Dalian's unique planning history and its contested heritage in urban regeneration

Yang Liu^a, Karine Dupre ^a, Xin Jin^b and David Weaver^c

^aSchool of Engineering and Built Environment, Griffith University, Gold Coast, QLD, Australia; ^bDepartment of Tourism, Sport & Hotel management, Griffith University, Gold Coast, QLD, Australia; ^cInternational Service Management Research Institute, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics, Dalian, China

ABSTRACT

Dalian is a particular Chinese city, which was occupied for half a century successively by the British, Japanese, and Russian Empires before 1949, with each imposing its own urban planning and building styles onto the city's development. Since 1984, with China's open-door policy and economic reform, dramatic changes have taken place in Dalian, transforming it into a modern and famous tourist destination within the country. However, with its rapid urbanisation, the built heritage is being compromised, and the preservation of colonial legacy has become contested. This paper reviews the unique planning history of Dalian and the challenges the city faces regarding its contested heritage, with a special focus on the case of Dongguan Street, which is a colonial legacy without any official designated status. Conflict arises between those who want to erase what they feel is a humiliating past, to make way for the modern city, and the ones who value the legacy to save the endangered heritage that remains.

KEYWORDS

Dalian; colony; planning; urbanisation; contested heritage

Introduction

Situated in the northeast of China, Dalian is 529 km from North Korea and 1300 km from the Russian border (Figure 1). Dalian, literally meaning 'great (da) link (lian)' in Chinese but having its origins as a Russian toponym (see below), is the second largest city in Liaoning Province with a sub-provincial administrative status. 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 centre, international logistics and regional financial centre.¹ Planned and built as a port city from the very beginning, Dalian has now grown to be the 8th largest port in China and ranks 15th in the world among container ports, with a handling capacity of 428 million tons. It has ongoing trade contacts with more than 160 countries.²

Today, Dalian is not a major city in China, ranked only 22nd by population and built up area,³ but one aspect that makes it very unique is the influence exerted by Western countries. Dalian's development stemmed from successive colonial occupations, each of which left lasting imprints on the city's urban planning and urban landscapes. Since the 1980s, China has experienced rapid

CONTACT Yang Liu yang.liu7@griffithuni.edu.au

¹Dalian Government Portal Website, "Walk into Dalian," August 3, 2018.

²Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 18.

³Qi, "GDP ranking of 2017," February 1, 2018.

© 2019 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Figure 1. Location of Dalian. Source: Worldmap.com.

urbanisation and stepped into a new stage of accelerated large-scale urban development in the following years,⁴ thus the tangible colonial traces raise the question of heritage conservation versus ‘development’ in a contested climate characterised by conflicts of interest among multiple stakeholders. This paper aims to reveal the unique planning history of Dalian and the challenges the city faces concerning a specific case study of contested heritage. After the presentation of the city’s planning history, this paper critically reviews the contemporary challenge of contested heritage in Dalian with special focus on one area, the Dongguan Street case study. It then further discusses the plan of urban heritage tourism to address this issue.

Planning and building of Dalian

Although the primitive human occupation of Dalian could be dated back to 300 BC,⁵ its major development started in the nineteenth century with the aforementioned colonisation sequence. Incipient foreign incursions that indicated the growing weakness and vulnerability of the late Qing Dynasty included invasions of the city by the British in 1858 and Japan in 1859.⁶ However, these occupations, occurring when the center of Dalian was a small cluster of fishing villages with limited population,⁷

⁴Zhang, “Keeping the Trace of Times,” 31.

⁵Dong, *Study on the Evolvement Trend of Dalian Urban Spatial Structure*, 5.

⁶Dong, *Forty Years of Dalian: 1945–1985*, 17.

⁷Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 21.

were very brief and did not result in any significant or enduring modification of the built landscape. More enduring effects are associated with the Russian occupation, which is henceforth considered the demarcating of the first of five modern stages of Dalian's urban development.

Imperialism I – Russia stage (1898–1905)

During the late 1800s, China was incrementally carved up and lost much of its national territory through wars and unequal treaties with increasingly predatory imperial powers. In March 1898, the Pavlov Agreement granted expansionary Russia a 25-year lease on Dalian and nearby Lvshun (Port Arthur), and the exclusive right to lay a branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway through Russia.⁸ The peninsula was of particular interest to Russia as it is one of the few areas in the region that had the potential to develop ice-free ports.⁹ Instead of building the area just as a military garrison, Russia planned to make the city a powerful open trading port in the Far East. In 1899 Russians started the construction of this sea-port city, christening the city as 'Dalniy' (Russian: Дальний) meaning 'distant' or 'remote', which accurately described the city's location relative to the Russian heartland.¹⁰ This year is generally viewed as the establishment of Dalian due to the beginning of construction on Dalian harbour and the drafting of the first real master plan.

As Njoh contends, urban planning is often an instrument used by the colonisers to achieve domination and social control,¹¹ Russian planning illustrates the desire to demonstrate power over the region. The first urban plan designed by Sakharov, a Russian engineer, was discarded because it did not take Dalian's hilly terrain into consideration.¹² The implemented plan was made by the Polish architect Skolimowski who split the city into two parts in the overall 1904 planning: the urban area to be built imminently and the future urban expansion area.¹³ The latter area was divided into three parts following its topography: administrative area, European area and Chinese area (Figure 2).¹⁴ This zoning showcased the common practice of European colonists for segregation. As Skolimowski was influenced by the advanced urban design principles from France, Germany, and other European countries, the urban layout was planned with a combination of radial and chessboard systems. A circular square was laid out at the core of the town upon which ten long straight streets converged, and ten structures were built around the town centre with each in its own separate block.¹⁵ Key nodes and junctions that connected broad boulevards were landscaped as public parks, a dense urban grain was formed with minor streets serving residential or smaller commercial functions.¹⁶ The most representative part in the city would be the central square, known as the Nikolayev Square (now Zhongshan Square), situated at the commercial centre of the European area. This dominant focus served both as a landmark and to facilitate traffic dispersion. In addition, the modern Western planning concept of Garden City was also reflected in the design since green areas, such as parks and gardens, accounted for more than

⁸Hess, "From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis".

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Drew, *Yuri Semyonov, Siberia*.

¹¹Njoh, "Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa".

¹²Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 144.

¹³Ibid., 129.

¹⁴Myers, "Intellectual of Empire: Eric Dutton and Hegemony in British Africa," 1998.

¹⁵Triggs, *Town Planning: Past, Present and Possible*, 102–103.

¹⁶Denison and Ren. *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria*, 22.

Figure 2. Skolimowski's Plan of Dalian, 1904 (Jiang, 2013).

half of the European area as well as administrative area.¹⁷ Giving the colony a unique ambiance, those parks and gardens also served as picturesque settings for important events.¹⁸ The city's acknowledgement in Triggs's book 'Town Planning: Past, Present, and Possible' shows how significant Dalian's plan was in its time and also reveals how unforgotten it has become since.¹⁹ Russian's modern planning idea is still present today with some Russian style buildings persisting in the city centre. However, as Thawaba noted,²⁰ what colonialism cared about was the development of living conditions and the socio-economic aspects of their own communities regardless of the native peoples' needs. Russia's racial segregation and the lack of attention to indigenous residents do not show much difference from other colonists.²¹

Imperialism II – Japan stage (1905–1945)

In 1904, the Russo-Japanese War started as these two dominant imperial powers competed for land in a greatly weakened China so the peninsula became a major battleground. Early in 1905, the Japanese decisively defeated the Russians and occupied Dalian. An issue faced by the Japanese government was whether to follow Russia's original plan in Dalian's development or to start a more modest

¹⁷Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 186.

¹⁸Abramovich et al., "Imported Modernity and Local Design," 8.

¹⁹Please refer to Triggs, *Town planning, past, present and possible*.

²⁰Thawaba, "Building and Planning Regulations under Israeli Colonial Power," 1.

²¹Triggs, *Town Planning: Past, Present and Possible*, 102.

Figure 3. Expansion of Dalian during Japanese occupation. Source: Dalian Urban Planning Museum, 2018.

plan concerning Japan's exhausted post-war conditions.²² Since this was the chance for Japan to make a first impression after the control of the West, and also due to its open to the world in the nineteenth century, it finally chose to continue the modern plan made by Russian and enhance the plan through its own interpretation.²³ Japan's decision to adopt the Russian plan rather than start again was a vital precedent for colonial urban planning, which indicated Dalian's uniqueness among other Japanese colonies such as Taiwan and former Manchuria regions. The city was renamed Dairen (Japanese: 大連/だいりん), and another important development phase started with a plan for modernity pursued by a non-Western nation.

Urban planning and construction of Dalian went through four sub-stages under the 40 years of Japanese ruling (Figure 3).²⁴ During the first substage (1905–1918), the Japanese tried to fix and finish the infrastructures left by the Russians by maintaining the circular and radiating system of the city. They also worked on the restoration and continual construction of the port facilities. With the fast development of port transportation, commercial trade and industrial production, the population started to increase, reaching more than 100,000 inhabitants by 1919 in an attestation to the site's enduring strategic location.²⁵

²²Denison and Ren. *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria*, 87.

²³Official Report to DC by US Consul Miller in Manchuria in 20 Years, *Far Eastern Review* 22 (1926): 346.

²⁴Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 235.

²⁵Dong, *Study on the Evolvement Trend of Dalian Urban Spatial Structure*, 78.

Figure 4. Map of Dalian in 1921. Source: Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*.

The second substage concerns Dalian's expansion from 1918 to 1930 to accommodate demographic and economic changes. An extensive grid system was adopted to stretch the city westwards from the Russian-planned core, making urbanisation growth from 16.7 km² to 35.6 km².²⁶ Piers were also built and expanded at the same time to transport more resources and hasten the development of Manchukuo, the puppet state of Japan in northeast China (Figure 4).

In the third substage (1930–1941), comprehensive planning, a Western theory widely used in Japan with its own distinctiveness was carried out.²⁷ Urban population increased dramatically with accompanying city sprawl. Emphasis was laid on the construction of transportation systems to mitigate the pressure brought by the fast-growing population and developing industry.²⁸ During this period, the zoning system in urban land use, defining industrial, residential, mixed and commercial zones was introduced to the city to assist its efficient functioning.²⁹

In the last stage (1941–1945), the urban land use was expected to be enlarged to 195 km² with a population of 1.28 million, but when the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the land area in Dalian was only 45 km² with a population of 0.7 million.³⁰ By that time, the general structure of Dalian was established with road systems and urban infrastructure was roughly completed. Overall, the planning under Japan's 40 years of colonisation brought Dalian a model of Manchukuo modernism built upon Western modernism, and left many imprints in the city. Japanese buildings could be found throughout the city even though a lot have been torn down. Same with Russia, the apartheid-type segregation policies were continued by the Japanese, with all the Chinese being forced to move to limited areas.³¹

²⁶Dong, "History of Dalian Urban Planning".

²⁷Edgington, "Comprehensive Planning in Japanese Large Cities".

²⁸Dong, *Study on the Evolvement Trend of Dalian Urban Spatial Structure*, 72.

²⁹Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty First Century*, 2005; Denison and Ren, *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria*, 90.

³⁰Jiang, *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*, 286.

³¹Ibid.

Transition stage (1945–1955)

After the unconditional surrender by Japan in August of 1945, Dalian was passed to the Soviets when the Yalta Agreement and the subsequent ‘Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance’ granted them a thirty-year lease to develop and maintain a naval base at Lvshun. Dalian was to be kept open as an international port.³² During the 1949–1955 period, it seems there was hardly any progress or interest in city development as Dalian was in a state of geopolitical limbo; most of the urban construction was just restoration.³³ In 1950, the Soviets returned Dalian to the Chinese Communist government, but their troops remained in the city until 1955.³⁴ After that, the local government started to institute new plans to guide the reconstruction of the city.

Contemporary China I – consolidation (1955–1978)

Influenced by the Soviet’s industrial-oriented economic development, central government urban planning in 1950s was about the development of industrial sites, concentrating on the production and construction of new industries.³⁵ Dalian was positioned as an industrial city in China’s 1958 urban plan, but the large amount of land allocated to factories resulted in the slow development of urban infrastructure and other public service facilities.³⁶ During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), urban development in Dalian was suspended. It was not until 1978, when China started the economic reform, that urban planning was re-established with an updated plan for Dalian completed based on the new policy.³⁷ The city was clearly defined as an industrial port and tourist city with an area of 117.9 km² and a population of 1.4 million,³⁸ thus expanding planning strategy towards a new type of activity and industry; this being tourism.

Contemporary China II – reform (1978 to date)

With the shifting focus of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on economic development, urban development was recognised as an important impetus for national economic growth. In 1984, Dalian was listed as one of the coastal open cities³⁹ by the Chinese government which endowed the city with new development opportunities. Dalian was divided into three functional areas: trade, finance, and business which were developed in the city centre; 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.⁴⁰ Major infrastructure construction was highlighted in the central area during this stage. A water conservancy project and sewage treatment plants were built to solve the problem of water shortage, luxurious hotels were erected to boost tourism, and big investments in overpass construction eroded the north–south traffic barriers.

³²Hess, *Big Brother Is Watching: Local Sino-Soviet Relations and the Building of New Dalian, 1945–55*, 161.

³³Dalian Urban Planning Museum, 2018.

³⁴Hess, *Big Brother Is Watching: Local Sino-Soviet Relations and the Building of New Dalian, 1945–55*, 162–163.

³⁵Yeh and Wu, “The Transformation of the Urban Planning System in China from a Centrally-planned to Transitional economy,” 176.

³⁶Li, “Urban Regeneration through Public Space”.

³⁷Dong, *Forty Years of Dalian: 1945–1985*, 53.

³⁸Office of Dalian Municipal Government, *Overview of Dalian Urban Construction and Development Structure*, 9.

³⁹As part of China’s economic reform and policy of opening to the world, the Chinese government opened 14 coastal cities to overseas investment in 1984.

⁴⁰Dong, *Study on the Evolvement Trend of Dalian Urban Spatial Structure*, 75.

Figure 5. China's urban planning organizations (Based on Xie and Costa, "Urban Planning in Socialist China") Copyright: Lucile Jacquot.

Much of the colonial heritage was destroyed during this period to give way to the modern buildings.

With the transformation from a centrally controlled system to a market-oriented economy, the administrative and fiscal decentralisation provided some decision-making power to the regions thus local government was encouraged to pick up its own growth-oriented planning.⁴¹ (Figure 5) Under this context, as the mayor of Dalian (1993–2000) and later the governor of Liaoning Province (2001–2004), Bo Xilai initiated new planning to the city with his urbanisation strategies. To improve urban environment and attract investment, industrial enterprises were moved out of downtown, while large and lush parks were created. The attractive colonial architecture in the city was preserved and renovated for tourism development.⁴² With the historical architecture and modern urban environment, Dalian was designated as an environmental model city by the state council in 1997.⁴³ At the same time, urbanisation level of the city rapidly rose from 31.4% in 1978–49.9% in 2000.⁴⁴ The long leadership of Bo assured the continuity in the planning strategies but also received critics with the relocation of downtown residents.⁴⁵

The land reform carried out at the end of the twentieth century led to the emergence of new actors in urban planning, the real estate developers. The introduction of paid transfer of land use rights legalised transactions of land and stimulated the real estate speculation. By replacing old neighborhoods with commercial high-rises to maximise the economic return from urban land, real estate

⁴¹Wei, "Decentralization, Marketization, and Globalization," 9.

⁴²Perra, "Demolishing Dalian: China's 'Russian' City is Erasing its Heritage – in Pictures".

⁴³Mu and Martin, "Establishing the Conditions for Effective Transit-oriented Development in China," 239.

⁴⁴Yin, "The Urbanization Process of Dalian and the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Aspects," 73.

⁴⁵Hess, "China Behind the Headline."

Figure 6. Picture of modern Dalian. Source: Dalian Urban Planning Museum, 2018.

developers sped up the urban redevelopment and rapidly changed the internal structure of the city.⁴⁶ The real estate development is also a contributing factor for contested heritage, as it may conflict with heritage preservation by large-scale demolition. It may also promote the preservation of heritage sites thus pushing up property values in the nearby areas.⁴⁷

Entering the twenty-first century, urban development stepped into a new stage making Dalian an ecological and livable city. Comprehensive infrastructure and facilities, as well as an extensive network of nature reserves were established, causing urban population and land scale increase at a great rate. The ending of Bo's era also exerted pressure on the current government to keep up Dalian's competitiveness with other Chinese cities. The distinctive local heritage is a potential asset for urban development. Different to a metropolis like Beijing or Shanghai, Dalian today is known as a famous summer resort. Its agreeable climate, multiple beaches, natural landscape, as well as the colonial architecture have made it one of the most popular destinations. Tourist numbers increased from 4 million in 1990–85.16 million in 2017.⁴⁸ Paradoxically, the remnant colonial heritage that attracts many tourists is also the source of contestation (Figure 6).

Contested heritage in the city

Dalian is one of the very few cities with tangible traces left by Russia and Japan's half a century of colonial history. However, with the fast pace of urbanisation, these historical traces are now surrounded by new skyscrapers, resulting in the contestation over their fate. One of the examples is Dongguan Street (DS hereafter), an all-but-abandoned historical neighborhood with an area of 45 ha sitting at the city centre (Figure 7). It is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Dalian with a history of 110 years,⁴⁹ and as such offers a profound portrayal of the evolution of the city's urban history and current conflicts.

⁴⁶Yeh and Wu, "The New Land Development Process and Urban Development in Chinese Cities," 8.

⁴⁷Zhang, "Steering towards Growth," 189.

⁴⁸Li et al., "The Analysis of Situation and Development Trends about Oversea Tourist Market in Dalian City," 426.

⁴⁹Lai, "Regeneration of the 110 Years Dongguan Street".

Development of Dongguan street

In 1899, when Russia started the construction of the Dalian commercial port and the eastern railway, massive Chinese labor forces were used in the two construction projects.⁵⁰ To solve the problem of accommodation, simple sheds were built along the railway, which formed the rudiment of DS. During the early stages of the Japanese invasion, the segregation and discrimination policy forced 14,000 Chinese people who lived in the Nanshan area (the area which was later used by Japanese officials) to move to DS.⁵¹ Surprisingly open-minded and to pacify the residents, some conciliation policies were released. People could build houses and start businesses in DS but had to endure procedures of application permission and land buying. To simplify the process, a council was established by the Chinese businessmen under the approval of colonial authorities to manage the houses, businesses and law and order in DS.⁵²

Gradually, DS expanded, there were over 1200 commercial tenants living there, with a restaurant, market, photo studio and book store among other buildings erected by 1908.⁵³ The fast growth in DS made the Japanese rescind the rights of the council and replace it with a police department. Despite this constraint, DS continued to develop but only with more small businesses because of the restrictions from the Japanese. Most of the buildings in DS were built in the 1920s and 1930s, with a predominantly European style of thick brick walls and carvings, reflecting contemporary trends.⁵⁴ By the 1930s, DS had become one of the most prosperous commercial streets and gathering places for Chinese businessmen in Dalian; more than half of the city's population lived there until the 1950s.⁵⁵

After Dalian's reintegration into China, and in contrast to other historical buildings and neighborhoods which possessed a higher profit potential, DS was neglected and left to decay. Comprised mostly of two-storey houses and low-rise apartments of brick-wood structures, several fires hastened DS's degradation and left the area in a state of dilapidation. Due to the lack of statutory heritage status, buildings in DS were not properly maintained.

Since the 1980s, after China's reform and opening-up, the original residents of DS gradually moved out due to the degradation which resulted in the spatial concentration of the disadvantaged population, comprising mainly low-income and aged groups, especially rural migrant workers.⁵⁶ Lacking proper funding and governance, DS became a slum in the city centre, surrounded by high rise buildings (Figure 7). By 2000, the idea to demolish this large deteriorated area emerged. However, the central location of DS made the removal and relocation very complicated and costly. Therefore, the real estate developers only demolished the low-density area and left the remaining 45 hectares abandoned.⁵⁷ There was hardly any progress in the following years despite the release of the official relocation and reconstruction announcement from the government in 2005.⁵⁸ Dubbed a 'shanty town', DS was mentioned frequently in local government reports and in 2015 the demolition

⁵⁰Gu, *A Hundred Years History of Dalian*.

⁵¹Wang, Bin. "Many 'firsts' in Dalian modern history were generated from Dongguan Street. *Peninsula Morning News*, October 25, 2015. <http://www.soupu.com/news/648560>.

⁵²Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*, 42.

⁵³Sun, "Many 'firsts' in Dalian Modern History Were Generated from Dongguan Street".

⁵⁴Luan, "The Protection and Promotion of Dalian Dongguan Historic Block," 24.

⁵⁵Cultural and Historical Records Committee of Dalian Xigang District. *Historical Accounts of Xigang District*, 36.

⁵⁶Lai, "Regeneration of the 110 years Dongguan Street".

⁵⁷Cui, "Dongguan Street – A concern of Dalian".

⁵⁸Qiao, "Dalian's Relic of 'Migration to the Northeast', the Unrated Immovable Culture Relic Is Going to Be Demolished".

Figure 7. DS in 2018 (Photograph was taken by Karine Dupre in 2018).

and reconstruction of the street was officially approved despite the area being recognised as an ‘immovable cultural relic’ in the city protection catalogue.⁵⁹

Yet, even though several documents and publications have identified DS as an immovable cultural heritage site, its actual status is uncertain.⁶⁰ Qiao noted that DS was listed as a Municipality Protected Historic Site in the Third National Archaeological Survey, but was not listed as a cultural heritage conservation unit in the subsequent three rounds of any National Archaeological surveys. The uncertain status as a heritage site has led to ongoing dispute over DS’s demolition and conservation, which also placed DS under the spotlight by journalists who helped increase the visibility of its contestation. With a sustained effort of cross-pressuring from increasingly informed residents, mass media and local experts, debate over DS’s future even appeared as a hot topic in 2013 Dalian’s Two Session meeting.⁶¹ According to Luo, Dalian Committee of China Association for Promoting Democracy submitted a proposal of DS’s preservation in the meeting and the heritage issue was said to be considered in the redevelopment plan by the district government. When it was announced that a reconstruction project would transform the area into a high-end commercial and business district, local heritage protectors resorted to the China Biodiversity Conservation and Green Development Foundation (CBCGDF) – a leading nationwide NGO on environment, biodiversity conservation, sustainability and community conservation. At the end of 2016, CBCGDF sued the city government to

⁵⁹Dalian Culture Radio & TV Bureau, *Outline of Dalian Cultural Relics*.

⁶⁰Qiao, “Dalian’s Relic of ‘Migration to the Northeast’, the Unrated Immovable Culture Relic Is Going to Be Demolished.”

⁶¹Luo, “Liaoning’s First Litigation Case of Non-removable Cultural Relic, One District Government of Dalian Became a Defendant”.

protect DS, and finally the reconstruction project was halted.⁶² In the same year, the policy proposed by President Xi to protect the historical and cultural heritage in the city was undoubtedly a remedy for DS.⁶³ Currently, what remains of DS is surrounded by fences. They serve as a physical boundary that clearly demarcates this off-limits area and helps keep people out and hence lower incidents of vandalism. Concurrently, it shows evidence of urban heritage management, in that someone had to approve, pay for and manage this barrier.

Heritage values of DS

There are three main heritage values that can be nominated for DS.⁶⁴ The first concerns the unique testimony of the colonial period. As previously described, DS is symbolic by its physical features but also offers some affiliated intangible elements. For example, footprints of many historic figures such as Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-Sen; and Hu Shih, the famous Chinese philosopher can be found in DS.⁶⁵ Secondly, DS is directly associated with culturally significant events and ideas in China, such as the trends of a migration movement to Northeast China. As the main venue of Chinese Youth Federation of Dalian in the 1920s, DS is also one of the most important sites of China's new cultural movement. During the Japanese colonisation era, it worked as the secret liaison station for the Dalian Underground Party to actively carry out anti-Japanese movements.⁶⁶ This is a great reminder of the 'red (Communist) culture' in China. Finally, DS represents the historical commercial growth in the city, as many historical Dalian firsts were established in DS, such as the first market, the first photo studios, and the first charity organisation.⁶⁷ However, as of today, these values are not universally recognised by local stakeholders, thus raising the debate of contested heritage within a broader 'mega-narrative' of constructing a 'new China' that privileges re-development and leaves little room for such a debate.

Other heritage under contestation in Dalian

DS is not the only heritage under threat in Dalian's urbanisation process. Many old buildings with intrinsic historical values have either been already obliterated or still face the threat of demolition. Among Dalian's ten official historical blocks, few remain. For example, contrasting with the high density of DS, Fengming Street is a 1.2 km long street with nearly a hundred years of history. It boasts more than 100 Japanese-style detached houses built between the 1920s and 1940s and offers insight into the vision of the Japanese community at that time.⁶⁸ Combining European style gardens with Eastern architecture, each house has a unique design with no more than two floors, providing great historical, research and appreciation value. The site was sold to a local property developer in 2010, and most of the original buildings were knocked down.⁶⁹

Nanshan Historical Block is another example of contested heritage with the earliest buildings erected in 1910.⁷⁰ Covering an area of 40 ha, most of the buildings there were constructed in the

⁶²Luo, "Liaoning's First Litigation Case of Non-removable Cultural Relic, One District Government of Dalian Became a Defendant," 2016.

⁶³16 words policy on heritage proposed by Xi, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/xuexi/n1/2016/0414/c385474-28275331.html> (accessed March 30, 2019).

⁶⁴Dalian Urban Planning Museum, 2018.

⁶⁵Gu, *A Hundred Years History of Dalian*, 85.

⁶⁶Lai, "Regeneration of the 110 years Dongguan Street".

⁶⁷Sun, "Many 'firsts' in Dalian Modern History Were Generated from Dongguan Street".

⁶⁸Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*, 28.

⁶⁹Zhu and Xiaomin, "Dalian's pillars of protection".

⁷⁰Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*, 35.

1930s by the Japanese with hundreds of houses integrating Nordic style into the Japanese architecture.⁷¹ In contrast to DS which was designated for the Chinese, the Nanshan area was built for the Japanese upper-class and was used after 1945 as the residence for many domestic or foreign senior and prominent government officials.⁷² With the demolition of most of the historical buildings, the area presently is replaced with many high-status villas of various styles and regarded as one of the richest neighborhoods.

A last example concerns the north of Shengli Bridge which was the first built neighborhood in Dalian.⁷³ This area is flanked with European and Russian style architecture. Designed by the Russian engineer Sakharov, it was originally an urban administrative centre, and in 2000, all the buildings on the street were renovated to preserve the Russian architectural heritage.⁷⁴ The area was later transformed into a Russian-Style street, integrating tourism, vacation travel, leisure, shopping and entertainment. However, the scheme was not successful due to the excessive commercialisation and poor management. Even though the Russian Street is not as large as DS, it possesses the only 38 Russian buildings left in Dalian.⁷⁵ However, despite these Russian constructions being initially built as office buildings and official residences, they are used as housing for the poor (Figure 8).

Heritage, tourism and conservation planning

The post-1980 decades have witnessed the development of a heritage conservation system in China under the impact of market economy and globalisation.⁷⁶ The endeavours in promulgating heritage laws and regulations demonstrates China's open-up to global challenges and its aspiration to catch up with international trends. The development of heritage management system in China is propelled by CCP's priority in building a strong bond for ethnic harmony and national unity, and the potential of economic growth by combining heritage with the booming tourism industry.⁷⁷ The political and economic appropriation of heritage could be found in many postcolonial and post-communist countries (e.g. Ingerpuu, 2018; Ivanova, 2017; Parkinson, Scott & Redmond, 2018).⁷⁸ Accompanied by greater or lesser tensions, its ultimate fate may remain a matter of internal debate or of response to external tourism markets.

Contestation of heritage

Heritage, both tangible and intangible, embodies the history and legacy of a culture, but its intrinsic dissonance also makes it a venue for contestation regarding its demolition and conservation.⁷⁹ This issue of contestation often stems from the manipulation and manifestation of cultural heritage by religious, ethnic, national, political and other groups to assert, defend or deny critical claims to power, land, and legitimacy.⁸⁰ Due to the multiple forms, meanings, values, and emotions attached

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Wang, and Zhao, "Protection and Renew of Urban Historical Blocks- Taking Dalian Nanshan Historic Block and Qingdao Zhongshan Road as Examples," 522.

⁷³Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*, 16.

⁷⁴Zhu and Zhang, "Dalian's pillars of protection".

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Sofield and Li, "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China," 363.

⁷⁷Blumenfield and Silverman, eds. *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*.

⁷⁸Ingerpuu, "Socialist Architecture as Today's Dissonant Heritage," 954–968; Ivanova, "The Inclusion of the Communist/Socialist Heritage in the Emerging Representations of Eastern Europe," 31–46; Parkinson et al. "Contesting Conservation-planning: Insights from Ireland Since Independence," 1–30.

⁷⁹Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*.

⁸⁰Silverman, ed. *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*, 1.

Figure 8. Volunteers try to save historic buildings from the wrecking ball by holding banners outside historic buildings in the city's downtown Russian Street. Source: China Daily, 2015.

to heritage by different and often competing stakeholders, the contestation of heritage displays as a unique case in each instance. Colonial heritage, as a type of contested heritage, is particularly sensitive and politically fraught in post-colonial contexts.⁸¹ The particular qualities of colonial heritage have been explored in places as diverse as South Africa, Australia, Singapore as well as many other Asian centres.⁸² For some, those heritage properties are tangible representations of invasion and unequal power relations in history that merit renaming, demolition or neglect, in favor of new modes of urban development that embody new post-colonial ideals and aspirations.⁸³ Pragmatism, however, may allow for some retention of the old order. For example, Han & Lim⁸⁴ showed how some of the legacies are reconfigured to generate added value for touristic, cultural, social, and economic purposes. Indeed, throughout history, people have constantly changed the uses of these colonial legacies as the buildings age and become inappropriate for the uses for which they were built.⁸⁵ In the interests of 'functional adaptation',⁸⁶ some buildings are being restored and turned into chic boutiques, art galleries and cafes, and other colonial structures were renovated and transformed into museums, banks, commercial buildings and private residences.⁸⁷

The contestation of colonial heritage in the post-colonial context is covered in a significant vein of literature. One aspect of contestation lies in the different interpretations of the past among

⁸¹Leung, "Fates of European Heritage in Post-colonial Contexts," 24.

⁸²Jacobs, *Edge of Empire*; Shaw and Roy, *Contested Urban Heritage*; Yeoh, "Postcolonial Cities," 456–468.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Han and Lim, "Battambang City, Cambodia".

⁸⁵Amayu, "New Uses for Old Churches: An Examination of the Effects of Planning Regulations on the Adaptive Reuse of Church Buildings".

⁸⁶Weaver and Lawton, *Tourism Management*.

⁸⁷Jacobs, "Re-branding the Levant," 322; Amae, "Pro-colonial or Postcolonial? Appropriation of Japanese Colonial Heritage in Present-day Taiwan," 23.

stakeholders. For example, in South Africa, during the political transformation, heritage was perceived as a nostalgia of a harmonious past by middle-class Capetonians but a memory of privilege and exclusion by black working-class inhabitants.⁸⁸ The contemporary identity of the heritage is also contested. A typical example would be Northern Ireland, where representations of heritage occasioned considerable debate among different social groups.⁸⁹ Within China, even though some colonial heritage has survived in cities like Shanghai or Hong Kong, their reinterpretations face challenges due to the controversial connotations.⁹⁰ Generally, the sensitivity of colonial heritage decides its fate of contestation. Common strategies of renaming, demolition or dilapidation could be found in Asia, Africa, and Latin American.⁹¹

According to Steinberg, the desire for modernisation often leads to the idea that only new and modern buildings are worthwhile. Old housing, concentrated in the inner parts of the city and suffering physical deterioration, overcrowding and insufficient services, are supposed to be removed at the earliest convenient opportunity.⁹² In Dalian, the dilapidated colonial legacies are often viewed as traces of the century of Chinese historical humiliation between 1840 and the 1940s.⁹³ Thus, making them more likely to be erased and to give way to the construction of a modern city in the new era. However, this colonial heritage could be regarded as a living testimony of Chinese people's resilience under coloniser's oppression. Despite the restrictions and harsh environment, Chinese people in DS survived and thrived under the Russian and Japanese rule. This resilience, which is to be understood as the ability to recover from trauma, is displayed through the city's colonial heritage. Thus it makes the heritage merit protection, and treasuring, within a competing narrative of colonialism. Although current research has not done much to investigate the process of adaptation and assimilation, which often occur in a similar context with the local population eventually taking ownership of their history and giving voice to it on their own terms, what is clear is that the Chinese identity has not only been maintained but recognised as such under the colonial domination. As Parkinson, Mark and Declan argued, the residual colonial memories are not necessarily the inevitable product of history, but could become a deliberate and strategic tool in nation-building.⁹⁴ Thus, instead of holding an outright antipathy towards the legacies of colonialism, the heritage should be positively revalued to seek the potential to develop it as a driver of urban regeneration.

According to Amar,⁹⁵ three stakeholder groups are involved in heritage management with diverse perceptions, interests and expectations: the public sector (policymakers and decision-makers); the private sector (owners, developers and investors), and the general community (professional organisations, volunteers, academic institutions, non-governmental organisations and the media). These three groups of stakeholders fit exactly with the heritage issues faced in Dalian. Facing the transformation of colonial heritage in the city, the private sector (especially the business community) leads the move for demolition, while the general community is in support of preservation. Both the economic and the socio-cultural elites try to influence the public sector, the Chinese Communist Party, which makes a great deal of the final substantive decisions.

⁸⁸ Worden, "Contested Heritage at the Cape Town Waterfront," 59–75.

⁸⁹ Graham, "The Contested Interpretation of Heritage Landscapes in Northern Ireland," 10–22.

⁹⁰ Pendlebury and Porfyriou, "Heritage, Urban Regeneration and Place-making," 430.

⁹¹ Ashworth and Tunbridge. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*.

⁹² Steinberg, "Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries," 464.

⁹³ Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*.

⁹⁴ Parkinson et al. "Contesting Conservation-planning: Insights from Ireland since Independence," 6.

⁹⁵ Amar, "Conservation of Cultural Built Heritage- An Investigation of Stakeholder Perceptions in Australia and Tanzania".

Figure 9. Postcard of city sight (Ji, *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*).

Heritage management & tourism development of Dalian

From a heritage management perspective, it also seems that very little has been investigated so far that could be used as a positive resource for the preservation of DS. In China, the major actors of tangible heritage are the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and the Ministry of Construction as well as their counterparts at the provincial, municipal, district and county levels, while intangible heritage is under the Ministry of Culture and its local offices (Svensson, 2016).⁹⁶ The principal policy of heritage management is the 'Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics' which states the guidelines of 'giving priority to the protection of cultural relics, attaching primary importance to their rescue, making rational use of them, and tightening control over them' in work concerning cultural heritage.⁹⁷ In addition to legislation, certain standards and principles are used to guide the practices of heritage conservation. In the most recent revision of the 'Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China', a chapter was added to emphasise the appropriate use of heritage including its sustainability and public/community benefit.⁹⁸ As of today, it does not seem that much implementation has been seen in Dalian. This is surprising since it could become an added value to DS conservation and retrofitting. However, it is also inevitable that the interpretation and implementation of such edicts will depend on how 'heritage' is subjectively defined and differentially valorised by peak decision-making bodies such as the federal and state governments and CCP bodies.

The heritage tourism angle could also be further developed to attract benefits to Dalian and also, it is surprising that, as of today, it has not been further exploited when looking at the

⁹⁶Svensson, "Evolving and Contested Cultural Heritage in China: The Rural Heritage Scape".

⁹⁷Shen and Chen, "Cultural Heritage Management in China: Current Practices and Problems".

⁹⁸Tam, "The Revitalization of Zhizhu Temple: Policies, Actors, Debate," 248.

Figure 10. Damage and value of the buildings in DS (Luan, “The Protection and Promotion of Dalian Dongguan Historic Block”).

tourism history in the city. Travel-promotion photographs and postcards of city sights (Figure 9) from the 1930s clearly show the authorities’ desire to lure travelers to Dalian (Young, 1998).⁹⁹ More recently, being listed as an ‘Open City’ in 1984 makes tourism one of the fastest growing industries in the city and a strategic pillar for urban economic development.¹⁰⁰ Dalian’s unique history of colonisation and those tangible traces have great potential to legitimise it as a unique historical city and further promote the development of urban heritage tourism. Historical heritage, as an indispensable section of its tourism industry and part of the iconic attractions could offer a heritage tourism experience by attempting to create an atmosphere that corresponds to tourists’ image of the city’s past. By rejuvenating the old districts, maintaining their authenticity with the integrity of the architectural setting for the nostalgic scene, those urban relics will give Dalian a new label, contributing to it becoming a famous historical and cultural city. 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

⁹⁹Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, 357.

¹⁰⁰Dong, “History of Dalian Urban Planning”.

contested heritage and are most likely for that reason to attract heritage tourists and associated economic benefits.

Some ideas of conservation

Heritage from Dalian's colonial past, manifested vividly through the existing foreign architecture and historical blocks, represents the city's diverse cultural heritage. DS, formed almost at the same time as the establishment of the city, is of tremendous value to both Dalian and its citizens. The preservation and adaptive use of this urban heritage should consider three factors: vulnerability of the structure, emotional value attached to the buildings and their original use, and controversial opinions about the reuse of the urban heritage. Regarding the first factor, on-site surveys have shown that many buildings are damaged to some extent due to the ageing of delicate timber structures and poor maintenance (Figure 10). Therefore, the complete restoration of the whole area is very unlikely to be achieved. Conservation is suggested to focus more on the buildings with high preserve value to achieve a win-win balance between financial value and heritage value, as suggested above. DS not only carries the history of the city, but also the memories of local people, so their resilience and resistance might be the basis of DS's distinctiveness. Hence, retaining the historic functions of certain key features such as Xigang Market, the first market in the city which was also the shopping area of the Japanese during their colonisation, could be deemed important in the conservation process. With the robust growth of the tourism industry in Dalian, DS, which manifests the complex urban history, could become an optimal site for urban heritage tourism.

Conclusion

Dalian has a significant history of being used by foreign powers for its ports as a key component of broader imperial aspirations. Plans made by the successive colonial authorities played a major role in shaping and monitoring of urban development. However, the tangible traces left by the colonists raise the debate about contested heritage and result in the preservation-development dichotomy in the city. This challenge to some extent mirrors heritage issues in the regions that have experienced similar historical dynamics and are in the face of modernisation and globalisation. The heritage boom in China is motivated by political and economic factors under the lead of central state and local governments. This top-down process of policy formulation and implementation results in the marginalisation of vernacular views. However, local communities are no longer the passive recipients. A bottom-up strive among local communities has emerged to safeguard their own traditions and local history. With an awakening to the potential of heritage as a resource in social and economic regeneration, those contested legacies are subject to a revalorisation in the fast urbanisation process and credence should be given to diverse voices to gain different perspectives on their development. Cities are the origin of most tourists as well as the destination for a large and growing portion of tourists, who constitute an increasingly important source of direct and indirect urban revenue and employment.¹⁰¹ As a consequence, seeking the compatibility between the sustainability of contested heritage and the development of tourism could help to solve the contestation and serve as a better utilisation of heritage to promote the urban development.

¹⁰¹Law, *Urban Tourism: The Visitor Economy and the Growth of Large Cities*.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Karine Dupre <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1936-0597>

Notes on contributors

Yang Liu is a PhD candidate in the School of Engineering and Built Environment at Griffith University, Gold Coast Campus. Her research interests are contested urban heritage, urban development, and tourism.

Karine Dupre is an associate professor from Griffith University. She is the programme director of Griffith Architecture School and a member of Griffith Institute for Tourism. Her research field includes regional development, cities and tourism, place-making, urban development and sustainability, building heritage and identity, etc.

Xin Jin is senior lecturer of Department of Tourism, Sport and Hotel Management, Griffith Business School, Griffith University. Her two main areas of research interest are event tourism and destination marketing.

David Weaver (Visiting Professor, International Services Management Research Institute, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics) is Professor of Tourism Research and conducts research in the areas of sustainable tourism, ecotourism, destination development and resident perceptions.

Bibliography

- Abramovich, T., Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch, and Iris Aravot. "Imported Modernity and Local Design: The Creation of Resilient Public Spaces in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1878–1918." *Planning Perspectives* (2018): 8.
- Amae, Yoshihisa. "Pro-colonial or Postcolonial? Appropriation of Japanese Colonial Heritage in Present-day Taiwan." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2011): 19–62.
- Amar, J. H. N. "Conservation of Cultural Built Heritage- An Investigation of Stakeholder Perceptions in Australia and Tanzania." PhD diss., Bond University, 2017.
- Amayu, E. "New Uses for Old Churches: An Examination of the Effects of Planning Regulations on the Adaptive Reuse of Church Buildings." PhD diss., Queen's University, 2014.
- Ashworth, G. J., and J. E. Tunbridge. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*. Arnold, 2000.
- Blumenfeld, Tami, and Helaine Silverman, eds. *Cultural Heritage Politics in China*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2013.
- Cui, Xiankang. "Dongguan Street – A concern of Dalian." *Caixin Weekly*, December 7, 2015. <http://weekly.caixin.com/2015-12-04/100881892.html>.
- Cultural and Historical Records Committee of Dalian Xigang District (CHRCDXD). *Historical Accounts of Xigang District*. Dalian: Cultural and Historical Records Committee of Dalian Xigang District, 1999.
- Culture Relic Is Going to Be Demolished. *The Paper*, November 3, 2016. <http://news.163.com/16/1103/08/C4UENDB9000187VE.html>
- Dalian Culture Radio & TV Bureau. *Outline of Dalian Cultural Relics*. Dalian: Dalian Publishing House, 2009.
- Dalian Government Portal Website. "Walk into Dalian." Accessed August 3, 2018. <http://www.dl.gov.cn/>.
- Denison, Edward, and Guangyu Ren. *Ultra-Modernism: Architecture and Modernity in Manchuria*. Hong Kong University Press, 2016.
- Dong, Zhizheng. *Forty Years of Dalian: 1945–1985*. Dalian: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1985.
- Dong, Wei. "History of Dalian Urban Planning." Master's thesis, Dalian University of Technology, 2001.
- Dong, Wei. *Study on the Evolvment Trend of Dalian Urban Spatial Structure*. Dalian: Dalian Maritime University Press, 2005.
- Drew, Ronald F. *Yuri Semyonov, Siberia: Its Conquest and Development*. Translated by J. R. Foster. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1963.

- Edgington, David W. "Comprehensive Planning in Japanese Large Cities." *Planning Perspectives* 34, no. 1 (2019): 115–132.
- Graham, Brian. "The Contested Interpretation of Heritage Landscapes in Northern Ireland." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, no. 1-2 (1996): 10–22.
- Gu, Mingyi. *A Hundred Years History of Dalian*. Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1999.
- Han, Sun Sheng, and Lim Ymeng. "Battambang City, Cambodia: From a Small Colonial Settlement to an Emerging Regional Centre." *Cities* (2018).
- Hess, Christian A. "Big Brother Is Watching: Local Sino-Soviet Relations and the Building of New Dalian, 1945–55." In *Delimmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China*, edited by Jeremy Brown, and Paul G. Pickowicz, 160–183. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Hess, Christian A. "From Colonial Jewel to Socialist Metropolis: Dalian, 1895–1955." PhD diss., University of California, 2006.
- Hess, Christian A. "China Behind the Headline." *The China Beat*, August 17, 2011. <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?cat=10>.
- Ingerpuu, Laura. "Socialist Architecture as Today's Dissonant Heritage: Administrative Buildings of Collective Farms in Estonia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 9 (2018): 954–968.
- Ivanova, Milka. "The Inclusion of the Communist/Socialist Heritage in the Emerging Representations of Eastern Europe: The Case of Bulgaria." *Tourism Culture & Communication* 17, no. 1 (2017): 31–46.
- Jacobs, J. M. *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Jacobs, Jessica. "Re-branding the Levant: Contested Heritage and Colonial Modernities in Amman and Damascus." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 8, no. 4 (2010): 316–326.
- Ji, Ruguang. *Memories of the Old Blocks in Dalian*. Dalian: Dalian Press, 2012.
- Jiang, Yaohui. *Dalian Port Opening and City Construction*. Dalian: Dalian Press, 2013.
- Lai, Qingxin. "Regeneration of the 110 years Dongguan Street." *Peninsula Morning News*, October 9, 2015. http://news.k618.cn/house/201510/t20151009_6150260.html.
- Law, Christopher M. *Urban Tourism: The Visitor Economy and the Growth of Large Cities*. Cengage Learning Emea, 2002.
- Leung, Maggi W. H. "Fates of European Heritage in Post-Colonial Contexts: Political Economy of Memory and Forgetting in Hong Kong." *Geographische Zeitschrift* (2009): 24–42.
- Li, Mimi. "Urban Regeneration Through Public Space: A Case Study in Squares in Dalian, China." Master's thesis, University of Waterloo, 2003.
- Li, Yuezheng, Jiang Tinghong, and Yu Jinguo. "The Analysis of Situation and Development Trends About Oversea Tourist Market in Dalian City." *Economic Geography* 24, no. 3 (2004): 426–429.
- Luan, Yifei. "The Protection and Promotion of Dalian Dongguan Historic Block." Master's thesis, Dalian University of Technology, 2014.
- Luo, Jie. "Liaoning's First Litigation Case of Non-removable Cultural Relic, One District Government of Dalian Became a Defendant." *The Paper*, November 15, 2016. https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1561834.
- Mu, Rui, and Martin de Jong. "Establishing the Conditions for Effective Transit-Oriented Development in China: the Case of Dalian." *Journal of Transport Geography* 24 (2012): 234–249.
- Myers, Garth Andrew. "Intellectual of Empire: Eric Dutton and Hegemony in British Africa." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 1 (1998): 1–27.
- Njoh, Ambe J. "Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa." *Planning Perspectives* 24, no. 3 (2009): 301–317.
- Office of Dalian Municipal Government. *Overview of Dalian Urban Construction and Development*. Dalian: Dalian Press, 2010.
- Official Report to DC by US Consul Miller in Manchuria in 20 Years, *Far Eastern Review*, 1926.
- Paine, Sarah C. M. *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Parkinson, Arthur, Mark Scott, and Declan Redmond. "Revalorizing Colonial Era Architecture and Townscape Legacies: Memory, Identity and Place-Making in Irish Towns." *Journal of Urban Design* 22, no. 4 (2017): 502–519.
- Pendlebury, John, and Heleni Porfyriou. "Heritage, Urban Regeneration and Place-Making." *Journal of Urban Design* 22, no. 4 (2017): 429–432.

- Perry, Francesca. "Demolishing Dalian: China's 'Russian' City is Erasing its Heritage – in Pictures." *The Guardian*, March 24, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/mar/23/dalian-china-russian-city-heritage-demolition-in-pictures>.
- Qi, Lili. "GDP Ranking of 2017." *Dalian Real Estate*, February 1, 2018. <http://dl.news.fang.com/open/27719885.html>.
- Qian, Fengqi. "China's Burra Charter: The Formation and Implementation of the China Principles." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13, no. 3 (2007): 255–264.
- Qiao, Jing. "Dalian's Relic of 'Migration to the Northeast', the Unrated Immovable Culture Relic Is Going to Be Demolished." *The Paper*, November 3, 2016.
- Shaw, Brian J., and Roy Jones. *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices From the Periphery*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- Shen, Chen, and Chen Hong. "Cultural Heritage Management in China: Current Practices and Problems." In *Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective*, edited by Phyllis Mauch Messenger, and George S. Smith, 70–81. Florida: University Press of Florida, 2010.
- Silverman, Helaine, ed. *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*. New York: Springer, 2010.
- Sofield, H. B. Trevor, and Fungmei Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (1998): 362–392.
- Sorensen, André. *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning From Edo to the Twenty First Century*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Steinberg, Florian. "Conservation and Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage in Developing Countries." *Habitat International* 20, no. 3 (1996): 463–475.
- Sun, Zhengyi. "Many 'firsts' in Dalian Modern History Were Generated from Dongguan Street." *Morning Newspaper of Dalian Peninsula*, October 25, 2015. http://db.chinaso.com/detail/20151025/100020003287002144574898014854607_1.html.
- Svensson, Marina. "Evolving and Contested Cultural Heritage in China: The Rural Heritage Scape." In *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, edited by Akira Matsuda, and Luisa Elena Mengoni, 31–46. London: Ubiquity Press, 2016.
- Tam, Lui. "The Revitalization of Zhizhu Temple: Policies, Actors, Debate." In *Chinese Heritage in the Making: Experiences, Negotiations and Contestations*, edited by Christina Maags, and Marina Svensson, 245–268. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.
- Tan, Xiaohong, and Altrock Uwe. "Struggling for an Adaptive Strategy? Discourse Analysis of Urban Regeneration Processes – A Case Study of Enning Road in Guangzhou City." *Habitat International* 56 (2016): 245–257.
- Thawaba, Salem. "Building and Planning Regulations Under Israeli Colonial Power: A Critical Study from Palestine." *Planning Perspectives* 34, no. 1 (2018): 1–14.
- Triggs, Harry Inigo. *Town Planning, Past, Present and Possible*. London: Methuen & Company, 1911.
- Tunbridge, John E., and Gregory John Ashworth. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester: John Wiley, 1996.
- Wang, Xiao, and Zhao Yanhui. "Protection and Renew of Urban Historical Blocks- Taking Dalian Nanshan Historic Block and Qingdao Zhongshan Road as Examples." In *The 7th National Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Architecture and Planning* (2009): 521–524.
- Weaver, D., and L. Lawton. *Tourism Management*. 5th ed. Milton: Wiley Australia, 2014.
- Wei, Yehua. "Decentralization, Marketization, and Globalization: The Triple Processes Underlying Regional Development in China." *Asian Geographer* 20, no. 1–2 (2001): 7–23.
- Worden, Nigel. "Contested Heritage at the Cape Town Waterfront." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2, no. 1–2 (1996): 59–75.
- Wu, Wenjie, and Wang Jianghao. "Gentrification Effects of China's Urban Village Renewals." *Urban Studies* 54, no. 1 (2017): 214–229.
- Xie, Yichun, and Frank J. Costa. "Urban Planning in Socialist China: Theory and Practice." *Cities* 10, no. 2 (1993): 103–114.
- Yeh, Anthony Gar-On, and Fulong Wu. "The New Land Development Process and Urban Development in Chinese Cities." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 20, no. 2 (1996): 330–353.
- Yeh, Anthony Gar-on, and Fulong Wu. "The Transformation of the Urban Planning System in China From a Centrally-Planned to Transitional Economy." *Progress in Planning* 51, no. 3 (1999): 167–252.

- Yeoh, Brenda SA. "Postcolonial Cities." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 3 (2001): 456–468.
- Yin, Shanjun. "The Urbanization Process of Dalian and the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Aspects." *Research on Financial and Economic* 3 (2003): 72–74.
- Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. London: University of California Press, 1998.
- Zhang, Song. "Keeping the Trace of Times Maintaining the Spirit of City-Frontier Issues in Urban Conservation and Revitalization." *Urban Planning Forum* 3 (2005): 31–35.
- Zhang, Yue. "Steering Towards Growth: Symbolic Urban Preservation in Beijing, 1990–2005." *Town Planning Review* 79, no. 2–3 (2008): 187–208.
- Zhang, Y., and K. Fang. "Is History Repeating Itself? From Urban Renewal in the United States to Inner-City Redevelopment in China." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 23, no. 3 (2004): 286–298.
- Zhu, Chengpei, and Zhang Xiaomin. "Dalian's Pillars of Protection." *China Daily*, March 25, 2015. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/201003/25/content_9638055.htm.