# Chapter 2: Urban Design and Sense of Community: A Theoretical Review

This chapter chapter critically reviews existing literature on the issue of sense of community and urban design with a sense to identify a research gap or lacunae in the existing canon. It identifies the conceptual grids or and the theoretical framework in which the study is hinged. The concepts of urban design and sense of community are conceptualised in this chapter. From conceptualising the key concepts, the chapter identifies the loop holes in the existing urban design standards used in Zimbabwe. The chapter moves onto the study areas, the Great Zimbabwe and the Ndebele state giving background information.

The study is premised on the idea that "sense of community" that existed in the pre-colonial era is different from the one that exists in current Zimbabwean cities. Colonisation brought about design standards that replaced Zimbabwean cities that existed with a new type of cities that replicated the British life style. The design standards and approaches by the British have had a negative effect on the level of interaction in Zimbabwe.

Sense of community is evidenced by four basic principles as raised by Macmillan and Chavis (1986) which include the feeling of being a member of a group, shared emotional connection, degree of influence in community, responsibility and integration and fulfilment of one's needs. This sense is influenced by various aspects that include culture, policy, design, and location. Urban planning before the colonisation of Zimbabwe was done with aspects that fostered the sense of community. However, the coming of the colonial masters brought about a different kind of community that did not present the Zimbabwean sense of community. Issues like restrictions and urban ordinances and neo-liberal focus reduced the sense of belonging to the Zimbabwean people creating a new image of Zimbabwean cities (Forsyth, 2015). This however, led to the development of exclusive cities that reduced the sense of community. This presents a need for one to borrow concepts from pre-colonial Zimbabwean communities and merge them with certain aspects of current communities and develop a city with a sustainable Zimbabwean sense of community. Figure 2.1 is a conceptual framework presenting the complexities and inter linkages between sense of community, pre-colonial cities, current cities and the route to development of a city with a sustainable sense of community.'
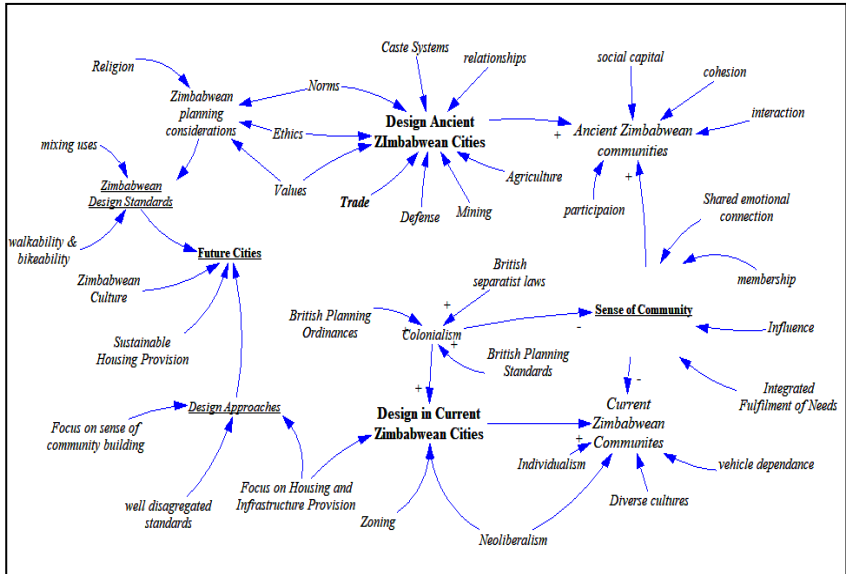
Figure 2. 1: *Conceptual framework* (Author, 2019)

The topic of sense of community in urban design has been discussed in various theoretical cycles. Sociologists, geographers, psychologists and urban designers have propounded various design theories and models in trying to understand human behaviour and its attribute to the society. The base theory behind sense of community in design is Environmental Determinism. Fredrick Ratzel propounded this theory in the 20th Century. The theory suggested that the climate of any particular environment stimulated the achievement, economic growth and efficiency of a community. This theory was later criticised by the theory of Environmental Possibilism that noted that through technology everything can change (Letterthwaite, 1966). Environmental Determinism theory justifies how humans are influenced by their surroundings. While the theory looked at how climate was linked to the level of hard work, it can be used to explain how the layout of community can be linked to interaction. As a result of the environment that one is in, one's level of hard work or laziness can be the determinant of one's community (Lazy people come from hot and coastal areas were one can get a banana while sleeping under a tree or one is hard working therefore comes from cold and rugged terrains that needs hard working people for survival). Being applied in this context, Frellich (1967) further developed the theory of architectural determinism which focuses more on how the design of a community influences the behaviour of human beings.

Architectural Determinism borrows its principles from the Environmental Determinism theory and this theory argues that the architecture design of an area determines the behaviour of the community (Frellich, 1967). Architectural Determinism explains that the design of buildings and the general form of an areas determines the behaviour of the inhabitants of the area. The relationships and social networks of an area are therefore, influenced by the architectural form of the area. This is a new urbanist approach with scholars like (Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1991, Calthorpe, 1993, Langdon, 1994). Debate however, still exists on the issue of physical space and community creation. Talen (1999) argues that while space influences sense of community, its importance is over played. The argument is that other non-environmental factors can influence sense of community like age, income, and education years in residency (Gans, 1962; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Fischer, 1976; Burkhart, 1981; Glynn, 1981; 1986, Haggery, 1982; Campbell and Lee, 1992; Talen, 1999). From the above theory, sense of community in neighbourhood design is influenced by the design of that neighbourhood and a design can kill or enhance the level of cohesiveness or oneness in a neighbourhood.

Sense of community is one of the most contested terms. There exists a plethora of possible definitions of sense of community. There seem to be no clear definition as there are no clear and measures of sense of community. In the context of urban design, there is a discrepancy between sense of community and neighbourhood characteristics.

Understanding what sense of community in design is entails defining the term community. The word community seem obvious at first glance but is rather complex. It diversifies from simply a group of people to issues including geography, homogeneity (Midgley *et al.*. 2018)). A community can be an area where a group resides, a group with common interests (Talib *et al.*. 2017). In urban design, community is defined in terms of space. McMillan and Chavis (1986) conceptualises this kind of community as a community of place. Community can also be defined in the context of relationship quality (Wagner and Bischoff, 2017). The definition provides a particular attention on individual relationships within a community. Fischer (1982) argues that communities of today are more complex to define with people having to have multiple affiliations with both the people and space. Watts (2000: 37) has described the term community as "an extraordinarily dense social object and … rarely subject to critical scrutiny." This is despite overeat of the term in many contexts.

Amit and Rapport (2002) underscore its ambiguity and variability in applications evoking ranges of meaning, presumptions and images. Gold (2005) argues that the term community can be taken to mean a group of people who have something in common and are actively involved with each other in a benign fashion. In this regard, benevolence and goodwill are the pillars of community (Johnston *et al.*. 2018). Such values have induced Tonnies (1956) to divide the term into two: *Gessellshaft* and *Gemeinschaft* being German words for community. *Gemeinschaft* refers to a society with essential unity of purpose which is usually the hallmark of the identity of traditional rural communities. *Gessellshaft* is civil society being an urban society. The types of communities propounded by Tonnies (1956) defines the types of communities that exists in current rural and urban societies. Gusfield (1975) made a distinction between 'geographical community' and 'relational community'. Geographical community is related to issues of boundary demarcations while relational community signifies societies with strong social bond and interaction (Boyd and Nowell, 2018). Borrowing from Tonnies (1965), Gusfield (1975), and Durkheim (1964) observed and noted that Modern communities now develop around skills, and interests. Various other definitions of the term community exist but all amount to elements of identity, relationships and solidarity (MacMillan and Chavis, 1986). This study defines community as a group of people within the same geographical boundary, wanting to participate in community initiatives and having essential unity for purpose.

"Sense of community" is not easy to define and as ambiguous as the definition of community is, so is the definition of "sense of community". Ahlbrant and Cunningham (1979) underscore that ""sense of community"" is an essential contributor of one's commitment to society and satisfaction with it. The term society has a variant range of definitions (Arronson, 1995). This study defines society borrowing a sociological definition that views society as a group of people living together (Arronson, 1995). Therefore, the term 'society' can be used to mean a village, town, city, province, region or even the world.

Ahlbrant and Cunningham (1979) posits that if one is satisfied with a neighbourhood, they are most likely to contribute and engage in community initiatives. "Sense of community" thus has four elements as propounded by MacMillan and Chavis (1986: 9). The four entail:

Membership – the feeling of belonging to a group and sense of having personal relations.
Influence – the feeling of usefulness, ability to make a difference in a group

Integration and fulfilment of needs – the feeling that one's needs will be satisfied as a benefit of their membership to a group.

Shared emotional connection – commitment and belief that members have similar history, experience, common places and have time together.

Building on the conceptualisation of sense of community by Chavis and McMillan, Chavis (2014) further argued that social community makes it more than just a community and as such creates the sense of community. From these indicators, "sense of community" is a feeling that members belong to a place, matter in decisions of a group and share the faith that the needs of a group member can be met through committing to be together. The definition of sense of community is in a broad context, as such there is need to narrow down to what constitute sense of community in Africa.

Before the coming of western civilisation, the sense of brotherhood and hospitality were some of the fundamental values of the African people (Onyedinma and Kanayo, 2013). The African human relationships were inseparably associated with culture (values and morals) and permeated the whole way of life. Sofala (1982) notes that African cultural value is a wholesome set of human relations that entail respect for elders, feeling of community fellowship, this is reflected through community land tenure and ownership, altruism and hospitality. Onyedinma and Kanayo, (2013) noted that duties like construction of a building for the elderly or the sick was a community responsibility that called for the help of many. To try and explain the importance of African philosophy of community, Ifemesia (1978) notes that interdependence is an essential attribute of African communities as a tree does not form a forest. Thus, the forms of African communities are characterised by empathy and compassion for other humans. Mbiti (1990) notes that for Africans, being human is indicated by one's community. This can be seen by participating in beliefs, festivals and ceremonies that gave the residents sense of belonging. The African communities where based more on obligation rather than rights and one's rights where exercised through carrying out their obligation, this resulted in relationship inter-linkages in the communities, thus rights where enjoyed through relationships (Onyedinma and Kanayo, 2013). The word relationship has been defined by Lussier (2008) as, "human relations are about you and how you g*et al.*ong with your family, friends, co-workers, and everyone else you interact with" (*ibid p. 4*).

To elaborate on the sense of African community, Davidson (1960) quotes an African proverb that runs, "Go the way that many people go, if you go alone, you will have reason to lament" (p.31). This clearly expresses the importance of collective decision making in African communities. He further notes that, in

Africa, the success of a person does not make a town rich. This also makes worthy the African belief that success was based on uniting and making collective success rather than individualism. In expressing the sense of community in Africa, Ifemesia (1976) brought about the importance of dialogue and conversations in Africa as they strengthened human relations. Therefore, through participation in decision making, strong social ties are formed. Biko (1978: 41) observes that, "Our society has always been centered around people. Westerners are often surprised by our capacity to converse not with the goal of reaching a specific conclusion, but simply to enjoy the act of communication itself. Intimacy is not limited to close friends; it extends to an entire group of people who come together, whether through work or residential arrangements. "The statement notes that communication and dialoguing is an essential aspect of the African sense of community.
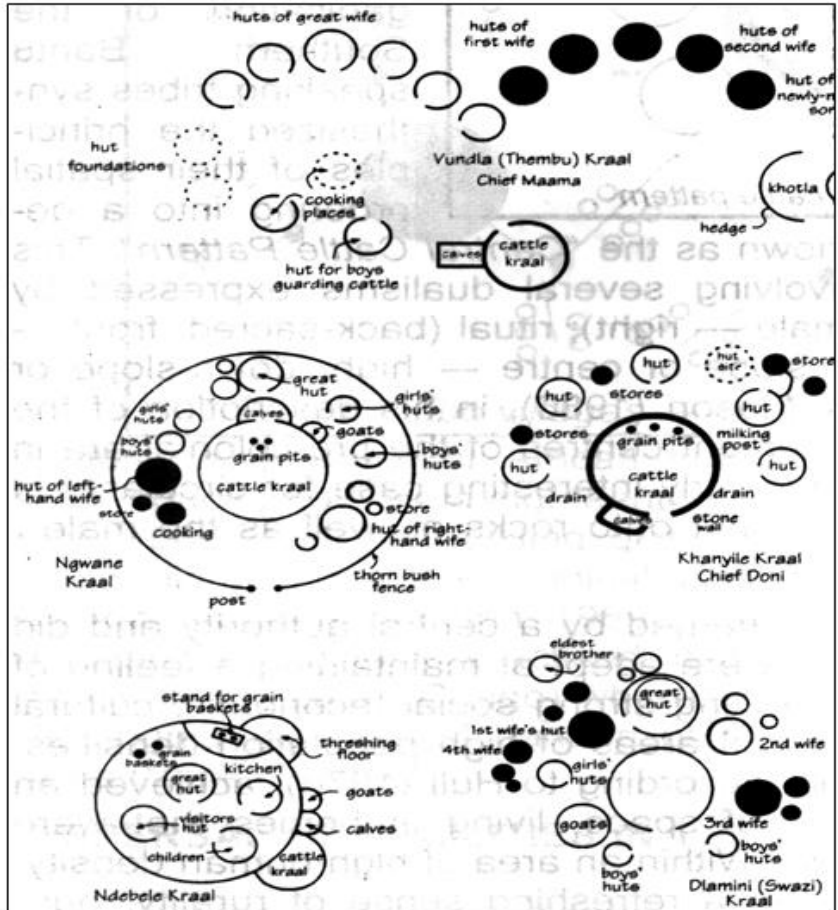
The concept of sense of sense of community in the Zimbabwean community cannot be easily defined since the introduction of western Morden civilisation (Samkange and Samkange, 1980). The word community when brought up in the Zimbabwean community closely relates to unity and solidarity in all initiatives. Survival of one is highly depended on his/her society. Zimbabwean pre-civilisation communities had a central point or *dare* which is a Shona word for court and group decisions were made within. Another binding factor in Zimbabwean and Bantu societies was *Ubuntu in Ndebele /hunhu* in Shona (Anschwanden, 1982). The term '*hunhu'* has been defined by Samkange and Samkange (1980:34) as a philosophy that inspires, permeates and radiates ... regulates our well-planned social and political organisations. The two further note that the term '*unhu/Ubuntu'* could be easily identified but not easily defined. The word emanates from the term '*munhu'* which is Shona for a person. There exists a phrase in Shona that says, "*kuti unzi munhu vanhu"* meaning for one to be a person one should be from a certain community.

Samkange and Samkange (1980) in explaining the issue of sense of community through *hunhu*, notes that the element of '*hunhu'* differentiates whites from blacks provides an example of how the Shona people state that "there is a person walking with a white man." (*hona munhu uyu arikufamba nomurungu.*). But is a white man not a person? The African community views the humanness as being a function of one's contact with one another through perseverance, empathy, helping one another, and solidarity among blacks (Samkange and Samkange, 1980:80). Thus, in a Shona community, unity was what made people community. Therefore, a white man does not possess *hunhu* and therefore, cannot be termed '*munhu'*. A paradox then comes into play when a person is describing as *munhu*

asiri munhu (a person who is not worthy) (Menkiti, 1984:122). Thus, for one to be a person in the Zimbabwean culture, they have to undergo an initiation of societal norms and values. Samkange and Samkange (1980) then points out that the concept of humanity in Zimbabwe was linked with kindness, courtesy, consideration and friendliness between the people, one's behaviour in a community. Therefore, from this discussion, sense of community in Zimbabwean society was centred on *hunhu* which connects strong social relations, respect and unity.

Conceptualising sense of community leads to the idea that in every community there are certain norms and values that ensure a manageable sense of social order (Talo *et al.*. 2014, Neal and Neal, 2014). Africa as a continent is facing various exogenous and endogenous forces that drive the reshaping of a community and threatening the manageability of the continent. The forces include colonisation and colonial ideologies, globalisation, civil wars, social exclusions, poverty, urbanisation among others (Talo *et al.*. 2014). Having all the forces acting against the sense of community in Africa becomes a very vulnerable component of the African community. Two cultures or senses of community exist, the first being the artificial which is created due to an external force. One becomes what he needs to be for him/her to survive in the new community. The second, includes the traditional sense of community. In explaining the significance of sense of community sustenance, Ekeh (1980) argues that the 'self' syndrome generated from the artificial sense of community is responsible for the poverty in Africa.

The African communities are ones with an almost similar design in terms of their settlements particularly those termed as urban (Amankwah-Ayeh, 1996). Designing and culture in Africa has always been hand in glove with each other. The African leaders had a culture of control and power as such everything was designed radiating from the focal point of control (Hull, 1976). As such most African centres had a circular design and the leader would stay at a powerful point with full control of the masses (Biermann, 1971). This explains the location of the kings' dwellings at the higher grounds in most African settlements. Furthermore, the same concept gravitated into the development of single dwelling units like the homestead that had the *dare* at the focal point of the homestead (Davidson, 1959). *The dare* was where the man seated and made important decisions of the family. The king was powerful in his community so were men in their homesteads (Huffman, 1986). This is evident during Tshaka the Zulu's reign, were the Nguni people were settled in a circular form. Figure 2.2 shows the settlement of the Nguni people.

huts of great wife · huts of first wife · huts of second wife

hut of newly-m son

hut foundations

cooking places

Vundla (Thembu) Kraal
Chief Maama

khotla

cattle kraal

caves

hut for boys guarding cattle

hedge

great hut · girls' hute · calves · goats · boys' huts · grain pits · cattle kraal · store · hut of right-hand wife · girls' huts · boys' huts · hut of left-hand wife · store · cooking · post · thorn bush fence

Ngwane Kraal

hut · store · hut etc · hut · stores · stores · grain pits · hut · drain · cattle kraal · drain · milking post · hut · stone wall · calves

Khanyile Kraal
Chief Doni

stand for grain baskets · threshing floor · grain baskets · great hut · kitchen · visitors hut · children · goats · calves · cattle kraal

Ndebele Kraal

eldest brother · great hut · 1st wife's hut · 4th wife · girls' hute · 2nd wife · goats · 3rd wife · boys' huts · boys' huts

Dlamini (Swazi) Kraal

**Figure 2. 2: Nguni settlements** (Amankwah-Ayeh, 1996)

In a study conducted by Magobunje (1962), a premise was realised to the effect that cities in Yoruba were a symbol of the beliefs of the Ife people. The societies were settled in sets of four settlements located around the king's hill. This was because the Yoruba people believed in the form of a world that is round and circular in form. They also believed that the world had two roads cutting the world through the centre, one running North to South and the other running from East to West. As such they were circled around the hill in the world shape settling in four groups like the world is divided by the roads. The same idea of the

city being circular can also be seen by the beliefs of the Egyptians and their hieroglyph for city.

Furthermore, the Cattle Central Pattern design also dominated the Bantu communities and was influenced by the beliefs of the communities ranging from issues of the communities being patriarchal and presenting a dual community that existed (Summers, 1971). For instance, during settlement, it was identified that women were settled on the right and women on the left (Manson, 1986). In terms of rituals, the back was sacred and the front was circular and in terms of status, the upper class was at the centre, upper slope or high and the lower class was down slope or sides on lower grounds (Huffman, 1986). Figure 2 shows the K2 settlement pattern.

More so, centres that did not have issues of control in Africa did not grow into big cities, they were designed in a way that promoted the development of social, economic, cultural and physical linkages (Magobunje, 1968). The Igbo villages lived in small clusters that had linkages and well conserved spaces with strong social ties. Figure 2.3 shows the layout of Igbo Villages.
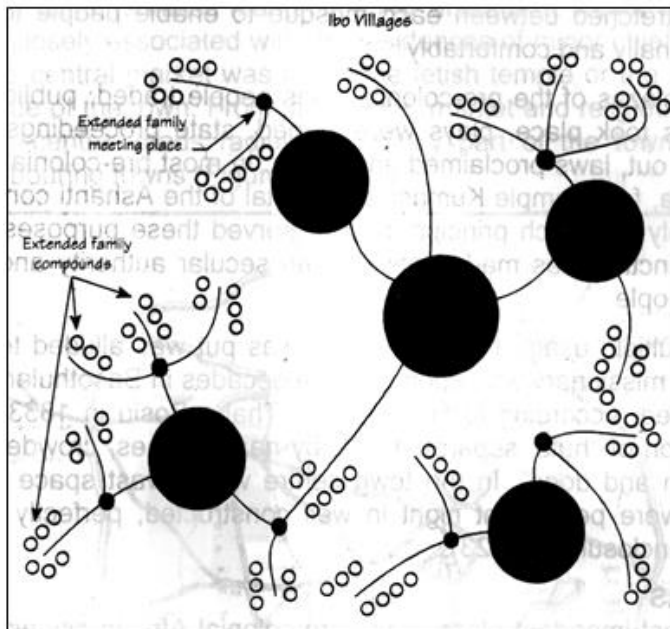
Figure 2. 3: Igbo villages layout (Amankwah-Ayeh, 1996)

Urban design and sense of community have been defined both in different contexts and in the same vein. This section seeks to come up with a conceptualisation of urban design and of sense of community in the context of urban design. It highlights urban design considerations that are significant in creating areas with a sustainable sense of community from a scholarly perspective.

Urban design is a famous term and has been used by various scholars in articulating issues, however, there is no agreed definition of what urban design is (Madanipour, 1996, Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007, Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2011). There exists a good number of definitions for the term "urban design". Frey (1999:12) describes urban design as "a rather unfortunate term describing greatly confused responsibilities of people supposedly involved in the design of the city's public realm." In his definition, urban design is viewed as an art of shaping up the public space. The definition further points out that it is confused in the sense that there is not a clear distinction between the duty of a planner and the duty of an architect.

The distinction between architecture and urban design is then covered up by this definition of urban design:

> It focuses on the physical form of the public realm within a specific area of the city, positioning itself between two established design scales: architecture, which deals with the physical form of individual buildings in the private realm, and town and regional planning, which addresses the organization of the public realm on a larger scale (Gosling and Maitland, 1984, p. 9).

The distinction between architecture and urban planning design is clarified in this definition. Gosling and Maitland however, do not clearly articulate what private and public realm is. Streets, squares that are designed are viewed as public squares but however, contain elements of private realm. The study adopts the definition by Gosling and Maitland (1984, p. 9) as it offers a more comprehensive definition of urban design.

Sense of community in urban design is becoming a significant topic. The question becomes, what is sense of community in the context of urban design? While the ideas behind sense of community in design are old, the issue of sense of community application is still new (Rishbeth *et al.*. 2018). Urban planning used has had a focus on sustainable cities, compact cities, liveable cities and smart cities among other planning trajectories (Zhou, 2018). While these ideas covered social planning, their focus still was on physical landscapes. In urban design, sense of community in urban design is the sense of place (Prestamburgo *et al.*. 2019). This process requires the nurturing of identity and connectivity within a community

(Gokce and Chen, 2018). This process entails issues of street signs and street walks (Heid, 1999). Another definition of sense of community in the context of urban design is the satisfaction that residents get linked is to the general quality of life (Notteboom, 2018). While these definitions try to explain what sense of community is in the urban design realm, it still remains incomplete and open for contention.

A definition by Wiesnefeld (1997) in the context of designing is that sense of community is that feeling of "we-ness" that people get within a community based on land uses that are provided. Hernandez (1998) provides another phrase to explain what sense of community entails, this is based on the feeling that "this is our place". Land uses that make people identify themselves with a place make that area their place and such improves sense of community (Hu and Chen, 2018). The aspects that are in a place that are different from any other place becomes the distinction between "us" and "them" (McMillan, 1996, Razack, 2018). In urban design, the substance of sense of community is largely social interaction (Wilkinson, 1991). Further defining sense of community in the built environment, Hummon (1992) proffers a definition of sense of community that perceives it as one's orientation towards space with regards to feelings fused within an environment and what it means to them. Anthropologists define the sense as place attachment (Malpas, 2018).

Designing for sense of community has been done in various ways in various cities. Montgomery in his book entitled *Happy Cities* points to issues of reduced car dependency as a source of 'sense of community' (Montgomery, 2013). The book argues that the more cities sprawl and cities are designed in a way that promotes the use of cars, the sense of community breaks. The more people drive, the more they become individualistic. The argument moves on to point to urban design considerations as having a huge influence on sense of community in urban design. This approach to design is emphasised by new urbanists or neo-traditionalists (Leccese and McCormick, 2000, Duany *et al.*. 2010, Duany and Talen, 2013). This group of scholars borrow their design ideas from a pre-motorist depended cities as such their considerations include walkability, public spaces, mixing uses, compact cities and proximity.

Walkability is a concept or design consideration that is gaining significance by day. Walkability developed as far back as the Radburn concept (Gilderbloom *et al.*. 2015). Recently, new urbanists have begun emphasising on the concept stating that cities should be designed with less dependence on cars (Adams *et al.*. 2015). Distance to service is one major consideration that is brought about in discussing

the concept of walkability. Services should be placed in central places and easily accessible to everyone in the neighbourhood (Litman, 2017). Walkability does not only include distance; it also focuses on street quality. What incentivises walking? Speck (2014) provides four aspects that incentivises walking which include; giving people reason to walk (balancing uses), Safe (Reality and Perception), Comfortable (Space and orientation) and interesting (Sign of Humanity). As such ideas like quality and width of walkways, safety in walkways, shade in walkways, building heights in relation to human scale and proper interaction between all forms of traffic (Forsyth, 2015). Incorporating this in a design increase walking (Litman, 2017). The concept of walkability entails narrower streets, use of parallel parking wherever possible and existence of various paths options. As people walk, they will interact, creating bonds and as such developing cities with high sense of cohesion and community (Adams *et al..* 2015). Increasing the walkability of areas has been done in Oklahoma City in America. Oklahoma City had been voted the least pedestrian friendly place in America. This led to the mayor engaging a consultant (Speck) to increase walkability. This saw the reorientation of streets into walkable places from 4-6 lane roads to 2-4 lane systems adding biking and walking lanes. This has increased the levels of interaction between the residence as they spend more time together (Speck, 2014).

Developing communities with high levels of interaction entails quality public spaces (Ismail and Said, 2015). Public spaces are built or un-built areas that are within a neighbourhood, village, town, city that is not restricted to the public (Koohsari *et al..* 2015). These include but not limited to public parks, streets, among others. Some public spaces are semi-public [cinemas, stadiums, and cafés] which are owned by individuals. The public spaces create an interface for social exchange, making them an essential component for sense of community (Yung *et al..* 2016). Therefore, public spaces determine the level of interaction within a society. An example of how provision of public spaces improved interaction is of Central Park in New York City in America. The Central Park was designed by agriculturalist Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) and British-born and trained architect Calvert Vaux (1824-1895). This was a design of a public space developed as an experiment of urban resilience. This was a place where the rich and the poor were supposed to interact as such creating a democratic space. From the operating day to date, the central park is a centre of attraction were various people meet and interact. Figure 2.4 is an image of central park in 1992 evidencing how people began to interact as a result of the new public space. Figure 2.4 shows a 2016 image of central park and how it's still bringing people together including tourists.

Figure 2. 4: *Central Park 1902* (Library Congress)

Figure 2.5: Central Park: in 2016 https://www.ontravelmode.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/CentralPark Medium-1.jpeg

The concept of mixing uses is one that is gaining global significance (LeGates and Stout, 2015). Designers and urban planners advocate for mixing uses and avoiding Euclidean zoning systems. The combination of uses can be done in two different approaches. The first is having uses like industrial, commercial and institutional among others within the same block or region. The second approach is having various uses within the same building (Lang, 2017). The integration of uses entails creation of continuously vibrant zones. The continuous convergence of people within a zone will ultimately lead to increased interaction and as such developing social capital and with it sense of community. Combination of uses as an urban management strategy.

Another significant consideration in the development of communities with high levels of cohesion and advanced sense of community is compactness (Lang, 2017). The concept of compactness rounds up the other considerations discussed above. Compact neighbourhoods are communities that has all uses close together. All services are located within walkable distances and parks and public amenities located at convenient places (Rapoport, 2016). In the design of compact cities, issues of proximity to other homes and public facilities is also a significant consideration. Langdon (1970) proffers that by shear proximity, between streets and homes, social interaction is fostered.

Urban design in Zimbabwe is guided by the Regional Town and Country Planning Act [29:12] and the Urban Councils [29:15]. These two acts have led to the development of design standards that determine the design practices in Zimbabwe. Designs under the guidance of Circular N° 70 of 2004 for the design of settlements and the Model Building By-laws (1977) for the design of buildings. The design of settlements is also aided by the Layout Design Manual which is not a standard but a guideline of how to design in Zimbabwe.

Circular 70 of 2004 is a document that provides standard for the design of layout plans in Zimbabwe. The document succeeded circular No 3 of 1992. This document resembles the British separation planning having a focus on separation of land uses and having minimum stand size at 150m^2. The introduction of circular 70 brought about revised standards on minimum stand sizes with the minimum being 70m^2. The design standards on the preamble indicate a focus on cost reduction and affordability hence, reduced stand sizes.

"… components are designed to reduce costs and promote affordability and maximise on limited land and scarce resources. They are designed to cater for a wide variety of beneficiaries in different income groups and they also provide local authorities and other stakeholders in the housing sector with uniformity and

shared principles for planning and implementing housing schemes in their respective areas. On the whole, the standards are designed to enhance the housing delivery process throughout the country…Government shall not approve housing layout plans and proposed development schemes other than those that comply with the standards set out in this circular." Source. Circular No 70 of 2004.

The introduction of the standards evidences a focus on affordability and cost reduction in land delivery and nothing more, the issue of "sense of community" or social interaction not catered for in the design standard. Therefore, as the major town planning standard that is currently under enforcement, it can be used to argue that layout planning standards in Zimbabwe do not provide for sense of community in design. Thus, in the planning systems of Zimbabwe, sense of community is either not a factor or is assumed to be automatic. In current Zimbabwean cities, the nuisance of exclusion in cities (Dorman, 2016, Muchadenyika and Williams, 2017) and the reduced public participation in council gatherings (Dorman, 2016) evidence that "sense of community" is not automatic. Rather, for sense of community to exist, permitting standards have to be in place. The circular feeds onto council by-laws to ensure that they move the agenda of the government, in this case of reducing construction costs.

Building designs in urban Zimbabwe are guided by the Model Building By-laws of 1977. This document is a generic creation of British designs and as such the urban form that exist in some parts of Britain is present in urban Zimbabwe. The document provides for minimum standards on every aspect of a building. Looking at minimum British stands currently, it can be identified that there is slight difference because the British have updated the standards. Aspects like wall sizes, window sizes, roofing material and standards and even colour coding are the same (see Model Building By-Laws). As a result, urban design practices currently in Zimbabwe are native to British people than the Zimbabweans. Design of buildings following British standards led to development of buildings that have corners whiles the Zimbabwean buildings had a circular shape without corners (Pikirayi, 2006). This has affected the comfort associated with the Zimbabwean sense of community. Atypical example is of Lobengula who was given a square house as a gift by the missionaries, it had an entrance and exit door behind as he could not sleep in a house with corners as it was associated with evil spirits (Bozongwana, 1983). The component of sense of community (membership) is therefore, not fulfilled in these standards.

Urban layout design in Zimbabwe is done with the guidelines of the layout design manual that was developed by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing. It is in this document that all design standards are refined.

The design manual (Layout Design Manual of 1992) provides for road widths, services, sizes, acceptable land uses and the design patterns in town planning in Zimbabwe.

The first aspect about road design in the design manual is the issue of foot paths and tree pedestrian designs. The manual only provides for road reserves and not the layout of the final road. This has led to the development of roads that favour vehicles over pedestrians. The manual does not outline the percentage that is dedicated to vehicular traffic. This ultimately leads to the development of roads that favour vehicular traffic. In line with sense of community, this implies the development of exclusive streets that are not safe for pedestrians. Failure to create safety has an implication on walking. People cannot walk around if they do not have a feeling of security as such, it reduces interaction as the areas become more vehicle-oriented areas. The reduced walkability in the area implies less time for interaction therefore affecting the sense of community.

The design manual provides that in every layout design that is done, 5% of the planned area should be open spaces, both passive and active. The standard focuses more on land utilisation economy. Furthermore, the 5% include both passive and active open spaces. The other issue is the sufficiency.

In conclusion, the chapter identified that sense of community is not an easy word to define, rather it is one overeaten. The major issues behind definition of sense of community lie within the context dependency of the term. Sense of community differs within research fields, geographical areas, and culture among others. This chaptergave various definitions from the general to the context specific definitions like what sense of community is in urban design. After that the chapterdefined urban design and how sense of community can be enhanced in urban design giving examples. The chapter then gave an outline of existing legislation of urban design in Zimbabwe and how it is fostering or stifling sense of community in the urban areas that are under production in Zimbabwe. The next chapter will focus on the methodology that the study will engage in collection and analysis of data.