

Strategies to Streamline Urban Land Use Succession: *Case Study of Upper Hill, Nairobi, Kenya*

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Abstract

This paper follows a journal paper 'Determinant and Outcomes of Urban Land Use Succession: Case study of Upper Hill, Nairobi based on a PHD research carried out to explore Urban Land Use Succession (ULUS) that is driven by private actors. It is distinguished from public sector ULUS and public-private ULUS. In Nairobi it is evident in Kilimani and Upper Hill where population pressure on land and demand for fully serviced properties have triggered restructuring, densification and intensification. In Upper Hill, ULUS started in the 1990's and escalated in the last decade, with old colonial residential bungalows bowing to commercial tower blocks. This has resulted in patchwork land use patterns and incoherent streetscape among others. The resolution of these conflicts is critical to making the area a financial and business hub for Nairobi and the East Africa Community region. The purpose of research was to identify the determinants of ULUS and establish the influence of global capital and spatial policy on ULUS. It applied neoliberal theory, case study strategy and hypotheses testing. The Strategies to streamline ULUS are also suggested, including, development of an integrated ULUS policy, a growth management strategy and establishment of an Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA).

Keywords: County physical and land use development plan, determinant, strategic framework, urban land use succession, integrated policy, urban redevelopment authority.

INTRODUCTION

The ULUS phenomenon is anchored in neoliberalism theory which “lays emphasis on collaboration and partnership between capital and citizen with little mediation by formal state institutions” (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004, p. 276)). It's also anchored on principles including commodification of everything (Polanyi 1944 & Watts 1994 as cited in (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004), “creation of private property rights defended by the state” (Peck, 2001; Jessop, 2002 as cited in McCarthy & Prudham 2004:276) “fiscal administrative cuts, devolution of regulatory responsibilities to local levels of government, scaling regulatory capacities to international institutions and shifts from binding to voluntary public-private co-operation” (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004, p. 276). However, the public private cooperation assumed in the theory is not apparent in Upper Hill but collaboration and partnership between global capital and citizen appear to hold sway. In addition, factors such as land tenure, public investment in infrastructure and planning decisions which are controlled by

the state appear to complicate the operations of capital and citizen which are assumed to operate in a free-market environment. Upper Hill has both private and public land tenure, which are subject to controls by state rules and regulations with respect to planning, development control and infrastructure provision. The assumption of free market therefore sets the stage for a dichotomy of contradictory states. Fiscal cuts in public sector spending following Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of late 80s and 90's Ngui, (2016) as assumed in theory led to delay in provision of requisite infrastructure such as roads, sewer, water and community facilities complicating the ULUS phenomenon further. Private actors referred to as the homoeconomicus or the ideal self-made man (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004), confined themselves to provision of infrastructure within their property boundaries, leaving the role of provision of strategic public infrastructure to a state that was already constrained by fiscal cuts in public spending. This gave rise to conflicts on minimum setbacks and the resultant kinks in road

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alignment and street scape.

Urban land use succession problem is manifest in impermeability of the commercial area, resulting from retention of the old residential structure of the neighborhood, an incongruous mix of old and new buildings, incoherent street scape, traffic congestion among others. The purpose of the research was to identify the determinants of ULUS and establish the influence of global capital and spatial policy on ULUS.

Using hypotheses testing the research established that Spatial policy was the key determinant of ULUS (Nguh, K'akumu, & Kimani, 2023). This paper reports on the third and fourth objectives of the research on identifying the key determinant of ULUS and suggesting strategies to streamline the process. The research draws lessons on governance and best practices from literature review such as New Castle Business Park and Saiford Quays (Healey et al. 1992 as cited in (Healey, 1995), Singapore's, Golden Shoe District, Government of Singapore, (2016)), Konza Technopolis City among others. It is expected that these strategies would resolve the ULUS conflicts and steer the area towards achieving the city's vision as the financial and business hub for Nairobi and East Africa Community region.

THEORY

The research reviewed several documents that have been written to help understand the ULUS phenomenon.

Urban Land Use Succession

The concept of succession described "evolution of natural communities by sequent replacement and invasion and occupancy of one social area by members of another different social group" (Bourne, 1971, p. 1). The social areas were viewed as forming "a series of concentric rings around the city center, with movement originating from the center following established gradients" (Bourne, 1971, p. 2). As each inner concentric zone extended outward it replaced another lower density and lower rent paying occupants (Bourne, 1971; Kingoriah, 1980). Land use succession processes included "complex probabilistic process of adjustment in form of structure of land and building occupancy" (Bourne, 1971, pp. 2-3), "evolution from simple to complex" (Clarke, 1966,

p. 347) or from a development stage to maturity stage (Frederic and Odum as cited in (Rudel, 2009). and selective (Bourne, 1971) where a "former fringe belt became embedded within the built-up area" (Barke, 1976, p. 303). In Upper Hill, the process involves invasion and succession, from serene residential neighborhood to commercial tower blocks.

Based on the actors involved Urban Land Use Succession falls into three categories, namely public sector (He & Wu, 2007), Public-Private partnerships (Harding 1992 as cited in (He & Wu, 2007) and the private investors (Turok 1992 as cited in (He & Wu, 2007). While public sector ULUs focus on social development, private sector is interested in profit maximization and Public-Private Partnership blends the two extremes.

Determinants of ULUS

ULUS can be determined by both external and internal factors to the property, but the largest proportion of ULUS is caused by external factors (Bourne, 1971). Changes internal to the property include decline in suitability, depreciation (Bourne, 1971), fluctuations in relative bid rent potentials of housing (Bang, 2009). External changes include "growth (size or structural change), change in land requirements and attributes, change in economic viability and technology preferences, alterations of the physical infrastructure" (Bourne, 1971, p. 3), social relations and capital re-switching (Bang, 2009).

Outcomes of ULUS

ULUS can have both negative and positive outcomes. Negative outcomes include rising value of property, neglect of social and environmental improvements, pressure on existing infrastructure, patchwork land use patterns, environmental misfits, displacement of low-income people, and destruction of community lifestyles among others (Healey et al., 1992 as cited in Hu & Wu, 2007; Bang, 2009). Positive outcomes include optimization of land use, improved amenities, road widening and stimulation of the economy (Barnley & Bar, 1996 as cited in (Lum, 2004). To ensure sustainability, Governance of the area needs to enhance the positive outcomes, while mitigating the negative ones.

Governance and Urban Land use Succession

Governance is the process of coordinating

political decision making (Gaitano & Strom 2003 as cited in (Tsan-Kok, 2010), actors, social groups, institutions (Melo & Baiachi, 2006 as cited in (Tsan-Kok, 2010) to attain collectively defined goals (Le Gales, 2000) as cited in (Tsan-Kok, 2010). In performance of their mandate both state actors and private actors can sometimes support or impede market performance (Cao, 2009). It is the function of governance to coordinate these institutions to enhance the positive outcomes, while avoiding or mitigating the negative ones. For this reason, governance needs to be anchored in an integrated policy framework for implementation and coordination of actors, a strategic framework (roadmap) and strong urban governance institutions.

Integrated Policy Framework

Lack of integrated policy and an overall development strategy among different departments in Hong Kong, brought about the occurrence of pencil type developments (Ng, 2002). In Houston, reliance on patchwork land use regulations where different regulations were used to renew expired land deeds resulted in patchwork land use patterns (Qian, 2010). In Upper Hill, the County Government of Nairobi, Ministry of Lands, Housing and Public Works, Kenya Urban Roads Authority (KURA), Kenya Power Company (KPC) among others perform different activities in the area as per their mandate using different policies and legislation. They seem to operate in a disjointed manner leaving business sectors on their own.

Best practices were noted such as the project on urban regeneration and environmental sustainability, London 2012 Olympic Games and the Lower Lea Valley which transformed the valley from a derelict brownfield land into a multifunctional sub-center. The Olympic Park was built in this center as an extension of the existing park system to the river Thames (Quaglia, 2016). Other best practice include need for strategic vision in Singapore's Golden Shoe District (Singapore National Library Board, 2019) land reclamation, land assembly, land readjustment, coordination (Lum, Sim, & Malone-Lee, 2004), phasing of development (Lum, Sim, & Malone-Lee, 2004) (Rana; , Orloff, & Wahba, 2016) and use of Enterprise Zones (Berry, Deddis, & McGreal, 1993)

Institutions or institutional arrangements

Institutional arrangements help in transmitting information on market conditions, enforce property rights and contracts and direct incentives North 1990a as cited in (Cao, 2009). According to D'Arcy and Keogh, 1998 as cited in (Cao, 2009) , they include the property market (set of formal and informal rules, conventions, and a set of actors such as developers, investors and professionals) and the governance process relating to the property market (regulations, codes of conduct and state actors).

Kenya had inadequate urbanization policies, planning guidelines and planning for urban areas thereby resulting in harp-hazard development (GOK, Sessional Paper No 1 of 2017 on National Land Use Policy, 2017). The Upper Hill area was planned under the Hill Area Zoning and Road Widening Plan of 1992 and the Action plan of 2010. Currently planning and development of Upper Hill should be guided by National Land Use Policy (GOK, Sessional Paper No 1 of 2017 on National Land Use Policy, 2017) and the Physical and Land Use Planning Act of 2019 (PLUPA) and the National Urban development Policy of 2016. These policies are supposed to be cascaded into updated standards and guidelines and used to guide the allocation of resources through the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP). That nexus between these institutional arrangements appears inactive in directing incentives for property redevelopment in Upper Hill and the property market seemed to have filled the vacuum.

Governance regimes that have been used for property led redevelopment include Urban Development Corporations (UDC), (Healey, 1995), Land Development Corporation (LDC), the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) (Ng, 2002) Land Assemblage and Redevelopment Authority (LARA), (Qian, 2010) and Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) (Government of Singapore, 2016). Urban development corporations are organizations established by government for purpose of urban development including development of new suburban areas or existing ones. They are meant to promote and help underperforming areas to grow. Examples include The London Thames Gateway Development Corporation, LTGDC (2004-2013) for lower LEA Valley and London Riverside (Quaglia, 2016). In

Kenya the urban development corporations in the built environment include the National Housing Corporation (NHC) which focusses on housing sector. In Upper Hill, these corporations seem to be absent.

Capacity of Urban Governance Institutions

For the urban governance institutions to function they need capacity including stable predictable subsidy regime, development agencies with broad political objectives but insulated from short-term political manipulations, and presence of experts in development (Healey, 1995). A strategic framework is also required for deployment of this capacity (Healey, 1995). Despite having considerable capacity, the governance agencies in the British experience lacked strategic frameworks to counter adverse effects of competition between projects. In Nairobi, the opposite was true since the city had the Nairobi Metropolitan strategy, of 1973. However, this was poorly implemented due to inadequate financial resources which has daunted the city to date (County Government of Nairobi, 2014). This may have cascaded into Nairobi's lack of a current strategy and inadequate policy to support projects requiring land readjustment and urban renewal.

Neoliberal Theory

The study uses neoliberal theory to explain the situation in Upper Hill, including elements such as the belief in open, competitive, and unregulated market as the optimal channel for economic development (Brener & Theodore 2002:2 as cited in Raco 2005, McCarthy & Prudham 2004). This market requires the commodification of everything (Polanyi 1944 & Watts 1994 as cited in McCarthy & Prudham 2004). The theory furthers the idea of political and ideological antagonism toward state "interference" on one hand and private property rights and commodification created and defended by the state on the other (Peck, 2001; Jessop, 2002 as cited in McCarthy & Prudham 2004). It further assumes restructuring and privatization of the state fiscal and administrative resources and functions (Harvey, 2003 cited in McCarthy & Prudham, 2004), and deep fiscal and administrative cuts (Jessop, 1994 cited in McCarthy & Prudham, 2004). It "repackages the notions of citizenship and social action in the image of homo-economicus, the ideal, entrepreneurial, self-made individual" (Barnes, 1987; Barnes, 1988; Barnes and Sheppard, 1992; Bowles and Gintis, 1993 as

cited in McCarthy, 2003). This implies that capital and citizen have come together in collaboration and partnership with little interference by state institutions (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004) while the Keynesian social provisioning and the welfare state is decimated (Smith, 1996; MacLeod, 2002 as cited in McCarthy & Prudham, 2004) with negative implications on delivery of public services.

As assumed in theory, Kenya adopted Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in late 80's, including fiscal cuts in public sector spending (Ngu, 2016). This was done on a blanket scale and may have led to delay in upgrading of infrastructure in Upper Hill.

The Key Independent and Dependent Variables

From the theory the study isolated the phenomenon of ULUS as the independent variable, while the determinants of ULUS such as planning decisions, land tenure public investment in physical infrastructure and global capital were the independent variables.

RESEARCH METHODS

To achieve its objectives the study, used a case study approach. The research strategy, sampling, research methods, data collection and analysis area discussed in this section.

The research used both survey and history strategies embedded within the case study strategy, to allow examination of contemporary events which the researcher could not manipulate. It also allowed "reliance on multiple sources of evidence to understand complex social phenomena by facilitating retention of holistic characteristics of real-life events" (Yin, 2003). The research triangulated both qualitative and quantitative information. Qualitative information included historical accounts on determinants and processes of urban land use succession whereas quantitative information included land tenure, changes in property values, building heights, source of capital among others. Case study strategy enabled generalization of research results (Yin, 2003) to Nairobi and beyond.

Research Design

A research design is the logical sequence (or plan) that connects empirical data with the initial research questions and conclusions (Yin, 2003). It

is a logical model of proof that enables us to draw inferences concerning causal relations among variables under review (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992 as cited in Yin, 2002). Its components are study questions, its propositions, unit of analysis, logic linking data to propositions and criteria of interpreting findings. The study questions included, what are the determinants of ULUS? What is the influence and outcomes of each determinant? what is the key determinant of ULUS? and what strategies can streamline the ULUS process?

To isolate the key determinant of ULUS, the study used four (4) null hypotheses to test the influence of spatial policy and global capital on ULUS. Spatial policy was a latent variable comprising planning decisions, land tenure and public investment in infrastructure. The data was obtained from a survey of sixty-eight (68) properties in Upper Hill using the plot as the unit of analysis. The null hypotheses included: Ho1: Planning decisions do not have an influence on ULUS: Ho2: Land tenure does not have an influence on ULUS: Ho3: Public investment in infrastructure does not have an influence on ULUS: Ho4: Global capital does not have an influence on ULUS.

T-student test distribution using two variables assuming both equal and unequal variances was used. Null hypothesis (Ho) was rejected or accepted depending on the value of t Statistics in relation to the value of t Critical.

The researcher developed a base-map showing the cadaster of Upper Hill adopted from Survey of Kenya and counted manually the population plots in the area to get five hundred and sixteen (516) plots. This became the sampling frame for Upper Hill. Determination of the representative sample was done using the formula recommended by (Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000) as shown following.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq N}{e^2 (N-1) + Z^2 pq}$$

Where N=Population size, n=sample size, p =Sample population estimated to have characteristic being measured, Assuming- a 95% confidence level of the target population, q =1-p, e=Acceptance error (e=0.05, since estimated error should be 5% of the true value) and Z=The standard normal deviate at the required confidence level=1.96.

$$\text{Therefore, } n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.95 \times (1-0.95) \times 516}{0.05^2} = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.95 \times (1-0.95) \times 516}{0.0025} = 67.2 = 68$$

Systematic sampling was used to select the plots to be observed using the sampling ratio k. This involved using the base map so developed to select a random start and proceeding with selection of every kth element where k was the ratio of sampling frame size N and desired sample n. This ratio was obtained using the formula $k = N/n$. The study area had a population of 516 plots, out of which a sample of 68 plots was selected. The sampling ratio was calculated as approximately 8 ($k = 516/68 = 7.59 = 8$). Every eighth plot was therefore sampled by starting from a random start. This research developed tools such as observation sheets, unstructured interview schedules and semi-structured interview schedules to collect data. The data collection methods were divided into two types namely primary and secondary research methods. To collect secondary data, internet search using google scholar and visits to libraries were undertaken. Unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and observation and photography were used to collect primary data.

Data from literature was grouped into themes as per the variables under study and analysis undertaken to draw lessons and identify variables plus gaps. Relevant statistical data was presented in charts and line graphs. Data from field survey was also grouped into themes and presented using descriptions. Additional data from observation was grouped into themes and used to support the data from the survey. Plates were also used where necessary to support the results of the survey. Hypotheses tests were applied to data sets on ground coverage, private land tenure, public land tenure, adequacy of water and sewer, adequacy of transport services. T-student test distribution using two variables assuming both equal and unequal variances at 95% confidence level and 5% level of significance was used. If the value of t Statistics was greater than the value of t Critical, the null hypothesis (Ho) was rejected meaning the research hypothesis (Ha) was accepted. On the other hand, if the value of t Statistics was less than that of t Critical, then the Ho was accepted, and Ha rejected.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study found that since the Nairobi Metropolitan strategy of 1973 expired, a strategic framework for the city county has not been prepared. The County Government prepared the NIUPLAN in 2014 which should have been preceded by the County Physical and Land Use Development Plan (CPLUDP) but at that time the Physical and Land Use Planning Act of 2019 had not been enacted. To date, there is no evidence of movement towards preparation of CPLUDP, yet it is critical to anchoring all activities of the county, on space.

In the absence of CPLUDP, planning of the urban area has been done on piece meal basis with the sectoral plans for water, sanitation and roads being used as firefighting tools. Upper Hill was planned in 1992 through the Hill Area Zoning and road widening plan prepared by Director of Physical Planning (DPP). This happened after the introduction of SAPs of 1986 and the attendant fiscal cuts in public spending meaning that the road widening was delayed resulting in traffic congestion. An action plan for road widening, was prepared in 2010 and this is what KURA used for upgrading and construction of roads. While upgrading the roads KURA reported facing serious challenges where solutions undertaken to manage traffic congestion in one area often gave rise to traffic challenges in another. It was not until the links to Ngong road and Mbagathi were constructed that the traffic gridlock was overcome. Green Park Terminus was undertaken thereafter in 2020 and has been shelved in 2023, because its implementation resulted in traffic grind rock. Redevelopment in the area is thus happening without a comprehensive plan that would view the area as part of an organic city and not an enclave.

The area has also been governed with outdated standards of 2006 where floor levels, plot coverage and floor ratio had been set at a maximum of 5, 60% and 300% respectively. The study found 1.5% of buildings had 21-25 floors, 30% properties had gone beyond 60% plot coverage, and some had developed up to 700% plot ratio. These standards have been updated in the period 2021/2022 regularizing the existing situation and raising floor levels to 75 across the board.

The study also noted that the activities of the

private investors are not well coordinated since there is no comprehensive plan and strategy for implementation. The County Government of Nairobi, Ministry of Lands, Housing and Public Works, Kenya Urban Roads Authority (KURA), Kenya Power Company (KPC) among others are performing different activities in the area using different policies and legislation. After KURA faced challenges in the area it developed synergies with the DPP, which helped overcome the challenges. The rest of the actors are not well coordinated, and this inadequate synergy had not only resulted in waste of public resources but also left business sectors on their own.

The study observed presence of an incongruent mix of old and new buildings resulting from the presence of both public and private land tenure systems in the area. Redevelopment under the prevailing land tenure where private properties were being redeveloped faster than public land, was giving rise to patchwork pattern of development and incoherent urban scape.

The northern side of Upper Hill had generally retained its old colonial buildings and remained green and leafy as shown in **Figure 1**, However redevelopment in Upper Hill was concentrated between Valley Road and Hospital-Elgon Road where there was ease of access to transport services as shown in **Figure 2**. This was also the area where most of the conflicts such as loose telephone wires and cables, poor street alignment, garbage dumps and overflowing sewer were observed.

In Upper Hill, policy makers have also laid emphasis on economic regeneration and city competitiveness neglecting provision of community facilities, upgrade of utilities like sewer. This has resulted in poor environmental conditions as shown in **Figure 3**.

The hypotheses tests established that the key determinant of ULUS is spatial policy (planning decisions, land tenure and public investment in infrastructure). Hypothesis test on ground coverage, private land tenure, adequacy of water and sewer, adequacy of transport services indicated that the value of t Statistic was greater than the value of t Critical as shown in **Table 1**.

For this reason, the null hypotheses (H₀) were rejected, and the research hypotheses (H_a) were



FIGURE 1
 Green-leafy Upper Hill North with insignificant redevelopment
 Source: Author 2023



FIGURE 2
 Upper Hill South with skyscrapers
 Source: Author, 2023



FIGURE 3
 Overflowing sewer along Mbagathi link
 Source: Author, 2023

accepted. In the case of public land tenure, the value of t Statistic was less than the value of t Critical. The null hypothesis (Ho) that public Land tenure does not have an influence on ULUS was accepted meaning the research hypothesis (Ha) was rejected.

Despite having a 10% footprint in the area, global capital was found to have no influence on ULUS.

TABLE 1

Results of t-Test: Two-sample assuming unequal variances

Variable	t Statistic	t Critical
Ground coverage	9.039209981	1.984467455
Private land tenure	2.991975707	1.977825758
Public Land Tenure	-1.110463342	1.977961264
Adequacy of water and sewer,	5.200453886	1.978098842
Adequacy of transport services	4.16515391	1.977825758
Global Capital	-3.88851	1.983972

Source: Author 2023

The hypothesis test indicated that the value of t Statistic was less than that of t Critical, and therefore null hypothesis Ho: Global capital does not have an influence on ULUS was accepted. This implied that the root cause of the land use conflicts in Upper Hill emanated from spatial policy.

DISCUSSION

The study has established that the constituent variables of spatial policy had an influence on ULUS, hence making it the key determinant of ULUS. This confirms findings from literature that there exist weaknesses in capacity for implementation of policy among the departments charged with built environment as pointed out by the NUDP and NLUP (GOK, National Urban Development Policy, 2016) (GOK, Sessional Paper No 1 of 2017 on National Land Use Policy, 2017). This has translated into failure of the county government to prepare the CPLUDP and update policy guidelines and standards. This has left officers charged with development control with weak tools to undertake their task, meaning they cannot compete against the ingenuity of private developers. In addition, lack of a comprehensive redevelopment plan and implementation strategy has meant that activities of private developers are uncoordinated and brought about patchwork pattern of development. This agrees with literature where lack of a comprehensive redevelopment

plan for property led urban redevelopment driven by private individuals in Hong Kong resulted in uncoordinated, sporadic, and piecemeal or pencil-type developments (Ng 2002). The application of neoliberal policies on existing land tenure where both public and private land obtain, is bringing about two states, the African socialism state and the neoliberal state. While public land remains relatively underdeveloped, redevelopment is concentrated on private land. This is giving rise to an incongruent mix of old and new buildings and incoherent urban scape. This agrees with critiques of neoliberal policies that they often result in negative consequences including uneven spatial development and a landscape of policy failures and stuttering forms of mal regulation (Brenner et al. 2010 as cited in (Peck, 2013).

The study found that public investment in infrastructure had a positive influence on ULUS since redevelopment was mainly concentrated where transport services were available. These services depend on infrastructure provided by the African Socialism State. This conflicts with the neoliberal theory which assumes that capital and citizen must come together in collaboration and partnership with little mediation by formal, state institutions (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004) and that social provisioning and the welfare state is to be vanquished (Smith, 1996; MacLeod, 2002 as cited in (McCarthy, & Prudham, 2004). It however agrees with critiques of the theory, who see it as analogous to a parasite, occupying and drawing energy from its various bodies politic (Peck, 2013), in this case the African Socialism state.

Global capital was found to have no influence on ULUS, and this agreed with findings that its use was insignificant compared to local capital. The state then needs to focus on promoting the collaboration between local capital with citizen by providing tax benefits on building materials. These benefits have already been extended to both local and foreign investors in Konza Technopolis and Tatu City and there is no reason why ordinary Kenyans cannot partake of the same in Upper Hill.

CONCLUSION

Upper Hill was planned in 1992 when hill area zoning and road widening plans were prepared. This

coincided with the SAPs of 1986 and the attendant fiscal cuts in public spending which delayed road widening. Absence of a comprehensive plan and strategy for its redevelopment of Upper Hill and attendant failure to update plans and standards is resulting in land use conflicts. Application of free market, Neoliberal policies on prevailing land tenure system has brought about two different states, the African socialism state and the neoliberal state. This is evidenced by patchwork land use pattern and incongruent mix of old and new buildings. In addition, redevelopment was mainly concentrated where transport services were available, and these services are dependent on infrastructure provided by the African Socialism State. Bridging the gap between the two states will be necessary by releasing land to Public Private Partnerships (PPPs). In addition, local landowners can form cooperatives and be allowed to participate in the PPPs.

Global capital was found to have no influence on ULUS implying that recalibrating the spatial policy is key to reversing the unsustainable outcomes. Key strategies suggested by the study include, developing an integrated ULUS policy, a strategic framework for Nairobi for the next 30-50 years, a growth management and investment strategy to enable land assembly, land readjustment phasing of development and establishment of an URA among others.

The findings can be applied in other areas around Nairobi's CBD such as Kilimani, Kileleshwa which are also experiencing pressure from the CBD. It can also be applied in other urban areas such as Nakuru and Mombasa.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends that the redevelopment in the Upper Hill area should consider a comprehensive plan that is part of the organic city of Nairobi. The different approving and enforcement agents in the planning sector need to be better integrated and coordinated for the proper implementation of the County Physical and Land Use Development Plan. Public land, just as private land, should be redeveloped to create a consistent urbanscape. Development of Upper Hill should also consider providing community and upgrading sewer facilities for better social and environmental conditions for residents.

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