas were developed, and many scenic spots and parks were built. However, much of the colonial heritage was destroyed during this period to give way to the modern buildings [39].

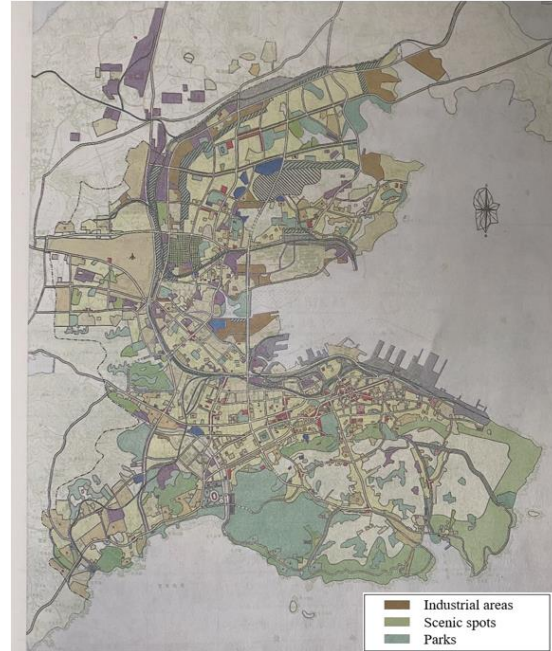


Figure 6. Dalian's 1980 Plan with great emphasis on environment protection. Source: Liu, 1999

Overall, Dalian's urban planning integrated economic, social, and environmental benefits in this period. It provided a scientific basis for urban development and recent construction. Nevertheless, the plan underestimated the development pace of the city, and resulted in insufficient public service facilities [21]. As tourism appeared in Dalian's master plan for the first time, the city started to improve its urban environment and embraced the service sector as a new means of stimulating and diversifying its economy. However, the rapid tourism development went far beyond the capacity of service levels at various scenic sites, and there was a serious shortage of service facilities during the high season [10]. Additionally, without formal regulations on tourism, there have been a variety of plans for subregions and scenic sites, which have made some more comprehensive plans difficult to implement [40]. With the transformation from a centrally controlled system to a market-

oriented economy, the administrative and fiscal decentralization provided some decision-making power to regions [41]. Dalian's special position as a sub-provincial-level city gained it more power than most other cities [39]. Therefore, in the following development period, Dalian picked up its own growth-oriented planning.

8. DALIAN'S COSMOPOLITANISM TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

After 1990, Dalian entered into a fast development period. The guiding ideology of the 1990 Plan was to implement a coastal economic development strategy. Adhering to the notions of district planning and dynamic planning, Dalian was to be constructed as a modern international city with a high degree of openness, multi-functionality, and comprehensiveness [39]. To meet the needs of building an international city, the following adjustments were made [13, 21, 42]. First, the city was re-organized into one central city, three sub-central areas, and many major and designated towns [Figure 7], all of which were included in the planning scope. To achieve industrialization and urban-rural integration, new industries were established

in the outlying areas at a distance from the city center in order to integrate them with new housing projects. Second, the urban structure was adjusted to a ribbon type. Urban development was directed along two axes: the coastal line and the railway. The development focus had also been shifted from the original central areas to the new areas. Third, the plan laid emphasis on strengthening the development of tertiary industries, such as foreign trade, finance, technology, and tourism. To support urban tourism development, the colonial architecture in the city was preserved and renovated in this period. Fourth, great attention was paid to improving the urban environment and ecology. To achieve this, industrial restructuring was performed, and polluting enterprises were relocated from downtown. There was also a strict control over the establishment of industry in the city center. Simultaneously, large and lush parks were created to build Dalian into a garden city. Finally, the urban infrastructure was adjusted according to the development needs. For example, roads were divided into five levels to construct the urban road networks, extensive motorways and many traffic circles were developed.

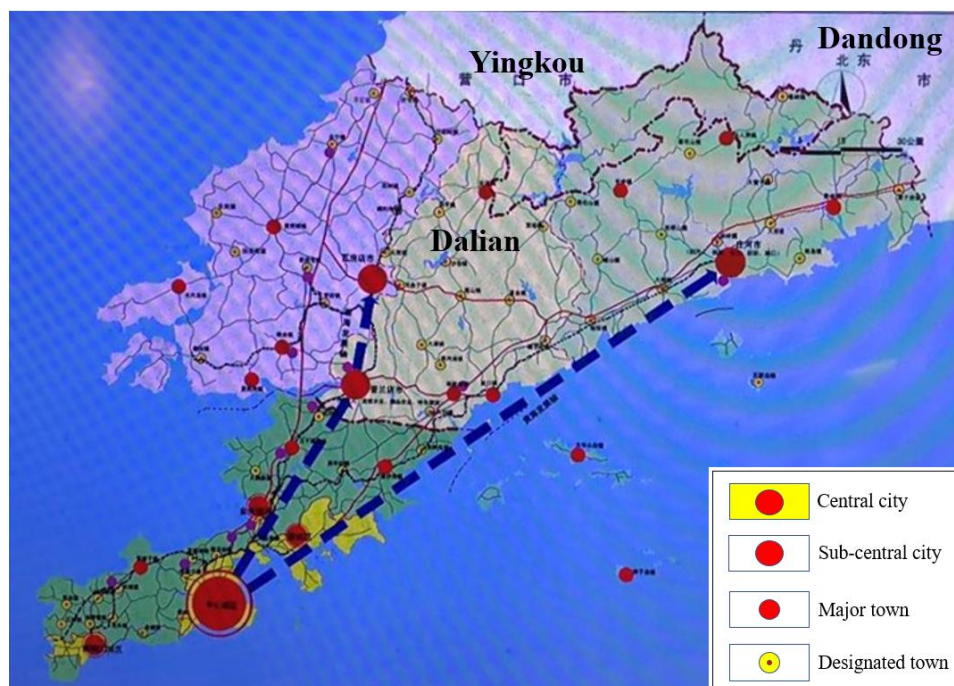


Figure 7. Dalian's urban system planning in the 1990s. Source: Dalian Urban Planning Museum (DUPM), 2018

In parallel to the plan of the city, prospects for tourism were developed in the urban master plan. Recognizing the potential of tourism to stimulate the economy, the central government made the decision on Speeding up Development of the Tertiary Industry in 1992, which made it clear that tourism, as a key component of the tertiary industry, should be stressed ^[10]. The accompanying policies and regulations created a positive and supportive environment for enterprises to start up and develop their tourism business. Dalian regenerated its urban environment on a large scale with many newly-built tourism attractions, inbound and domestic tourism grew rapidly, creating success for Dalian as a coastal tourist city ^[39]. However, given the short history of tourism development in China, it was inevitable that urban tourism planning faced many limitations ^[40]. One of the limitations was that urban tourism planning could only function within its own sector. It neither controlled the development and implementation of related sectoral plans, nor commanded the development of various elements that had impacts on urban tourism. Moreover, most tourism policies and regulations were shaped by the tourism administration, thus tourism enterprises could rarely participate in the tourism policymaking process, leading to many difficulties in implementing certain policies and regulations.

At the end of the 20th century, the city witnessed a boom in real estate markets due to China's land reform. By replacing old neighborhoods with commercial high-rises to maximize the economic return from urban land, real estate developers sped up the urban redevelopment and rapidly changed the internal structure of the city ^[43]. Entering the 21st century, urban development stepped into a new stage of making Dalian an ecological and livable city. With the plan of building "Big Dalian," urban population and land scale increased at a great rate ^[32]. Comprehensive infrastructure and facilities, as well as an extensive network of nature reserves were thus established. Along with the real estate and information industry, tourism industry,

especially the international tourism industry, played an active role in constructing Dalian as an international city ^[40]. Accordingly, tourism in the city was expecting upgrading, product renovation and development, and the achievement of international standards.

As elsewhere in China, to promote the city's global competitiveness, some deteriorated inner-city neighborhoods and urban areas were regenerated ^[44, 45]. However, this regeneration led to a challenge posed by the conflict between the economic growth imperative and urban heritage conservation. Dalian is one of the very few cities with tangible traces left by Russian and Japanese colonial history. The port city that the Russians and Japanese dreamed of establishing is still reflected in Dalian today. Paradoxically, the remnant colonial heritage that attracts many tourists is also the source of contestation among different stakeholders ^[46]. The opening to private actors to establish a pro-growth coalition made spatial planning not limited to the planner-decider duality ^[43]. However, a collaborative approach, which is now the dominant paradigm in urban planning and design theory, requires the involvement of more stakeholders ^[47].

In 2014, state institutions adjusted their strategic initiatives based on the central government's changing emphasis from the economic growth miracle to a concern for people's daily lives ^[48]. Correspondingly, China's National New Style Urbanization Plan (2014–2020) issued by the central government, targeted at higher-quality urbanization, emphasizing harmony, livability, sustainability, and historical preservation ^[49]. The new plan indicated the importance of considering people who live in an area in the city building process. Now that high-speed urbanization has created certain challenges in the city, there is a need to engage stakeholders in urban planning and design and ensure that social and cultural benefits are weighted more strongly in development decisions.

9. REFLECTIONS ON DALIAN'S PLANNING AND DESIGN HISTORY

Urban planning is tangible with long-lasting footprints, so it is a great tool to read the history of a place ^[50]. A review of Dalian's planning history demonstrates how the city was planned at different stages to link its social and economic development with the global scene, and reveals the social and economic factors leading to the appropriation and rejection of various planning principles throughout time. Dalian's planning from a commercial port to an industrial base, and later becoming a modern international city, reflects the major transformation of the society, and the changes urban planning has made to meet the challenges brought by the rapidly changing socioeconomic environment. This planning process also indicates the changing values of a society. As the issue of contested heritage has now entered the dialogue on urban planning and management, it shows the shifting values of the society to balance the conflicting demands of historic preservation, modernity, and internationalization. Furthermore, the value given to a place changes throughout time and urban planning scale impacts on cities at various scales. If a place has not been demolished quickly, resolution of the conflicts brought by its changing value is often at a slow pace. Therefore, the time factor needs to be carefully considered in case of contestation.

The planning history of Dalian also indicates how tourism planning should be better integrated with urban planning to ensure a sustainable and harmonious urbanization. Since the Japanese colonial period, Dalian has been developed as a resort to lure travelers. Being listed as an "Open City" in 1984 makes tourism one of the fastest growing industries in Dalian and a strategic pillar for urban economic development ^[39]. With the current emphasis on distinctive urban features and heritage conservation throughout the country ^[49], Dalian's unique history of colonization and those tangible traces have great potential to legitimize it as a

unique historical city and further promote the development of urban heritage tourism. Meanwhile, heritage tourism may display as a compromise between the stakeholders advocating demolition and those supporting preservation, as "conditional preservation" protects the elements that best embody the contested heritage and are most likely for that reason to attract heritage tourists and associated economic benefits. In this sense, tourism planning and urban planning could be merged to better facilitate urban development. By integrating tourism planning into overall urban development strategy, it will help manage urban environmental change, increase the competitiveness of the city, and contribute towards good governance by bringing together different stakeholders to participate in the process of developing and implementing a vision for the city.

Although Dalian's planning is influenced by colonization, imperialism, and wars before the founding of the People's Republic of China, which resulted in a mixture of Asian, European, and American planning ideas, its development after 1949 reflects the Chinese urban planning and design principles. Overall, modern Chinese city planning is shaped by reference to the Soviet example; the top-down development process, the use of urban planning to realize national economic plans, and a two-tier system comprising overall plan and detailed plan are all features borrowed from the Soviet model that have become rooted in the Chinese system of urban planning ^[1]. Since the 1980s, Soviet influence has been combined with a modernist urban planning model involving large-scale zoning, and the scale of urban development has been driven by the market ^[51]. Throughout the past century, Dalian was planned under a centrally-controlled functionalist approach with the goal of maximizing economic growth. This approach is regarded by Chinese authorities as an effective means to carry out large-scale, fast, and ordered urbanization over the whole country ^[51].

10. CONCLUSION

As pointed out by Friedmann^[52], planning reflects various national political and administrative cultures, different planning perspectives, and institutional frameworks. The urban planning and design history of Dalian demonstrates the changing political, social, and cultural environment the city experienced and embodies the developmental process of a city from simple to complex functions. The influence of diverse theoretical currents is reflected in the city's planning practices in different periods. The Russian's ambitious plan made Dalian an oriental city full of European-style grandeur. Then, Japanese policymakers borrowed from Western examples of city planning to set Dalian as a model of modernity, yet at the same time driving to develop a system that would be relevant to their own frameworks. After Dalian's integration, urban planning was perceived as a tool to realize the socialist ideology of planned development and to translate the goal of economic planning into urban space. Urban revitalization started early in the 1980s due to China's economic reform, and this laid the foundation in environment and infrastructure to a considerable degree for the further ambitious goal of building an international city.

With Dalian's naturally endowed scenery and strategic position, tourism has gained importance, whether for economic revitalization of the city or for environmental protection. It also stands out as being a new departure from the city's earlier focus on heavy industries. Early in the 21st century, sustainable development became a new reference point. Innovation is expressed through a focus on people-centered planning, which indicates the current of collaborative planning that responds to the demands of various stakeholders. However, the engagement of stakeholders brings a new challenge to the city due to their conflicting ideas towards the fate of the endangered urban heritage. Tourism in this case works as a compromise to accommodate the demands of various stakeholders. Therefore, if tourism planning and urban planning could be well

integrated, and combined with the opportunities provided by local features in the context of globalization, the city will be better placed to take advantage of the ever-changing global trends.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

None.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Y.L. designed the research study and was responsible for data collection, data analysis and writing of the original draft. Both K.D. and X.J. guided the research design and writing of the paper; reviewed and edited previous drafts and final paper. K.D., from School of Engineering and Built Environment, Griffith University, and X.J., from Department of Tourism, Sport and Hotel Management, Griffith University, are supervisors of Y.L., a PhD candidate.

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