

Extensions of the need for survival are not as fundamental for life but are very much sought after. People have a need to be healthy and to be comfortable. Comfort and health are psychological as well as physiological states. People are often prepared to trade off comfort and health for many other kinds of ends such as prestige, but having a comfortable environment and being healthy are also associated with self-esteem. Thus, in specifying how to design the built environment to meet physiological needs, much depends on individuals' expectations, which are, in turn, based on their habituation levels.

There are a number of other needs that might be regarded as semiphysiological—they have biological bases but are very much culturally attuned (P. Peterson 1969). One such need is sexual. Henry Murray (1938) regarded this as a basic physical need, but many people lead fulfilling asexual lives. The next level of needs in Maslow's hierarchy—safety and security needs—can also be seen as semiphysiological.

Safety/security needs

There is a need for harm-avoidance among all higher species of animals. This is really a self-protecting device. Sigmund Freud took the extreme position in dealing with harm-avoidance in his definition of the instinct for *self-preservation* (Freud 1949). He believed all human behavior is determined by the principle of avoiding pain and seeking pleasure. The urban design concern here is with the layout of environments that provide safe and secure settings in which people can pursue their lives.

Safety needs combine a diverse set of other needs. The broadest division is into physiological and physical safety needs and psychological needs. The former are concerned with attaining a security of knowing that one is safe from physical harm—from the natural elements, human elements, and from artificially created elements of the environments such as moving cars and structurally unsound buildings. Humans also have the need to be psychologically secure, to have control over the environment, to know where they are in space and in time, to not be socially or physically lost. In addition, there is a need for privacy from censure for carrying out various activities and for developing self-confidence. These needs clearly blur into the next higher set in Maslow's hierarchy, the need for affiliation.

The ways in which safety and security needs are fulfilled have much to do with the nature of the social organization of society, but the layout of

the environment also affords or denies the possibility of many kinds of behavior that are necessary for them to be fulfilled. There are many examples that illustrate this observation. The layout of cities for defensive reasons is a major factor in design. Until the nineteenth century the major concern was with defense against outside invasion (A. Morris 1979). Now the concern is more for defense from one's fellow citizens (Newman 1972; Stollard 1991). The layout of the city and its precincts is also a major factor in finding one's way around, in orientating (Lynch 1960; Passini 1984). Fulfilling such needs gives one a feeling of security that results from being in control of situations.

Security is also obtained through being a member of a group—fulfilling the need for belonging. It is obtained through being part of a stable social order. When this stable social order starts to change—often in order to attain other social needs such as self-determination, or if the technological rate of change is so high that people get worried about their abilities to deal with the situation—there is a tendency to hold on to the symbols of the past. Thus there is, or at least appears to be, a correlation between major upheavals in the social order of a society and the degree of concern for the preservation of the existing environment—physical and institutional.

Affiliation needs

All individuals need to know who they are and to recognize themselves as distinct human beings—as having distinct identities. Identity-formation is a continuous process and has as much to do with the groups of which one is a member as much as one's own uniqueness. Our affiliation needs are met by knowing that we are members of a group and of a social and a moral order. These groups are diverse and based on such common characteristics as kinship, locality, and interests. People need to have a sense of belonging, community, and relatedness, as well as to receive affection and approval from other people. This category of needs includes the need to be with others—a desire to please and win affection. The costs of these needs being unmet may well be psychologically high, causing feelings of anxiety and often resulting in a withdrawal from society. Such isolation results in a lack of a feeling of psychological security.

Allied to the need for affiliation is the need for privacy. It serves the need for control of information flows about what one is doing and what others are doing. As such it is also a mechanism for fulfilling security needs, as already noted. Having privacy also