

phenomenon even more unkindly, where wild animals such as the big cats are manoeuvred around a cage by a so-called trainer who moves in and out of the flight and fight distances, critically causing the poor animals to advance and retreat. This, combined with the particularly close confinement that the mobile captivity of the travelling circus imposes upon its animals, must put wholly unnatural stress on such creatures.

Even the static zoo forces highly stressful and unnatural spatial behaviour on wild animals. Zoos were originally nothing more than the result of humans demonstrating our superiority over other species. To collect wild animals and put them in captivity was also a phenomenon born of an age when international travel was rare, expensive and restricted either to the very rich or to the professional adventurer. The Tower of London famously had such a zoo, which served publicly to demonstrate the power of the King of England over all creatures. By all accounts some terrible things were done to animals there by a society that did not have our contemporary sensitivity to animal rights. Even the great Victorian British collections of animals must be seen in the light of the society of the time. Little was then known of the essentially spatial nature of much behaviour in the way we are discussing it here. In the first half of the twentieth century we tended to stress the educational value of the modern zoo, but today we see popular movements to free whales and other great species. Of course captivity is not without some benefits to a species under certain circumstances; we may have so decimated the natural habitat of a species that there may be no alternative but to take some specimens into captivity to breed and release again into a restored and more suitable location. In general, however, the captive wild animal is far from its natural habitat. It may be fed, kept free from predators and disease, given shelter and even mates, but it is not free. That freedom is not some grand philosophical or political state of mind as it may be thought of in human society; it is the practical possibility of living according to the spatial rules that are innately set into the animal's way of behaving. A large animal in particular has large flight and fight distances, which are difficult to accommodate in the zoo. The sight of an animal pacing up and down in captivity as it tries to deal with such a stressful circumstance is sadly all too common. Desmond Morris in his controversial book *The Human Zoo* has pointed out that such animals exhibit forms of behaviour that are seldom if ever found in the wild (Morris 1969). Self-mutilation, attacks on offspring, over-eating to obesity and intra-species violence to the point of serious damage and death are all found in the zoo but not in the jungle. Morris draws parallels with such behaviour and the ills of modern human urban society. It is from such an analysis that he arrives at the conclusion quoted at the top of the chapter:

Clearly, then, the city is not a concrete jungle, it is a human zoo.