

Tokyo Zentai Club: Subculture or Identity Crisis over Youth in Japan Urban Area?



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ABSTRACT: The rising of urbanization in Japan is going to advance after 1945s, while Japan Government absorb workers excessively to develop infrastructure and economic growth. As a pioneer, many workers from remote provinces gathered in Tokyo, serve the country as salaryman or labor, called Generation X. Owing to them, Japan became a prosperous country in 1980s, but contrary created Generation Y and Generation Z who categorized as a consumptive society, good earned, but lack of spiritually experience self-identity crisis. They joined *Tokyo Zentai Club*, a community of urban youth living in Tokyo, peculiarly wear colorful-spandex-tight-suit covered head to toe, spending nights by chit-chat inside members. This paper will describe the identity construction of Tokyo Zentai Club members, associated as a form of liquid modernity toward Generation Z. Miura Atsushi through *Nihon Yokai-ron*, adopted *Liquid Modernity* concept by Zygmunt Bauman. This concept explains that the personal construction of Generation Z within society is liquid, unrigid, and easy to follow the flow. In this case, means an individual experiencing an identity crisis. It found that Tokyo Zentai Club members claim this action as different ways to express self-identity through false identity. They are classified as sub-problem of unconnected society (*muen shakai*) try to be a part of liquid society through the urban community. The majority member is Generation Z, who lack personalities and have self-identity crisis affected by the bubble economy burst in 1991. This false identity is used by members as escaping strategy to deal with an urban stressful life and unconnected society in Japan.

KEYWORDS: Generation Z, Identity Crisis, Subculture, *Tokyo Zentai Club*

INTRODUCTION

In the earlier 2014, Tokyo is shocking by unique trends that unusual group people are wearing colorful tight-suit covering head to toe, including eyes, likes Power Rangers or Spiderman's suit. They gathering in the park by day, walking together or sit at the bar while night, no eat no drink, inviting unknown people to observe them with a weird glance. This group called *Tokyo Zentai Club zentai*—an abbreviation of *zenshin taitsu*, *zenshin* (全

身) means full-body, *taitsu* (タイトスーツ) also the abbreviation of 'tight suit', refers to people who exhibiting neon-color tight suit within groups. This suit usually is made from nylon-spandex material but is sometimes made from lycra. In Japan, *zentai club* became popular across age, particularly youth, and became a massive trend especially in Tokyo known about 3000 *zentai* groups.

This trend became viral in Japan through internet forums and café clubs, especially among youth aged 20-30, also over 40. Zentai clubs are well known in urban areas as an escape from stressing the daily routine of work, both of formal sectors like salaryman, neither informal sector such services fields and so on. Starting after World War II when the urbanization wave is high during economic, political, and infrastructure development in Japan. Most of them are teenagers who leave their parents in the village or living alone, whose families have died, then decide to move to Tokyo to get good work. Lack of technology at the time, also demands of high-pressure work makes them rarely communicate with families in the village, gradually forcing blunt feelings to their family. Furthermore, while the Japanese economy attains the peak level refracted human basic needs and obligations, as well as changing of family affections with a consumptive lifestyle fulfillment, even though remain big hollow inside their soul. This generation of people aim is only pursuing carrier, self-goals, and rarely taking care of their family so cannot become a good role model for their children, causing fatherless society and family neglectful which will create individualism and identity crisis over their children in the future. This also describes as one of the roots of disconnected society or *muen shakai* (無縁社会) in Japan indirectly, where people nearly never make direct communication, became the root of this phenomenon.

Much of Japan youth are experienced lost identity because do not have a close role model in the family, naturally need a partner or friend to talk to, emerging deep desire to be understood by others, but there are fears that they will be judged by others if they tell their problem because showing their weakness, even some paranoid feeling about what others think of himself, rising discomfort

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feeling and distrust over others. In the end desperate, they found their hopes through the community, in this case, the internet forum that shared the same anxiously. In Japan, many online communities accommodate a particular hobby, vision, and mission, as well as being a heaven place for social acknowledgment that has been desired by the younger generation. The *Tokyo Zentai Club* is believed to be one of the subcultures that accommodate self-liberation, finding relief from the pressures of modern life which exalting social conformity values. Through *Tokyo Zentai Club*, is a good chance to form a new identity and own character over Generation Z, as a fluid generation that always following viral trends in social media, without worrying about insulting from other people. Through this phenomenon, I assume that *Tokyo Zentai Club* is a subculture that embraces minorities who experience social rejection in society, by wearing tight suits as a new identity shape to escape social pressure and channeling fetishes from young people who want self-freedom due to social neglect in urban areas.

Bubble Economy Burst In Japan

During Japan high economic peaked in 1986, society celebrating their hard work through prosperity leisure, such as domestic traveling, taking long-term abroad leisure as an international tourist, partying endlessly for selfpleasure, as well as rising public consumption supported by people who dedicate themselves to elegant food, and branded goods increasing social cost limitlessly. At the same time, rising of well education-awareness straight equal as advanced education, Japanese mothers are competing to enter their children to study in some expensive courses (*juku*) as prestige feeling over another mother, also as an effort to prepare their children for a famous university entrance examination. Children are forms to focus on hard studying so could pass to entry popular high school and university entrance exams, causing no time to interact with family, to reduce social interaction with family and society. Thus, Japan's high economic growth is a symbol of corruption, luxury, and consumption waste.

But the condition is getting worst when the Japanese stock price decline continuously for a full year since January 1990, weakening of Japan public company (*kabushiki kaisha*) system, emerging bankrupt at heavily industries and manufacturing industries in some places, smashed seniority system (*nenkou jouretsu*) and long-life-time employment system (*shuushin koyou*) at companies as climax effect also starting point. Bubble economy burst is an entrance to the degradation of traditional values held firmly by Japanese society. The bankruptcy of the company restructured (*risutora*) thousands of salaryman or losing their jobs. All kinds of wealth and health security, including retirement compensation and pension funds, are lost, all given luxury facilities from the office such as apartments and lunches are trimmed. This condition, of course, creates desperate feelings, losing the spirit of life, some cases imposing pride as men. Some of those who are lucky got jobs again as contract workers (*keiyakushain*), or become freeters or part-time workers (*furitaa*), but many of them choose to commit suicide rather than feel stuck and shame. For lucky salarymen, they taking extra time off work, or taking overtime to back up the work of other employees who are fired. This era rising stress level, resulting in overconsumption of beer, or alcohol abuse, so increasing anger tension, emerging domestic violence, uprising divorce rate among marrying salarymen. The first impact is family, as the main victim, resulting in single mother at the end—who replaced her ex-husband as the main breadwinner must be doing two shifts of part-time work by day to earn and saving more money, also fatherless society, neglected family, consequences broke home children later.¹ Furthermore, external factors also haunting Japanese society at the time, for the example, Great Hanshin Earthquake in Kobe in January 1995, caused damage to infrastructure, shut down the entire line, disruption of water, gas, and electricity supplies, and lost lives. Just after in March 1995, Sarin-gas attack in Tokyo Metro during rush hour incriminated cult movement Aum Shinrikyo for killed 12 people and much severely injured. Also, an underage criminal that shocked the public about elementary and junior high school students murdering his classmates as revenge for the acts of bullying that were carried out, and the increasing of killing family members case due to fulfillment of inadequate needs. The climax was the 9/11 terrorist attack in New York City, becoming the deadliest day in the history of New York City history. For Japanese people, these events threaten the peace and security that they have believed so far. These events changed their mentality a little more to become inferior and afraid of new things.² Therefore, long-term economic recession becomes the root of all social problem sources in Japan, also as a turning point economy, politics, and social aspects in Japan.

Tokyo: Urban Area and Urban Life

Japan has a beautiful topographical landscape, surrounded by natural environment elements of mountains, rivers, rocks, and trees. This is based on the traditional Japanese myth of Izanagi and Izanami and the twin rocks that symbolize their creation of a Japanese island. People saw the mountain as a sacred place, indicate spiritual domains, especially syncretism of Buddhist and native beliefs. While Tokugawa period (1603-1868), people starting nature was abundant and benign, permitted for little exploitation are worthwhile for area development. But in the 17th century, when the environment is damaged, Tokugawa prevailing to constrain nature exploitation activity by human or limited technology, although later this prevailed were gone. In the 20th century, a combination of the rapidly growing population, industrialization, and modernization, also human capital led to overexploitation, as forests were transformed into huge manufacture and rivers were blocked by concrete barriers³. This area transformation is known as urban area later.

The urban landscape is shaped by political decision, such as Tokyo, every single daily-lived landscape has been shaped by the regulation that controls the height of buildings, their setback from the street, the materials with which they are constructed, and a whole host of other consideration⁴. This is one of Japan's government efforts to pursue modernization, therefore Tokyo contains

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many of the same landscape features as Shanghai, Seoul, and Taipei, but different urban area lifestyles. The particular reason Tokyo as an urban area is changing of political economy in 1980-1990 when Japan declares a vision about leading cities and offer exciting new ways of urban living. By this campaign, indeed bubble economy era, land price risen sharply, emerged people migration from a rural area into an urban area to experience futuristic life. At this time, Japan has low inflation. From an economic perspective, skyrocketing real estate prices, skyscrapers built massively in Tokyo, land high cost at urban area. Moreover, expanding world largest bank in the world, like Sumitomo, and Mizuho

As of October 1, 2015, the population of Tokyo is estimated to be 13.491 million, or about 11% of Japan's total population, and it has the largest population among all the 47 prefectures. At 2,191 square kilometers, the area of Tokyo is 0.6% of the total area of Japan. With a population density of 6,158 persons per square kilometer, Tokyo is the most densely populated prefecture in Japan.⁵ Everyday life in Tokyo is convenient, despite crowded. Speedy is the spirit of working culture in Tokyo, which means all of the people and work must be done quickly. Endless work forcing the worker to take overtime although unpaid by company, oppression or verbal and act bullying from senior (*senpai* and *joushi*) haunting every day, rising suicide case rate among worker. Furthermore, consumptive urban-lifestyle forcing people to follow each of trending topics to prevent social bullying, increasing individual stress level, causing many youth looking for an escape from tiring-urban-daily routines

Generation Z

The term Generation Z is first introduced by William Strauss and Neil Howe's book, entitled 'Generation', published in 1991. This term was officially adopted by sociologist Hayashi Chikio, developing this research under the cultural studies field by News Agency Japan's request. Later, Atsushi Miura developing this. Research held in July-August 2007, subject to male and female teenage 15-22 years old. This means the subject was born between 1985-1992, or a high school or university student at the time.

Generation Z is a concept first initiated by Atsushi Miura to classify Generation after Generation X and Y, which adopted the concept by American Marketing. Miura classified 5 generations with 15 years spares, contingent on rapid changes in condition and phenomena of Japanese people after WWII, particularly 1945, 1960, 1970, and 1985. Each generation has different social issues, ex: the rejection of Japanese Culture through the defeat of war and influence of America, modernization based on the start of economic growth and restoration of Japan postwar, reevaluation of traditional Japanese values, and internationalization and awareness of caring for the environment.

Speaking of Generation Z must be starting from Generation X, or *Shinjinrui Sedai* (新人類世代), whose birth between 1960-1968. They are the children of *Dankai Sekai* Generation. They were born when the Japanese economy is growing up, automatically lives as a middle-class society when the 1970s, therefore spending much on consumptive lifestyle, especially automotive and household electronics. Continuing by *Shinsei Dankai Junia*

Sedai (真性団塊ジュニア世代), known as Generation Y (1973-1980) in Japan. This generation children of *Dankai Sedai* who have good living as economic growth, spending childhood and early adolescence at bubble economy era, also enjoying the middle-class position. But they must face bubble economy burst era after the 20s, caused difficulty finding works and decreased income which producing furitaa and NEET, risen social gap in society. The last is *Shinjinrui Junia Sedai* (新人類ジュニア世代), known popularly as Generation Z (1985-1992), are the children of Generation X who spending prosperity live and starting consumptive lifestyle, then transmit the same lifestyle to their children. Unfortunately, Generation Z is born, spending childhood and adolescence in economic recession era.

Generation Z is affected by globalization and the bubble economy bursting in 1991. This generation was born and grew when Japan was experiencing a downturn such as a prolonged economic recession, the rise of serious demographic issues such as aging society and less fertility, seemed that they have to bear the burden since born. Furthermore, degradation of social values in previous generations that gave a negative impact on families, such as domestic violence, which created a breakdown of the family system by giving birth to the phenomenon of a single mother, fatherless society, neglected family, resulted in psychological trauma over their children, ended with the Generation Z children's identity crisis. As a result, they did not have the life and purpose of life as the previous generation, so that they could be said to be 'lost generation'. Although they have a positive side to easily adapt to the surrounding phenomenon that is booming in the years they experience as a form of their resistance to the void of life goals. But they excel in the field of education and mastery of technology compared to the previous generation because they were born when Japanese technology conditions were superior to other generations, and even tended to use virtual technology. This is a cross-section of the application of highly advanced science in the science and social fields obtained from the institution. This is what makes Generation Z excel in the field of science and focusing on global issues.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research using a qualitative method, explaining with the descriptive-analytical writing style. Collecting data by literary research observing Japanese society thought, values, situation, and condition-based on trending phenomena at the time. The main corpus is the community of *Tokyo Zentai Club* spreading massively over an urban area, especially Tokyo, in 2014. The community members dominated by youth 20-30s, called Generation Z, who spending childhood with prolonged economic recession experiences after

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1991, as an object in this research. By this method, I assume the main root of youth social problems in Japan is based on bubble economy burst.

Evolution of Zentai Suit

The term Zentai first came from Japan in the 1980s, where the trend emerged using costumes made from synthetic fibers which at that time were often used by Japanese superhero characters like Ultraman, Kamen Rider, and Super Sentai who were very popular on television at the time. This costume covering the entire body from head to toe, even though there are no holes for the face or eyes. This time, there have been around 100 people who are interested in zentai suits from different academic backgrounds. At this time, wearing these kinds of costumes is considered something weird, so *zentai* suit is undeveloped. At first, the costumes they wore were still less stylish with dark colors because they imitated Japanese superheroes at the time, but now have much different modification from Japanese zentai costumes in 1980 which limited by dark colors and rigid pattern, *zentai* what is used today tends to be full color and has unique motifs.

The popularity of *zentai* eventually spread to the west along with popular cultures, such as London, Berlin, Chicago, Canada, France, and United States. In 2010 zentai club became one of the communities that existed in Europe and America, usually, this community emerged when the major sporting event in North America or the United Kingdom, and began to be internationally recognized as fans of the Vancouver Canucks NHL Team⁶, street dance or hip-hop dance groups wearing this morphsuit like The Body Poets in the United States, and Remix Monkeys in United Kingdom, music video of Black Eyed Peas, also modeling competition like America's Next Top Model, etc. In the UK, *zentai* suits are very popular, moreover *zentai projects* spreading more massively and openly in public. Although not all countries could accept this project, one of them is France, which ban this suit while at that time the anti-burqa laws could be applied to them as well, which at that time appeared too often in the public area.

Since its re-popularity in Europe and America, the booming of *zentai* suits has returned to their home country, Japan. It began at the end of 2013, and reached a peak throughout 2014, and continues to exist until today even though the members have begun to decline. Even the *zentai* club soon spreads in big cities in the Asian region, represented by the number of *zentai walks* successfully held, such as in Singapore and Bangkok in 2015, Shenyang and Chongqing in July 2016, even in Bandung, Indonesia, held in 2016, performing *zentai walk* on Car Free Day Bandung, and in 2017 at Taman Ismail Marzuki, Jakarta. This community consists of some members, around ten people, but in one city can have more than two clubs, and mostly spread in big cities. Its members consist of youth 20-30s, both in Japan and abroad.

Some people consider zentai suits to be a part of cosplay--- an abbreviation of costume player, dressing up as a character from a movie, a book, or a video game, especially ones from the Japanese genre of *manga* and *anime*. In this case, *zentai* suits are influenced by Japanese superhero movies. So the laymen's knowledge about *zentai* suits is only limited to art and hobbies, even at the extreme level, calling members of the zentai club called *otaku* (freak). Of course, not all layers of Japanese society accept the existence of the otaku community because it is considered a weird person, forcing people to keep their distance from them.

Tokyo Zentai Club Activity

Similar to other *zentai* communities in the world, *Tokyo Zentai Club* is a unique community by wearing *zentai* suit costumes in the Tokyo area. This community was established in 2013, and when in January 2014, the members assemble about 50 people who had different backgrounds, such as salaryman, railroad officer, freeter, actor Hero Show Squadron, and so on. The main goal is to find friends who share the same interests from all parts of Japan, surely they have the same fetish in the form of using a zentai suit to be exhibited together in the public space. Furthermore, this group accommodates minorities to make it easier to live in a family, office, and social obligation, which is a means to release stress and is a form of self-actualization.

Zentai suits have four main attractions, *first*, in the form of feeling safe and comfortable like inside the mother's womb; *second*, how to enjoy the sensation of it by touching other people who both wearing *zentai* suits. This method is even felt to provide warmth and good feeling because of the different sensations, they called that the *zentai* suit is the second skin which has a similar part like the original skin; *third*, the more often it is worn, the *zentai* suit users are increasingly addicted to wearing this suit; and *fourth*, changing personal life perspectives about seeing society widely. When the members performing *zentai* walks, many lay people and foreigners were excited to invite them to take a photo together, even invite members to be a *zentai* suit model by professional cameramen. This is very pleasant for those who have never been considered by others in real life.

There are special conditions for making *zentai* suits, first, attempting feeling good when wearing suits (*kigokochi*), their clothes are sewn in such a way with high quality and tight stitching techniques, so that the shape is fit in the body without creating a slight gap between skin with clothes. Second, the design is much influenced by popular television or film series, for example, *Shocker* (the enemy of Kamen Rider Showa), Super Sentai, Spiderman, and so on. The most important thing is to have colorful or shiny, dramatic, and unusual. Strictly speaking, *zentai* suits should have no faces, but some given eyeholes or mouth holes for practical purposes. Third, the selection of special material as the basic material for *zentai* suit, usually various fabric blend material especially for spandex or lycra, nylon, and cotton, but in some cases use metallic fabric that is breathable and cool on the skin. So it doesn't matter if sleep all night wearing a *zentai* suit, even help some people sleep soundly. Usually, each member has at least two sets of *zentai* suits for wearing alternately.

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Besides organize *zentai* gatherings in the city, *Tokyo Zentai Club* has routine activities such as national *zentai* member gatherings, by doing a *zentai walk* in the afternoon. At night, they also do *zentai walks* in cafes or other public places. Despite performing the *zentai walk* in public, the *Tokyo Zentai Club* members did not feel embarrassed by the weird gaze from common people, instead, they were happy because other people could comment poorly without knowing the real face behind the suit. One of its members, Nezumiko, a 36-year-old teacher is also proud to be a member of TZC because it is one of the stress media in real life, as well as the manifestation of self-liberation. After all, when wearing a *zentai* suit, she does not need to wear underwear. Seiwa Tamura, the founder explained that apart from being a meeting place for members, the *zentai walk* was a promotional agenda for other people regarding their activities, such as taking photos together.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Zentai Otaku and Sub-Culture

Tokyo Zentai Club is called a minor community that against the mainstream community in Japan. One of the forms of *seikatsu* culture (later we called as subculture or *sabukaru*), where both producers and receivers of culture are amateurs. In competition with state and market hegemony, *seikatsu* culture forms a realm in which voluntary and informal groups and networks actively pursue liberal and democratic principles, thereby producing innovative and creative culture for individuals' self-actualization. Since the late 20th century, many cultural activities in Japan like volunteer groups and non-governmental organizations embody the spirit of civil society, thereby formed and maintained who share an interest. Starting as early in 1950 with youth biker gangs, unique fashion street in Harajuku in early 2000, elaboration of *manga* genre like *doujinshi* in late 2000, local festivals and community folk practices are also relatively shielded from the powers of the state and the market and promote the meaning systems of voluntary groups. Feminists, ecologists, ethnic and sexual minorities, and other networks of dissenters against state and commercial interests form distinctive cultural groupings that contribute to the expansion of Japan's civil society and subculture.⁷

A subculture is a group of people who have different and hidden cultures in which the culture is different from the most practiced culture in Japan. Subculture is subversion for what is considered normal, but it is also negative because of its critical character towards something dominant. Subcultures are brought together by a collection of individuals who feel ignored by community standards and cause them to develop adequate feelings towards their own identity.⁸ Meanwhile, in Japan, *sabukaru* is defined as a community formed around the conventions of representations in one medium of information culture (*manga*, *anime*, heavy metal fans, and so on)⁹. The development from information culture-fandom birth *otaku* community, the first appearance of the term in the early 1980s, where later it became part of the subculture. At the same time, a definition of subcultures as spectacular, rebellious, or even delinquent youth cultures is still present. The image of the members of these subcultures as rebellious, eccentric outsiders is common enough to form them into stereotyped characters in films, television series, comics, etc.

Zentai clubs are cultural activities that exist in the urban area as part of a subculture, they confront the most practiced social norms and conformist society, where most society judging *zentai clubs* as part of *otaku*. *Otaku* is a general term referring to those who indulge in a form of subculture strongly linked to anime, video games, computers, science fiction, special-effects films, anime figurines, and so on. Simply put, *otaku* identified as a subculture as 'otaku culture'.¹⁰ In this case, the superhero morph suit in the Japanese popular TV show birth *zentai suit-fandom*, whose individual fanaticism against this kind of unusual tight suit, later became by *zentai* suit community that has a base in many places, even abroad. *Zentai Club* is categorized as a subculture, and the members are agents of the Japanese culture both producers and appreciators. Activities carried out were not created by elites or specialists in cultural fields, neither received by professional cultural producers, called *populist* culture. In this domain, both producers and receivers are amateur in cultural fields.

The Tokyo Zentai Club is an *otaku zentai* suit that has a home base in Tokyo. Density urban city life, people are demanded to be fast and precise, the length of work hours that sometimes still have to overtime, causing many people cannot enjoy *me-time*. Most of them are youth whose real life is individualistic in the workplace, high self-esteem, likes freedom and does not like to be bound by the system, has incompatibility with colleagues and the work itself produces pressure in the workplace. Some of those who show different attitudes from most seniors, will be a minority and set aside from social interaction, considered a fragile generation that is different from the previous generation, against conformity values, and will be the subject of bad mouth in the work circle, end up labeled as a rebellious youth. A sense of concern for the judgment of others creates a desire to get out of this zone and look for new communities that can fulfill their basic needs, in this case, the Tokyo Zentai Club. Through this, it can be said that *Tokyo Zentai Club* is resistant to work culture and conformity values in urban society.

This community opposed 'inheritance' culture during postwar, when Japan is actively developing the country to establish economic life, creating tough and invincible hard workers. Generation X, who was born in the 1960s, and Generation Y, who was born in the 1970s grew up with parenting discipline from the *Showa Hitoketa Sedai* generation, although the economy gradually improved, Generation X and Y still worked hard while enjoying facilities and prosperity in their time. But this upbringing stops in their generation who will give birth to Generation Z, where there are shifting values of child nurturing that tend to be easy (*amayakashii*)

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because of technology pampering, resulting in a generation that has the instant mentality. When Generation Z grow up and become mature, they enter the workforce, experience difficulty adapting to a stressful environment, and the remainder of the destruction of the lifetime employment system (*shuuushinkoyousei*) raises the desire of generation Z to get out of the work system that is felt to be full of pressure

Community to Cover Identity Crisis

Tokyo Zentai Club community dominated by youth 20-30s from various work backgrounds. The main motives for joining this community are getting out of daily routines that make them stressed, social abandonment, and the desire to find friends who can understand themselves. *Tokyo Zentai Club* offering a solution to answer their anxiety, which is to accommodate those who are socially marginalized to show off in front of the public without worrying about people's judgment over themselves, because they don't know the real face or identity of *Tokyo Zentai Club* members. Some *Tokyo Zentai Club* members also use aliases or pseudonyms to hide their true identities so that they are not known to others, they keep it secret and confidential. The behavior of wearing *zentai* suits shows a personal desire to make an alter ego, which is a new person where they can get out of things they don't want in their original lives. The members acknowledge that wearing a *zentai* suit can bring out the personal charm that they never got in real life, even the charm they dreamed of. This states that members are people who fail socially and run away in false identities and form an exclusive community where they can be potentially socially full. The *zentai* suits they wear is not a "mask" to cover true identity, but to produce new identity and charm. This is not an alter ego, but rather resembles a false identity that is consciously made out of necessity. Most people who are into *zentai*, don't have people around them who understand why they like no face and no identity. *Zentai* is a combination of anonymity and exhibitionism feelings at the same time.

The *Tokyo Zentai Club* can be a channel for escaping from a stressful environment where someone feels a failure. Someone who feels marginalized and isolated in their daily routines, wearing a *zentai* suit turns out to be able to expose all existing social barriers and differences, giving a relaxed place for someone to feel free and released, also explore new emotions such as anger, strength, pride, sensuality, or ambition.¹¹ Through this, members can fulfill emotional needs, such as learning to communicate, cooperate, and get friends. Starting from each member began to tell life in the real world, both work, romance, hobbies, even personal problems. From here other people can find out the strengths and weaknesses of members, thus fostering a sense of empathy and feeling of wanting to understand others.

Psychological motives such as looking for a new challenge, psychological trauma, fanaticism, fulfillment of social needs, and rehabilitation of social abilities. Ideological motives, *zentai* suits are a form of fanaticism over particular hobbies that are influenced by their favorite characters, in this case, superheroes who wearing morph suits, so that they get sensations and impressions through using these *zentai* suits. In recreational motive, *Tokyo Zentai Club* is a way out of the stability of everyday life by replacing reality through an identity transformation. Some *zentai* members also enjoy themselves if they are considered by others to be invited to take photos together, rising tendency to do *zentai walks* more often. *Tokyo Zentai Club* can be a means of fulfilling social needs such as lack of attention, social isolation, and social skill disorder. The next stage of this motif is rehabilitative. If the *zentai* club continues, members feel they have increased social skills and social skills that they lack or do not have.

Speaking of general, the fulfillment of social needs is one of the main roots of social problems in Japan, naturally, most Japanese citizens are unconnected societies, where individuals do not experience emotional attachment. One of the contributing factors is an urban lifestyle that prioritizes career and material achievement but forgets family-bonding so that it creates a hollow in the hearts of each person. For salaryman Generation X and Y who are married, the construction of society to shape men as the breadwinner who always works outside obscures the concept of 'father role' in the family, so that their children are raised in a fatherless society, even when faced with corporate restructuring due to bubble economy burst, there were many cases of domestic violence which had an impact on psychological trauma. Even Nezumiko (36) said that using a *zentai* suit had a feeling of comfort like the inside mother womb (*botai kankei*), which represented the desire for the affection of family and society, which he did not get in his teenage years because of his mother's busy work. This makes Generation Z youth experience the identity crisis because there is no closest role model in the family, so they look for other role models from a society dominated by consumptive society. Ikubo Daibo¹² says that in Japan, many people feel lost, feel unable to find a role in society, and too many role models and cannot choose which one to follow. Thereby, wearing *zentai suit* may reflect a sense of societal abandonment, people are acting out to define their individuality.

CONCLUSION

Tokyo Zentai Club is a subculture that against the previously conformity values within a work culture that settled before, offering escaping ways for urban youth who are depressed in the work environment, by joining the urban community that has fanaticism by wearing *zentai* suits. The experience of joining this community is rooted in an identity crisis based on perspective changes over parenting values in Generation X and Y, lack of family affection, and the bias of role models in the previous generation, creating youth who follow trends fluidly without thinking the substance. As well as social neglect in the work environment and family, there is a desire to find comfort by performing a false identity to communicate with the *zentai* club community. Even so, the members are

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trying to expose their own identity, and one of the interesting ways of communication. In the future, the study of *zentai* clubs can be analyzed through the perspective of a psychological method, elaborating a *zentai* suit is one form of fetishism to enrich the literature in Japanese studies fields.

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³ Waley, Paul (2011:90) ⁴ *Ibid*, p. 91.

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⁹ McKnight, A (2010: 118-137)

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