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Author: Knight, John  
Title: Herding Monkeys to Paradise: How Macaque Troops are Managed for Tourism in Japan

This study explores how *yaen kōen*, or 'wild monkey parks', use food handouts to attract free-ranging Japanese macaques to a display area when, in turn, the monkeys attract paying visitors. John Knight's analysis draws on 10 years of visits to monkey parks, semi-structured interviews and participant observation with park staff, as well as interviews with regular visitors, farmers and other local residents, and a wide range of written sources.

The Introduction reviews the broader contexts of recreational viewing of primates and other animals. Chapter 1 then describes how monkey parks are presented as a 'paradise' of peace and harmony where visitors can mingle with wild monkeys. Knight compares this frontier-crossing visitor experience – humans in 'monkeyland' – with that of a zoo, and explores the concept of 'natural zoo', in which monkeys remain part of a group and are connected to the forest, associating with humans voluntarily. The rest of the book (7 chapters and a conclusion) examines the extent to which reality conforms to this ideal.

Chapter 2 makes extensive use of primatologist Itani Junichirō's field study at Takasakiyama to illustrate the difficulty of observing wild monkeys. Knight describes three main barriers to human observation of monkeys: monkeys are wary of humans, move fluidly over mountainous terrain, and the invisibility of monkeys in the forest ('forest opacity'). The same difficulties that frustrate primatologists seeking to make behavioural observations apply to tourists wishing to watch monkeys; neither are satisfied with brief glimpses of monkeys. The next three chapters describe the use of regular food provisioning to manipulate monkey movements such that they can be viewed easily.

Chapter 3 focusses on the post-war history of provisioning that led to the creation of the monkey parks. Knight details how the founders of the parks persuaded monkeys to accept food handouts and to tolerate the presence of humans. Chapter 4 considers the daily activities of those who run and work in the monkey parks. Beyond the central role of feeding the monkeys, park staff also police interactions between monkeys and visitors, maintaining order and ensuring visitor safety. Chapter 5 examines how park staff use provisioning to manage monkey movements in "the park's tug-of-war with the forest" (p338). Monkey park provisioning supplements, but does not replace, wild foraging, and monkeys naturally exploit a food resource then move on. This means that the park staff cannot guarantee monkey presence in the park, particularly when natural forage is abundant and attractive to the monkeys. This freedom is key to the representation of the monkeys as 'wild'. However, it conflicts with the reliance of park staff on the presence of monkeys at the feeding ground to satisfy visitors. Knight examines the strategies staff use to address this problem, using provisioning such that monkeys arrive in the park in the morning, stay until late afternoon, but return to the forest at the end of the day.

The next two chapters discuss various problems resulting from provisioning. In addition to monkeys failing to appear at the monkey park, where they are wanted, monkeys also appear where they are not wanted, in park-edge settlements. Monkey damage to crops is a

serious problem in Japan, and Chapter 6 uses two case studies to illustrate how monkey parks exacerbate this problem. This causes ill will towards the parks in the local communities and a dilemma for park managers: while provisioning increases the number of monkeys who engage in crop-raiding, reducing provisioning will lead to increased crop-raiding in the short-term. One solution is to reduce monkey numbers by culling or removal.

Chapter 7 considers further problems associated with long-term provisioning. These include increases in troop size and the effects of this on the forest and changes in the monkeys' relationship with the forest which result in monkeys that are largely sedentary, 'commuting' daily from the forest just as the staff commute from the village or town. This calls into question whether the monkeys are 'wild', and Knight uses concepts of domestication, cultural transformation and agency to examine this in detail, and to reconcile human control over monkeys with monkey freedom.

Chapter 8 addresses the question of whether the monkeys' relationship with the forest can be restored. This links to moves to educate, as well as entertain, visitors. Knight distinguishes forest-edge display, in which parks incorporate an area of forest adjacent to the feeding station into the visitor experience, from forest display, a more radical change whereby the monkey viewing experience is resituated in the forest. A further possibility for viewing monkeys, 'monkeywatching', has no connection with monkey parks, and, as Knight points out, might be better termed 'monkeysearching'. Finally, Knight addresses the question of to what extent monkey park monkeys can be 'restored', illustrating this with the example of a park that continues to feed monkeys, although it is closed to visitors, to divert the monkeys from crops.

Knight's conclusion reflects on the limits of using provisioning to display animals. He then addresses possibilities for reorienting parks towards conservation. However, Knight's analysis shows that the monkey tolerance of humans brought about by parks ultimately diminishes rather than increases human tolerance of monkeys.

This book is the tenth in Brill's Human-Animal Studies series. Throughout the volume, we read of human-monkey relations, including human struggles with monkeys (Chapter 2), battles of will (Chapter 3), the personalized, intimate and emotionally intense relationships between park staff and monkeys (Chapter 4), inter-species negotiations (Chapter 5), crop-raiding (Chapter 6), and domestication (Chapter 7). However, the theoretical context and subject matter is far broader than human-animal relations, covering history, anthropology, primatology, Japan studies, tourism studies, and conservation.

The volume is large, and key points are repeated, meaning that chapters could be read independently. Taken together, however, the result is a comprehensive, authoritative, detailed picture of the history, practice and implications of the provisioning of monkeys for tourism. The text is beautifully crafted and structured and the language is poetic. The text is illustrated with simple, useful diagrams that illustrate key arguments, as well as carefully chosen black & white photographs. I thoroughly enjoyed reading it, learned a great deal and have already recommended it to students of human-animal relations as essential reading.