DANDY AND FLÂNEUR: MODES OF SUBJECTIVATION FROM MODERNITY AND THE ENGLISH MODS

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ABSTRACT. The social organisation within large cities is pointed out as the principal cause of the creation of the Modernity subject, who is mainly individualistic and privatised. Life amid the rising urban chaos and the crowds gathered made possible to assert about some consequent modes of subjectivation that emerged in those configurations and social-historical and cultural contexts. The poet Charles Baudelaire is named as an important character for understanding the Modernity, since he translated the sensations of city dweller and assumed different roles to face this urban life. From some considerations related to Modern city, I seek to enlist modes of subjectivation of Modernity (materialised and expressed within the dandy and the flâneur figures), firstly presenting some main features of them to afterwards relate those subjectivation modes with the update, assumption and distortion forms proceed by the members of a British popular youth subculture originated around the second part of 20th century: the Mods.
Keywords: Modernity; city; modes of subjectivation; juvenile subcultures.

DÂNDI E FLÂNEUR: MODOS DE SUBJETIVAÇÃO DA MODERNIDADE E OS MODS INGLESES

RESUMO. A organização social em torno das grandes cidades é apontada como causadora principal da criação do sujeito da modernidade, o qual é, sobretudo, individualista e privatizado. A vida em meio ao nascente caos urbano e de aglomeração das multidões de pessoas possibilita delinearmos alguns modos de subjetivação consequentes e que emergem em tal configuração e contexto sócio-histórico e cultural. O poeta Charles Baudelaire é tido como personagem importante para a compreensão da modernidade, visto que traduziu a sensação do habitante citadino e assumiu papéis distintos frente a essa vida urbana. A partir de considerações breves sobre a cidade moderna, buscamos elencar modos de subjetivação da modernidade (materializados e expressos, sobretudo, nas figuras do dândi e do flâneur), apresentando algumas das características principais, para em sequência relacionar as formas de atualização, assunção e distorção destes pelos integrantes de uma popular subcultura juvenil inglesa surgida na segunda metade do século XX: os mods.
Palavras-chave: Modernidade; cidade; modos de subjetivação; subculturas juvenis.

DANDI Y FLÂNEUR: MODOS DE SUBJETIVACIÓN DE LA MODERNIDAD E LOS MODS INGLESES

RESUMEN. la organización social en las ciudades es puntuada como la principal causa de la creación de lo sujeto de la Modernidad, lo cual es, mayormente, individualista e privatizado. La vida en medio del caos urbano y aglomeración de las multitudes nos posibilita pensar en algunos modos de subjetivación consecuentes y que emergen en tal configuración y contexto histórico-social y cultural. El poeta Charles Baudelaire es visto como personaje importante para la comprensión de la Modernidad, una vez que he traducido las sensaciones del habitante citadino y asumió distintos papeles frente a esa vida urbana. Después de hacer breves consideraciones acerca de la ciudad moderna, procuraremos mencionar algunos modos de subjetivación de la Modernidad (materializados y expresos, sobretodo, en las figuras do dandis y flâneur), presentando algunas de las características principales de estos personajes, para en secuencia relacionar las

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formas de actualización, tomada y distorsión de estos por los integrantes de una popular subcultura juvenil inglesa aparecida en la segunda mitad de lo siglo XX: los Mods.

Palabras-clave: Modernidad; ciudad; modos de subjetivación; subculturas juveniles.

Introduction

Life on cities has been impacting in a relevant form the ways that we constituted ourselves and relation to others and to world along times (Sennett, 1996). Though there are some particularities throughout different historical, social and geographical contexts, one thing is accurate: organised from numerous gatherings of unalike people, cities produces meetings and/or mismatches, besides of reproducing and foisting pre-shaped forms of thinking, acting and/or subjectiving (Benjamin, 1983; Engels, 1984/2010; Sennett, 1996; Simmel, 1903/2002). In times that the most of world population already lives in cities (according to ONU's report "World Urbanization Prospects" of 2014 approximately 54% of world population is living into cities and the prediction is that in 2050 this proportion will be 66%), contradictions and challenges related to urban life are more presented that ever[2] .

Nevertheless, I do not intend to identify and discuss those questions on this essay, but rather, my focus is studying regarding some modes of subjectivation that emerged on account of the structuration of large metropolis along the so-called Modernity; and subsequently is to relate those Modern modes of subjectivation with the members of an English juvenile subculture, genuinely urban, that became huge mainly between the 1950s and the 1960s decades: the Mods.

The way large cities began to be structured from nineteenth century indicates fundamental features of Modernity, as Harvey (1992) sums up – basing himself on Baudelaire's perspective – those are related to exponential and unbridled increase in speed and to overvaluation of fugitive, transient and fragmentary. Amongst urban examples, the most discussed and studied about Modern transformations is the city of Paris/French and the Walter Benjamin's (1999) essay "Paris, capital of nineteenth century" is a widespread reference related to this topic.

In that work, Benjamin (1999) describes the appearance of galleries – "proto-shopping centres" in Montero (2008) words, when she relates galleries to the commercial centres widely popularised around the end of twenty century to the beginning of twenty-one century; the emergence of using iron and amplification of using glass in architectonical buildings to radically distinguish these constructions from the past structures; photography had a special spot at Universal Exposition of 1855 and also extended enormously "the sphere of the commodity exchange, from mid-century onward, by flooding the market with countless images of figures, landscapes, and events which had previously been available either not at all or only as pictures for individual customers." (Benjamin, 1999, p. 6).

In this context an interesting contraposition arises, because, at the same time people in crowd are forced meeting on the streets, the private human figure has been appeared. According to Benjamin, the interior of the house "for the private men, represents the universe" (1999, p. 9), going beyond, the private space represented by house reached to a huge importance, since "with Van de Velde [Belgian architecture, designer and painter], the house becomes an expression of personality" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 9). Stressing that this encapsulation of private human implies a denial of collective and public space, wherein political and social conflicts and clashes occur.

Besides, it was notorious the increase in speed in the nineteenth century Paris city, which was expressed by: interconnection between faraway places through transportation means, such as cars, electric trams and mostly the rail network; quickness on the displacements along and within the city on account of those transportation means (Ortis, 2000); and, mainly, for the city project materialised from "radical urban reforms done along second Empire (1852-70) by Haussmann" (Bolle, 2015, unpaged, translated from Portuguese). Those characteristics indicate to what Harvey (1992) denominated "time-

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[2] During "Seminário Internacional: Cidades Rebeldes" (International Seminar: Rebel Cities), which was settled in 2015 June at São Paulo city, we can note several debates and questions related to city (the titles of the panels discussion are quite illustrated of those questions related to urban environment: "The right of city"; "City for whom?"; "Sportive mega-events and megaprojects in cities for sale", among others). It is possible to watch all discussions on Youtube: (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLHiE8QPap5vQl4-rSPUc34YXnM6oGGurh).

space compression", which has been radicalised more and more to the point that, according to Hall (2015), time killed space in what some authors call by Postmodernity.

Still following those ideas correlated to the increasing of large cities/metropolis and how this kind of urban organisation psychosocially impacts its habitants and produces particularly modes of subjectivation, it is important to reference some reflections about that made by Georg Simmel at turn of 19th to 20th century. Amongst others aspects, this author asserts that: "the psychological foundation, upon which the metropolitan individuality is erected, is the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli." (Simmel, 1903/2002, p. 11).

The profusion of lights (traffic lights, electronic outdoors, car lights, etc.) and the noise (often already assimilated and not perceived for the large cities inhabitants, however, it can be very uncomfortable for who lives in small cities and travel to spend some days in any metropolis), to name just two external stimulus, attest how large cities organisation overstimulation its habitats and promote some consequences in the psychosocial constitution of them. Even because, this intensification does not simple and pure end in that abundance of sensorial stimulus, but it is connected with the ways we come experiencing space, time, and the relation to others and to ourselves as well, since, the life and things rhythm within large cities is accelerated, chaotic, unshapely, urgent and human relations are impersonal, distant, and bureaucratic. Differently, as Simmel (1903/2002, p. 12) opposes the forms of living in countryside, or I unpack more extending to small cities or villages, after all, within those places "the flowing rhythm of the sensory-mental phase" is "more habitual, more smoothly" and uniform.

Therefore, the organisation of space dimension and instance is quite relevant on impacting and the production of subjectivation modes/forms. From those new relations and configurations related to the Modernity and from the introductory comments, I will start to discuss two modes of subjectivation that have emerged and are entirely connected with the life experienced in Modern city and are materialised and expressed through Dandy and Flâneur figures.

Modes of subjectivation in modernity

Still taking 19th Paris as a symbol of Modern city, or on Harvey's (2003, p. 18) words – echoing Walter Benjamin –, "such a central site for the birth of the modern", the urban restructuring commanded by Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891) in that French city around 1853 favoured not only a new way of experiencing space and time, but also created new habits of occupying and uses for the city. Exemplifying with the advent of galleries, because, on the one hand, those public places for circulation had made necessary the meetings between people who has gone there to shop – this is something new, since traders were scattered and torn by speciality areas back in time (Benjamin, 1983) –, on the other hand, segregation has happened, once that new social practice, "shopping" (Ortis, 2000), was circumscribed to the upper middle class.

Besides that, the city project in Paris has favoured the property speculation, the increase in rents at central areas and the expulsion of poor people to the outskirts of the city (Harvey, 2003) – any coincidence with the present is not strange. Although and anyhow, the mobility increase has allowed the gathering of crowds in noble areas of city as well (Harvey, 2003). This is one of the fundamental features of Modern city: the possibility of circulating, strolling, and sauntering through the streets. Even though, "what is gained in locomotion is not necessarily translating in freedom or emancipation. The second nineteenth century denudes capitalist world impositions whose tentacles are extended over cultural life (Ortis, 2000, p. 18, translated from Portuguese). Consequently, into the passage from pre-Modernity to Modernity, even "time as duration has lost its importance against commodity time that is precisely summarised by the slogan 'time is money'." (D'Angelo, 2006, p. 244, translated from Portuguese).

On this "new order" impinged for serialisation and the transformation of anything in commodity (what encompasses even dimensions as time), individual has been dissolved into the mass, which makes this to be part of the crowd, besides generates a impersonal felling and a blasé posture (Simmel, 1903/2002) that block people even of looking and perceiving others around (Engels, 1845/2010). Moreover, with multiple and complex network of records, as the example of 19th Paris again, wherein houses were numbered, rather than be identified by the resident names, has produced "the disappearance of people in the masses of the big cities" (Benjamin, 1983, p. 47). In these circumstances, Harvey (2003, p. 217)

asks: "how, then, to distinguished oneself in the midst of that restless crowd of purchasers that confronted the rising ride of commodities on the boulevards?", indicating that Benjamin's analyses of huge Baudelaire's interest on dandy and flâneur figures, who could be highlighted in the middle of the crowd (both were separated from that, but with no existence apart from that), those figures could be comprehended beyond mere modes of existing on these social-historical conditions. In other words, it is possible to understand dandy and flâneur as modes of subjectivation of Modernity that have questioned the serialisation mass production. I will start focusing on dandy[3] .

At first, I will metonymical take a historical character to generically characterise this Modern mode of subjectivation: George "Beau" Brummell. He was born in London in 1778 and is considered the first dandy of history (Rodgers, 2012), although this designation is an anachronism, since that term (dandy) was not even widely used at his time – the most common denomination for "cosmopolitan youngsters who were refined and extravagant in clothes and were born in England around 1770" (Castro, 2010, p. 49, translated from Portuguese), which was the case of Brummell, were "fop", "buck" and "macaronies" (Anderson, 2014). From reading about how Brummell lived and his ideals, it is possible to briefly unpack what is to be a dandy.

Recognised mainly for "his quiet gentlemanly manners and ready wit, as well as the excessive neatness of his personal appearance" (Jesse, 1844, p. 31). Brummell has never worked ever and was really concerned about the style and elegance of his clothes – it is interesting to say that he disproved too much clothes and accessories, since, for example, the colours of his clothes were basically dark, besides of not using any perfume (Rodgers, 2012). It is said that widespread habit of daily bathing in Europe had been popularised by Brummell (Anderson, 2014) and, furthermore, Beau routinely spend uncountable hours choosing the most adequate clothes, shaving, brushing hair and boots before exposing himself in public (Boyle, 2011). And after going out home Brummell has not looked to any mirror (Rodgers, 2012).

In general, dandy figure arises with the profile inaugurated by Beau Brummell, therefore, it was arose mainly within aristocratically environment and was constituted in the middle of an excessive careful with clothes elegance and a blasé and super auto confident form to face and be in the world. Furthermore, because of that overvaluation on clothes styling is possible to speculate or infer that the dandyism advent has promoted *fashion* as we know it nowadays. Regardless of being an English expression at its raising, the dandyism was widespread and counted with enthusiasts (and a lot of critics) within the other side of English Channel, even more than, according to Benjamin (1999, p. 8), "Paris is acknowledge as the capital of luxury and fashion" along the second half of nineteenth century. It is also important to caveat that: Parisian dandies not always could reproduce the style of Londoner ones (Castro, 2010).

One of the principal social consequences intended for a dandy is the opposition and to refuse massification and standardisation promotes by crowd gatherings from Modern city structuring – because, as Baudelaire asserts (1836/2009, p. 16, translated from Portuguese), the dandyism "is, before everything, the urgent necessity of reaching originality within the exterior boundaries of convenience –, but, mainly, because of bourgeois order. Moreover, "the dandyism makes from celibacy and idleness the mechanisms of resistance to bourgeois morality." (D'Angelo, 2006, p. 241, translated from Portuguese) and, at the same time, according to Baudelaire (1836/2009, p. 14-15, translated from Portuguese), "the dandyism is not even, as lots of foolish people believe, an immoderate taste for toilette[4] and for material elegancy. For the perfect dandy those things are the symbol of aristocratic superiority of the spirit".

Therefore, in fact there is an opposition on dandy posture to the emergent and new order before French Revolution (1789) and consequent fallen of Ancient Regime, however, without an authentic revolutionary fervour, since the major concerns were about self-image presented in public and with exclusive idleness of those who could enjoy it, even because, "used to parties at great saloons since youth, the dandy does not have other profession that is not elegancy, searching for the beauty that to Baudelaire flows to artificiality." (Oliveira, 2014, p. 114, translated from Portuguese).

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[3] To English, Portuguese and French meanings of "dandy" and "dandyism", see Castro (2010).
[4] According to Tomaz Tadeu, Portuguese translator of quoted work, "in French, toilette also refers to the set of clothes, ornaments, cosmetics and other devices used in the cultivation and maintenance of a certain appearance." (Balzac, Baudelaire & D'Aurevilly, 2009, p. 9).

The flâneur figure in some aspects is an unfolding of dandy, nevertheless with demarcated differences. The central similarities are related to the possibility for the flâneur be allowed to "wander" through the city without any concern regarding professional occupation (Benjamin, 1983; D'Angelo, 2006); and for incorporating the sensation of feeling like a personality to be observed in the middle of serialised ones in the crowd (Benjamin, 1999). Though, this figure is not necessarily linked with aristocratic class or to the values propagated during Ancient Regime, in opposition of that, the flâneur could only appears with the advent of Modernity that has the circulation as one of its fundamental pillars (Harvey, 2003; Ortis, 2000).

The Modern city, which materialises that condition of favouring mobility – either by appearance of galleries or the construction of wide sidewalks, such as the case of Paris post-Haussmann's reform (Benjamin, 1983) –, beyond of providing the gathering of big amount of people at the same places (not only the public spaces, but also and included the public transportation means), is the perfect habitat for wandering. The crowd has an important role in how the flâneur relates himself/herself with urban space, since, according to Benjamin (1999, p. 10), "the crowd is the veil through which the familiar city beckons to the flâneur as phantasmagoria – now landscape, now a room.". In other words, to the flâneur the city is more than an object for careful and constant observation, it is felt like his/her home, his/her room, his/her natural habitat. In one of Benjamin's (1983, p. 37) descriptions regarding the relation of flâneur to city space, it is quite evident how the city is like home to flâneur, according to this author: "To him [flâneur] the shiny, enamelled signs of business are at least as good a wall ornament as an oil painting is to a bourgeois in his salon. The walls are the desk against which he presses his notebooks; news-stands are his libraries"

Consequently, being on the streets – more than occupying these, but constituting himself/herself from this experience of "botanizing on the asphalt" (Benjamin, 1983, p. 36) – and in constantly motion is vital condition to the flâneur. Moreover, in his/her walking without previously course for known neighbourhood and places and, mainly, through for the unknown ones – after all, the wandering act presupposed that even the random action of turning round the corner to one side or to other side already was a poetic act (Jaloux, 1936, quoted by Benjamin, 1983), besides the increasing potential contained in each additional step that is given (Benjamin, 1983) – the flâneur is always searching for the new, but, as reflected by Benjamin (1999, p. 11)

> Newness is a quality independent of the use value of commodity. It is the origin of the semblance that belongs inalienably to image produced by collective unconscious. It is quintessence of that false consciousness whose indefatigable agent is fashion. This semblance of the new is reflected, like one mirror in another, in the semblance of the ever recurrent.

Other characteristic is facing the imposition of mathematic and calculated time of industrial production and massive diffusion of clocks and punctuality as indispensable virtues – here is impossible not remembering Simmel (1903/2002, p. 13) when he says that: "punctuality, calculability and exactness, which are required by the complications and extensiveness of metropolitan life", therefore, that temporal order and correlated aspects (for example: the necessity of right calculating how long will take the displacement through the city to be on time) are consequences of living in large cities, apart from, backed by the Capital regime, being imposed on the urban inhabitants to the point of becoming naturalised –, "the permanent disposition of *flâneur* to 'kill time' represents a straight fight with capitalist system logic" (D'Angelo, 2006, p. 244). In addition, "the idleness of the flâneur is a demonstration against the division of labor." (Benjamin, 1999, p. 427), since this conduct of wandering through the streets only observing life and city was an opposite action to the logic that everybody should have their lives ruled by productive time imposed by social division of labour, which implies that displacements from home to work (and vice-versa) have the only purpose of going to working journey or return from it – without mention here any discuss of the question involving the dichotomy leisure/free time.

From those panoramically considerations about these two modes of subjectivation of Modernity that were made possible by emerging of the large metropolis, I will begin to comment on a group that I will later relate to what had been discussed until here.

Mods

After Second World War end in 1945, social configurations favoured the emergence of an idea of a youth culture, which was fundamentally both urban and linked to the power and possibility of consumption of young people, since the youngsters, baby boomers and sons and daughters of working class, did not constitute family so soon and, at the same time, they obtained certain financial emancipation via jobs that passed the intense period of rationing lived along the Great War could pay much more than other times (Cohen, 2011, Hewitt, 2010). Therefore, taking British context, wherein the juvenile subculture highlighted and analysed in this essay is located, as Harvey (1992, p. 60) points out:

> Working-class youth in Britain found enough money in their pockets during the postwar boom to participate in the capitalist consumer culture, and actively used fashion to construct a sense of their own public identities, even defined their own pop-art forms, in the face of fashion industry that sought to impose taste through advertising and media pressures. The consequent democratization of taste across a variety of sub-cultures (from inner-city macho male to college campuses) is interpreted as the outcome of a vital struggle that pitched the rights of even the relatively underprivileged to shape their own identities in the face of a powerfully organized commercialism.

The subcultures in the post-Second World War situation were expression and juvenile resistance means to the market-oriented and "adultness"[5] patterns prevailing at that time, essentially founded in rebel ideals and sometimes of deliberate delinquency[6]. Therefore, according to Simonelli (2013, p. 61), "different gangs of delinquents established alternative cultures through the expression of their tastes in fashion, music, organization, definitions of masculinity and femininity, and especially in class attitudes". Stressing, as it is said on that last quote, British class structure at that time was fundamental point to comprehend the subcultures structured there, since independently of the group focused on, especially those arose between 1950s and 1960s decades, is noticeable the preponderance of youngsters who came from the lower middle class and the huge majority from working class, which in Mods case is abundantly attested by the several references consulted and that are listed at the end of the present essay (Anderson, 2014; Beesley, 2014, 2017; Hebdige, 2002; Hewitt, 2010; Laing, 1969; Perone, 2009; Simonelli, 2013; Weight, 2013).

Unpacking more the question of juvenile subculture as alternative ways of facing what was culturally hegemonic. Even if that initially those groups were away of which mainstream has imposed, their acting styles were quickly becoming encompassed by commercialism, as "the ideal teenager was presented in consumption terms" (Cohen, 2011, p. 203), since the first relevant juvenile group, the Teds (Teddy Boys and Teddy Girls) – who composed their style "combining the greased American rocker hair-style with a crisp mimicry of British upper-class. Edwardian dress, wearing long, velvet-collared 'drape' coats and tight, 'drainpipe' jeans." (Weight, 2013, p. 27), although original Teds indicate in a BBC documentary (2008) that association with aesthetics of US rock and film stars from the 1950s is wrong, because those features were incorporated later; besides that, there is also, according to Casburn (2004), the hypothesis that Teds clothing was resulted of an effort by Savile Rows' (street in central London/England) tailor's shop owners for dandy look return in order to leverage the sales on these shops – became a style possible to be consumed, which implied in a drop in the potentiality of this above-metioned subculture, as well asserted by Simonelli (2013, p. 62): "once a teenager could look like a Teddy Boy without actually being one, the essence of a subculture as an alternative culture had disappeared.". One point linked with that is the idea of authenticity, which was and still is something quite important to young people, once it is pretty common that those who are considered to be fake followers of a particular group (whether juvenile or not, but especially in juvenile ones) are pejorative identified and named by "posers" or "fads"

After the massification of Ted style and rebel associated with it, there is the emergence of groups that somehow are unfolding of Teds: Mods and Rockers (Perone, 2009; Simonelli, 2013). From here, I will focus on Mod subculture, young sons and daughters of working class who, due to their aesthetic style and musical tasty, emerged from the late 1950s to the early 1960s as highly influential on fashion, custom

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[5] To some considerations regarding generational conflicts, taking as the Mod subculture as a backdrop, see Gruda & Gamba (2014).
[6] To some discussions about the concept of twenty-one century subculture, as well as analyses on possible current subcultures, see Dhoest, Malliet, Segaert e Haers (2015).

and music both on that time, as in pointing parameters and models that have been and still are followed posteriorly for other juvenile groups, and, at the same time, Mods were one of the main targets of commercialism – in the first half of 1960s in England, for example, there was an incredibly increased of the number of clothes shops, magazines, radio and television programmes that the exclusively targeted was the Mod public (Beensley, 2017), which, according to Cohen (2011) analyses, made Mods to become the dominant group and aesthetic amongst the nascent subcultures that were established from the idea of youth.

Initially, it is worth outlining that the approximation between Mods and Ted is possible indeed, mainly, by the way both groups confused social conditions by their concern regarding of being dressed up. In other words, though originating from working class, without fully satisfactory conditions of life, these young kids spent whatever money they have made to dress as cleanly, boldly and highlighted as possible, ideal that can be summarised by the saying popularised by Pete Meaden (important figure in the Mod scene of early 1960s, Meaden was one of the first managers of the band The Who) that to be Mod is "clean living under difficult circumstances". Moreover, in this way, "exercising such dominance over one's own appearance, as Hebdige (2009) say, the Mod [and the Ted as I am relating here] can even foment confusions with this kind of simulacrum promoted by the using of clothes considered elegant, aligned and expensive" (Gruda & Gamba, 2014, p. 93), because "at least in the looking aspect, the Mod [and Ted] would not be so differentiated from those who occupies economically and socially privileged positions." (Gruda & Gamba, 2014, p. 93).

However, the early British Mods of the mid-late 1950, according to many of the interviewed ones within Anderson (2014) and Beesley (2014) books, considered themselves better dressed than the Teds, in addition to that, the majority of Mods appreciated modern Jazz (there is a hypothesis that one of the possible origins of the term modernist and, subsequently, Mod, which came to be used to denominate the members of that subculture, is that fact of Mods were modern Jazz aficionados) to the nascent US rock and roll, and in fashion aspects Mods were much more influenced by an European style – remembering that is common to English people not to include their country in Europe, because they are geographically separated from the continent –, basically French and Italian, than that presented by musical and film starts from the other side of Atlantic Ocean, although some aspects of "Edwardian Era" (1901-1910) also influenced the early Mods, as occurred massively with the Teds as well.

Furthermore, Mod style was softly and tidily, contrasting with the stereotyped hooligan, rude and openly defiant style embodied by the Teds and later by the Rockers (Cohen, 2011), since the Mods "wore apparently conservative suits in respectable colours; they were fastidiously neat and tidy" (Hebdige, 2002, p. 52), and, because of this "common" appearance that is apparently in accordance with formalism and social norms, Laing (1969) asserted a potential subversive character to Mods, especially when he analysed the relation that Mods have established to work. If on the one hand, they were in conformity on aesthetically appeared aspects to the imposed order at labour environment, on the other hand, they were distant and disinterested about their jobs and broke the mythical of work materialised in the career ideal and in living to work (Laing, 1969). Mods lived for the weekend (Hebdige, 2002) and enjoined it an extremely frenetic and intense way, that is why they subjugated themselves to work (often occupying precarious positions and jobs) only for they could have the means to enjoy their leisure time. Complementary to this "the mods invented a style which enabled them to negotiate smoothly between school, work and leisure, and which concealed as much as it stated. Quietly disrupting the orderly sequence which leads from signifier to signified, the mods undermined the conventional meaning of 'collar, suit and tie', pushing neatness to the point of absurdity" (Hebdige, 2002, p. 52).

Thus, the Mods basically complete overvalued the style through, as Hebdige (2002) affirms being commonplace in several subcultures, the clothes used and the type of music appreciated, being the obsession for the public image translates by clothes, footwear and haircuts. This whole thing is something extremely remarkable, to the point that Simonelli (2013, p. 63) indicates that for the Mods "style was all-encompassing: being cool was more important than being alive".

And to be cool and stylish, Mods had as main aim to differentiate them of the mass and of the other Mods at all costs. To do that they: looked for find the records no one had; buy clothes (or, in some cases, make their own clothes to hold something more exclusive) and make combinations that were not used by anyone; inventing original dance moves – there is something curious about this, Laing (1969) asserts

that Mods were the first ever to break the strict necessity of a pair to dance; for those who owned scooters (mostly the Vespa and Lambretta brands), customising them so that they would be completely different of the other scooters. Because all of this, the "Mods lived in a world of perpetual motion, always trying to keep one step ahead of the trends, because a Mod above all wanted to be a trendsetter and not a follower." (Simonelli, 2013, p. 63).

Some similarities and connections between Mod subculture and the commented modes of subjectivation of Modernity were already done along my description about Mod features, but I will explicit the reprocessing of updating, assumption and distortion of referring aspects to the flâneurs and dandies made by the members of the aforementioned juvenile subculture.

Modes of subjectivation of Modernity and the Mods: crafting relations

The subjectivation modes consequently arose in the context of large Modern city are dialectically based, amongst other aspects, on impersonality and on trying to be differentiate in the crowd, and the juvenile subcultures, as I will point out later when the Mods will be focused on again, are particular ways of experiencing these tensions, having the city as the stage and scenery. Although in current social-historical conditions of what could be generically named for contemporaneity, wherein the development of communicational technologies reconfigures the possibilities of being together, the city's physical space is not necessarily the great protagonist as it was once. Anyhow, the blasé felling (Simmel, 1903/2003) to the crowd (or even the wander acting through city streets) is still possible to be experienced – it is enough to observe any daily displacement of a large city inhabitant (on this case, indentified as young or not) concentred in his/her headphones, absenting himself/herself from direct contact with others around. Besides the appearance from time to time of new juvenile subcultures that can be spreading and occupying different parts of the city.

As it was already asserted, the idea of youth, as we know it nowadays, can only arise within the city space and structured itself in terms of an emerging consumer market that did not exist until then (Cohen, 2011; Harvey, 1992; Hewitt, 2010). Hence, the consequent and nascent juvenile subcultures had taken urban space to form, format and disseminate themselves, both trying to completely deny the cultural/behavioural patterns imposed by the mainstream and also serving as new marketing possibilities to selling and promoting life and subject styles.

The Modern modes of subjectivation embodied in those who were perceived as dandies and flâneurs, although they were not necessarily identified from that age group, somehow anticipated the culture focused on individualistic individual living and constituting himself/herself from the shared city space, which on the subculture world assumes a extremely contradictory characteristic, since the members of those groups cultivated a demarcated individuality and, at the same time, this individuality was dissolved in group identification (Gruda & Gamba, 2014). For this reason to be a Mod is something intimately related in being individual/unique and, concomitantly, belonging and integrating this select group of people that are identified for following the Mod features described.

The mods were originating mainly from working class and, as it is emphasised by Simonelli (2013), this is the class that occupies the public space indeed, while upper middle class and, especially, the really rich people tend to take refuge in private spaces – related to that we have the recent excellent diagnosis of Dunker (2015), this author analyses that nowadays there is a reality governed by the so-called "condominium logic", which builds physical and symbolic walls to carry out separations. Hence, city's scenery is the stage where Mods act; "parade"; meet each other; individualistically and in group terms they constituted themselves; finally, can living as Mods, since, as it was said, they were young people of working class and, according to Cohen (2011, p. 207): "for the working-class adolescent only the town was left.", while the young people from other social classes have another possibilities for fun or life prospective. It is not by chance that even the song lyrics of several British bands – such as: The Jam, The Secret Affair, The Chords, Purple Hearts, Merton Parkas, amongst others – that promoted a revival of Mod subculture, between the years 1978 to the mid-1980s (Bushell, 2012) – were about being in the city streets, which shows how much this feature was important to Mod subculture to the point of being one of main recovered aspects for the generations that came back years after the emergence of the original movement – regarding this is interesting to comment that even in Brazil, in the 1980s and more

specifically in São Paulo city, there was echoes of that way of being the world (constituting the identity from wandering through large city streets) by boys and girls identified with Mod subculture (Carmona, 2017).

In this way, as for the flâneur in which the streets and the space of the city were his/her abode (Benjamin, 1983, 1999), it was the same thing with the Mods – in the "Quadrophenia" (1979) film, produced by The Who and an important reference for the Mod Revival in the 1980s, is possible to visualise how much being in the open spaces, outside home, was (and still is) necessary for the members of this subculture – and although enclosed spaces, such as nightclubs, have a predominant role in a Mod routine, the wandering act through streets was much more cultivated and important, mainly because most of the Mods had prohibited access to those nightclubs, since they were really and very young (Anderson, 2014; Beensley, 2014). Furthermore, the sense of being a Mod is not complete if there is not recognised of that condition on the part of others, which is only possible in the meetings with people in public and open spaces.

Another aspect of flâneur updated by the Mods is the incessant search for new. However, for these the novelty was basically focused on clothes and footwear to be buy and, in order to find the exact piece, it was necessary to wander through the shops and tailors located principally in central areas of English cities. According to D'Angelo (2006, p. 242, translated from Portuguese), "the versatility and mobility of the flâneur within the city give to him/her a sense of power and the illusion of being free from historical and social conditioning. That is why, he/she goes to market imagining that it is just to take a look", for the Mods, on the contrary, when they went to the shops, they would fatally intended buying new clothes that would be used at the next weekend event.

Unpacking that intense obsession with style it is possible to affirm its connection with the dandy mode of existence, since Hebdige (2002, p. 52) referencing other authors, says: "the mod was a 'typical lower-class dandy' (Goldman, 1974) obsessed with the small details of dress (Wolfe, 1966), defined (...) in the angle of a shirt collar, measured as precisely as the vents in his custom-made jacket; by the shape of this hand-made shoes.". As if they were Beau Brummells, the Mods were concerned with all their clothes details, their haircuts, and they refuted excessive accessories. Nevertheless, there were not any radical and deliberate criticisms to the bourgeois order in the Mod posture, neither any cultivation of aristocratic ideas of superiority.

In fact, the Mods has updated the dandy idea of exclusivity and mass differentiation, although and mainly around the years of 1964 and 1965 (Weight, 2013) the Mods constituted a really huge and massified group due to its encompassing by fashion, music and entertainment industries (Beensley, 2017; Hewitt, 2010). The quote, "a Mod above all wanted to be a trendsetter and not a follower." (Simonelli, 2013, p. 63), points out exactly the subreptitious dandy idea on Mod ideal of being differentiate at any cost, even because, there is nothing more linked with dandyism than desiring above all being a trendsetter, not a follower. Nonetheless, this did not mean any tendency towards abandonment or negation of the socioeconomically background that Mods had, rather than, their working class origin and values continued to be preponderant aspects in their constitution (Cohen, 2011; Simonelli, 2013). Furthermore, because of such social conditions, they could not afford not exercising in any labour activity, even if they were too young.

It is in their distance and fully of contempt relation to work that maybe relies on the only counterpoint that Mods make to bourgeois order. As Hebdige (2002) affirms, Mods live for the weekend, so that their time, between the night-time at clubs or in the wandering through city streets, is a time that is contrary to the maxim "time is money", since the Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights (sometimes and eventually on other evenings of the weekdays) were connect with a time based on their duration, not on commodity logic and, though Mods were fully part of the imposed division "labour-leisure", the work existed, in a hedonistic and immediate perspective (Hebdige, 2002), only for the leisure time and with an exclusive propose of having money "to buy clothes, drugs and make possible the intense and bustling nightlife, [which] has made work, whatever was the activity, acceptable and/or bearable, as asserted by Hebdige (2004), precisely by 'making a sense' to that" (Gruda & Gamba, 2014, p. 93). Hence, if the dandy criticised the bourgeois order for cultivating the idleness by judging himself/herself superior, so work activity would be something assigned to those who were considered inferior, and the flâneur for his/her ability to walk randomly through streets, without this act being tied to the wealth production, products or provision of

services, the Mod has reduced the importance of work to a mere necessary consequence for cultivating the obsession with style and the frenetic entertainment routine.

Final considerations

By comprehending city as important dimension for relating and constituting ourselves, the emergence of large metropolis along nineteenth century Modernity and new the forms of experiencing life due to that context have produced new modes of subjectivation, which last until nowadays, nevertheless with possible updates and modifications. From another eminently urban phenomenon, the constitution of the idea of youth that was later expressed through the formation of juvenile subculture, it is possible to visualise those appropriations and alterations of some aspects of the Modern and urban modes of subjectivation of yore. I focused on British Mods, from the period between the late 1950s until mid-1960s, because of their relevance as a juvenile subculture – the ideas that fashion and music are powerful symbols for group identity constitution are originating from Mods – and because I understand that Mods were able to embody dandy and flâneur figures on their own ways.

One last caveat to finish the essay: when any subculture is analysed, it is common to emphasise and highlight homogeneities, dealing with generalities and temporally excluding the several particularities and internal differences amongst the group members. Hence, I register that all considerations regarding Mods ("they are like", they do this or that") must be comprehended from this generalising cut, further I indicate that other readings and notes are fully possible.

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