that the environment of the community should improve to match the improving standards of their homes. We now want both private and communal space for relaxation outside as well as our Parker Morris interiors. Most of us like at least a patch of outside space at ground level that is private. And as a nation one of the strongest desires that we seem to have is that houses should feel separate individual castles—even though the isolation may be symbolised only by a bit of clothing and a windy passage. In practice this innate desire is the root cause of the dissatisfaction of town identity. But to rant about it because it uses up too much countryside is because (and this is debatable) it sprawls in a formless, artless way, fails to take into account that people are naturally to like and prefer (however small) a private piece of open space, 8, to a communal one. If

have been a great success. Cumbernauld has not yet completed—about 21,000 of its pro-
ject population are there and its construction is slowly extruding from one end of the hill-
top site to the other, has only a fraction of the quota of shops planned. There are a few corner shops but these make little impact and mostly have the feeling of mini-now-NAATFs. As it is incomplete, any attempt to assess its total identity is premature. But despite the cohesive effect of this hill-top site, it does not yet look as though it will ever read as a single coherent identity. It may be argued that identity does not matter, that the need for towns to have visual character distinguishing them from their neighbours is no longer architecturally

impor tant or socially necessary, given the personal mobility of today. Indeed one may ask whether towns are valid units at all at a time when whole regions can be travelled
quickly and comfortably? Has the basis of their existence disappeared with the methods of
travel that formed them? Looking ahead it is more than just conceivable that large or small
housing estates (with the minimum of convenient local shopping), somewhat like
detached neighbourhood areas, could be built in the countryside with road or monorail
connections to shopping centres and places of recreation or industry. As the recent range of consultants' reports on expansion makes clear, somebody is soon going to build a linear town or a string of
bridges, or a radial grid, in which case the identity of the whole will be quite different from the concentric town layouts of the past as we know them, 5, 6, 7.

But there are no arguments against the desirability of achieving identity: they simply reinforce the need to produce positive visual identities for these new urban forms. The social and physical mobility, with which increasingly we find ourselves endowed, is likely to make us search for more rather than less fixed points against which we can
enjoy our own found freedom. Though we may live in a five-storey house, drive in a standard
car, we are all the more certain to demand some difference, some personal
gain, some identity in our homes and in our towns.

Present urban layout tends to be dictated solely by the needs of traffic generation and
bus stop or shopping catchments. These are essential considerations in the planning of
communities, but there are also architectural considerations which must both influence and freely interpret those functions. As long as we go on building new towns with town centres surrounded by areas of housing, it will still be socially important, for the reasons Kevin Lynch has given, to create in them a sense of
vital cohesion. Similarly, if we are to make the most of visual capital, it is vital that the
hundreds of existing towns, which are with us for a long time, should maintain their cohesion and their visual cohesion. Where they have lost those qualities we must recreate them as we modernize them. If there is a social case for maintaining a recognizable and compact visual image in our existing settlements, there are many factors working against that aim—leaving aside the questions of our skill to do it. These factors derive principally from growing
affluence and our needs for space, privacy and mobility. But these new influences on our towns need not be destruc-
tive; our task is to see that they are used to create new forms and identities.

Space and privacy

Whilst frighteningly large areas of poverty still exist—one-twelfth of the population is below the poverty line and one-third below the average for middle-class houses without essential amenities—environmental
enlightenment is becoming recognised as real as lacking of purchasing power in wages. The majority now have the right to expect

that is so, then that must be the architect's planner's brief. He must learn to be less arrogant about what he thinks people ought to want and make full use of sociological information rather than a visually predetermined schemes. From experiments under way, this sort of brief could result in a maximum density of prob-
able around 140-160 persons per acre in densely urban situations. A scheme by
Richard Shepley, Roohan and Partners for the GLC at Southwark would provide gardens and garages at this kind of density. And in addition to these personal wants there are needs for open space for football or cricket or golf, in other words for formal
sport, on top of which there are demands for space for informal activity (Guards
Cullen's 'wrenching areas'). In combination these needs result in the overall density and the compactness.

Mobility

If we are stuck with space standards in terms of density, we are stuck with the motor-
car. If Buchanan's environmental standards are applied, as surely they must be, assum-
ing maximum car ownership and use, residential areas will be governed in their design and form by a car.

The actual layout of roads in individual areas of course affects their environmental capacity. The greater the flow of traffic the less can roadside activity be serviced and the more we need to continue to control properties against noise and fumes. Similarly, the need for physical and visual pedestrian segregation will be greater. Thus by a combination of these factors, the number of people in a house will be limited. The significance of this visual in terms is that the fabric of the whole town will increasingly become split into units separated by a network of roads carrying traffic about the towns. The towns themselves will be a positive force working on the side of area and town identity.

In town centres a new complex will often contain roads, car parks, offices and shops; even some residential units—all designed to work as a unit. Something in the use of a case in point. But designing all these functions to be contained within a single structure will be of limited application only. The increased costs involved in providing the right environmental standards on essential units will prohibit extensive construc-
tions of this type.

So the danger is that both existing towns and new towns will progressively be carved up into areas containing significant, some segregated housing areas with networks creating division between them, separated from main shops, comprehensive offices and industry. The South Hampshire Study represents a significant step in recognitions of that kind. 9 Disregarding the obiter dicta of Jane Jacobs the report makes proposals as if the underlying land form did not exist. If the first generation new towns began this trend, 10, and the concepts contained in the Town Plans may prove to be even more divisive in this respect, 11, 12.

Size of community and town form

The need for privacy, private and communal outdoor space and the attractions of personal mobility—seemingly unalterable historic systems—will affect the growth of our towns and will increasingly dominate the remodel-
ing and planning of our towns. These growing needs are the principal causes of the changes in urban identity. Underlying, however, is the fundamental problem of the growth of population growth, which causes the continual expansion of towns. The larger the settlement grows, the more difficult the task of maintaining or creating local identity. Large cities like London, Liverpool, Birmingham or Sheffield still retain their visual, social and functional differences in their central cores, but as whole units of settlement they lost their identities long ago. And the process of urban renewal is now rapidly reconcentrating these city centres to bleak conformity, broken only by the occasional section where perhaps it is still acceptable if only because it provides relief. (Walk Down Victoria Street, SW), and see how that extraordinary building, Windsor

House, scaled to apparently twice its proper size, has become a positive jewel.) In the large cities and conurbations where fast population growth is a continuing

problem, an identity can and should be retrieved by breaking down the suburban sprawl into recognizably units. And here network roads could have a positive role.