

helps to meet many other needs such as that of *counteraction* (Murray, 1938). Counteraction involves the active striving to obliterate a humiliation by regrouping and then striving again.

Affiliation needs are complex and interact with all other needs. Thus not only having available groups for us to join is important but also the displaying of symbols that show that we are indeed members. Some of these symbols are highly subtle and are largely unselfconscious; others are self-consciously designed. When we strive to be a member of a group we become very conscious of the symbols of membership, but once we are true members and accepted as such without perceived ambiguity, the symbols of membership are less important. The symbolic aesthetic of the places we inhabit is fundamental to our individual and group identities.

Urban designers tend to think of the consequence of people having a basic need for affiliation in terms of gathering places, of places to watch what is going on—the vicarious participation in the lives of others. It tends to be thought of in the romantic terms of English pubs, French cafes, and Italian plazas (Lennard and Lennard 1989). Similar places in the United States are still important for some people, but all kinds of identity-enhancing events bring people together either in person or through various media such as television. Innovations in communications technology have vastly changed the patterns of behavior related to affiliation needs (Brill 1989; Schmandt *et al.* 1990). The automobile as a means of bringing people together for a variety of purposes means that propinquity of like-minded people is less important than it once was. The telephone has had a similar impact. Urban designers need to understand these changes and potential changes and to design with them in mind rather than hanging on to a romantic view of life that has too frequently resulted in the creation of places that are unused and unloved (Jacobs 1961; Whyte 1980; Hitt 1990).

### Esteem needs

All people need to have a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves. People strive for competence, confidence, independence, and freedom of self-expression. There are two, often interrelated, types of esteem needs—to be in possession of self-esteem and to be held in esteem by others. One gets self-esteem through achievement and through the recognition by others of one's achievements. To get a sense of achievement one needs to be able to master tasks, to be able to manipulate, organize, or

own time, physical objects, or ideas, and, maybe, simply to look good—to be regarded as beautiful. John Atkinson and David McClelland (McClelland *et al.* 1953) identify three types of achievement: unique accomplishment, long-term involvement, and successful competition with a standard of excellence. Some people have a higher need for achievement than others. They strive harder in order to achieve esteem ends. Much depends on how one is socialized, so much is culturally dependent.

The fulfillment of esteem needs is manifested in many ways. It is shown, for instance, through having control of one's own life, and often over other people's lives, and having the symbols of control to display. The architectural mechanisms are diverse—many have to do with symbolic aesthetics, but they also have to do with territorial control, through real or symbolic barriers, over one's own space. Similarly, architectural and urban layout types and their artistic expression are often associated with specific groups of people. If we wish to be perceived as a member of that group we strive to use the appropriate architectural symbols. If we do not, we avoid those symbols.

### Self-actualizing needs

Maslow (see 1987) has expressed dismay that the need for self-actualization has been interpreted as the need to be what one can be without regard for others. While there is the need to have freedom of action, to shake off restraints, and to be independent, there is also the need to provide succor to other people.

Once esteem needs have been met, people often sense a new discontent and restlessness in themselves unless they can be creative in what is best fitted for them. "A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be at peace with himself. What a man can be, is what he must be" (Maslow 1987). Carl Jung (1968) has termed this need "individuation," the process of striving toward individuality and self-realization. It may be accompanied by the striving for appropriate architectural symbols (Tyng 1969), but more likely for behavioral control and autonomy. Many people's lives get stuck at striving for esteem and never reach the self-actualizing stage (Maslow 1987). The full implications of these observations for urban design are unclear.

### Cognitive and aesthetic needs

Striving to attain cognitive and aesthetic needs parallels the striving for the attainment of basic needs.