depend on the structure of the grid and how they relate to it. Such locations will therefore tend to have higher densities of development to take advantage of this, and higher densities will in turn have a multiplier effect. This will in turn attract new buildings and uses, to take advantage of the multiplier effect. It is this positive feedback loop built on the relation between the grid structure and movement which gives rise to the urban buzz, which we prefer to be romantic or mystical about, but which arises from the coincidence in certain locations of large numbers of different activities involving people going about their business in different ways. Such situations invariably arise through multiplier effects generated from the basic relation between space structure and movement, and ultimately this depends on the structure of the urban grid itself. In other words, how the urban system is put together spatially is the source of everything else.

We may illustrate this negatively through a notorious case where the urban buzz does not occur, in spite of the coexistence in a small area of many major functions. The example is the area of the South Bank cultural centre in London, where within a few hundred metres can be found Europe's largest and most diverse cultural complex, a major international railway terminus, extensive office development, significant residential development and a famous riverside walk. Why do all these facilities not add up into an urban area with the qualities called for by these high-level facilities? It can only be the way it is put together. This is indeed the case. Our studies have shown that each of the various constituencies of space users – travellers, residents, office workers, tourists, concert goers and gallery visitors all use space in a different way and, as it were, move through the area largely on separate routes passing each other like ships in the night. It is the failure of the configuration of space to bring these different constituencies into patterns of movement and space use where all are prioritizing the same space, that deprive the area of the multiplier effects that occur when different constituencies of space use all spark off each other.

If these arguments are right, it means that all the primary elements of urban form – the structure of the urban grid, the distribution of land uses, and the assignment of development densities – are bound together in the historical city by the principle that relates the structure of the urban grid to the by-product of movement. It means that under certain conditions of density and integration of the grid structure things can happen that will not happen elsewhere. Movement is so central to this process that we should forthwith cease to see cities as being made up of fixed elements and movement elements and instead see the physical and spatial structure as being bound up to create what we have called the 'movement economy', in which the usefulness of the by-product of movement is everywhere maximized by integration in order to maximize the multiplier effects which are the root source of the life of cities.

Urbanity, we suggest, is not so mysterious. Good space is used space. Most urban space use is movement. Most movement is through movement, that is, the by-product of how the grid offers routes from everywhere to everywhere else. Most informal space use is also movement related, as is the sense and fact of urban safety. Land uses and building density follow movement in the grid, both adapting to and multiplying its effects. The urban buzz, or the lack of it when it suits us, is the combination of these, and the fundamental determinant is the structure of the grid itself. The urban grid through its influence on the movement economy is the fundamental source of the multifunctionality that gives life to cities.

Disurbanism

The urban movement economy, arising from the multiplier effect of space, depends on certain conditions: a certain size, a certain density, a certain distribution of land uses, a specific type of grid that maintains the interface between local and global, and so on. Once this is spelled out, it is easy to see how thoroughly some of our recent efforts have disrupted it, so much so that we must think of many developments of recent years as an exercise in the spatial technique of disurbanism. 'Disurbanism' is intended to convey the reverse of the urban spatial techniques we have identified; the breaking of the relation between buildings and public space; the breaking of the relation between scales of movement; and the breaking of the interface between inhabitant and stranger.

Consider, for example, the integration map of an area around Barnsbury, which includes three housing estates around the Kings Cross railway lands site (the empty area), as in Fig. 28.8. The estates are easy to pick out: they are more complex and at a smaller spatial scale than the surrounding street-based areas, and each is marked by its density of light shaded, that is segregated, lines. If we try to plot these estates as dark point scatters of local against global integration,