# Chapter 9
# Managing Urban Crime and Insecurity in Zimbabwe

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**Abstract**   This chapter examines the role of urban planning and design in managing crime and insecurity. The chapter further addresses the question: How can urban crime and insecurity be managed through urban planning and design in Zimbabwe's postcolonial era, which is characterised by an exponential urban population increase? Informed by the Defensible Space theory and the theory of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), the study adopted the pragmatist research paradigm and the mixed methods approach with questionnaires, interviews, observations and document analysis as the instruments of data collection. Data was gathered from residents of Hatcliffe suburb in Harare, which is among the neighbourhoods characterised by a high prevalence of crime, with the help of key informants to get insight into the types and nature of crimes and the role of urban planning and design in managing crime and insecurity. The key findings were that crime is prevalent in certain spots in the neighbourhood that provide conducive environments for crime to occur, which then increases insecurity. The recommendations are that disciplines for urban planning and design should play a more central role in the management of places to make them safer and less conducive to criminal activities.

**Keywords** Crime · Crime prevention · Urban planning · Urban design · Urban · Insecurity

## 9.1   Introduction

Cities are increasingly becoming vulnerable to various threats, including urban crimes and insecurity. The high incidence of these threats and their impact on cities have raised debates about approaches for crime prevention and crime reduction (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2008). The broadening perception of urban crime and insecurity has revealed that several strategies can be used to prevent crime and reduce insecurity, in addition to traditional approaches used by the police

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force (Armitage 2013; Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). This realisation has witnessed the adoption of urban planning and design approaches to stem the crime menace and reduce insecurities (Crowe and Fennelly 2013).

Crime is understood as a defilement of general societal rules of behaviour in terms of the provisions of criminal law, which replicates public opinion, traditional standards and morals as well as the viewpoint of people presently holding public and political power (Schiller et al. 2010, cited in Haider and Iamtrakul 2018). Crime can take many forms that can be physical or psychological with resultant effects of compromised human dignity and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and violence (Gimode 2005). The effects include the erosion of the quality of life, breeding insecurity, reduction in economic growth and long-lasting negative social impacts (Gimode 2005; World Bank 2011). Crime is, however, a very complex phenomenon that differs across places, cultures and over time (Ghani 2017). This is supported by Gimode (2005) who argued that crime is an index of changing times which symbolises tensions and problems of social, economic and political life.

Crime in cities has been on the rise globally, although not uniformly. While crime is on the increase in some cities across the globe, others are experiencing a decline. For example, Shamsuddin and Hussin (2013, cited in Ghani 2017), reported that urban crime in Malaysia has increased by more than 300% since 1991. On the other hand, Francis (2003) reported that violent crime in New York declined by 56%, better than the national average of a 28% decline. In Africa, urban crime is on the increase. In Nigeria, property crimes and crimes against persons have increased from 90,156 in 2008 to 98,378 in 2009 and from 35,109 in 2008 to 38,378 in 2009, respectively (Ghani 2017). In South Africa, Cape Town has seen an increase of 40% in murder rates between 2011 and 2012 and also between 2015 and 2016 (Ngobese et al. 2017).

Cities in Zimbabwe are no exception to the issues of crime and insecurity as mentioned. Following independence in 1980, people migrated to the major cities in search of employment. This led to an exponential increase in the urban population in the postcolonial cities of Zimbabwe. The population increase was not accompanied by a proportional increase in employment opportunities, housing provision and other crucial urban services. Harare is experiencing a massive in-migration of people that is uncontrolled as the incoming migrants have the right to the city. However, most of the migrants are not employed; consequently contributing to the increase in unemployment and number of poor people in the city. In most cases, these people will have restricted access to employment opportunities and basic services such as water and health care (Bandauko and Mandisvika 2015). They also have restricted access to land for housing, prompting them to settle at the edge of the city where land is either cheap to acquire or free. As alluded by Chirisa et al. (2016), Elfversson and Höglund (2019), Gimode (2005) and Meth (2017), high levels of poverty, unemployment and increased inequalities and access to facilities are some of the causes of urban crime. On the other hand, politics plays a significant role in perpetuating and sanitising crime in urban areas in the postcolonial Harare. Perpetrators of crime often hide behind political parties while committing crimes, whereas the victims fear to report or take action against the perpetrators.

Studies conducted on urban crime in Zimbabwe have successfully examined the causes of urban crime and policy options for addressing urban crime (Chirisa et al. 2016; Matamanda and Chirisa 2014; Nyabvedzi and Chirisa 2012). However, the focus of these studies was generalised to cities or in some medium-density suburbs. In light of the view that urban crime is more prevalent in old high-density neighbourhoods, areas with high population concentration and high incidences of poverty and unemployment (Cabrera-Barona et al. 2019; Cahill 2004; Kinney et al. 2008; Konkel et al. 2019; Ogneva-Himmelberger et al. 2019; Weatherburn et al. 1999), it is important to establish the characteristics of urban crime in emerging high-density neighbourhoods and examine how urban planning and design can be used to address crime. If urban crimes are not controlled, it will lead to perpetual fear among residents, disruption of livelihoods, loss of property and increased costs of security for residents and ultimately deterioration of quality of life (Osmana et al. 2015; UN-Habitat 2007). Therefore, this study sought to inform the practice of urban planning and design on how to reduce crime levels and increase safety in residential neighbourhoods.

The following section presents and discusses the conceptual framework of the chapter. This will be followed by a review of literature on urban crime, urban planning and design. The theoretical framework that informs the study follows the literature review section, followed by the methodology that was adopted in the study in Sect. 9.5. The results of the study are presented in Sect. 9.6, which is then followed by a discussion of the findings and finally the conclusion and recommendations.

## 9.2 Conceptual Framework

Urban security refers to the unavailability of danger with regard to criminality and the subjective awareness of protection and a sense of safety. On the other hand, urban insecurity is the existence of danger due to the threat of criminality and an emotional sense of being unprotected and unsafe. The major threat to urban security is an urban crime, which is understood as a defilement of general societal rules of behaviour in terms of the provisions of criminal law, which replicates public opinion, traditional standards and morals as well as the viewpoint of people presently holding public and political power. Schiller et al. (2010, cited in Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018) also defined crime as acts or omissions forbidden by law that can be punished by imprisonment and/or a fine. Crime is, however, a very complex phenomenon that further differs across cultures and across time.

Figure 9.1 shows a diagrammatic presentation of the conceptual framework. The diagram shows the relationship between urban crime, the causes of urban crime, the negative impacts of crime as well as the strategies that have been adopted and that have been recommended to address urban crime. It also shows how urban planning and design can be useful in addressing urban crime.

Urban crime and insecurity are problems that need to be controlled because they have adverse social, economic and environmental impacts on cities (Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018; UN-Habitat 2007). The **negative**
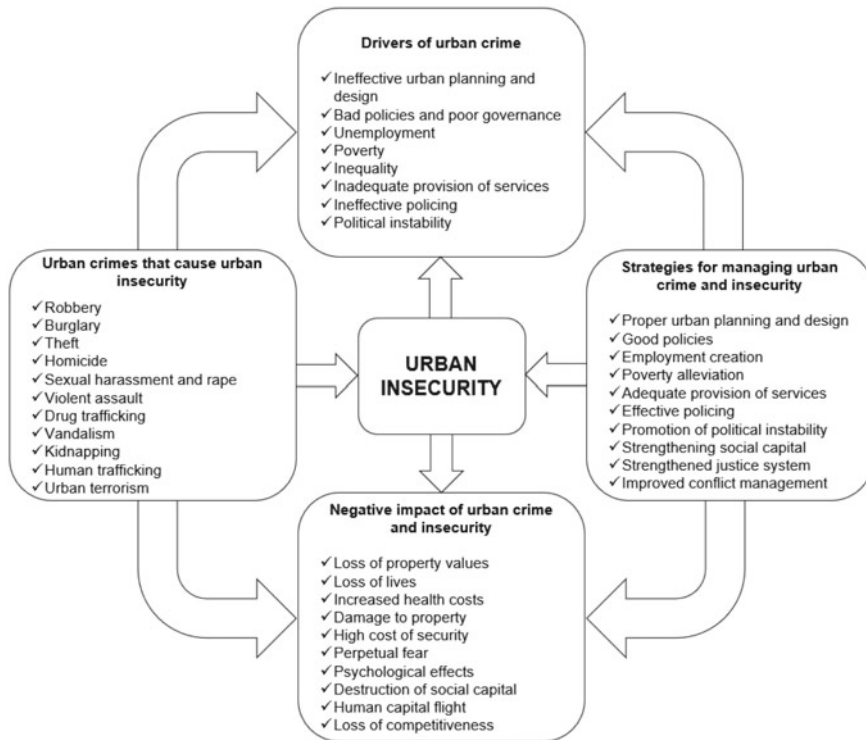
**Fig. 9.1** Conceptual framework: The role of urban planning and design in managing urban crime and insecurity (Author's own compilation, 2020)

**impact of urban crime and insecurity** includes loss of property values, loss of lives, increased health costs, damage to property, high cost of security, perpetual fear, psychological effects, destruction of social capital, human capital flight and loss of urban competitiveness. The ultimate outcomes of urban crime and insecurity are urban decay and the loss of quality of life. Thus, urban crime and insecurity are a threat to sustainable urban development (Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). To this end, these twin problems are a cause for concern to governments and urban managers because they undermine the function and existence of cities and hence need to be controlled.

Among some of the **urban crimes that cause urban insecurity** are robbery, burglary, theft, homicide, sexual harassment and rape, violence, drug trafficking, vandalism, kidnapping, human trafficking and urban terrorism. Several factors contribute to urban crimes, thereby comprising security in cities. The **drivers of urban crime** include ineffective urban planning and design, bad policies and poor governance, unemployment, poverty, inequality, inadequate provision of services, ineffective policing and political instability. For instance, a recent study by Gardini (2020) showed the interplay between urban crime and insecurity in Madagascar, and

various drivers such as unemployment, poverty, inequality, inadequate provision of urban services and political instability in Antananarivo. Furthermore, in Mutare, Zimbabwe, the severe water shortage and rationing is forcing residents, mainly women and children, to fetch water at night, thereby exposing them to criminals (Ranga 2016). This vulnerability to criminality is worsened by the lack of public lighting in cities.

There is a connection between the planning, designing and use of space and the opportunity for criminal activities. A literature assessment on hotspots of crime and patterns showed that high urban crime is associated with certain urban environments (Chiodi 2016; Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). This means that criminals capitalise on opportunities presented by inherent flaws in the poorly planned and designed urban spaces (Armitage 2013; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). Thus, poor planning and design increase the vulnerability of urbanites and properties to perpetrators of crime.

There are several **strategies for managing urban crime and insecurity**, such as proactive and reactive approaches to the management of urban crimes and insecurity in cities that are linked to the tackling of drivers of crimes (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2007). These crime and insecurity problems can be partly and effectively addressed through proper planning and designing of neighbourhoods by including physical measures that reduce the incidences of crime and improve security. Figure 9.1 further shows urban planning and design as one of the key strategies for promoting crime prevention and enhancing urban security. Urban planning and design are public tools for guiding proper development in cities to create safe and secure urban environments. In this case, proper urban planning and design, crime prevention ideas and strategies can be applied to create a safe built environment that can lead to a reduction in the occurrence of crimes, thereby enhancing security and the quality of life (Chiodi 2016). These crime prevention ideas and strategies are operationalised through incorporating them in planning and building guidelines, urban policies and traffic regulations which are applied in shaping new development areas and also in improving existing problematic crime-prone areas (Armitage 2013; Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013).

The effectiveness of the planning and designing of crime prevention ideas and strategies in managing crimes and security is affected by several challenges. These challenges can be addressed by integrating planning and design crime prevention strategies with other strategies depending on the setting (Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). Additionally, the effectiveness of urban planning and design is also enhanced by stakeholder participation and collaboration (Chiodi 2016), proper situational analysis of the crime and security situation, as well as the institutionalisation of crime prevention in local authorities and capacity building of various agencies involved in crime prevention (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2007). Despite the challenges faced in improving the physical environment in crime prevention, urban planning and design strategies remain some of the most effective and less expensive options for reducing urban crime and enhancing security in the long term.

## 9.3 Literature Review

The global urban population is currently greater than the entire world population. Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America and Oceania have all become highly urbanised with more than 70% of their total populations living in cities since 2005. It is expected that by 2030, 50% of the populations of Africa and Asia will be living in urban areas. Urban areas in developing countries are expected to be the sites of nearly all future population growth worldwide. This has resulted in the development of megacities with high populations. While many megacities are engines for economic growth and centres of diversity and change, they also pose formidable challenges for local authorities in ensuring the safety and security of their citizens and the quality of the citizens' lives (Shaw and Carli 2011).

Rapid urbanisation, especially in developing countries, is one of the engines of fast-growing economies (Macaluso and Briscoe 2014). Some of the influences that are recognised as the causes of crime in urban areas include unemployment, city density as a result of urbanisation, as well as inequality. Countless researchers have also explored the relationship between crime and poverty. There is a general supposition that the urban poor are the main perpetrators for and victims of crime. Besides the poverty argument, other scholars also argued that crime is linked to inequality and exemption from the law of other societal groups (Adams 2014; Justino 2009; Macaluso and Briscoe 2014; Muggah 2012). Various income and social inequalities, particularly those affecting specific cultural and racial groups, often result in higher rates of violent crime, as well as oppressive policing in post-conflict surroundings (Muggah 2012).

Activities that are legal in one country are sometimes illegal in others. Crime is, therefore, multifactorial because the causes, drivers, risks and protective factors are generally locality-specific and influenced by historical, political, cultural and socio-economic conditions (Haider and Iamtrakul 2018). Vanderschueren (2013) concurred that the problem of city crime has multiple causes, and it originates from diverse variables depending on each specific urban setting. It is the communal set-up and the organisational and historical dimension of each city that explain the variation of crime rates in a specific period. Crime is part of urban life and it has become a serious concern for law enforcement agencies, local government as well as urbanites since pre-industrial society to this day. Urban security, on the other hand, is defined as the unavailability of danger with regard to criminality, and the subjective awareness of protection today depends on numerous organisational and local aspects (Vanderschueren 2013). The world is urbanising at alarming rates, with more than half of the world's population now living in urban areas, and this has become one of the greatest aspects affecting the security of cities. The complexity of crime increases as cities continue to expand and become globalised. This therefore requires both the local governments and other local actors such as civil society to develop new strategies for security in the new urban set-ups as the urban areas expand (Vanderschueren 2013).

Urban crime is unevenly distributed and experienced in cities, whether it is drug trafficking, human trafficking, homicide, violent assault, rape, robbery, hijacking and kidnapping or gang-related armed violence. It affects safety in homes, schools, commercial establishments, public transport, sports and other public venues. Fear of crime affects people's lives in significant ways and increases inequalities. Concern about crime can drive wealthier populations out of city centres into segregated and enclosed private suburbs, creating "fortified enclaves for home, leisure and work" (Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018; see also Shaw and Carli 2011). In most megacities, high levels of inequality and accelerated privatisation of security and public spaces are often a feature of high-crime societies. Gated communities and semi-public spaces, increasing use of technological security such as closed-circuit television, and the proliferation of private security guards, are all common reactions and features of high-crime cities (Shaw and Carli 2011; UN-Habitat 2008). It is therefore important to emphasise that the marginalised urban poor are excessively the victims of the three threats to safety and security observed in the Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 which constitute crime and violence, insecurity of tenure and natural and human-made tragedies (UN-Habitat 2007). This is related to the rapid rate of urbanisation and the consequential urbanisation of poverty. Rapid urban development intensifies the pressure on the deprived urbanites to earn an income and to acquire acceptable shelter, basic infrastructure and vital social amenities, such as health care and education (UN-Habitat 2008).

Most important to note is that crime in many cities, based on the way it is often publicly reported and discussed, mainly affects the wealthier residents. However, in reality, it affects the lives of the most disadvantaged, especially those living in slums and informal settlements, much more than the wealthier groups (Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). Slum-dwellers are among the most vulnerable as they are less likely to be able to secure their homes and property and often have poor police oversight or access to services. Furthermore, because they have fewer resources, any loss or disruption is more costly to them (Shaw and Carli 2011). Access to safety, security and justice is often unequally distributed in cities. Responses to urban crime have tended to be reactive and repressive. There has also been an increasing tendency in countries in some regions to criminalise behaviour that is considered as uncivilised or anti-social and to use exclusionary laws and regulations and other measures to exclude certain segments of the population and privatise public space. These practices tend to exclude those who appear to be outsiders. This is in contrast to prevention strategies, which are aimed at increasing safety and security through inclusion and community mobilisation, better services and transport and the provision of green and public spaces as opposed to "shutting people out" (Marzbali et al. 2011).

The nature of urban development that has been taking place mainly in developing countries, indicates an overwhelming sprawl that leads to disjointed cities with low levels of social unity, with unequal access to social and urban services, and with diverse standards and progressions of socialisation among the youth. Furthermore, the migration process involves the cohabitation of various cultures and beliefs within the metropolises and highlights the challenge of handling these differences and the conflicts they incite. Therefore, the types of criminality vary from city to city, reaching

in some cases to unruly and ungovernable neighbourhoods (Vanderschueren 2013). Spatial manifestations of violence and crime in cities are thus particularly imperative, with the role of spatial design in endorsing crime and insecurity now widely recognised. Cities and their fringes, where many of the urban underprivileged reside, often comprise dangerous spaces that reflect poor planning and poor infrastructure and where rape, mugging and violent crime occur. Unsafe spaces in the periphery also include public transport, and secluded or unlit spaces such as dark paths and lanes, isolated bus stops or deserted public toilets. The need to travel long distances to work in the early hours of the morning or very late at night also intensify the existing spatial risks.

While the foregoing discussion indicated various factors that contribute to urban crime and insecurity, it is also important to address the spatial consequences of the phenomenon of the crime itself. Increasingly, urban space is being reorganised in response to crime and security by incorporating crime prevention ideas and strategies in planning and building guidelines as well as urban policies (Moser 2004; Vanderschueren 2013). This chapter, therefore, brings out the fact that urban design is important for crime prevention because poorly designed and managed built environments can create opportunities for crime and threaten people's safety. Urban design, which is the practice of shaping the built environment, including buildings, streets, public spaces and neighbourhoods, to improve the liveability of cities and towns, when done well, can provide social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits.

## 9.4 Theories Underpinning the Study

The Defensible Space theory and the CPTED theory inform this study. The rationale for the theories is hinged on the nature of the study, which sought to understand how crime and insecurity in cities can be managed through design. The Defensible Space theory by Newman (1996) provides comprehensive coverage of residential environments which constrains crime through the creation of physical environments that are self-defensive. The theory identifies four aspects that are critical to the creation of defensible spaces, namely territorial definition of space, maximisation of natural surveillance, non-stigmatising housing designs and location of housing estates in safe urban environments. The territorial definition involves using the physical elements to create a sense of belonging among communities (Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013). Newman (1996) asserted that crime can be prevented when each space in an area is owned and is cared for by the parties responsible. Thus, according to the Defensible Space theory, the physical design of neighbourhoods constrain surveillance and social control, for example, tall buildings and buildings that face inwards, rather than the streets as well as buildings with many corridors and exits; anonymous open spaces provide suitable environments for criminal activities (Gilling 1997). This implies that, areas with high-rise buildings tend to have more crimes as compared to those with low-rise buildings. Although the theory faces criticisms due to its overemphasis on the physical design of housing (Meth 2017; National Crime Prevention Council

2003), it explains how environmental design can be used to mitigate crime and insecurity. In this study, the theory plays a critical role in explaining and justifying the role of design in managing crime in cities at a neighbourhood scale and a building scale.

CPTED is based on the argument that most crime is associated with opportunities that environmental design creates; hence, user behaviour can be influenced through the reduction of opportunities for crime events by manipulating the built environment (Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013). Robinson (1999, cited in Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013) explained that urban design, the design of streets, parks and terminals reduce opportunities for criminals to commit crimes, thereby preventing crime. The idea behind the CPTED is that through design, defensive environments can be created by employing design features that discourage crime and encourage proper use of the environment. Like the Defensible Theory, the CPTED theory focuses on design at the building scale through target hardening and surveillance as well as at community or neighbourhood level through the principle of territoriality. However, Meth (2017) argued that target hardening is less effective in deterring than housing layout in the reduction of crime and that the principle of territoriality is less effective in places where land rights are limited, since the principle depends on the rules, practices of possession and the physical expression of property ownership. Similarly, the theory does not address factors such as politics, poverty and police capacity in shaping crime; rather, it focuses on housing materiality and the neighbourhood. Despite the aforementioned shortfalls, the theory goes a long way in explaining how environmental design can be used for designing out crime in cities. Hence, the theory is both explanatory and prescriptive in the context of this study, making is suitable when combined with the Defensible Space theory.

## 9.5 Methodology

The purpose of the research is to examine the role that urban planning and design can play in the management of crime in emerging high-density low-income residential areas. To realise this aim, an exploratory approach and a mixed methods research methodology were adopted. A sample size of 80 participants was systematically selected from the four sections of Hatcliffe that comprise Old Hatcliffe, New Hatcliffe, cooperative areas and consortium areas. Three focus group interviews were conducted with the youths in the study area, the selection of which was through snowballing. Targeting the youth for their input was necessitated by the fact that the youths are major perpetrators and victims of crime in most cases. For example, McCord et al. (2001) noted that ages between 10 and 17 accounted for 17.7%, or about 2.6 million arrests in America, while ages between 10 and 17 accounted for 11% of the population; 32% of all arrests for property index crimes were arrests of ages 10 to 17. Focus group interviews provided an in-depth understanding of experiences of the youths with crime and insecurity, types of crime as well as the description of the major crime spots. Questionnaires, focus group and

face-to-face interviews, were used to collect primary data from the residents, youths and key informants, respectively, during the study period. Observations were also used to collect data on the location and characteristics of the places where crime mostly occurs within the study area. Questionnaires were distributed to residents to collect both qualitative and quantitative data; hence, closed-ended and open-ended questions were used. Key informant interviews were conducted with key informants who were purposively selected from government departments and the municipality. Data was analysed through descriptive statistics and thematic narratives. Consent was sought before data collection and high levels of confidentiality of information from participants were ensured.

## 9.6   Results

This section presents the study findings. The first part provides an overview of the major types of crime in Hatcliffe, the areas in which these criminal activities occur and the characteristics of these areas. This is meant to examine the relationship between the crime spots, crimes and urban planning and design that will provide the basis for recommendations on the planning and design approaches that can be adopted to address crime and insecurity.

Figure 9.2 presents the types of crimes that are common in Hatcliffe. Drug abuse is the most common type of crime in the study area as indicated by 20% of the respondents. This is followed by robbery and theft with 21% and 16%, respectively. Physical violence, sexual abuse and murder are some of the most prevalent crimes in Hatcliffe. These crimes are concentrated in certain hotspot areas as shown in Fig. 9.3.

Drug abuse is common in youths aged between 15 and 35 years of age. A considerable number of young people, both boys and girls, takes intoxicating, drugs although data from the interviews indicated that males are dominant. The causes of drug
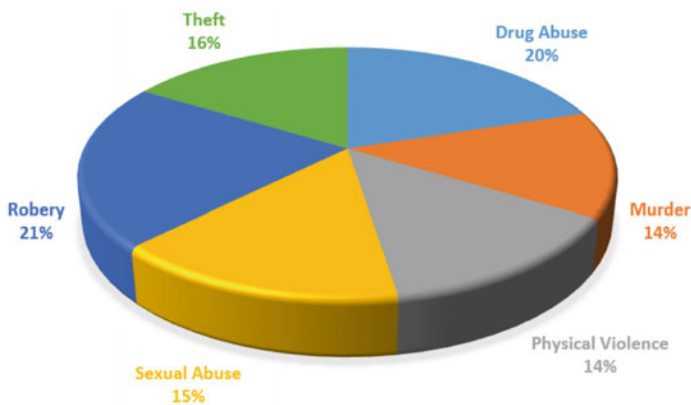


**Fig. 9.2**  Type of crimes in Hatcliffe (Research findings 2020)

**Fig. 9.3** Crime hotspot areas in Hatcliffe (Research findings 2020)

abuse are linked to stress of unemployment, poverty and peer pressure. Participants also indicated that the presence of drug bases within the ease of reach by the drug abusers, also contributed to the uptake of drugs; hence, the increase in the number of youths abusing drugs. Certain areas are associated with drug abuse in Hatcliffe. These include places surrounding the Takarangana nightclub, Busy Corner, the dam area and some neglected open spaces in the peripheral zones of residential neighbourhoods that are commonly used for drug abuse (Fig. 9.3). However, suppliers of drugs are dotted throughout the residential area and some participants indicated that houses that are used as supply bases for drugs are known. In some cases, the drug abusers take advantage of the darkness during the night where groups of young men gather and take drugs and commit other forms of crime. The impacts of drug abuse include mental destabilisation, dropping out of school and uncouth behaviour.

Robbery is another crime that is high in Hatcliffe, but it is confined to places that are isolated, dark, and with tall grass due to lack of maintenance. The robbers take advantage of the site characteristics to attack and rob unsuspecting people. *Padam* (meaning the dam area), is one of the areas where robbery takes place. This site consists of a dam that is surrounded by an open space that is a buffer zone but is not being maintained. As such, there is generally tall grass, despite the area being used as a shortcut by pedestrians who are then targeted by the robbers. Hatcliffe turn-off is characterised by undeveloped spaces which are road servitudes. The area is also used as a pick-up and drop-off point; hence, during the night when it is dark people are attacked and robbed. The findings revealed that all the areas where robbery activities occur are either isolated, or peripheral, dark during the night or have tall grass and/or

trees that create a suitable environment for robbery. The items that are targeted by robbers include money, cell phones and other valuables. The causes of robbery are mostly lack of employment, poverty and drug abuse in which people are attacked and robbed by drug abusers under the influence of drugs or because of a need to raise money to buy more drugs. In some instances of robberies result in the death or injury of the victims.

The research findings also revealed that cases of theft are common in crowded areas such as marketplaces and bus termini. The thieves capitalise on the large crowds and steal valuables such as cell phones and money. The places where prostitution takes place are also characterised by darkness during the night and alcoholic and drug abuses. In a way, drug abuse and alcoholism are criminal activities that occur at places of similar characteristics. Theft, like other crimes, is also caused by poverty and high unemployment levels. For instance, theft is rampant among child-headed families where children sometimes resort to these crimes to raise money for the upkeeping of their families.

Additionally, physical violence and sexual abuse are some of the crimes that occur in Hatcliffe. Violence occurs in places where alcohol and drugs are abused, and people usually fight when they are under the influence of alcohol. Injuries and deaths are some of the resultant effects of violence. The research revealed that cases of sexual abuse and harassment are common at bus termini, nightclubs, home industry area, marketplaces and drug bases. The victims of sexual abuse and harassment are mostly young women. In some cases, the abuse goes beyond indecent assault and shouting derogatory words to rape. The effect of physical violence and sexual harassments are fear and insecurity to the victims.

Furthermore, murder is another crime that occurs in the study area. Cases of dead bodies being found dumped are common in the study area. The murder cases usually take place in hotspots for robbery and physical violence. Most murders were found to be the result of robberies and physical violence emanating from disagreements in elicit deals related to drug dealing and prostitution.

The common issues about crimes in Hatcliffe are that they occur in places with similar physical characteristics that make them suitable for such crimes to be committed. According to the research findings, the places where most criminal activities occur in Hatcliffe are open spaces such as buffers and servitudes that are not maintained, places that are not illuminated at night, isolated and peripheral areas, as well as places where informal activities take place. The poor management and maintenance of these areas by the Harare City Council make them fertile grounds and traps for crime victims. The existence of some of these areas is caused by poor planning and design that results in the creation of incidental spaces that have no one to manage. Besides that, most crimes also occur in busy public places such as markets, termini and entertainment areas where the criminals take advantage of overcrowding conditions to pounce on their victims.

The standards that guide the planning and design of residential neighbourhoods are silent on how places such as buffers and servitudes should be managed. The Layout Design Manual (Government of Zimbabwe 1996) and Circular 70 of 2004 (Government of Zimbabwe 2004), which are the key manuals for the design of

residential places, emphasise the standards in terms of sizes of stands, the mix of land uses required in residential areas, the road network and other infrastructural requirements. In other words, these two documents assume that designing and planning of residential places is a means to an end; the end being the creation of the residential environment. The management and maintenance of the environments are not included. Zoning makes it difficult to use the buffers and servitudes for other purposes, making it difficult to dedicate the open spaces to other uses. The Urban Councils Act empowers local authorities to maintain and manage places within their jurisdiction, but is also silent on what must be done when the places are not being maintained and managed.

## 9.7  Discussion

The study showed that urban crime is associated with certain physical environmental conditions. For instance, dark places, unmaintained open spaces with tall grass and vegetation, drug bases, isolated and peripheral places and public places such as bus termini, are hotspots for crimes. The characteristics of the places in which most crimes take place show that the physical environment, which is a product of urban planning and design, determines the types and nature of activities that take place in a given area. In the case of this study, the physical environment creates opportunities for crime to be committed because of the characteristics that include darkness and peripheral locations that all limit surveillance. Proper urban planning and design are activities that promote functionality, safety, orderly development and promoting economic activities. Crime can be eliminated or reduced by creating environments that are devoid of unmaintained open spaces, dark and blind spots. This confirms the arguments put forward by the Defensible Space theory. It, therefore, entails that through proper planning and designing, crime can be reduced, safety should be ensured and insecurity and fear reduced. Thus, addressing the causes of crime is also another way of managing crime in urban areas.

Another way of managing urban crime is through addressing poverty and unemployment issues that are the major causes of crime. These can be addressed through urban planning and design by providing spaces for formal economic activities in places that are safe. Tapping on the rising informal activities in the study area to create a formal economic system that recognises small actors provides opportunities for employment and subsequently reducing poverty levels.

The manual and frameworks used in guiding the design and planning of residential places in Zimbabwe are good at ensuring that neighbourhoods are functional, safe and environmentally friendly. However, there are gaps in terms of enforcing the implementation of the designs and the extent to which the manual and frameworks encourage maintenance of places made through design after the implementation of the design. This makes design and planning in Zimbabwe partial in that it focuses on producing plans and designs as products of the exercises of planning and designing

instead of extending to the management and maintenance of spaces to ensure sustainability. This might explain why there are spaces that are exploited by criminals and therefore compromising security in residential areas.

## 9.8    Conclusion and Recommendations

The study concludes that crime in urban areas occurs because there are physical environments that are suitable for the occurrence of crime. Dark places, isolated and peripheral areas, and unmaintained open spaces are potential hotspots for crime. Thus, eliminating the characteristic features of the crime hotspots through proper planning and urban design will reduce the levels of crime in high-density residential areas.

It is also concluded that poverty and unemployment are some of the causes of crime as poor and unemployed people seek to make ends meet. In a way, the absence of adequate working spaces in residential places where people can carry out economic activities will address unemployment and poverty. This is also a design matter as the provision of spaces for economic activities in an inclusive manner is a principle of planning and designing residential settlements.

The study also concluded that insecurity and fear increase when levels of crime are high. To ensure that residents are secure and feel safe, residential planning and designing should result in the production of spaces that discourage crime. Such spaces include well-illuminated open spaces, well-maintained open spaces, including buffers and servitudes, and functional and strategically located bus termini.

In light of the conclusions above, the study recommends that the planning and designing of residential settlements should be used as one of the strategies to manage urban crime and lower insecurities. This entails adopting urban planning and design in its totality, that is, as processes that lead to the production of designs and plans and as processes to manage the settlements and the places therein; specifically, the concept of CPTED.

It is also recommended that the planning and design of residential places should be guided by the principles of mixed uses. Mixing uses allow for the integration of commercial and industrial activities that create employment opportunities to neighbourhoods. This will go a long way in addressing poverty and unemployment that are the main drivers of crime in the study area.

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