The Delicacy of a Fantasy: The Analysis of Butler Cafe Phenomenon and Its Implication on Gender Perception in Japanese Society

By

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To

Mom, Dad, Amy and Anne

For all your love and always being there,

and taking turns paying all the gas bills in Japan for 2 years.

みんな様、 お疲れ様でした、心から感謝いたします。

CERTIFICATION PAGE

I, RABUEPIN Alisha (Student ID 51116001) hereby declare that the contents of this Master's Thesis are original and true, and have not been submitted at any other university or educational institution for the award of degree or diploma.

All the information derived from other published or unpublished sources has been cited and acknowledged appropriately.

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ABSTRACT

This research had explored the relationship between contemporary Japanese women and the Butler Cafe phenomenon. The study has provided background knowledge of the gender perception of the Japanese women from the past until the current period, which new identity of women has been constructed under the influence of the contemporary popular culture. Moreover, the study will further analyzing at how the phenomenon symbolize or provide hidden message which reflect through the Japanese women preferences.

This research aims to figure out female cultural activities as well as societal perception of gender in Japan by studying Japanese women's behaviors involving their visit to Butler Café, assuming that it should somehow reflect female gender roles expected in the Japanese society. Also, this research will explain how exactly Butler Café have captured the interest of Japanese women and have become a part of the recent phenomenon in the society.

This thesis has chosen participant observation and semi-structured interview as data collection methods. The participant observation has conducted at a popular Butler Café in Tokyo. The female customers were the main subject of the study of their behaviors and expectations of the Butler Café visit. In addition, the semi-structured interview conducted in this research was consisted of 19 Japanese females interviewees participated, 8 were customers of each Butler Café and the other 11 were non-customers. Each interview was approximately 5-10 minutes long. This research has applied the "*Fantasyscape*" and "*Occidental Longings*" theories to analyse the data collected from both participant observation and semi-structured interview. The paper

has using the predictive content analysis and coding analysis as the analysis method to study the phenomenon.

The findings of this research have discovered three major themes of how the concept of Butler Cafe fit the Japanese society, regarding the Japanese women. The first feature is the influence of the *Black Butler* manga and anime; second is the influence of Western princesses' stories; and lastly is the desire of service, Japanese *omotenashi* combine with western chivalry manner.

In conclusion, this thesis research has attempted to describe the relationship between the phenomenon of the Butler Cafe and the complication of Japanese women. The Butler Cafe could not be seen as only the place where girls get in and having a pleasant time sipping tea. As a cafe, despite the standard function of serving tea to the customers, it serves a dynamic space for women to fantasise and this kind of fantasy could be seen as "power". Without the concern to the reality, under the fantasy set-up scenario, power has been created in women's mind. No matter how women created the fantasies or whom the women have fantasised with, the mechanism of how young girls create the fantasy world under the setting of Butler Cafe became a powerful ideological tool of women's liberation.

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Research

As the social structure of Japan, since the histories, Japanese women have been under male domination for centuries with Japanese society basing its beliefs on Confucianism, Buddhism and Feudalism of Samurai (Friedman, 1992). Society valued the group over the individual, which allowed men to take control over women. A woman would need to obey her father when she was a daughter, obey her husband when she was a wife and then obey her son when she was an old and aged mother (Friedman, 1992). During the Tokugawa Shogunate Era in 1602-1868, women had no education, no legal rights, were unable to own property and were required to be the submissive objects of men; marriages would be arranged by the family and, once married, a wife would be completely under the control of her husband. Each gender's role in Japanese society has their characteristic restrictions. While girls need to be domestic, quiet and reserved, boys need to be strong, rough and tough (Tamura, 1993).

From the historical background, men were also expected to perform and have a common sense as real men. While previous studies have focused and discussed a lot in the aspect of male, this study will explore the portrayal of the female through the selective popular culture phenomenon instead. Since popular culture and subculture became an escape route from the reality. Therefore, both female and male whose feelings are restricted by their cultural norms were likely to seek for fantasies from the various phenomenon of popular culture.

The term popular culture itself relates to various categories of mass culture, in particular, those parts that do not belong to some precise class of society but the

majority, for example, mass production, music industry, games, pop songs, dramas, fashion, and art (Delaney, 2007). As a visitor walking along the streets of Akihabara, the electronics shopping area and a hub of Japanese anime, manga and game culture in Tokyo, (Slater & Galbraith, 2011) you will see streets packed with shops selling so-called "kawaii" girly products, expensive figurine merchandise and multi-story manga shops; teenage girls loitering around in short skirts and an anime character is handing out leaflets in front of maid café.

The purpose of this narrative is to illustrate the pervasiveness and the influence of Japanese popular culture. Akihabara road is known as male Otaku town, however, there is another road which could counterpart the male road called Otome road, or Maiden Road (Girl Road), which represents female otaku town. This road is located in Ikebukuro district in Tokyo prefecture as well. There are theme restaurants such as maid and Butler Café operating in Ikebukuro district. For nearly two decades that the theme restaurants have been a part of the subculture. Moreover, their existence has become a unique and interesting phenomenon in Japanese popular culture and their influence transcends the significance within Japanese society and culture. Butler Café, opened and popularized in the early 2000s on Ikebukuro Road as a counterpart to maid café, aims to entertain and service female clientele (Nakamura, 2006) with butlers that are well-trained, wearing perfectly groomed and neatly tailored uniforms.

Butler Café is a theme café where waiters dress and provide service in the elegant interior setting of the Victorian era (Mineta, 2014). The embellishment of the café and food are decorated in the eighteenth-century royal court French Style. At the cafe, all silverware are selected precisely. Customers are served and treated like royal princesses (Morse, 2016). Also, walk-in customers are not allowed. The reservation for visiting the café must be scheduled two weeks in advance (Mineta, 2014) in order to

provide refined service to all clienteles (Kondo, 2007). During the last few years, several butler cafés have opened in response to the maid cafés (Gordon, 2016). To elaborate, the maid cafe aims to serve the male patrons, the Butler Cafe prioritizes to service and entertains the opposite gender types of clients, females. In Tokyo, there are two types of Butler Café, all-male Japanese butlers and all-male foreigner butlers. This research will only emphasize on the all-male Japanese butlers (which explanation will be provided in the limitation part of Chapter 3). However, unlike host club, the Butler Cafe is merely a normal restaurant with the exceptional service without sexual ambiguity. Therefore, this research will solely focus on the Butler Cafe phenomenon in the relation with Japanese women clientele.

In order to comprehend the relation of the Japanese women and its connection to the society, it is necessary to look back at the roles of Japanese women in the history. Japanese society was massively influenced by the Confucian idea, which prioritized men as the heads of the families; therefore, the major role of Japanese women was obeying to father, husband and son (Friedman, 1992). Adopted by the Confucian belief, Japanese women were inevitably submissive under this social structure since the historical period (Kincaid, 2014). However, in the modern Japan, Japanese women have stridden to be equal to male and started to be more independent. Although motherhood and the household responsibilities are still considered being common values, many of contemporary Japanese women seek to express their feelings and unconventional characteristics publicly through their preferences in various cultures and subcultures.

Recently, Butler Café has become extremely popular in Japanese society (Mineta, 2014), as a form of sub-cultural phenomenon where the majority of customers of these themed restaurants are female in their 20s and 30s. Some customers express their impression of the service and talk about their experiences in their blogs or web

pages for other people who share their preferences in their own (virtual) community. The statement below was written by one of the customers who went to one of the butler cafés in Tokyo.

> "The butlers really do make you feel like you're a prince or princess: they push in your chair, kindly go over the menu with you, set whichever plate you'd like right in front of you (at least for tea sets, where you are served a set of three small plates stacked on a gold serving tray), bow whenever leaving your table, pour your tea whenever it needs refilling and suggest which tea would be best with your meal—everything short of feeding you small bites of quiche and looking at you with doting eyes." (Morse, 2013, para. 7)

As the above comment suggests, the finest services with the classical and luxurious theme of the Butler Café have become significant factors for popularity among Japanese women.

1.2 Research Objectives

This research aims to figure out female cultural activities as well as societal perception of gender in Japan. By studying Japanese women's visit to Butler Café, assuming that it should somehow reflect female gender roles expected in Japanese society. Also, this research will explain how Butler Café has captured the interest of Japanese women to become a part of the recent phenomenon in the society.

1.3 Research Questions

To achieve the research objective and to prove the hypotheses of this study, it is necessary to draw out research questions to coherent to the research objective by

implementing the following two research questions;

      1.3.1 How does the concept of Butler Café fit women in Japanese society?

      1.3.2 How does the existence of Butler Café reflect or illustrate the gender perception in the Japanese society?

1.4 Potential Significance of the Study

      The purpose of the research is to explore and understand the relationship between contemporary Japanese women and the Butler Cafe phenomenon. Moreover, the study will further analyzing at how the phenomenon symbolize or provide hidden context which reflect through the Japanese women preferences.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Gender perception in Japan: Looking at roles of Japanese women from the past

In Medieval Era (1868-1911), female had power to manage household or *ie* (Japanese word), however, male still had final authority. The household also included both male and female subordinates, who were under the wife of landlord, this action seemed to empower the authority of the wife but still she eventually needed to get the permission from her husband for the final decision making. In pre-modern period, *ie* was considered as the 'site of production' as the wife was involved in childbirth, childrearing, and also fulfilling the husband's sexual desire. Motherhood was the 'symbol of prosperity'. "Wife-visiting marriage" or *tsumadoi-kon*was the marriage that husband would visit the wife's place when he had sexual desire. This kind of marriage actually showed the power of women as she still had the property and authority in her household. Nevertheless, *tsumadoi-kon* was not popular and was shifted to *yometori* instead. *Yometori*was, as opposed to *tsumadoi-kon*, the kind of marriage that the wife had to move to husband's household. Japanese women often preferred this kind of marriage because they felt more secure and felt like she was the chosen one. After the marriage has changed, the system of production also declined as well as the power of women in the *ie* (Wakita, 2006, p. 3).

During the restoration of the Meiji period around the late 1870s to 1880s was the peak time of the Movement for Democratic Rights. However, it was put down by the conservative Meiji constitution promulgated in 1889 (Kuninobu, 1984). At that time, women were believed to be *"ryousaikenbo"* (good wife, wise mother) which established to the promulgation of the Ordinance on Girls' High School in 1899 (Filler, 2013). To reach the state goal, women needed to be educated at a high level. However, in reality, it could only be applied to women from the upper class. Under the paradigm of the economic and national development, the shifting of the family pattern to be more of a modern nuclear family has increased the significance of the motherhood role. Therefore the state keeps the lesson of "*ryousaikenbo*" within the compulsory secondary school system (Micaela & Nocedo, 2012).

During Taisho period (1912-1926), the majority of people still did not have the rights to vote. Hence, there was a movement called Taisho Democracy Social Movement. Under the Meiji Constitution, the law has limited the vote right to men who paid at least 15 yen annually of property tax, which is only 1 percent of the population that could participate in the elections. Therefore, this movement solely focused on male suffrage and succeeded in universal male suffrage law in 1925. Women suffrage was still an impossible goal at that time, however, eventually gained the right to vote in 1946 (AJE, 2017, para 1). In 1922, it was even prohibited for women to participate in political meetings (Kuninobu, 1984).

Many of women began to work and recognize equal rights accordingly to the new Japanese constitution promulgated in 1945. The middle-class family has expanded by the development of the nation and economics. The stigma of women as a housewife, however, did not change. The husband has the responsibility of being the breadwinner of the house while the wife stays at home, doing house chores and raising children

which created the stereotype of "*kyoiku mama*" ("Education Mother"). The idiom "*kyoiku mama*" encouraged mothers to commit to the process of their children's education. In the absence of father figure, the task of being a "*kyoiku mama*" is not only finding suitable schools for the kids or consulting with their homeroom teachers. However, small detailed activities like preparing sharp pencils, making night snacks and pouring tea while their children are doing night study are also essential to the process (Allison, 2000).Beginning of feminism in modern period was around the late 1970s which is the time when studies of Contemporary women was introduced as well as the impact of the United Nations International Women's Year (Kuninobu, 1984). Although the "*ryousaikenbo*" practice was still a stigma to the Japanese social pattern, there were movements and campaigns to improve conditions and rewards for women in workforce with the awareness for gender equality as a mark of the developed nation. Women were also encouraged self-development activities such as education, as well as personal consumption and leisure, including travel (Kuninobu, 1984).

2.2 The Reality of Hostess Club and 2.5-Dimensional Spaces Concept of Maid Café

Hostess clubs are the place where male customers can expose themselves as they can stay away from home and work, which can also indicate dissatisfaction and failures in their family or professional lives. At the hostess club, mature and professional women would sit next to the male customers and carry conversations regarding any topics from politics, economics to society or even sexuality, which sometimes can lead to flirtatious touching the hostess' body. Regarding the anthropological research by Anne Allison (1994), although there are various kinds of a woman at hostess club, depending on the price and the level of classiness, there are four universal factors that

all hostesses must possess. Firstly, the hostess must act like a woman. Secondly, the hostess must treat the customer as superior and attend to his desires. Thirdly, the service must exclude sex, no genital penetration allowed. Lastly, the service is only operated at the level of conversation (Allison, 1994, p. 7-8).

The main job of the hostess is originally speaking and listening to customers in order to make them feel special or in other word is making a man "feel like a man" (Allison, 1994, p. 8). In *mizushobai*, sexual talks were brought up as a regular matter by the men customers and sometimes brought up on the table as a topic to laugh together with their colleagues. Allison has argued that although sexual talk could be seen as the intimacy to begin the heterosexual relationship, the main focused here is only boosting the male's ego. As Allison stated, "the erotic object is not the woman but the man, and the female is just a device to enhance the male's self-image" (Allison, 1994, p. 182-183). In short, a hostess's work is to fulfill (male) customers' emotional desires rather than physical one.

There are many types of *misushobai* in Japan. Maid café is also counted as a modern *misushobai* because the main customers for this business are men. According to Galbraith, maid cafes are "2.5-dimensional spaces", which means "liminal spaces between fiction and reality" (Galbraith, 2011, para. 2). In maid cafe, the staffs are mostly young females who wear maid costumes in order to create "character image", and provide customers with service. In maid café, the maids always regard customers as masters instead of men (Galbraith, 2013). Although the maid cafe could be referred as "alternative intimacy" to the male customers, the service is not the same as a hostess. Maids would not show physical intimacy to the customers because the concept of maid cafe is to create the vision of fantasy like seeing the character on screen, which is focusing on viewing rather than touching. Maids role-play with customers and ask them

to act along with her. At first entrance, the maid will greet the customers as if the customer came back to their home, and when sitting inside, the maid will continue their role by calling the customers "master." Thiam Huat Kam (2008) asserts that maid cafe is like another home allowing customers to keep away from the reality and live temporarily in a fantasy world (Kam, 2008).

Contrast to the hostess club image depicted by the ethnographic work of Anne Allison (1994), women in hostess clubs were seen as the professional and mature women who were capable of listening to the "adult topics" by carrying on the complex discussion of economics, society and politics (Allison, 1994). While the image of the maid is the innocent character as she is a "pure child" and intimacy happens in the maid café seen as the "pure fantasy." Another difference between maid cafe and hostess club is that sexual harassment both physically and verbally is strictly prohibited in the maid cafe. Conversations between customers and maids are mainly about their hobbies, but it will be limited to any topics inside the maid café (Galbraith, 2013).

2.3 Looking at fandom through the Japanese Subculture: Otaku and fan's culture

This thesis explores the preference of the butler café among the Japanese fans, this is also relating to the term of *otaku*. Therefore, this section would be reference information for the analysis part of this study.

Otaku derives from Japanese word, which means "obsessive fan" (Napier, 2007). Galbraith defined *otaku* as people who have preferences in consumption or play over the limit of social commonsense. On the other hand, Napier gives the definition of *otaku* as "obsessive fan," or "technogeek" but in America, it shows the "cool" connotations but it represents the negative meaning in Japan. In the 1990s, Japanese

society considered *otaku* as sexually immature, socially irresponsible, and potentially dangerous. This term includes fans of manga, anime, and games. Maid cafe clients may also involve with the *otaku*. In Japanese society, male otaku are perceived to be "failed men" as they are living in fantasy and cannot maintain their common sense in the real world, hence it could be connected to the concept of 2.5-dimensional space. This concept describes people who are in between two-dimensional-world, the world of animation, and three-dimensional-world, the world of reality (Galbraith, 2013).

Daniel Cavicchi (2014) indicated that the term of the fan of media was explicitly shown in the twentieth century (Cavicchi, 2014). Henry Jenkins (1988) also defined a fan as a person who is:

> "not by being a regular viewer of a particular program but by translating that viewing into some type of cultural activity, by sharing feelings and thoughts about the program content with friends, by joining a community of other fans who share common interests" (Jenkins, 1988, p. 88).

On the same hand, Lawrence Grossberg (2014) described a fan as a person who has unique "sensibility," "affect or mood," "feeling of life," and "investment" in something (Grossberg, 2014). On the other hand, other people who are not the fans seem to see the fandom as something nonsense. However, Joli Jensen (1992), a media scholar had argued that the fans were seen as representative of pathology since fandoms are indeed the representation of "the decline of community and the increasing power of the mass media" (Lewis and Jensen, 1992). Cavicchi (2004) implied the behaviours of literary author's fans during the 1700s that "began sending letters to them, making pilgrimages to actual places mentioned in their books, and developing intense identification with the characters and settings of their various stories" (Staiger, 2005).

To summarize, for anime and manga fans, the emotional affection that fans created while viewing or reading develop the fan's identity. Although it cannot be expected to happen to every reader or viewer, a lot of times anime fans identify themselves with anime characters, logically not the physical appearance but personalities, lifestyles and situation. Fans also empathise with anime characters as one of high school student expressed her feeling to the anime as "Anime is funny. It's tragic. It's scary. It's provocative. It's romantic. It's sci-fi. It's action. It does everything that movies do slightly different way" (Napier, 2007).

CHAPTER 3:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of two sections; theoretical frameworks as the first part, followed by the research methodology.

3.1 Theoretical Frameworks

This section of the theoretical framework will introduce two theories, Susan Napier's *Fantasyscape* theory and Karen Kelsky's *Occidental Longing* theory which will be applied to the interpretation of the data in the Chapter of Findings and Discussion.

3.1.1 *Fantasyscape* Theory

Fantasy is one of the most important themes in the analysis of themed café's – such as Butler Café – settings. In one of the 2007 books of Susan Napier, *From Impressionism to Anime*, the author referred to the fantasy as a "mise-en-scene of desire". Napier referred to the psychological definition from Jean Laplanche and J.B. Pontalis that the term mise-en-scene itself is a French word describing settings and props on the stage theatre and cinema, which constructs a form of fantasy. Fantasy is mostly used to create the positive vibe or a "wish-fulfilling dream". "Fantasy implies the imaginary, an alternative or even opposition to reality, a reality which may be disappointing, dreary, or frightening" (Napier, 2007, p.3). Hence fantasy is seen as a "passive escape" from the complexity of the reality (Napier, 2007). The term "fantasyscape" based on the theory of Arjun Appadurai, which means "contemporary

cultural flows belong to different "landscapes" such as "mediascapes" where communication is paramount or "financescapes," where economic activity is emphasized" (Napier, 2007, p.11). Therefore, one of the theories that can be well applied to the idea of Butler Café is "fantasyscape". Napier explains that "Fantasyscapes are the inherently liminal worlds, temporary alternative lifestyles that exist parallel to the mundane, which people enter and exist when they please (Napier, 2007, p.11)". To some extent, by this dynamic, Butler Cafe can also be interpreted as a "passive escape" from the social restraint and the complex reality of being Japanese women.

3.1.2 *Occidental Longings* Theory

According to Karen Kelsky (2001), focusing on the term of "*akogare*" which is translated to longing, desire for something that is unattainable. In Japan, the term mostly is used to describe how Japanese women longing or yearning for the West. The women's discourse of Japan and the West was embedded in the postcolonial era. Although Japan today is considered to be a colonial power, especially in the sense of economic power, it is still, "almost white but not quite" (Bhabha, 1994). Kelsky argues that Japan was never officially colonised by the West, which does not mean that it could escape from "ideological domination" of the Western imperialism. Since the post-war era, the white Western man's image became appealing to the Japanese women under the "ideological domination" which created the longing or the desire to what associated with the Western (Kelsky, 2001, p. 25). "Ideological domination" illustrates as the way power embedded and impacted in colonized countries even though the formal colonial relationship has gone.

Kelsky's *Occidental Longings* is the theory to interpret the data in terms of gender perception in Japan through this phenomenon. In the book *Gender, Sex and Translation: The Manipulation of Identities by Jose Santaemilia* referred to the work of Kelsky (2001) by giving the definition of the Occidental Longing as "to imagine a romantic partner from the Western or longing for a fictional dip, into love Western-Style" (Santaemilia, 2005). Western men obtained the white Western privilege could become a preferable alternative for Japanese women. Western men are caretakers, especially by the manners and custom of treating ladies. They would offer to carry bags or heavy things for women or even open the door for women as they are getting into a car. Compared to them, Japanese women saw Japanese men as discourteous, intolerant and uncaring of themselves; they are also incapable of approaching women and using soft words (Kelsky, 2001, p. 166). In the perspective of western men, they respect women and treat them with care while Japanese men recognise women as inferior, hence, it is not necessary to appreciate or bother about the women (Gordon, 2010).

Additionally, it is an essential practice to look at the original idea of the setting of Butler Cafe as well. Since the history, the idea of the butler is originated from the European Western background. The word "butler" itself derived from a form the Old Norman "*boteille*" means "bottle" (Poloandtweed, 2016). The "*boteille*" was initially the wine caretaker for the King when he left the palace as wines were rare and expensive in that era. The term has changed from *boteille* to 'butler' through time. With the significant responsibility, the status of the butlers was considered to be higher than other servants in the elite household. As the head of male domestic servants or senior servant, the duty of butlers also shifted from only a wine caretaker to managing all the household staffs and maintains the house in a well-groomed condition. Hence, the concept of butler has rooted from the Western world and later, the idea of having a

butler to attend their services was expanded worldwide, especially in high-class hotels and resorts.

In *Occidentalism Images of the West* (2003) by James G. Carrier, the term of occidentalism has been elaborated on the notion of the image or the representation of the West. Carrier has dedicated a chapter of this book discussing on the usage of the Japanese word *gaijin*. The direct meaning of *gaijin* is "outside person", and conceptualised by the Japanese people; the word *gaijin* can be translated as "foreigner". However, Japanese media has influenced the audiences to define *gaijin* exclusively as the white who is presumed to be Westerner rather than other white Asian people (Carrier, 2003, p. 137). Therefore, the word *gaijin* became the definition of occidentalism in Japanese perception, since the construction of the occidental is another form of white Westerner. "Fantasy excursions" mostly contains informative content that has pleasant imagery and "possibilities for playful excursions into a fantasy world" (Carrier, 2003, p. 138). In Japanese television commercial, foreigners fit in with the images of "fantasy excursions" (Carrier, 2003, p. 138).

Before 1868, China was the role model that Japan applied its cultures into the nation. Since the Meiji Era (1868-1912) onwards, the role model shifted from China to (white) Westerners regarding the westernization. However, historically, Japanese felt like being intimidated by the white Westerners. As the Westerners led to its closure from the outside world for two and a half centuries and forced Japan to reopen country again. Hence, after that it moved to the modernization period of Japan. In modern Japan, *gaijin* became the standard of beauty and style. Since Meiji era, Japanese women who would be considered as beautiful should look like *gaijin* (Carrier, 2003, p. 142). Since then, the occidentalism of *gaijin* in Japan has been the white Westerners only.

In television commercials, the function of Japanese advertisement is to build a dream world, which will provide the distinct image and more fantasy feeling. One of the means to create the mood of fantasy in Japanese advertisements is the picture of foreigners or the foreign places because the Japanese exoticise the existence of *gaijin*. According to the statement of the creative Director of Denstu which is referred in Carrier's book (2003):

"There are a lot of love scenes in ads-like kissing. In Japan for a long time there is an idea that kissing, even holding hands, is something that people shouldn't do in public. But having *gaijin* kiss is one way to portray romance, and it's o.k., because, after all, they are *gaijin*" (Carrier, 2003, p. 145).

However, more than just an attraction, the exoticization of the Western world in Japanese society signify and reflect the eager to "assert control over" the other powerful nations in the outside realm (Carrier, 2003, p. 144).

Therefore, Occidental Longing theory was chosen to analyse the Butler Café phenomenon with the connection to the notion of the "Western". The analysis of the theory and the connection to the Butler Cafe will be further discussed in the finding part.

3.2 Methodology

The qualitative research method is employed in order to achieve the research objective. The significant characteristic of qualitative research is to specific on the small scale of data, analyze the quality of the collected information's and when compare the quantitative research, the statistics measurement of the outcomes are not the to be

focused or conducted in this qualitative research. The methodology section consist of three parts: 1) data collection methods and tools (participant observation, semi-structured interviews, 2) tool for the research method: sample questions for semi-structured interviews); 3) predictive content analysis and coding analysis: coding keywords from interview data.

3.2.1 Data Collection Methods and Tools

3.2.1.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the methods that anthropologist and sociologist commonly use to get the data. This method is the tool to collect the data for qualitative method (Kawulich, 2005). Kawulich referred to the definition of observation by Marshall and Rossman (1989), "observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). DeWalt and DeWalt writes that "the goal for design of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method" (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002). Hence, the research involves deep analysis of the data collected from intensive field research which includes interviews to the customers and "butlers" and participant observation at *S. Butler Café* in Tokyo. *S. Butler Café* is an alias name of the Butler Café in order to keep the privacy. In addition, female customers were the main subject of the study of their behaviors and expectations of the *S. Butler Café* visit. Two field researches were conducted in February and September 2017. Every field work, the researcher

visited the *S. Butler Café* as a customer without revealing that the visit was a part of the research process. The researcher also collected data from *S. Butler Café*'s employees and females who are non-customers of the *S. Butler Café* as well for different perspectives of society toward Butler Café.

3.2.1.2 Semi-structured Interviews

DeWalt and DeWalt mentioned that additional strategies such as interviews, questionnaires, surveys are part of qualitative data collection, which create the stronger validity of the study (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002). Therefore, semi-structured interview is chosen to be the form of qualitative research method of this research. Flick writes that semi-structured interview is apparently most universal form of interviews in human and social sciences (Flick, 2002). Semi-structured interview is one of methods that allow interviewees to provide more information than what interviewers asks. It can create the "knowledge-producing potential of dialogues" and helps interviewers make wider conversation and more in-depth into the issues comparing to the structured interviews. A structured interview is a form of the interview with the closed-ended question and the interviewer simply reads the script of the interview to all interviewees. Therefore, it is more beneficial to obtain more in-depth information from some open-ended questions. In this research, 19 Japanese female interviewees participated, 8 were customers of *S. Butler Café* and the other 11 were non-customers. Even though the non-customers seem not relevant to the study, actually they also provided the useful information for this thesis. Each interview was approximately 5-10 minutes long.

3.2.1.3 Tool for the research method: Sample questions for semi-structured interviews

The questions below are the demo questions for the interview; a detailed form of the full interview is presented in Appendices. Depend on the time limitation of the interviewees, some wordings or list of questions had to be changed to suit each individual. There are 4 questions for non-customers of the *S. Butler Café* and 6 questions for the customers of the *S. Butler Café* as below;

Questions for female non-customers interviews

Question 1: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Question 2: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Question 3: Why you have never visited the Butler Cafe?

Question 4: How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Question 5: Do you have an idea of why the Butler Cafe exists?

Questions for female customers interviews

Question 1: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Question 2: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Question 3: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?

Question 4: How did you feel when you visited?

Question 5: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?

Question 6: What do you think is different from the Maid Cafe?

3.2.2 Predictive Content Analysis

Content Analysis is a common technique that researchers from various fields use to analyse qualitative data. It can explain the characteristics or identify the relationship of the received messages. This method plays a significant role to comprehend human behaviours and social and behavioural science. It assists the researcher to reach the goal of science, which includes a description, prediction, control, and explanation. Content analysis helps to achieve the highest goal, explanation. It has been used a lot in the variable topics of social science field including "gender and race, violence, media reporting and political communication" (Rose, Spinks and Canhoto, 2015). In this study, the type of content analysis that will be employed to this study is predictive content analysis. The predictive content analysis is mostly utilized along with other methods that use people as units of data collection. The goal of this analysis is to predict some outcome or effect of the message under examination. This method is focusing on measuring the principal characteristics of the message which the researcher aims to predict the receiver respond to the message. Most of the use of predictive content analysis is to predict the public opinions by blending content analysis and public opinions to summarize the outcomes (Neuendorf, 2002, p.46). Regarding this study, the predictive content analysis will be merged and apply along with the semi-structured interview method.

3.2.3 Coding Analysis: Coding Keywords from interview Data

Coding is the method that sorts interviewee's responses into categories which could be similar concept or themes found in the process. The researcher can also code for names, evidence or even the sign of emotion such as amusement, fear, or hesitant (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Theses selected methods was also a related method to the content analysis which was often applied to the sociology research. Therefore, this research will first conduct the predictive content analysis as mentioned above to code the significant "keywords" out of the interview transcript, then analyse them by the content analysis method. This thesis will apply the method to analyse the denotation and connotation of the certain "keywords" from the selected sample of the interview. The keyword will be selected by going through the answer of the interviewee. The word or phrase that could be grouped, categorised, or create a theme to the study. Furthermore, the keywords that have denotation and connotations which linked or associated with both of the Butler Cafe and selected theories will be chosen to discuss. The selected keywords will be focused and analysed in the finding and discussion part.

CHAPTER 4:

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter will present the findings through the data obtained from both participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The finding between 4.1 and 4.3 will respond to the first research question of how the concept of Butler Cafe fits Japanese society, focusing on Japanese women. Afterwards, the explanation of the second question of how the existence of Butler Café reflects or illustrates the gender perception in Japanese society will be presented in the discussion part of chapter 5 of the paper.

In addition, based on the interview, the research has categorised the content from the 19 dialogues of the interview into three major themes (upon the dialogue of the interview that has overlapped themes, this study categorised the dialogues according to its overall central concept). There are 19 excerpts in total. The numbers showing in the table are the list of excerpts in each finding. In the finding 4.1 *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler), there are 7 excerpts that information from the interview related to this finding, which are excerpt number 2, 5, 6,10, 11, 14, and 19. For finding 4.2 Princess Stories/Princess Culture, there are 4 excerpts, which are 8, 9, 16, and 17. For finding 4.3 *Omotenashi* and old Western chivalry manner, there are 3 excerpts, which are excerpt number 12, 13, and 18. The rest of excerpts are including in "Other", which are excerpt 1, 3, 4, 7, and 15. This clarification of the excerpt numbers correspond to the finding indicated in the following table;

Table 1: Lists of the major themes presented in findings

Theme	List of excerpts in each finding	Total number of the excerpts in each finding
4.1 *Kuroshitsuji*(Black Butler) (coolness and fantasy)	2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 19	7
4.2 Princess Stories/Princess Culture (luxurious and expensive)	8, 9, 16, 17	4
4.3 *Omotenashi* and old Western chivalry manner	12, 13, 18	3
Others	1, 3, 4, 7, 15	5
Total number of excerpts	19	

4.1 The Delicacy of Arts: The Connection of *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler) Manga and Anime Fan's Culture

In this section, "*Kuroshitsuji*" (Black Butler) is one of the interesting keywords found from two of the interviewees who are both female customers who visited the Butler Café and the other one is from a female non-customer as below:

Excerpt 14

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: <u>Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?</u>

Japanese woman N: <u>I am a fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I would like to try this cafe.</u>

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman N: I was treated like "a young lady" so I felt very satisfied.

Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?

Japanese woman N: No, I have not.

<u>Excerpt 19</u>

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman S: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman S: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman S: I think it reminded me of the anime called <u>*"Kuroshitsuji"*</u>

Interviewer: <u>Do you have an idea of why does the Butler Cafe exist?</u>

Japanese woman S: I think that Butler Cafe exists by the influence of the butler anime like <u>*"Kuroshitsuji"*</u> and that is how they were gaining popularity too.

According to both Japanese woman customers from excerpt 14 and 19 who mentioned the anime called *"Kuroshitsuji"* (Black Butler), their responses became the keyword of this finding. The interview from excerpt 14 discussed on reason to visit

Butler Cafe that she was a fan of anime while excerpt 19 stated on the purpose of the existence and popularity of Butler Cafe is because of the anime. Therefore, the keyword that this thesis discovered from both of the interview dialogues is the connection between Butler Cafe and the anime *Black Butler*'s fans.

In 2006, Japanese manga writer Yana Toboso has release *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler). The story is about the young master of an elite family, Ciel, who traded his soul with the demon to avenge the death of his family. The demon lived in the form of the handsome and composed butler named Sebastian, who was meant to support and serve Ciel under the soul contract. Despite being only a 13-year-old boy, Ciel inherited the title Earl of Phanthomhive from his deceased father, by being a watchdog in London underworld for the Queen of England during the Victorian Era in 19th Century (Diamond, 2017).

4.1.1 Butler characters in manga and anime *Kuroshitsuji*

Besides the popularity of *Kuroshitsuji* anime, during the 2000s there were various anime and manga related to the master-servant relationship plot. For example, *Hayate no Gotoku!* (Hayate the combat butler) written by Kanjiro Hata, which was released as a manga in 2004 and anime adaption was broadcasted in 2007 (Fandom, 2016). Another famous story is Mei-chan no Shitsuji written by Riko Miyagi in 2006, which was adapted to be the live-action Japanese TV drama aired in 2005 (Jshoujo Scans, 2014).

The unique characteristic of the butler character Sebastian in *Kuroshitsuji* is that he is not a human being but a summoned demon. By the given name from his master, Sebastian can do everything as he has demonic powers. Despite his slim charismatic

body, he can cook a three course dinner within an hour, and fight against the intruders with only the silverware. No matter how catastrophic and muddy of mission that he has to carry out, Sebastian perpetually appears in the neat and clean formal butler suit as the symbol of how he cares, committed and devoted to his duty. In this manner, the demon butler is able to capture the attention from the fans more than other butler-themed manga or anime (Collins, 2015).

4.1.2 Fandom of *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler) anime: Experiencing anime in reality

Fans' behaviour has been well studied in Henry Jenkins's work as in one of the chapters of "Fan and Fan Behaviors". He mentioned that "a person is a fan not by being a regular viewer of a particular program but by translating that viewing into some type of cultural activity, by sharing feelings and thoughts about the program content with friends, by joining a community of other fans who share common interests" (Staiger, 2005).

Under the similar process, fans of *Kuroshitsuji* would like to relate themselves to the anime character. They desire to experience a life like a protagonist and be served by the butler as same as in the anime. Their activities go beyond anime world into reality. The one of the practices of *Kuroshitsuji* fandom is situating themselves into Butler Café. The interviewee in excerpt 14 has mentioned that as a fan of *Black Butler*, she was treated like "*a young lady*", and she felt "very satisfied".

Excerpt 14

[…]

Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: I am a fan of *"Kuroshitsuji"* since the beginning so I would like to try this cafe.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman N: I was treated like *"a young lady"* so I felt "*very satisfied*".**[…]**

4.1.3 Butler as an idol: The idolization of butlers in the cafe

Along with the relation to the *Kuroshitsuji* anime, it is essential to examine other factors that made Butler Cafe became appealing and successful in gaining popularity among Japanese female customers. The data collected from the field research observation combined with secondary sources found that the butlers selected to be employed in the *S. Butler Café* were multi-talented. In Japan, the training period procedure of the butler took two months with a test of the service as hotel standard. An essential element that made this *S. Butler Café* distinguishable from other Butler Cafes is the musical performance performed by the butlers in the cafe. Their stage performance called "Opera Troupe" which cast all the butlers who were able to sing, dance, act and play musical instruments. Indeed, similar to the other stage plays, the butlers would perform and play their roles in each performance in a particular theme of the show.

To be critical, the depiction of the butlers in the cafe is not just as ordinary domestic servants of the mansion according to their role, but they are idols that the fan-girl customers are looking forward to encountering and having a friendly conversation

with them. The fan-girls, who are both fans of *Kuroshitsuji* and Butler Cafe, could link the multi-talented characteristics of the butlers in the café on the stage play to the demonic power of the anime butler character of the anime, Sebastian, thus even more increasing the exaggeration of their fantasy. For instance, from some of the interviews, female interviewees also express their feelings about the Butler Cafe image as a "cool" existence as in excerpt 2 and 5;

Excerpt 2

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman B: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman B: No, I have not. **[…]**

Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman B: I think it represents "coolness".

Excerpt 5

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman E: Yes, I have heard about it.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman E: No, I have not but I want to try if I have a chance someday.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman E: Cool!

Moreover, some of them even imagine that Butler Cafe is a place where a lot of handsome men exist as in excerpt 6;

Excerpt 6

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman F: How is Butler Cafe different from the good-looking-guys cafe? I do not think I know the Butler Cafe.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman F: No, I have not but if I have a chance, I will go to visit this place.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman F: I did not have any interest in it before so I do not have any detail about it. *I only feel that there should be a lot of handsome guys in this cafe.*

When stepping out of the Butler Cafe, on the opposite side of the restaurant there is a cafe gift shop selling merchandise items related to the musical performance of the butlers such as stage musical DVDs, postcards, calendars. From the observation, one of the strict rules to enter the Butler Cafe is not to take any photos or making any video recording. Therefore, this manner implied the reason for the postcard popularity, the merchandise products that have the butlers' pictures printed on postcards. Especially those postcards with images of those butlers who were chosen to perform in a stage show became an inevitably favourite product to be sold in the gift shop.

4.2 The Delicacy of a Play: One and a half hours to be like a princess

Though the Butler Cafe has their very own musical performance, the mise-en-scene of the Butler Cafe itself could also be considered similar to the stage play that uses the notion of the British butler as a theme for the performance. Despite the fact, which themed cafe is the idea and innovation of the contemporary era, the interior of the restaurant has replicated the atmosphere of the British Mansion, in the reign of Queen Victoria. The grand crystal chandelier was hanging in the midst of the hall, yet with the decoration of carved dark wood furniture and heavy red velvet curtains. Undoubtedly with these sophisticated interior furnishings, the customers who visit the cafe are expected to be part of the acting. In one of the questions from the interview: "How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?", one of the engaging keyword discovered from some of the interviewees is "*a young lady*" as below in excerpt 8, 14 and 16:

Excerpt 8

Interviewer: Do you know *Butler Cafe*?

Japanese woman H: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the *Butler Cafe*?

Japanese woman H: No, I have not but I want to try if I have a chance.

Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman H: "*A young lady*"

Excerpt 14

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: I am a fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I would like to try this cafe.

Interviewer: <u>How did you feel when you visited?</u>

Japanese woman N: I was treated like "*a young lady*" so I felt very satisfied.

[…]

Excerpt 16

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Because it was new and I had never visited the Butler Cafe before so I wanted to try.

Interviewer: *<u>How did you feel when you visited?</u>*

Japanese woman P: I finally understood the feeling of being "*<u>a young lady</u>*". I was both nervous and excited. My heart was beating fast. **[…]**

4.2.1 The expectation of being "*a young lady*" from the childhood princess story

In Japan, although Japanese people have their own princess stories, the storyline of Japanese princess tales has a significant distinction from the Western ones. In the Western princesses' stories, for example, the Cinderella

story, the young girl who has bad fortune and has been bullied by her stepmother and step siblings, faced lots of struggles at the beginning. However, with ambiguous reason, if it is because of her good deeds, her appealing charms or her pure luck, at the end the young girl somehow becomes a princess who lives a comfortable and luxurious life with her prince in the castles. To compare, a Japanese princess's story, one of the oldest Japanese folklore called the tales of Princess Kaguya. It is a story of the mysterious girl named Kaguya, which in fact, is a princess from the moon who was ascending to earth and living a normal life with her foster parents. However, at the end of the story, there is no beautiful pumpkin carriage or even a charming prince to rescue her as she was bound to go back to her original place leaving her parents and her lover in sadness.

These examples suggest that other than in Western fairy tales, where romance and luxury define the dream of being a princess, in Japanese fairy tales, the image of a princess are quite modest and simple. Comparing to the Western story style, the Japanese one is merely like a traditional folklore with legends and myths rather than the magical fairy tale in which all dreams come true. The Western story becomes the concept, image, model, and inspiration of the definition of the word "*A young lady*" for Japanese women. When they heard the words "*A young lady*" in the Butler Cafe, they will immediately imagine the "princess" and luxury life in the Western story rather than the princess in Japanese tales. For example in excerpt 14, the female from the interview mentions that she was satisfied with being treated like "*a young lady*" and even in excerpt 16, the female interviewee emphasised that she "finally understood the feeling of being "*a young lady*" as below;

Excerpt 14

[…]

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why you would like to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: I am a fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I would like to try this cafe.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman N: I was treated like "a young lady" so I felt very satisfied.**[…]**

Excerpt 16

[…]

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Because it was new and I had never visited the Butler Cafe before so I wanted to try.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman P: I *finally understood the feeling of being "a young lady"*. I was both nervous and excited. My heart was beating fast. **[…]**

4.2.2 Being a lady in a café: the combination between fantasy and reality

Regarding the setting of the Butler Cafe which carries the vibe of the elegant and royal sense to the customers, there are various fancy roles that the female customer imagined themselves to be while they were sipping a cup of tea inside the Butler Cafe. Despite the word "*ojou-sama*" which is the formal Japanese honorific word meaning "*a young lady*" and also implied to the girl from the wealthy family (Lance, 2016) called by the butlers, there is no limitation or measurement to the customer of how far beyond their imagination they could reach. Many of them would like to be a refined lady, while some of them might enjoy the thought of being a princess instead. The example of an imagination of being "*a young lady*" is from excerpt 16 as below;

Excerpt 16

[…]

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman P: I *finally understood the feeling of being "a young lady"*. I was both nervous and excited. My heart was beating fast. **[…]**

Through the observation, customers who came to the Butler Cafe were likely to extend their imagination through their manner and physical appearance. There are numbers of female customers who were cosplaying in lolita dress, princess' style as Gagné (2008), has called this subculture of cosplay practice as "urban princesses" (Gagné, 2008).

Therefore, analysing from the data collected, it can be assumed that Japanese female customers visit the Butler Cafe to pause from any complex thoughts and stressful issues in real life. Since, the idea of Butler Cafe was in-between the reality and the fantasy realm, women were provided with enough space for them to fantasise and imagine. Either being "*a young lady*", "*a princess*" or even "*a queen*", the Butler Cafe has no restriction on their imagination.

4.3 The Delicacy of Service: The fusion between Japanese *Omotenashi* and old-fashioned western chivalry manners

As mentioned in the earlier section that Butler Café is considered to be one of the theme cafés, however the *S. Butler Café* that was used as a field site for this research has taken a quite different approach to attract customers. Instead of serving normal a la carte as other cafés, *S. Butler Café* provides the luxurious service and products to the visitors. Despite the limited serving time of 90 minutes, the management, table setting and cuisine on the menu were arranged as a fine Western restaurant. Regarding the interview by connecting to the consciousness of the interviewees as they know that the Butler Cafe is not just a Cafe but indeed a refined dining place, an interesting keyword of "*omotenashi*" was found in one of the interviews.

Below are the samples of the interview dialogues which interviewees responded to the question "Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?" and some of them mentioned about one of the reasons to visit or wanted to visit the *Butler Cafe*, as they would like to enjoy the "*omotenashi*" during their meal.

Excerpt 12

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: *Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman L: *I wanted to slowly spend time over my lunch at a good restaurant and receive the "omotenashi"***[…]**

Excerpt 13

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Because the butlers give the service to the female customers.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman M: *I think receiving the "Omotenashi" created a good feeling for me.* **[…]**

4.3.1 Japanese *Omotenashi* Versus Western chivalry manners

Omotenashi is the term for hospitality in Japan, which it is more than just a service. *Omotenashi* is not only attending to what guests desire but it is much deeper than that. *Omotenashi* (お持て成し) consists of 3 elements of *Shitsurai*

(室礼), *Furumai* (振る舞い), and *Yosooi* (よそおい) (Bongard-Blanchy, 2010,

p. 2-3).

First, the host needs to put his heart into the service for his guests at every stage. Starting with the first step called *Shitsurai*, which means preparation for guest. All the facilities and catering must be setup with dedication. The next step is *Furumai*, indicates the behaviour and attitude. The host should ensure that the response to the guests is appropriate with their situation, both verbally and non-verbally. Lastly, the dressing code or *Yosooi* is also important for the host. In the Japanese context, even the tone of voice when serving the customers plays a significant role in the term of *omotenashi*. The higher pitch of the voice is the right manner to talk with the guests (Bongard-Blanchy, 2010, p. 4-5). In the Butler Cafe, *Shitsurai* is the way butlers prepare the table and cuisine to welcome the customers. The way they were expressing polite manner and addressing their customers as "*a young lady* and/or *a young master*" could be considered as a form of *Furumai*. Lastly, the formal suit style worn by butlers is *Yosooi* in the context of Butler Cafe. In one of the interview transcripts, two female interviewees in excerpt 12 and 13 have mentioned about the "*omotenashi*" service and one of the interviewees in expert 13 stated that "receiving the *omotenashi* created a good feeling" for her as below;

Excerpt 12

[…]

Interviewer: *Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman L: *I wanted to slowly spend time over my lunch at a good restaurant and receive the "omotenashi"*

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited? **[…]**

Excerpt 13

[…]

Interviewer: Why you would like to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Because the butlers give top service to the female customers.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman M: *I think receiving the "Omotenashi" created a good feeling for me.***[…]**

In contrast, the Western hospitality is different from the Japanese *omotenashi*. In most cases, the general staff in Western stores or cafés regard themselves as equal to the guests, so the way they speak and treat customer does not have to be overly polite. According to the interview of Reiko Kawakami who observed customer service both in Japan and the West based on her experiences, "in the West, they are usually treated as equals. It doesn't matter if it's your job to serve them: if a customer does something you don't like, you let them know it" (Simonitch, 2012).However, in the Butler Cafe, although they serve the customers with Japanese *omotenashi* by adding some elements associated with the West, still they did not adopt the modern Western hospitality but the old Western chivalry manners instead.

The Western chivalry manners are profoundly unique and attractive, since the idea of chivalry manners occurred in the 17th century in France, as the knights had an obligation to serve and protect the ladies. Chivalry can be defined as men paying attention to the women, including strong beliefs of admiration, politeness and courteousness which were particularly communicated in the form of coquetry.

There are some patterns of chivalry manners that are practised in the Butler Cafe. First, the gentleman always walks in front of the woman because they should not see the woman's calves, especially when they go up the stairs. At the Butler Cafe, the butlers always lead the customers to the tables, to the toilet, and to the exit door. They will not encourage any customers to walk before them or walking around without the butler leading the way. Second, the lady's glasses on the dinner table should be served first and it must always be full. This practice is also adopted in the Butler Cafe, and the butlers will regularly visit the table to ensure that the teacup is always full. Third, chivalry meant to always assist the lady to put on her coat, including taking it off as well (Paris Attitude, 2017). The butlers will greet "*a young lady*" and take off their coat when they reach the Butler Cafe and once the customers have to leave, the butlers have to put on the coat for them.

CHAPTER 5:

ANALYSES AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter will discuss on the findings by applying the theory of *fantasyscape*, *Occidental Longings* theory, and the concept of 2.5 Dimensional Space.

5.1 Discussion (1): Analyzing the phenomenon of Butler Cafe and gender politics through the *fantasyscape theory*

As mentioned from the introduction and literature review of gender perception, in the late nineteenth century, education for Japanese women had been developed and started to be available for the common Japanese women around the end of the Tokugawa period. Since education became widespread and easily accessible to women of all ages, they had more freedom. During the American post-war occupation, Japanese society was westernized and gradually developed in order to retain the identity of being one of the superior countries. This change impacted the mindset and customs of Japanese people. From staying at home and doing chores only, Japanese women started to have more alternatives as they could go to work and enjoy their lives. However, Japanese society still somehow maintained the male dominant culture and this caused Japanese women to struggle and they could not completely gain their freedom, especially in the workplace. It is more difficult for Japanese women to be promoted to work at the high rank, they can only be the subordinates.

Applying the view in "Too Few Women At The Top: The Persistence of Inequality in Japan" by Nemoto (2016), even though the Japanese society has changed and has accepted westernization and women's empowerment, in the business industry

the customs in the workplace in Japan still have the sex segregation and gender biases policy because they expect that Japanese women will leave the workplace after they get married during some point of their employment to take care of their family. Therefore, they are likely to prioritize male workers to always get the higher benefits than female workers. It is not only the promotion issue in that female employees have been treated differently - welfare, performance-based pay and lifelong employment promotion is also apart of it (Nemoto, 2016).

From this point, the linkage between the Butler Cafe and the Japanese women can be analyzed by the *fantasyscape* theory as the fact that Japanese women were suppressed in the male dominated workplace. Instead of speaking up and trying to increase their power (which is rather impossible or somehow takes too long a time) the women have to find a new way to escape from the hardships in their daily life.

In two of the interviews, both of the Japanese women have given quite the same answer to the question about the existence of Butler Cafe as *"the place for young women"* while replying to the question about the existence of Maid Cafe as *"the place for young men"*.

Excerpt 10

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman J: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman J: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to go.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman J: I thought it sounded embarrassing.

Interviewer: *Do you have an idea of why the Butler Cafe exists?*

Japanese woman J: I think that Butler Cafe exists because *it is popular among young women*.

Interviewer: *Do you have an idea of why the Maid Cafe exists?*

Japanese woman J: I think that Maid Cafe exist because *it is created for young men*.

Excerpt 11

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman K: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman K: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to go.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman K: I thought it **s**ounds interesting!

Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why does the Butler Cafe exist?

Japanese woman K: I think that Butler Cafe exists because *it is a place for young women*.

Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Maid Cafe exist?

Japanese woman K: I think that Maid Cafe exists because *it is a place for young men*.

With no specific reason, the statement that "Butler Cafe is the place for young women, and Maid Cafe is the place for young men" has been mentioned in these two dialogues of interview in excerpt 10 and excerpt 11. The answers contained the element of sub-text and connotation which suggest that, while men, the dominant gender of the

Japanese society, have the place to participate, women, the gender with the stigma of being an inferior to men, also deserve to have space for themselves. In consequence, Butler Café becomes one of the alternative fantasy escape routes for Japanese women to hide from the real world and enter the fantasy space from time to time. As Butler Café offers the room for women to detach from reality and take pleasure in their imagination.

Another discussion in this part will emphasize on the gender politics of the customers who visit the Butler Cafe by the influence of the "*Kuroshitsuji*" or "*Black Butler*" anime. Regarding the anime narrative, though the demon butler character in the anime has taken male guise, there is a subtle hint throughout the story that Sebastian is gender-neutral, even the author of the anime did not mention what the exact gender of the butler is. Through the gap of the narrative above, the fan-girls get the opportunity to fantasise over the romantic relationship between Sebastian and other characters in the story. In the book of Staiger (2005) described fantasy theory in psychoanalysis that the woman's fantasy could be a response to "tensions about heterosexual relations", which will be transformed to "an emotional bond to sexual intimacy" (Staiger, 2005, p. 110). Therefore, there are two kinds of fantasies that fan-girls, who happened to be customers of the café, imagine through the butlers in Butler Cafe. There are two types of fantasy: 1) heterosexual fantasy 2) homosexual fantasy.

1) Heterosexual Fantasy

The definition of heterosexual fantasy is female-oriented fantasies concerning female-male romantic and erotic relationship which is mostly associated with shoujo manga, the manga target young females (McLelland, Nagaike, Suganuma & Welker, 2015). Though the *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler) is not fixed to the shoujo genre manga,

yet more of a fantasy genre which has a lot of elements suggested being a shounen-ai or boy love genre. The female fans somehow were able to relate themselves to the relationship between butler and master as in the story narrative. Those anime fans who became a customer of Butler Cafe were likely to imagine themselves as a lady of the mansion, princess of the castles, or a master of a refined household who has a personal butler attending them to every desire. While spending time together, the excitement of these fans leads to imagination of romantic and sexual relationships. One of the examples of the *Black Butler* fans was shown in the excerpt 14 as below;

Excerpt 14

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: I am a fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I thought that I would like to try this cafe.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman N: I was treated like "a young lady" so I felt very satisfied.

[…]

2) Homosexual Fantasy

Meanwhile, the heterosexual fantasy is focusing on the traditional relationship between men and women; another kind of fantasy that is associated with this trend of visiting Butler Cafe is homosexual fantasy. The term is connecting with the female-

oriented fantasies concerning male-male romantic and erotic relationship, associated with shounen-ai or boy love manga (McLelland, Nagaike, Suganuma & Welker, 2015). This type of fantasy is constructed by the image of the stage play, which mentioned before in the finding part of 4.1.3. On the stage during the musical performance, the brotherhood gesture which intends to act as fans service created the homosexual imagination for the audience, especially the hugging scenes or the ambiguous conversation between male butlers. The female customers who enjoy homosexual fantasy were likely to imagine the male butlers spending time together working and talking like a couple as Steiger also mentioned to the females who favor in homosexual fanfics that "not discourse about homosexuality, but rather fantasies that articulate women's desires concerning relationships in which men are involved" (Staiger, 2005, p. 110).

5.2 Discussion (2): Analysing the phenomenon of Butler Cafe and the "princess culture" through the *Fantasyscape Theory* and the Concept of 2.5-Dimensional Spaces

Referring back to the theory of fantasyscape, the process of living in the fantasy needs to be constructed in the liminal space of the Butler Cafe setting. Compare to the world of the influence from the consumption of princess stories and the desires to escape from reality, women are dealing with reality, especially rules and norms of the society. Therefore, Butler Café offers a space for women to empower in fantasy while customers expected to enter the fantasy world.

Through their childhood, girls associated their femininity with pink dresses and stuff, the idea of acting and playing "*a princess*" were flowing out from the

mediatization of the fairy tales and princesses' stories, and most of the time came from the Disney production. The fact is that children tend to perceive the story in a subtly different manner. "This difference relating in part to the subject position she/he takes up in the story, and in part on her/his understanding of gender roles" (Rothschild, 2013, p.117) and most of the children were using fairy tales to identify cultural norms and the shared beliefs about the gender roles held in their society (Rothschild, 2013, p.128). In her book, Cinderella Ate My Daughter: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the New Girlie-Girl Culture, Orenstein has given the term of "princess industrial complex"(Orenstein, 2012). The term describes how girls are growing up with the exposure of the advertisement and merchandise of princesses' products in their daily life. Within this concern, it might affect the girls to contribute "self-objectification", the way one seeing themselves as an object instead of a person and "self-sexualisation", the pattern how girls start to become aware of their sexual appeal during their teenage period (Cummings, 2017). One of the examples that has connotation relates to the behaviour of a princess culture presented in the interview excerpt 13, when the female interviewee compares the differences between the Butler Cafe and the Maid Cafe. She has mentioned that in a Maid Cafe she is not the one to play the cute role, but in a Butler Cafe, she is;

Excerpt 13

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Because the butlers give top service to the female customers. **[…]**

Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?

Japanese woman M: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: *What do you think is different from the maid cafe?*

Japanese woman M: *I think it is about the cuteness. Going to the Maid Cafe, I have to pay attention to the maid who is acting cute to me but while visiting the Butler Cafe, I can be the one to act cute and get the attention from the butlers.*

However, going through the transcript of the interview and the collected data from the observation, this study discovered an interesting point. The interviewee felt intimidated by the luxurious image of the Butler Cafe as she felt that she did not deserve to get this kind of service as in excerpt 9:

Excerpt 9

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman I: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman I: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to try.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman I: In my perception, *I think it sounds luxurious and expensive, which is not suitable for me. I think I do not deserve to receive that kind of service.*

Similarly, not only this female non-customer, other female customers were not fully enjoying the fantasy world through all the time spent at the Butler Cafe as well. From the interview the excerpt 12 below:

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: I wanted to slowly spend time over my lunch at a good restaurant and receive the "*omotenashi*"

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman L: *I think the price is costly, hence, the customers are all rich people, which made me feel nervous* also I am only a beginner for this kind of thing. However, I want to visit again.

The interviewee in excerpt 12 was still concerned about the high price of the food and feeling nervous because other rich customers surrounding her. The same kind of tension also happened to the interviewee in the excerpt 17:

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman P: Because I was invited by my friends and it was new to me so I wanted to try.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you visited?*

Japanese woman P: *I think Ifelt quite awkward and funny to be treated like a special person. I could not pour the tea or even go to toilet by myself. I still felt that it was an act and I did not feel like "a young lady" at all.* However, the food was good quality with a reasonable price. I would love to come back again with friends but not alone.

The female customer from excerpt 17 stated that she was not enjoyed being forbidden to pour her own tea or go to the restroom by herself. At the same time by the observation, some female customers expressed the gesture of commenting on her appearance, her hairstyle or her manners while she was participating in the Butler Cafe, which symbolizes her being conscious about the reality. While expecting the females to conflate the *fantasyscape* with the imagination to fulfill her desire of being "*a young lady*", these women are somehow showing distance from the fantasy realm and struggle between the magnetism of the reality and the 2.5-dimensional world.

5.3Discussion (3): Analyzing the phenomenon of Butler Cafe and service desire through the *Occidental Longings* Theory

While *omotenashi* is one of the significant elements for Japanese people to make a decision on choosing a service provider in all areas, the Japanese hospitality goes beyond the standard hospitality. In Japan, *omotenashi* was expected to be provided in any and all service industries. Therefore, with the high expectation from the customer, either from the good reputation or perhaps from the high price of the cuisine, Butler Cafe was expected to be a place to present an exceptional *omotenashi*. One of the female interviewees from except 9 also mentioned about the luxurious image and the concern of the price as below:

Excerpt 9

[…]

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman I: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to try.

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman I: In my perception, I think it sounds *luxurious and expensive*, **[…]**

Same as the female from excerpt 9, the female from excerpt 12 has a similar concern. Although she is worrying about the price and feeling uncomfortable of being surrounded by rich people, still she would like to go back to and enjoy receiving the *omotenashi* at the Butler Cafe.

Excerpt 12

[…]

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman L: I wanted to slowly spend time over my lunch at a good restaurant and receive the "*omotenashi*"

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman L: *I think the price is costly*, hence, *the customers are all rich people which made me feel nervous, also I am only a beginner for this kind of thing. However, I want to visit again.*

However, what made the Butler Café more distinctive than other theme cafés is the combination element of service from Japanese and the West, the coalition between the Japanese hospitality standard, *omotenashi* and the Western style of hospitality as the old chivalry manners. In the modern period, the French chivalry no longer exists but the chivalry manners still remain. "...modern chivalry which is defined more like courtesy is no longer reserved uniquely for men. It is still a weapon of seduction nonetheless because women are still very sensitive to "*gentlemen*"..." (Paris Attitude, 2017). Although the butler staffs at the *S. Butler Café* are all male Japanese, with no Westerners employed in that particular place, the performance of their roles which are expressed in the manner of the old western chivalry style is what the author of the thesis connected Japanese women to the occidentalism because under the context of Butler Café, butlers were assumed to be "*a gentlemen*". The female customers were supposed to behave along as they are also "*a young lady*" who are treated by the "*gentlemen"*

with gallant manners of the honourable knight. In excerpt 8, the interviewee has mentioned "*a young lady*" as her answer of her feeling or perhaps the expectation toward the Butler Café as below;

Excerpt 8

[…]

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman H: Yes, I do. **[…]**

Interviewer: *How did you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?*

Japanese woman H: *"A young lady"*

Furthermore, one of the customers who was influenced by the *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler), as normal to fan behaviour, she must have imagined herself as one of the characters in the storyline. In her interview dialogue, she has admitted that she felt satisfied with being treated as "*a young lady*" as in excerpt 14 below;

Excerpt 14

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I do.

Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: Why did you want to visit the Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman N: I am a fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I wanted to try this cafe.

Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?

Japanese woman N: <u>I was treated like "a young lady" so I felt very satisfied.</u>

Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?

Japanese woman N: No, I have not. **[…]**

The imagination of the customers creates the feeling of empowerment to the female as they could assume they have the authority to rule over men. For instance, her teacup should always be filled up, and she does not have to bother to pour it by herself. However, the book of Grossberg has mentioned that "empowerment is an abstract possibility; it refers to a range of effects operating at the affective level; it is not synonymous with pleasure, for pleasure can be disempowering, and displeasure can be empowering..." (Grossberg, 2014, p. 590). To be more elaborate, the butlers are given the roles of "*gentlemen*", the empowerment role could be reversed. The way "*a young lady*" was expected to wait for the butler to fill up her cup and not allowed to step to the restroom without the escort from the butler could be seen as disempowering since the real the power to control every game in the room has belonged to the butlers.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Historically, as mentioned in the early part of the background, Japanese society was base the belief, customs and norms under the structure of Confucianism, Buddhism and Feudalism of Samurai. In consequence to that, male dominant has planted deep-rooted the Japanese society for centuries. Japanese women have been oppressed their authority through all variety of customs in both social and economic activities. The existence of popular culture helps Japanese women to outbreak from the stigmatisation of the gender inequality society. Moreover, the westernisation in the contemporary era has brought the new types of popular culture into Japanese society, which this research has been focused and studied on one of the prominent, continuous phenomena of Butler Cafe.

This chapter divided into two sections, the first section will review the results of the findings part and will summarise what has been discussed in the discussion part. Afterwards, the paper will draw out the conclusion from both the finding and discussion part to prove the hypotheses. The second section of this chapter will discuss on the recommendation of the research. In this regard of Butler Cafe, it is not a simple task or rather impossible to measure the change or merit given to the complexity of female gender roles in the Japanese society by the existence of the theme Cafe like Butler Cafe. On the other hand, the Butler Cafe cannot be acknowledged only as one of a theme cafe; the existence of the place is somehow meaningful to Japanese female participants. This research employed the existing theory of *fantasyscape* and *Occidental Longings* to analyse the phenomenon that perhaps creates the alternative path to the female gender roles in the contemporary Japanese society.

According to the findings from interview Japanese women who visited the Butler Cafe, found three major themes of Butler Cafe which answered to the first research question of how the concept of Butler Cafe fit the Japanese society, regarding the Japanese women. The first feature is the influence of the *Black Butler* manga and anime; second is the influence of Western princesses' stories; and lastly is the desire of service, Japanese *omotenashi* combine with western chivalry manner. The influence of the *Kuroshitsuji* (Black Butler) manga and anime has inspired Japanese women to visit the Butler Cafe because they wanted to fantasise and be a part of the story while the Butler Cafe served as a space to enter the fantasy realm and enjoy the moment being served by butlers. Apart from the anime fans, some Japanese women were influenced by the consumption of princess stories and the desire to escape from male dominant in reality. Nevertheless, the passion of Japanese *omotenashi* and western chivalry manner service are also in high demand.

Regarding the findings above, has provides the further explanation to the second research question of how does the existence of Butler Café reflect or illustrate the impression of gender perception in the Japanese society regarding Japanese women, which the researcher has illustrated in the discussion part. There are three analysis issues regarding the discussion chapter; the first analysis focusing on the phenomenon of Butler Cafe and gender politics through the *fantasyscape* theory, which explains that Butler Cafe was capable of being a place where the women could venture on their fantasy. The second analysis is still focusing on the phenomenon of Butler Cafe, however under the "princess industrial complex" element of the "princess culture" through the *fantasyscape* theory and the concept of 2.5-dimensional spaces. With the consumption of the princesses' stories, women are trying to identify themselves as being "*a young lady*" in the luxurious setup space of Butler Cafe, although some of them were

not entirely convinced. The last analysis focuses on the phenomenon of Butler Cafe and service desire through the *Occidental Longings* theory. The combination of the original Japanese *omotenashi* and the old Western chivalry manner construct the occidental desire to the Japanese women. To conclude, the existence of Butler Café reflects or illustrates the impression of female gender perception in the Japanese society that Japanese women lack authority. While gender norms were defied by the society, the Butler Cafe has recognized the issue and has reserved a table to the women to enjoy their imagination so that they could be "empowered" in their fantasy, yet with the limitation.

Regarding the first hypothesis; Butler Café has become acceptable and gains popularity among Japanese women because of the uniqueness of the service and the influences from pop culture elements such as mangas and animes. The findings from chapter 4 combine with the analyses and discussion from chapter 5 have proved that this hypothesis of the research is correct. Currently, the Butler Cafe becomes a phenomenon which popular among Japanese women and it is true that one of the main causes is that the butler-related manga and anime somehow influence some Japanese women to join the Butler Cafe. They are interested in the uniqueness of the service, and they are also eager to be treated the same way that the protagonist in their favourite manga or anime was served.

Regarding the second hypothesis; Butler Café reflects or symbolises the necessity for Japanese women to heal and escape from the constraints of the society was also correct. As mentioned before the Butler Cafe offer a space for Japanese women who were ridden off the authority by the norms and customs of the society; the place conceal them from the reality, allow them to construct the desired identity in their fantasy while they were participating in the Butler Cafe.

In sum, the Butler Cafe could not be seen as only the place where girls get in and having a pleasant time sipping tea. As a cafe, despite the standard function of serving tea to the customers, it serves a dynamic space for women to fantasise and this kind of fantasy could be seen as "power". As Foucault's concept of power is "the ability to create change in society or in the behaviour of individuals, be it positive or negative" (Foucault, 2011). Without the tangible physical form, since "power is then everywhere, in every relationship" (Foucault, 2011). Without the concern to the reality, under the fantasy set-up scenario, power has been created in women's mind. No matter how women created the fantasies or whom the women have fantasised with, the mechanism of how young girls create the fantasy world under the setting of Butler Cafe became a powerful ideological tool of women's liberation.

Research Limitations (1): Limitation on the field research. Albeit various choice of Butler Cafe in Tokyo as a field research site, this research has chosen only one all-Japanese male staffs Butler Cafe located on Ikebukuro Road due to the other Butler Cafe may have minor effect to the change of the gender perception in the context of this study. Although, one research site may not be able to represent all cafes, this field research site has been chosen out of suitability to the research objectives, research questions and hypotheses.

Research Limitations (2): Limitation on the interview. Regarding the semi-structured interviews, which were conducted randomly for both customers and non-customers Japanese women of the *Butler Cafe* in Ikebukuro, Tokyo. There were some limitations in this research such as time constraints on the interviewee's side, making the interview question set similar to the structured interviews. However, when the interviewees were able to provide more time for the interview, the number of questions also increased and went deeper in details.

Although with the small sample size of population as interviewees, this research did not handpick any favorable interviews but include every individual that allowed their content to be published in this paper. In addition, the opinions expressed in the interview might not necessarily represent all Japanese people in Japan.

Recommendation: This research is hope to be helpful for any further studies of gender study in Japanese context as this paper provide the information about Japanese women who use Butler Cafe as a tool to escape from the reality and entertain themselves base on their own imagination.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. The interview transcripts of Japanese females non-customers from Interview dialogue 1-10

Interview dialogue 1

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman A: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman A: No, I have not.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman A: For person who does not interested in Butler Cafe, it might not fun immediately.

Interview dialogue 2

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman B: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman B: No, I have not.
Interviewer: Why you have never visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman B: I did not have an opportunity to go before but I want to go if I have a chance in the future.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman B: I think it represents the "coolness".

Interview dialogue 3

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman C: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman C: No, I have not.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman C: I think it sounds special but I am not familiar with Butler Cafe so I could not imagine.

Interview dialogue 4

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman D: No, I do not.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman D: I want to visit once I have a chance.
Interviewer: Have you ever been to Maid Cafe?
Japanese woman D: I have never been to Maid Cafe.

Interview dialogue 5

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman E: Yes, I have heard about it.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman E: No, I have not but I want to try if I have a chance someday.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman E: Cool!

Interview dialogue 6

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman F: How does Butler Cafe different from the good-looking-guys cafe? I do not think I know the Butler Cafe.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman F: No, I have not but if I have a chance, I will go to visit this place.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman F: I do not have any interest in it before so I do not have any detail about it. I only feel that there should be a lot of handsome guys in this cafe.

Interview dialogue 7

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman G: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman G: No, I have not.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman G: I think it sounds interesting, so I want to join one day if I have an opportunity.

Interview dialogue 8

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman H: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman H: No, I have not but I want to try if I have a chance.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman H: *"A young lady"*

Interview dialogue 9

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman I: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman I: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to try.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman I: In my perception, I think it sounds luxurious and expensive, which is not suitable for me. I think I do not deserve to receive that kind of service.

Interview dialogue 10

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman J: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman J: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to go.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman J: I think it sounds embarrassing.
Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Butler Cafe exists?
Japanese woman J: I think that Butler Cafe exist because it is popular among young women.
Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Maid Cafe exists?
Japanese woman J: I think that Maid Cafe exist because it is create for young men.

Interview dialogue 11

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman K: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman K: No, I have not but if I have a chance I want to go.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you heard of Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman K: Sounds interesting!
Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Butler Cafe exists?
Japanese woman K: I think that Butler Cafe exist because it is a place for young women.
Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Maid Cafe exists?
Japanese woman K: I think that Maid Cafe exist because it is a place for young men.

APPENDIX B. The interview transcripts of Japanese females customers from Interview dialogue 12-19

Interview dialogue 12

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman L: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman L: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman L: I wanted to slowly spend time for my lunch at the good restaurant and receive the *"omotenashi"*
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman L: I think the price is costly; hence, the customers are all rich people, which make me feel nervous also I am only a beginner for this kind of thing. However, I want to visit again.

Interview dialogue 13

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman M: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman M: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman M: Because the butlers give the service to the female customers.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman M: I think receiving the *"omotenashi"* create the good feeling to me.
Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?
Japanese woman M: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: What do you think is different from the maid cafe?
Japanese woman M: I think it about the cuteness. Going to the Maid Cafe, I have to pay attention to the maid who acting cute to me but while visiting the Butler Cafe, I can be the one to act cute and get the attention from the butlers.

Interview dialogue 14

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman N: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman N: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman N: I am the fan of "*Kuroshitsuji*" since the beginning so I would like to try this cafe.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman N: I was treated like "a young lady" so I felt very satisfied.
Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?
Japanese woman N: No, I have not.

Interview dialogue 15

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman O: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman O: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman O: At first, I thought it was rare and the food was attractive so I pretty interested in visiting this place.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman O: I think it was a good experience to try something new.

Interview dialogue 16

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman P: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman P: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman P: Because it was new and I never visited the Butler Cafe before so I wanted to try.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman P: I finally understood the feeling of being "a young lady". I was both nervous and excited. My heart was beating fast.
Interviewer: Have you been to the Maid Cafe?
Japanese woman P: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: What do you think is different from the maid cafe?
Japanese woman P: I think it was not so different because I could spend time talking to the butlers and the maids. However, Maid Cafe does not emphasize on the service like Butler Cafe.

Interview dialogue 17

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman Q: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman Q: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman Q: Because I was invited by my friends and it was new to me so I wanted to try.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman Q: I think I quite felt awkward and funny to be treated like the special person. I could not pour the tea or even go to toilet by myself. I still felt that it was an act and I did not feel like a princess. However, the food was good quality with the suitable price. I would love to come back again with friends but not alone.

Interview dialogue 18

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?

Japanese woman R: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman R: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman R: Because I was invited by my friends and it sounds interesting.
Interviewer: How did you feel when you visited?
Japanese woman R: I think the service was excellent and the food was very good with the suitable price. I would like to come with friends again.

Interview dialogue 19

Interviewer: Do you know Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman S: Yes, I do.
Interviewer: Have you ever visited the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman S: Yes, I have.
Interviewer: Why would you like to visit the Butler Cafe?
Japanese woman S: I think it reminded me of the anime called *"Kuroshitsuji"*
Interviewer: Do you have an idea of why the Butler Cafe exists?
Japanese woman S: I think that Butler Cafe exists by the influence of the butler anime like *"Kuroshitsuji"* and that is how they were gaining the popularity too.