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Police, Policing, Policy and the City in Europe

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4 The Social Production of Street Patrol Knowledge: Studying Local Policing in Lisbon (Portugal)

Susana Durão

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This article approaches the transformations in the front line police mandate in
Portugal.[1] The first section sets out an interpretation of the organisation's core
characteristics and the functional dimensions of the public security system over
the last thirty years. Furthermore, discussion focuses on the model of policing in
a relatively pacified environment and with a low incidence of recorded criminal-
ity. In the second section comes analysis of the daily street-policing routines in
Lisbon police stations and a study of cognitive policing maps deriving from the
three most common patrol duties: foot patrols, car patrols and one of the 'proxim-
ity programs'.[2]

Cognitive maps (also known as mental or mind maps) most commonly refer to
an individual's personal point-of-view of their own world. Cognitive maps can be
used as a method to construct and accumulate spatial knowledge, a type of spa-
tial thinking: a mental model that takes space, real or imagined, as its reference.
What I seek to understand and interpret in this particular case study are the basic
learning processes acquired by police officers during their routine patrol itinerar-
ies implemented in urban spatial realities, hence, the way we may visualise it in

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1   A version of this text was published as 'A Produção de Mapas Policiais. Práticas e Políticas da
    Polícia Urbana em Portugal' 2009, in *InterSecciones en Antropologia*, the annual publication of
    the Facultat de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Província de Buenos
    Aires: 15-33.
2   In Portugal, the police station (named *esquadra*) represents the smallest organisational unit, clos-
    est to the citizens. In general, the stations are located within the urban environment and routine
    patrols radiate outwards from the station. They are open to the public and they have a complaint
    handling service operational 24 hours per day. Currently, the number of police at each station var-
    ies between 60 and 100, distributed across five groups, which ensures a constant pattern of shifts.
    In terms of the hierarchical command structures, the stations fall under the Divisions that in turn
    answer to the Metropolitan Command that implements orders issued by the centralised power
    structure of the National Directorate which reports to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In compari-
    son to the Brazilian context, for example, the police station falls between a Military Police bat-
    talion and the Civil Police delegacy. In this case, police officers working in a station are all entirely
    responsible for the all policing activity: from street patrolling, individually, in pairs or groups, to
    the recording of incidents and giving evidence on cases in court. It was at the station level that I
    did the majority of my field research although I also made sporadic visits to other specialised units
    within the same police force.

space and its consequences in learning the daily tasks. For this purpose, the article incorporates the researcher's own long term ethnographic knowledge of policing practices and views in Lisbon contexts. My conclusions point to patrol officers engaged in different policing services developing different cognitive maps, codes, interactive and relational skills with the territory and with citizens.[3]

Based on spatial configurations of policing services and learning, this article proposes that, on the one hand, the police force is following more pro-social axes of action, while on the other hand, axes of anti-criminal action are ever more present in the policing activities taking place in police stations, even though criminal rates are not higher than before. Hence, while maintaining a certain plurality of policing methods and skills (opening up still further with the dynamics of proximity policing), it is now possible to detect a more general standardisation underlying the street-policing of urban environments and which falls within the framework of a better understanding of the scope of meaning of 'combating crime'.

There has been significant discussion of the global policing trends accompanying the blatant inequalities in the world, which tend to penalise poverty (Wacquant, 2007; Wierviorka, 2002). However, the social sciences have failed to produce the qualitative knowledge, justified by empirical data, based upon different contexts, that could confirm or deny such a position and which, simultaneously, provides an approach to the more ambiguous questions that face the field of public security today and which are entwined with perspectives on local action.

This study was based upon an ethnography study in Lisbon involving participation in the operational routines of a police station over the course of twelve months. Although working with the Portuguese urban police, Polícia de Segurança Pública (Public Security Police), commonly known as the PSP since 2001, having carried out 78 interviews of a broad range of professionals in different internal security role, it was during 2004 that I most closely accompanied police work. This analysis focuses upon the western area of the city and to record these observations, I maintained a long and detailed field diary, a methodological procedure common to social anthropology. This research culminated in a doctoral thesis (Durão, 2008a).

In recent decades, Portugal has become a multicultural country and experienced profound social and demographic transformations. One of the most relevant has been the urbanization process and the decline of the traditional sector of activity: agriculture. However, even though inequalities in social wealth and the visible

impacts of social exclusion are there, along with a high urban incidence, the fact remains that the context does not seem, thus far, to have had any direct and obvious impact on the national level of criminality.[4] Over several decades, the Portuguese criminogenous position has been praised, particularly by the public authorities, for having not undergone any rise that might be deemed alarming, even if the mass media have a different approach to the subject. Government messages on policing work are produced through a political interpretation of the criminal and legal statistics. In recent years, various governments have highlighted with satisfaction, officially and in the media, that criminality in Portugal countered even the global trends and placed the country in a 'particularly privileged position' (see the Annual Internal Security Report, 2006, p. 46), which emphasised the principles of preventative public police action.[5]

Various ongoing debates point to the potential existence of 'data black spots' (that is, unreported crime), which results in poor evaluation of the public security field. One opinion poll, comparing the perception of police services in various cities across Portugal, Spain, Italy and Belgium, found the Portuguese to be least satisfied with their police services, especially regarding the formal of reporting crime. Respondents expressed a lack of faith in the practical results, stressing problems such as excessive bureaucracy, poor police station infrastructures, a lack of both support and humanity towards victims. This evaluation furthermore concluded that feelings of insecurity in Portugal were clearly greater than in the other countries (cf. DECO ProTeste, 2007).[6]

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3   The techniques for studying mental mapping were first proposed by behavioural psychologists, in particular the work of Edward Chace Tolman (see for instance Tolman & Gleitman, 1949). However, they have spread into different fields of social science research and paradigms and are now being used in different ways such as in management studies (Ackermann, Eden & Cropper, 1992) and also in social and urban anthropology (Mondada, 2000), for example.

4   There has been a worsening of economic inequality in Portugal, particularly afflicting children and the elderly. In contrast with other European Union countries, Portugal is part of a group of ten member states with the highest rates of poverty, and is 16% above the European average (Portuguese National Institute of Statistics, October 2007). One in five people (21% of the population) lives below the poverty line and the risk of remaining in poverty stands at 15%. At the end of 2007, Portugal was ranked the sixth poorest country in terms of GDP per capita, in the purchasing power parity index of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Portuguese national wealth falls 28% below the 'developed' state average. However, despite the lower income levels, the Portuguese have levels of consumption identical to other countries. This has tended to foster a rising level of household debt which contributes to the incidence of poverty.

5   The documentation points to a rise in the overall reported instances of criminality per 1,000 inhabitants of only 2.3%, deemed low when compared with other European countries where this figure may reach between 4% and 6% and still be considered relatively low (Annual Internal Security Report, 2006, p. 51). It should be noted that the 2008 and 2009 reports have demonstrated a worsening of some forms of crime, particularly violent crime (car jacking, armed robberies, domestic violence, among other types), but the numbers of crime registers still do not reflect, at least in a linear form, the economic crisis in which the country is submerged.

6   In a more generalised fashion, the focus in Portugal has been on other types of phenomena that contrast the social perception with the facts of cases charged and tried. These seem to reveal complex social factors behind the workings of the democratic political system and the institutions of justice and especially regarding: crimes associated with professional football, practices of abuse of minors at state childcare institutions, corruption at state owned entities, local government and major corporations, the financial debt of political parties, etc.

The public field of police action and the entire justice system summarise a debate and a broader discourse that evokes the paradoxical Portuguese situation: the country is considered an increasingly 'modern' European country along with its fellow European Union peers but, as the young democracy that it also is, the country also proves particularly susceptible to problems of institutional dysfunction resulting in a need for an additional dose of revitalisation, transparency and political accountability.[7]

4.2 ON THE PORTUGUESE POLICING MODEL

Despite the 1974 Revolution, the Portuguese decolonisation process in Africa, the agreement on a renewed Portuguese constitution (1976), it took almost a decade to fully restore democracy and, with it, institutions and policing structures. The promise of national socio-economic prosperity first surged forward with Portugal's inclusion in the European Union in 1986. In conjunction with the economic model and the state, there was mass access to consumer goods. Similarly, police forces were needed that were in agreement with these new principles of democratic accountability and the market economy, with new levels of demand and transparency within a society that, by the late 1990s, also experienced growth in means of communication along with low levels of non-governmental social activism. External and international pressures proved of greater influence as regards violent police practices and resulted in greater determination to maintain, although with fluctuations, a certain level of governmental supervision and the centralisation of Portuguese policing decisions through an increasingly sophisticated bureaucratic hierarchy.

Since the end of the 1980s and with more incisive public security policies and organisational changes from the second half of the 1990s, the State attempted to break with the policing image of force, an overbearing attitude and arbitrariness in their methods that they inherited from the Estado Novo (1933-1974). The dictatorial state compromised the police officers and the national security system with the existence of a deeply rooted secret police that counts on the voluntary cooperation of citizens (Pimentel, 2007). In the democratic context, the emphasis became focused on raising the police forces to European benchmark standards, with demands for legal compliance and effective functionality, thereby demonstrating that the warnings and criticism from international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International and others were being heeded.

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7   A certain discourse in the social sciences has contributed to this image, for example when stating Portugal would be a semi-peripheral country within the European context, characterised by 'a radical disjunction between ongoing relations of capitalist production and the relations of social reproduction' (Santos, 1990, p. 109).

Looking at the institutionalisation phase of the police towards the end of the 19th century, we find that the police organisational model in Portugal was relatively atypical, even within the European context, while still inspired by and based upon the French model. The various police entities, i.e. the criminal police organs, remained under the supervision of different ministries as from the late 19th century, the period when they underwent major institutional and organisational expansion (Gonçalves, 2007). This was the case with the core entities such as the Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP – Public Security Police) and the Guarda Nacional Republicana (GNR – National Republican Guard), under the auspices of the Ministry for Internal Affairs and the Polícia Judiciária (PJ – Criminal Investigation Department), with a clear investigative vocation, answering to the Ministry of Justice.

Some changes have taken place in terms of expanding political accountability and senior managerial coordination. In 2008 the Internal Security Law established a Secretary General for Internal Security with responsibility for coordinating the police forces and security services and with his/her appointment subject to national parliamentary approval. However, in organisational and operational terms, the supervisory separation of the different police forces has remained in effect and each branch has retained its autonomy within the organisational structural plan. As Robert Reiner (1985) holds, in all national systems, the police retain a certain autonomy in defining their agendas but are also the target of a greater or lesser extent of 'politicisation': struggling for the power to intervene in these rules, whether internally and affecting police organisation or whether in society in general. Hence, these characteristics ensure these institutions are key players in a society's democratisation processes and place them within the framework of discussions, not uniquely but preferentially, on political conflicts and social stability and change (Ericson, 1989).

Going into more specific detail, the Portuguese model retains Napoleonic roots not only in this area but across the state structure (Gomes, Dias, Leitão, Mendes & Oliveira, 2001).[8] As Valente Gomes states, while in some countries this has been a high profile political issue and the police organisational structure has been subject to frequent reform, in Portugal the model has remained all but unaltered since the 19th century. This is the case across the states of southern Europe including Portugal, Spain, France and Italy (L'Heuillet, 2004; Monjardet, 1996).

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8   According to these authors, this model has a dualist organisational structure in relation to the larger police bodies: a police force with military status to cover the rural areas (GNR) and another civilian force for the urban areas (PSP). Furthermore, this is highly centralised in the national capital, hence, the police forces answer independently to the central authorities. This differs from what is termed the 'national model', predominant in the north of Europe (with a single police structure), and the 'decentralised model' characteristic of Anglo-Saxon countries (whether Anglo-Dutch or American-Germanic). These main organisational models nevertheless result in different styles of policing even if, nowadays, they are tending to converge and become increasingly hybrid.

Table 4.1   Contemporary Portuguese policing agencies (Órgãos de Polícia Criminal em Portugal)

Security forces and services	Date of foundation	Supervisory government entity	Military/civil status	Territorial scope	Total number of members in 2008	Percentage of females in 2008
National Republican Guard [GNR]	1801 Guarda Real da Polícia de Lisboa/Lisbon Police Royal Guard	Ministry of Home Affairs	Militarised force	Units, sub-units and posts in rural regions and small towns	25,704	5.8%
Public Security Police [PSP]	1867 Corpo de Polícia Civil/Civil Police Body	Ministry of Home Affairs	Civil police force	Units and police stations in urban and metropolitan areas	21,228	7.1%
Criminal Investigation Department [PJ]	1893 Polícia de Investigação Judiciária e Preventiva/Criminal Investigation and Prevention Police	Ministry of Justice	Civil service	Investigation departments and units in various cities	2,532	33.9%
Foreigners and Borders Service [SEF]	1974 Direcção de Serviço de Estrangeiros/Foreigners and Borders Service	Ministry of Home Affairs	Civil service	Departments, regional delegations and border posts	1,478	46.7%
Supply and Economic Security Authority [ASAE]	2005 ASAE founded	Ministry of the Economy and Innovation	Civil service	Regional departments across the country	510	48.4%
Maritime Police (Polícia Marítima, PM)	1995 Maritime Police founded	Ministry of Defence (Navy Department)	Militarised force	Captaincies in ports	517	5.4%

Sources: Statistics gained from the official Social Balances' (PSP, GNR, SEF, ASAE) or supplied directly to the researcher by each entity following direct contact (PJ, PM).

The table demonstrates how there are various national police agencies (*órgãos de polícia criminal*) within the contemporary Portuguese policing system. While these are the most important, it is difficult for the administration to ascertain the real number of agencies dealing with criminal regulation and oversight that have been established separately over the years by particular administrative laws with any accuracy. In corridor talk, higher ranking PSP and PJ police officers estimate there are over fifty agencies that may be considered *órgãos de polícia criminal* but without any coordinated policy or complete governmental control over them. The uniformed police forces are made up of the aforementioned PSP and GNR, along with the Maritime Police. The investigative forces are the PJ, the SEF and the recently founded ASAE. The Serviço de Informações de Segurança (SIS – the Security Information Services), reorganised in 1984, does not have police competences but is instead an investigative governmental agency. This intelligence service is regulated by the Portuguese Republic and the Council of Ministers. Municipal police forces now play a broadly irrelevant role within the Portuguese policing structure: they have straight legal powers, low autonomy, and the police personnel still have their careers linked to the PSP structure. The possibility of merging the national police forces, especially the two major entities, the GNR and the PSP, is a theme raised sporadically but without ever having much impact on national political debates.[9] Jean-Claude Monet, when referring to the Portuguese model in the context of the police systems in Europe, raises the question that now and then occupies the media, police unions, some parliamentarians, and bloggers: 'Looking at the present situation of the two national police forces [GNR and PSP] we can suppose that they are in a transitory [historical] phase before the next step to total integration' (2006, p. 86).

The core policing bodies are national in scope but there is a perceivable tradition and relative autonomy in the territorial management of police forces. The PSP, the focus of our study in this article, is organised into either metropolitan or regional command structures, territorial divisions or by specialist operational area as well as by the respective police stations. In a different direction, there is a certain trend towards professionalization driven by the popularisation of North American and British policing models, a progressive influence within the Portuguese context. The administrative and operational models tend to be mixed and with fundamental change expected in coming years given that this policing structure seems no long able to escape a matrix that renders it a hybrid military and bureaucratic model (Bittner, 2003; Goldstein, 1977).

1999 was critical to the PSP and there have since been successive reforms. The renewed Organic Law no. 5/99 gave the force with a new format. Essentially, the hierarchical structure was retained, dividing the force into the three groups forming the police force career ladder – higher rank officers, intermediate officers (police chiefs) and constables (agents). The greatest investment went into the two extremes: targeting higher rank officers and constables and, to a certain extent,

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9   In 2007, the PSP counted on a total of around 22,000 fulltime members of staff. It was the second largest police force as the GNR had around 26,000 members due to be raised by 1,000 apiece in 2008. Both have thus far worked with great organisational autonomy. It should be noted that, contrary to the PSP, the GNR has remained significantly militarised.

undermining the role of intermediate officers, restricting them to activities such as registering and processing reported participations and crimes.

Table 4.2 PSP police ranks in 2010

Rank	Categories
Higher ranks (*Oficial de Polícia*)	Superintendent Chief (*Superintendente-Chefe*)
	Superintendent (*Superintendente*)
	Intendent (*Intendente*)
	Subintendent (*Subintendente*)
	Commissioner (*Comissário*)
	Sub-Commissioner (*Subcomissário*)
Police chief (*Chefe de Polícia*)	Chief First Class (*Chefe Principal*)
	Chief (*Chefe*)
Constable (*Agente de Polícia*)	Constable First Class (*Agente Principal*)
	Constable (*Agente*)

Some other elements shaping the institutional everyday life should be brought into consideration. Constables do patrol work most of the time. But they also are in charge of reporting all the policing events they take part in. Police chiefs are mostly at the stations, organizing daily activities and supervising each one a group of constables. Trained to have a special professional status, in a higher institute for advance police and criminal studies inside the police corporation, the local commander is a sub-commissioner, meaning that he is the only higher ranked officer inside the station. This is a professional assignment usually for the ones who are starting up a promising career as higher officers. Furthermore, there are no inspectors or detectives in Portuguese police stations, since these ranks don't exist as such in PSP, considered essentially a preventive police, directed to street's patrol.[10]

More than any debate about which model to effectively adopt – 'proximity policing', 'problem resolution policing', tradition patrols, specialised subunits or rapid intervention brigades – the ongoing reality is based on a combination of various policing styles. However, it is the question of police institutional visibility in the streets that has been given the greatest attention. Calculations from the end of last century estimate that there are 440 police personnel for every 100,000 inhabitants of Portugal, one of the highest ratios in the then fifteen European

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10 In keeping with the ongoing demilitarisation of the senior police force ranks, commanders have taken on a renewed role and presence in operational terms. Each police station has a commander with the rank of police officer. Since the late 1980s, the police forces have had training considered equivalent to university level at the Instituto Superior de Ciências Policiais e Segurança Interna (Higher Institute of Political Sciences and Internal Security). Every year, this entity trains a group of young officers that directly enter the upper PSP ranks. In turn, the constables, although at the lowest level of the institutional hierarchy, were attributed new responsibilities within the full working cycle and their street presence is now very visible. For better or for worse, these constables are now the main interlocutors between the state and citizens at the local level.

Union member states, placing the country third behind Italy and Spain (cf. Ocqueteau, 2004, p. 109). However, this in no way means they were deployed on functional operations. Since then, there has been great discussion about the question of human resource rationalisation, getting 'constables back on the beat', which remains a popularly held demand, and removing professional staff from the bureaucratic duties that many have traditionally been engaged in and replacing them with civilian staff. Such reform processes have never been fully implemented.[11]

Another debate, but without such a high profile, has focused on transforming the security service map of Portugal (as generally worldwide): expanding the policing mandate to private sector partners. As Ericson and Haggerty (1997) recount, policing and the security sector are in no way confined to specialist policing entities and still less to those in uniform. Private agencies are taking on every greater roles in public policing partnership programs and there is an observable erosion of the borders between public and private in the field of control and surveillance. New technological devices, such as closed-circuit television, have been spreading on a large scale, whether in public domains, especially boosted by local state government powers, or in shopping malls, driven by private sector interests (Frois, 2008). In this field, new laws, agencies and posts are constantly being established and represent new forms of managing and regulating breaks and infringements of the legal framework.

4.3 POLICIES FOR URBAN STREET-POLICING

Street-policing in Portugal – to the extent that it centres on the frequency of direct contact with citizens at the level of local police stations – runs parallel to national demographic transformations. The traditional territorial distribution between the GNR (in areas considered rural) and the PSP (for urban and metropolitan areas) increasingly reflects socio-economic changes. In Portugal, since the last census (the fourteenth General Census of the Population, National Statistics Institute), there has been ongoing urbanization with rising population densities in coastal regions, a generalised ageing of the population and with a slight trend to reverse the demographic decline due to inward migratory flows. The metropolitan regions of Lisbon and Oporto have particularly gained in importance given their rising populations, areas of intensive urban construction and the development of economic activities. Thus, the PSP has correspondingly experienced a progressive

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11 Newspaper reports such as 'Minister wants police out from behind their PSP desks' are very common (cf. Diário de Notícias, 09/11/2004). In March 2008, when a new National PSP Director took office, in his first statement to journalists, he highlighted his motivation to rationalise staffing. The trade unions immediately expressed the need to get more police officers on the streets even while the statistical data continues to point to their being one of the highest ratios of police per number of inhabitants in Europe.

rise in its presence in these two major metropolitan axes, and especially in Lisbon.[12]

Corresponding to this, the PSP has progressively lost its profile in smaller towns and cities (which, in terms of the division of police labour, duties are handed over to the responsibility of GNR) inverting a trend towards its expansion and presence across the countryside dating back to the late 19th century (Gonçalves, 2007).[13] Hence, the institution charged with urban policing has increasingly concentrated more material and human resources around the two main metropolitan poles. In 2005, the Lisbon command already represented 35% of total police force staff with over 21,200 police officers (Diário da República, 2005). It is also in the regions surrounding Lisbon or in the capital of Lisbon that the majority of specialist police units are located, including the Corpo de Intervenção (Intervention Corp) among others.[14]

It may be stated that public security policies in Portugal have tended to evolve in two, broadly complementary, senses, one considered more preventative and the other more pro-active (concepts I shall return to below). And, perhaps for this reason, there is now greater ambiguity as to what makes up the policing mandate in terms of law and order, and public safety. In a broaden and global environment it is worth returning to Peter Manning's wise view in which he states that the police is one of the institutions that have troubles. 'Among the many occupations now in crisis, they best symbolize the shifts and strains in our changing socio-political order. They have been assigned the task of crime prevention, crime

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12   The policing structure of the PSP Lisbon Metropolitan Command has no direct correspondence with the administrative borders of the political and municipal structure of the 'Metropolitan Area of Lisbon' [MAL], which is larger than the former. Nevertheless, we take this area as our reference point. The MAL has the greatest concentration of population in the country. In accordance with the preliminary statistics from the most recent general population census, in 2001, there were 2,662,949 inhabitants resident in the MAL, around a quarter of the total Portuguese population, then totalling almost 11 million. Of this total 20.9% lived in Greater Lisbon. Across the 3,128 km2 of MAL (3.3% of mainland Portugal) 27.1% of the mainland population resided there, with an active population of around 1.3 million people. Located within its extent are around 30% of Portuguese companies, 32.7% of employment and a contribution towards GDP in excess of 36% (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, 2006).

13   It should be recalled that in accordance with 2004 data, provided to this research project by the administrative department of the PSP National Directorate, there were estimated to be 340 police stations across the country, a number that was reduced in the following years.

14   These are the most recent PSP subunits, considered 'more professional', such as undercover forces (the GOE, for example), the recently created ASAE (policing economic and food related industries), the anti-explosives and dangerous devices group, and the entire complex issue of private security, have emerged, justified by a new paradigm of the visible social presence of the forces: these are police in black. They evoke, on the one hand, a paramilitary dimension to operations, and as Barbosa (2006) pointed out in the Brazilian case, they have no territorial bond acting in a 'band' to hunt down and wipe out other bands (of criminals), which emphasises their reactive speeds. Furthermore, they create the idea they are in possession of a certain level of technical efficiency and even technological advancement, symbolising those in uniform as endowed with a certain sense of modernity, unparalleled in police history.

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detection, and the apprehension of criminals. Based on their legal monopoly of violence, they have staked out a mandate that claims to include the efficient, apolitical, and professional enforcement of the law. (...) The police have staked out a vast unmanageable social domain' (Manning, 1979, p. 8). In this article I intend to provide closer analysis of how the ambiguities present in local policing, some not exclusive of the Portuguese police, but some more particular, are expressed in the Portuguese case.

Given the characteristics of the demographic and Portuguese criminal context, investment has targeted a model of policing that restores the role of police stations, in particular 'neighbourhood police stations': little urban police units, each one comprising up to eighty police officers at the most. Despite having their own chief-commander, these policing units depend on larger commands established in divisional headquarters. All the territorial police are regulated by a metropolitan command. Since 1999, there is an administrative structure named National Direction with overall responsibility for implementing and regulating national politics and operational strategies for the urban police.

Since the 1990s, there have been many structural changes, in short political cycles, which demonstrated the need to change the operational policing laws. In the first half of the 1990s, the PSP operated in accordance with a 'concentrated divisions' model, with an intensive utilisation of means of transport, and a variable and flexible distribution of human resources across territories and interconnected with other emergency systems. The model was restructured into what is currently in effect and which, in summary, consists of raising the visibility of street-policing. To the extent that the objective was to bring about a policing style more closely oriented towards local communities, and basing 80% of the total policing resources in police stations, this political model opted for more individual professional training and, more recently, for renewing equipment and weaponry. Furthermore, there has also been a trend to computerise the system of collecting, recording and internal sharing police information and data bases within an ever more generalised process.[15] As Frois (2006) pertinently points out, individual identification technologies, designed for other purposes, have been implemented into police bureaucratic routines and beyond.[16]

In a different sense, there has also been a generalised and observable boost to the criminal investigation competences of the frontline police force. The configuration of the entire bureaucratic apparatus and the transformations made to penal

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15   This is integrated into the broader 'SIMPLEX Program' that seeks to transform and lighten the load of bureaucratic procedures enacted by the Portuguese state.

16   Thus initiatives have begun to crop up that, in a certain sense, facilitate some tasks, among which there is the opportunity to report crime on the Internet. In turn, in the case of the PSP pilot project, 'XXI's Police Station', in Estoril (Cascais), the objective is to set up the police station of the future and an environment in which to test out the benefits and effectiveness of the new technologies. Unlike all other stations, it runs its own Internet site.

codes and penal procedures have taken into consideration two concerns. On the one hand, they seek to ensure the framework and conditions for the procedural legality of police actions, while on the other hand they provide significant room for manoeuvre and freedom in police decision-making by electing the task of criminal control as the most fundamental operational axis. The important turn-around resulting from the implementation of criminal investigation organisation legislation in 2000 should be highlighted given the expansion in PSP and GNR competences. Both police forces were given wider scope for investigating crimes. Whereas previously they were authorised to deal with offences carrying sentences of up to three years, in 2000 this remit was extended to investigating crimes that carry sentences of up to a maximum of five years imprisonment. Correspond-ingly, what is termed *preventative policing* swiftly began to enter into criminal and forensic fields of action and investigation that had until then been the exclusive responsibility of the PJ. However, occasionally, they are confronted by public accu-sations of lacking in professional capacities in crucial fields such as closing cases, collecting evidence and expertise, and coordinating between departments. In the PSP, this process resulted in the founding of criminal investigation divisions, highly powerful in both operational and symbolic capital terms, and effectively in competition with the PJ over criminal processes, statistical results and so forth. With crime and ways to act against it the focus of attention, it has taken on a newly prominent political profile within the PSP.

As I shall verify, both trends – one more pro-social and the other more anti-criminal – are manifest in the maps below that describe the daily policing rou-tines in three different services: foot patrol, car patrol and one of the 'proximity programs', an elderly-support program. The main effects that these policies and organisational formats have had in the formulation of policing maps are those set out by Cunha (2009), Wacquant (2004, 2007) and various other researchers: critical interactions between two apparently antagonistic formats, proximity and pro-active policing.

However, this argument needs to be presented in greater detail and gains from an ethnographic approach. As I have sought to demonstrate in this article, and as in other research (Durão, 2008a, 2008b), there is no unequivocal trend in the Portuguese policing mandate which would correspond to an institutional reconfiguration able to clearly reflect the line taken in political options. Far more perceivable is a simultaneous conjunction of political possibilities and practices left open to local police interpretation. Furthermore, the main concepts in use by the Portuguese police testify to the extent that this process is undergoing a continuous process of reorganisation and redefinition. One of the best examples is the plurality of interpretations around what is termed *proximity policing*, the main idiom for the Portuguese police forces these days. The concept has mul-tiple dimensions and emerges in police discourse and the interviews I carried out regardless of the individual's rank. There are at least four distinct meanings: (1) a global project for the police, a type of philosophy tending to drive greater

respect for human rights; (2) a model of street-policing that seeks to innovate, while partially applied, through programmes endowing a certain organisational definition;[17] (3) the recovery of a model of 'traditional policing', as the police force once used to be, with a 'territorial' role, 'on the street', 'the very essence of patrol-ling', as some of the officers with the longest service records told me, and config-ured around police units close to citizens, the police stations; and (4) a policing tactic that can even be conducted as a policing strategy: a means of getting closer to potential informers and consequently gaining access to more information to act upon.

The other enlightening example is about pro-activity. *Pro-activeness* is today a con-cept in use by police in its positive dimension: anticipating situations deemed criminal or illicit. In its broadest sense, this term constantly crops up in Portu-guese political discourse as an attitude of approximation and promotion by the authorities towards the electorate or citizens. Nevertheless, this problem draws a different definition from Black (1978) for the theoretical policing context: the pro-active strategies (more submerged in policing rhetoric) calling for the means to discover crime to the extent that it is taking place. Thus, on the one hand, these strategies are detectable within a practice that has experienced enormous growth in recent years: collective police operations oriented towards getting results, crim-inal indices that are later processed and expressed in reports that circulate in the various channels that form public opinion. On the other hand, these pro-active strategies are hidden behind a third concept in common usage: *prevention*, which seeks to reassure the citizen and provide security that is able to pre-empt crime through readings of suspect scenarios and persons. Hence, these pro-active strat-egies are placed in the service of a greater goal: criminal prevention. The dis-cussions around the excesses and problems associated with the widening of the scope of policing discretion to include this type of anti-criminal approach are well known.[18]

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17 'Safe School', 'the Elderly in Safety', 'Safe Commerce' and, in a very tenuous fashion, 'Victim Support' are the programmes that have been running for the longest time. Others have followed them: 'Operation Holidays', 'Safe Taxi' and, in a less organised manner, 'Domestic Violence'. Only recently has this group begun to be reflected in the police model type, specifically through the 'Inte-grated Proximity Policing Program', which is at an initial testing phase nationwide and is far from gaining unanimous support whether in the upper levels of political power or among police elites.

18 As the beginning of an example, we may refer to the considerations put forward by Bayley (1994) when defending the notion that the police have less to do with resolving crime than is generally perceived and that they would gain from consolidating their actions around minor issues, patrol-ling the streets, responding to calls, controlling the traffic. Only when there is serious considera-tion of the decentralised layout of police work, attributing greater responsibilities and enabling officers through training and recognising that it is they who carry out the core police work, will there be any radical change. In unison, Manning (2003, 2004) has maintained, on analysing the post 9/11 contexts, with all attention focussed on North American domestic security, and by exten-sion the world, only now has political and social capital been placed on technological change and the anti-criminal facet of policing. Attention should also be returned to strengthening training and the multiple qualifications of the officers that have to deal with the multicultural society that they experience and from which they emerge.

The socio-cultural characteristics of the police officers recruited have also undergone significant changes over the last ten years ago. Members of the PSP are much younger than their predecessors and recruited only from among high school graduates (12th grade), contrary to the recruitment policies in the other main security force, the GNR (for rural areas) where only completion of the 9th grade is required. With rising national unemployment, there are also increasing numbers of individuals with university level education applying to the Escola Prática de Polícia (Police Practical School) to undertake six to nine months of professional training prior to joining the force. All recruits must be Portuguese nationals and there is a lack of ethnic plurality in the police forces. In terms of female police members, their numerical representation has not seen any significant increase and has not yet broken 10% of total police force (Durão & Leandro, 2003). There is open discussion in the organisational context about women tending to stick to administrative services and withdrawing from operation. Thus, there are few women in police stations and, in general, when working in police stations, they tend to be deployed on special proximity programmes and away from more high profile patrols.

Thus, while the general educational level has risen, there has been continuation of the traditional style of recruitment and to this day, the majority of police come from rural regions and are temporarily drafted into the urban regions, particularly the capital Lisbon (Durão, 2008a, Chapters 6 and 7). Correspondingly, much of a police officer's career is spent in cities where they do not want to be, in environments broadly unknown to them. The police stations have high levels of staff turnover, generating a dynamic that hugely hinders the implementation of proximity policing given that it is based on local policing knowledge, proximity and continued interaction with citizens (as it will be seen below in analysis of the cognitive policing maps).

Hence, broader and better organised policies, and the social and cultural dimension, foster this paradox that runs through Portuguese policing: although professional practices demonstrate that there is a criminal dimension to patrol policing, the growing demand is that attention be focussed on this dimension.

4.4   GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL MEANINGS OF LOCAL POLICING

This section sets out an analytical proposal of police presence on the streets of Lisbon, based upon itineraries that are built up over time and the spaces they pass through. Three of the most and constant duties to any Portuguese police station are highlighted: policing on foot (foot patrol), policing in vehicles (car patrols), and proximity policing in support of the elderly (generally also carried out on foot). I have selected three shifts that represent the typical itineraries of these services as they are systematically repeated with only the minimum of variations.

The police station forming the case study is charged with policing an area with a radius of 1.5 kilometres that covers a series of adjoining neighbourhoods, expressed in the *mapa de giros* (route maps), the official policing plan (Figure 4.1). One of these neighbourhoods, where the station is located, is characterised by its traditional retail trade, with flows of residents and visitors and leading to intense vehicle traffic. The majority of the buildings, although almost all built between the late 19th century and the 1960s, are in a good state of preservation. The resident population is heterogeneous but tends to be middle class, aging and of whom the vast majority are of Portuguese origin. The police, when referring to this neighbourhood, deem the area to be the *parte de cima* (the upper part) and frequented by *respeitáveis* (respectable) people, also termed *gente de bem* (decent people). In this neighbourhood, officers engage in policing tactics that I call 'passive visibility'.

Figure 4.1   Police station areas and patrol routes

Police station areas and patrol routes	Lower part (2 and 10)
Source: Official Area Policing Plan (Yellow Squadron)	Upper part (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9)
	▬ Exceptional Zone (none of 10)
	✳ Police stations
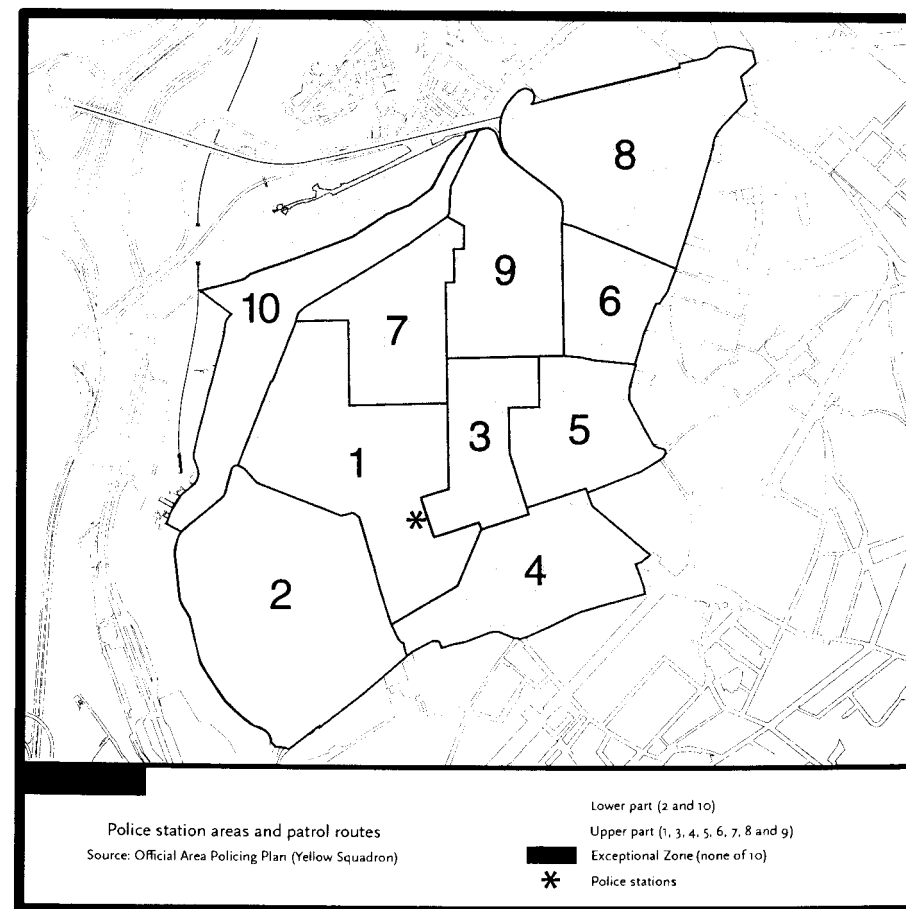
Source: Official Area Policing Plan (Yellow Squadron)

In contrast, when referring to the area of rundown neighbourhoods with social housing projects, with known apparently atomised drug trafficking practices, the police refer to it as *parte de baixo* (the lower part). Streets of ill-repute in *bairros problemáticos* (problematic neighbourhoods), as police officers refer to them and also termed 'difficult' (Roncayolo, 2003, p. 70) or 'sensitive neighbourhoods' (Katane, 2002) – slang that is in widespread usage and forming a web of interpretations cross-referencing the media and the police (Gill, 1977) – with a mixture of poor streets and precarious housing. These also get called *bairros da droga* (drug neighbourhoods), in which they identify *suspeitos* (suspects), traffickers, street delinquents and consumers (cf. Durão, Gonçalves & Cordeiro, 2005). Police vehicles and foot patrols circulate in a style marked by what can be called 'ostentatious visibility', in which the objective is, in their words, to 'have the territory under control' and, above all, not to allow the problems and delinquency to spill over into the upper area.

Some bordering areas tend not to be perceived as streets to be policed. These are under-policed, particularly when compared with those that are repeatedly patrolled. The most extreme example relates to an entire neighbourhood (inside and to the north of route no. 10, Figure 4.1). This is a neighbourhood seen by the police as poor and degraded. In such places, truly 'policing wildernesses', constables do not recognise criminal problems or other aspects that would require their daily attention and only visit to deal with emergencies. Such places gradually slip from view and are overlooked by the patrol webs and barely feature on the professional maps. While distributed spatially, the policing takes place selectively with overrepresentation in some places and effectively disappearing, due to the absence of routine, from others. Thus constables foster the emergence of a 'non-synchronic city', with different temporalities (Roncayolo, 2003, p. 61). The distinctions highlighted in the maps reflect a certain geographic randomness on the ground but it is the moral and social division that is particularly expressed in the different police routes through space.

When looked at in organisational terms, the policing services in practice in the majority of Lisbon's stations in themselves contain important historical differences. Pounding the beat is the longest standing form of patrol. It was based upon the notion of pedestrian itinerancy that the very idea of policing was established, in the expansion of a model of 'policing of cities on behalf of the state' ever since the 18th century (Napoli, 2003). Car patrols are a more recent development in the history of the Portuguese police. They have taken on significance in the largest cities at the same time as intercommunication devices for emergency situations were introduced in the 1960s. Car patrols were stepped up sharply in the 1990s, when the operational model was reorganised in the space of a couple of years, replacing the 'neighbourhood' police stations with *concentrated divisions* (Gomes et al., 2001), that broke the territorial link to policing, as I explained earlier in the text. The police station based model of policing, more deeply rooted into the urban environment, were restored some years later, and were inspired by new

philosophies on proximity between the police and citizens (Costa, 1996, 2002). However, in ten years of experience, the proximity programmes have remained relatively autonomous to the other patrolling activities and cognitive maps (on foot and by vehicle) and fairly inconsistently located within the overall street-policing project.

It is necessary to get into the daily routines, and explore what constables actually do, to analyse the results of street-policing sequences by the different services. Sequences are here understood as a succession of 'social trajectories' with 'recurrent flows in space' (Magnanni, 2003), but defined in time. These represent the three services generally present in any city police station.

4.5   SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL AND URBAN SKILLS OF POLICE CONSTABLES

Police action sequences show different professional priorities and variations affected by the relationships officers establish in the neighbourhoods, the community context they operate in, and the people with whom they interact. As such, they reveal different skills built up by street-policing activities. In order to illustrate this, I describe *a foot patrol service*, in an extract from my field diary notes.

> On one afternoon shift, two constables both left the police station on patrol. Generally, this duty is allocated to younger officers or recent arrivals to the station. They are sent out by their officer to cover a set of nearby streets. They walk slowly, gradually wasting away the duration of the shift that they expect to be without major incident. They stop in a bar which they know and have a beer. Then, they head towards the *lower part* of the area. They reach the most policed street on the route, which they consider to be at the heart of the traffic, the *drug neighbourhood*. To get there, the officers proceed at a wandering pace. They have the time and availability to mutually socialise, to chat and discuss their personal problems and difficulties in managing professional and family lives, of tensions with bosses or, simply to look around at the urban movement. Thus, constables prefer to patrol in pairs. On spotting them, the street traffickers move on and go and sell drugs in another place, out of police sight. A report comes in over the radio that a drug addict has slipped down an embankment. The two constables descend down the path to observe the accident. While waiting for the ambulance, they guide the traffic. On leaving the scene, they spot a homeless addict with a reputation in the area that they decide to stop and search. The encounter is marked by hostility. The officers then move onto the main *drug neighbourhood* square remaining there for some time and taking in the passers-by. They spend almost an hour there also watching colleagues, whether in uniform or in plainclothes. As the end of their shift approaches, they head back to the *upper part*, stop off in a bar before returning to the station 'without any news', without any incidents to register and ready to be relieved by two other constables.

Although officers patrolling on foot have freedom of choice over route definition, the extent of the area policed is predefined. The sequence design on the map (Figure 4.2) demonstrates the relatively reduced radius of action within a circumscribed policed area.

Figure 4.2 Sequence of foot patrol constables

1 Leave station (13.00)
2 Pause in a bar (13.20)
3 Return to station
4 Visibility and observation in a square notorious for trafficking on route ten. One of the agents questions a suspect (14.30)
5 Observation of an accident (14.50)
6 On some open ground, they question and threaten a suspect (16.10)
7 Visibility and observation in a square notorious for trafficking on route ten (16.30)
8 Pause in a bar (18.15)
9 Return to station to be relieved of duty (18.45)

They never end up covering the total station area in any single shift. This is a service involving personal exposure during which officers end up responding frequently to citizens. Their presence on the streets produces a feeling of simple presence, on each corner and in each place. The objective is above all to discourage citizens from breaking the law, and checking and preventing infringements of public order. Therefore, the streets selected by the constables for their most common routes are those where they have greatest visibility, busy streets with a lot of movement. This tactic also ends up protecting them from any danger they might otherwise be exposed to. Those patrolling the more hidden back streets to learn about the background context are the *plainclothes constables*, 'invisible', or at least less 'prominent' out of uniform officers, or officers in car patrols, at least as far as the vehicles will take them.

To a certain extent, foot patrol officers are the most socially controlled facet of the police. Firstly, they have least freedom and are most closely supervised by their organisation and superiors. Secondly, they are controlled by the public itself to the extent that they expect of the police officers specific standards of courtesy and knowledge about the city. According to experienced car patrol officers, their colleagues on foot are ironically referred to as *tourist guides* and, in a more critical sense as the *coat hangers* of the organisation. In contrast, foot patrol services can be physically and psychologically exhausting. Internal pressure from superiors for constables to meet quotas indicators collides with external pressure when the police do intervene more in local social order. Many police officers prefer to defend their own image, in personal terms, and avoid getting involved in irregular situations. They feel that doing so will only bring them grief from the neighbourhood residents they see daily, particularly in the upper part neighbourhood.

When the activity is reduced to the simply being visible, breaks may be what effectively interrupt the routine. For the officers on patrol, the shifts seem long. The intense sociability between colleagues and listening into communications (by radio) constantly remind them that the work considered professional (or operational) is being undertaken by their motorised colleagues. While it is true that these interactions with citizens relatively rarely result in problematic situations, with the exception of parking issues that may generate animosity, this kind of patrolling is broadly undemanding in professional terms and is perceived as monotonous. The norm is to end the shift at the right time, reporting back to the duty officer and declaring: 'Shift without incident' (a phrase that has been adopted by car patrol officers to mock their colleagues on foot). For the majority of officer, going out on foot patrols is an obligatory phase in their professional careers, given that the majority wish to move to car patrols. Hence, we arrive at a paradoxical facet to policing: while in the organisation the status of foot patrols is practically zero, frequently dismissed and very often unwanted, in the community it remains much in demand with the tradition of a 'police officer on every corner' a recurrent social demand.

Below, there is another example based upon the description of a *car-patrol* shift, also taken from field diary notes.

> The car patrol officers went on duty on a hot summer's afternoon. The driver and the *arvorado* (the car patrol leader) – charged with resolving and recording events in the street – have worked together for the last twelve months. They know each other well. They set off to sort out the 'urn case', a complicated incident involving dead animals in a disused building. They return to the police station and communicate with the sanitary authorities. A while later they manage to get the time for a break, stopping off in a bar. However, they soon receive a call from the station calling upon
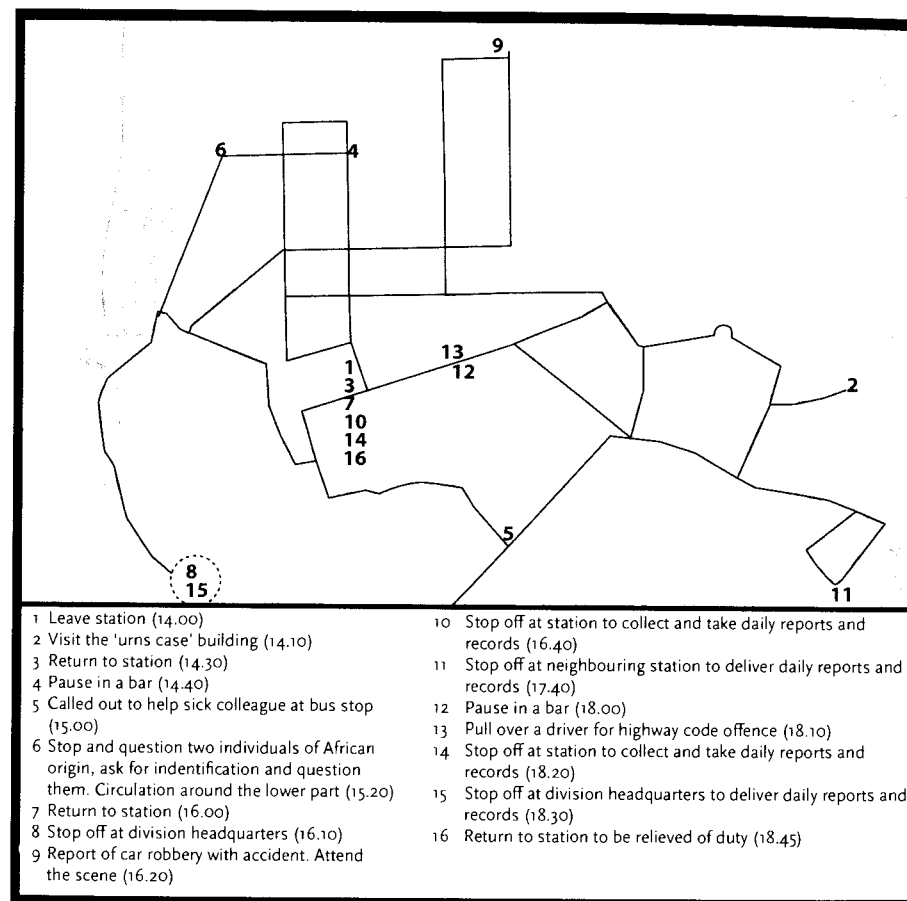
them to pick up a colleague who has fallen sick by a bus stop. They decide afterwards to drive through the streets in the *lower part of the area*, looking around, awaiting at any moment an event that might take them off to another destination. They spot two passers-by, 'racially black' as they say, who they consider suspects and perhaps new traffickers and request their identification. They tell the individuals that they do not want to see them around here again. They then return to the station. They take written documentation to the division headquarters (the unit supervising operational activities across various police stations). They then again return to base to sort out personal issues. Pretty much halfway through their shift they are called out to investigate a 'vehicle robbery with an accident' near a motorway. The officers sound their sirens and drive at high speed to the scene of the accident. They certify that there are no injured parties. They use their radio to contact the highway patrol and control the traffic until everything returns to normality. They learn that the assailant was picked up elsewhere by colleagues from another station, also a car patrol unit. They still have to transport the 'urn case' records to a neighbouring station where the case will be filed. Now, towards the end of their shift, the car patrol officers take a short break in a bar. On leaving, they pull over a woman driving without her seatbelt. Prior to being relieved, the patrol car officers are recalled back to station to pick up all the daily records that they are then to deliver to divisional headquarters. They then return to the station in order to write out their service reports and record the car theft. This means that they end later than their colleagues on the same shift.

It may be said that car patrols partly brought about a break in the territorial connection with policing as it is increasingly based on responding to incidents and commanding at distance (by radio). The circulation of car patrols, what they term *rolling* or *taking a spin*, is a continuous interval between being called out to incidents, which trigger actions (Figure 4.3).

Contrary to what happens on foot, what defines the circuits here is not a set of streets that constables should visit. The vehicle is at the core of a perspective that sees policing as an emergency service. The service itself is defined by the demands of the city, its inhabitants making recourse to the police primarily to re-establish local order and intervene in conflicts that they themselves are unable to resolve. The objective of police officers is to get to locations and resolve the problems encountered, whether immediately at a specific location and through direct mediation, or at a legal level through written processes with recourse to indirect mediation. A lot of a station's results are based on this service because, to a large extent, it provides both the evidence and the visibility of the worktaking place within the organisational context. As policemen say, 'We work for the station's statistics.'[19]

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19   To give an idea, at the police station under analysis, the highest percentage of incidents is recorded by the patrol services, 70% in total. Of these, around 60% are reported by car patrols (cf. Durão, 2008b).

Figure 4.3   Sequence of car patrols

1 Leave station (14.00)
2 Visit the 'urns case' building (14.10)
3 Return to station (14.30)
4 Pause in a bar (14.40)
5 Called out to help sick colleague at bus stop (15.00)
6 Stop and question two individuals of African origin, ask for indentification and question them. Circulation around the lower part (15.20)
7 Return to station (16.00)
8 Stop off at division headquarters (16.10)
9 Report of car robbery with accident. Attend the scene (16.20)
10 Stop off at station to collect and take daily reports and records (16.40)
11 Stop off at neighbouring station to deliver daily reports and records (17.40)
12 Pause in a bar (18.00)
13 Pull over a driver for highway code offence (18.10)
14 Stop off at station to collect and take daily reports and records (18.20)
15 Stop off at division headquarters to deliver daily reports and records (18.30)
16 Return to station to be relieved of duty (18.45)

As is clear from the map, the radius of car patrol action in the area is extensive and in some cases may extend beyond the administrative borders of the respective police station. Constables in vehicles work in networks between each other, creating another scale of interaction that runs parallel to the station. Hence, car patrol police from one station generally seek reinforcements from another station and not from officers patrolling on foot or in other vehicles belonging to the same unit. The territories observed are extensive and the events requiring the presence of car patrols are highly varied. This means that these officers control the micro-movements and social relationships in the streets that those patrolling on foot and constables from other services only have limited exposure to. Car patrol officers are freer of the direct social and organisational constraints than officers on the beat and themselves state that they are less *exposed* and are *protected* from the streets by their vehicle. In turn, the organisation only requests they be operational

to respond to incidents. There is broad freedom in their routes and the options for circulation depend on the routines established by the pair in each car. Hence, not only do they have freedom to circulate wider, they are also freer in the way they manage their routes and the frequency of visits. Such routes have their own selectiveness. Either they take to streets where they can observe illicit practices, even if from a distance or, on the contrary, they park in small public hide-aways (alleys, lanes, dead end streets, public gardens ...) where they can relax away from the movement of the city.

For car patrol officers, the unexpected and unforeseen are routine. No officer getting into their vehicle knows exactly what time they will go off duty or whether their holidays or days off will be interrupted by the need to give evidence in court over a case they signed off. When the shift begins, it is impossible to predict how it is going to turn out, whether frantic or calm, or even how long it will last. The variation may depend on some of the group and patrol dynamics. It is said that some officers 'attract service', that some even go so far as to 'seek service' by causing incidents, and that others 'dodge service'. However, what defines the dynamic are the local calls. The time of events does not always fit in with the bureaucratic management of shifts. Incidents and events may extend beyond working schedules and involve officers in operations, enquiries, identifications, and minor questioning. Many officers, when talking about what attracted them to the force, refer to the freedom of the streets, the possibility provided to move around by car, the operational dimension and the opportunity to escape the monotony and predictability of foot patrols.

Hence, shifts often prove to be packed with incidents. However, the city may go quiet and with no emergency calls, as happens on the calmer nightshifts. At times like this it is necessary to know how to experience the downtimes with simple breaks, stripped of visibility obligations. When the shifts are highly operational they say that time flies and that when nothing happens the patrol time is interminable and heavy. The street of the car patrol is the street of events and situations and the broad, extensive, and multi-shaped street. Events that require an immediate police presence are the raison d'être of such vehicle patrols. Encounters with citizens are generally restricted to a framework of tension and conflict, resulting in the belief that these police face more problems in their work. This is the characteristic that makes the service exhausting: having to 'deal with humanity at its worst', as one constable put it to me.

The community demands a service that will react to emergencies, and resolve problems. Even in passing, the patrol car is perceived as something distant and lacking interest in the citizens going about their business. From the organisational point of view, this is the service most prized by constables in police stations, the one they want to be involved in, where the most charismatic work is to be had. Symbolically, the patrol car is now the standard bearer for the stations and the most senior and experienced officers gain great prestige within these units.

Finally, to illustrate the variation in station police services, I provide the following brief ethnographic description of a shift within the framework of an elderly support program.

> During a shift on a winter's morning, an officer on the 'Elderly Safely' program begins by writing a report about a person who has been vandalising the cars of various residents. The hooligan, considered 'mad', has an aggressive and uncivilised attitude, it is said. Furthermore, all negotiation options have been exhausted. Once the report is completed, the officer heads out onto the street. The trajectory is almost always the same, from the station to a small garden in the heart of the upper part where there are generally various elderly persons known to the constable. Prior to reaching this destination, progress is constantly interrupted by local traders and elderly in the street. They talk of their ailments, the difficulties of old age, some problems in the neighbourhood and family members while thanking the officer for some help rendered at some stage in their lives. Some women promise to give some small presents for the officer's children. She is known as the 'girl constable'. Some elderly persons have her police telephone number. The constable proceeds to a building where she knows that there is an elderly woman who lives on her own, will not leave the house and has begun to be considered as a danger both to herself and to public health. The officer states that she was warned by the neighbours but is still not sure what to do in this particular case. Then, it is onto a day centre to convey information about a fraudster who has struck in the area and robbed two elderly ladies. In the first day centre, in a room adjoining a neighbourhood church, the officer receives a warm welcome from around twenty elderly persons on low incomes there, awaiting lunch. In the second centre, also annexed to a church, there is a smaller, more middle class group, the officer warns them of the fraudster who is targeting elderly persons living alone. With the shift ending, the officer returns to the police station to await her colleague, who is to carry out the same role during the afternoon, while she write up her daily service report.

The activities undertaken under the auspices of the proximity programme are based on a network of interpersonal relationships and face-to-face interactions with persons, groups and local institutions. The service has moved on from being the organisational image 'in' the community to become the organisational relationship 'with' the community. There is a complete change in the way the activity is referred to in the territory (Figure 4.4).

It is the inter-personal events that define the shifts and events are conditioned by them. Thus, the sequences taking place are generally brief and shortened by the contact nature. The constable's movements reflect the places where the target group is located, in residences, day centres, public gardens, shops and stores. The pace of activities is more constant, the breaks less central to the routines. Officers work to help find solutions for persons in need that may include forms of security and neighbourhood hygiene. The function here is not about conditioning and restricting behaviours (as in foot patrols) or resolving situations (as in car patrols)

and primarily involves identifying solutions to personal problems. The solutions here are less provisional than in the case of patrol cars and tend to be less penal in nature.

The internal system of communications is less critical to proximity activities. The use of mobile phones opened up a means of direct communication between officers and the community without having to pass through a telephone exchange or the police station. Proximity constables may also spend more time in the station, dealing with bureaucratic affairs or making inter-institutional contacts. But they are often visited there by the elderly or storekeepers who they know and have relationships with. Proximity has thus led to more citizens visiting the police station and hence opening up the local police to the community.

Figure 4.4 Sequence of proximity patrols (elderly in safety)

1 Arrive at station to recieve complaint (07.00)
2 In the street and visit the garden. Converse with elderly (09.00)
3 At the doorway of an elderly lady's house (11.00)
4 Visit to a day centre to issue a warning about criminal activities in the area (11.45)
5 Visit to another day centre to issue the same warning (12.30)
6 Return to station to be relieved of duty (13.45)
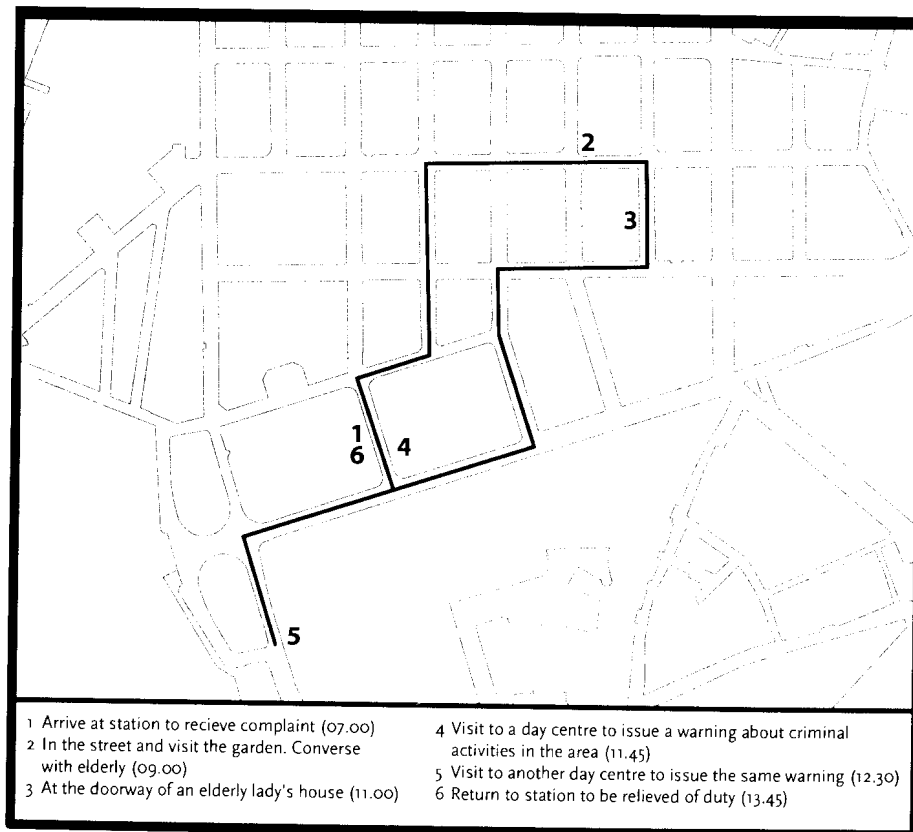
Shifts are relatively predictable and even subject to pre-planning. Randomness, although always present when constables leave the station to go on the beat, is reduced here to a feature of circulating in the streets. The perception of time depends on the 'agenda' of each police officer, the tasks created, the level of individual initiative and investment in the work. Not only are officers the most exposed to the local community but they also develop, frequently without training and reacting to events in the fields, communication strategies, in this case with elderly citizens. Specialisation opens up a certain distance to the traditional tasks of patrolling. These officers generally do not portray themselves as standard patrollers, nor are they depicted as such by others. Proximity constables have a deeper and more profound knowledge of the perennial social problems of a city such as poverty and isolation. Many express the impotence of the police service for the resolution of social problems. Within the professional culture, proximity services are perceived through the lens of one of the profound and traditional ambiguities of the police mandate: supporting versus controlling (Cumming, Cumming & Edell, 1973). This generates both resistance and support, splitting the police according to their point of view.

It is not by chance that proximity has emerged as one of the ways the organisation is able to retain female constables in the stations without threatening the traditional masculine status quo (Durão & Leandro, 2003). Almost all these programs have at least one female participant. In practice, it proves difficult for the commanding office to allocate male officers to the programs. Firstly, these tend to be perceived as 'social services' and hence rejected by the majority, arguing that they do not constitute 'true police work'. Secondly, the Lisbon stations are generally young and the majority of officers are deployed on a temporary basis of *passage* (with a high level of staff turnover and mobility between other services, stations, units, and national commands), which reduces the time and experience necessary to build up sustained local relationships able to provide affective bonds.

The territorial knowledge of proximity constables and their activities are based upon a network of interpersonal relationships that are built up over the time spent at a particular station. It gives them time to form relationships based on empathy and works against interminable discussions with colleagues needed to convince them of the purpose and usefulness of such actions. With the exception of 'proximity militants', as Katane (2002, p. 73) refers to them, others strive for more prestigious services or deployment in other cities and hence jeopardise the networks that have been established and frequently lead to questioning about the use this service type, saying 'that it only remains in effect due to official decree', as one commander informed me. In this field, more than in any other, the activities undertaken tend to depend largely upon the police officer in question. In four years at a particular station – which coincided with the period of programme implementation as from 2000 – one constable drew up a list of a hundred cases of elderly citizens looking for some form of support. On the day of the officer's transfer to Oporto, according to her husband, also an officer, everybody at the station and in various local institutions knew that the elderly were going to be upset to

the point of tears. In such cases, the service *is* the officer. From the perspective of the citizens, proximity services have faces and not just uniforms.[20]

4.6   CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN PATROLLING AND PROXIMITY

The city is, to a large extent, the personal relationship that we establish with it, the relational city, its streets, routes, landscapes, of wanderings and conversations. So the city has to be learned. 'The trajectory through the urban environment is simultaneously about knowing and discovering' (Roncayolo, 2003, p. 62). If this is true for any city dweller, it is a necessity for any police officer. His or her performance depends on the acquired urban local knowledge and familiarisation with the environment. The constables, in their professional street socialisation, establish different policing routes and develop differing contextualised knowledge and cognitive maps that, based upon the observations made in the previous section, deserve summary.

Constables patrolling on foot primarily draw on 'toponymy and observational knowledge' for support, a pedestrian understanding. On their routes, they take in the street names on the corners of each street and, with the passage of the days, end up memorising them and cognitively organising a vision of the whole: a mental image of the area produced by experience. There is intelligence to the act. The officers interact with some citizens but they may also spend many shifts not engaging in any interpersonal contacts and receiving no requests other than specific local geographic directions. An entire process of professional socialisation is achieved through pedestrian movement. As Michel De Certeau vividly explains walking activities can be seen as 'enunciations', meaning that city dwellers can appropriate the topographic system by its walk (2000). As the anthropologist Tim Ingold puts it, in real life we don't perceive things from a single vast point, but rather by walking around them. That's what has been called a 'path of observation' (Gibson, 1979, p. 195), a continuous itinerary of movement that imposes itself to our perceptions of the world. Having said that, Ingold states: 'But if perception is thus a function of movement, then what we perceive must, at least in part, depend on how we move. Locomotion, not cognition, must be the starting point for the study of perceptual activity (...) walking is itself a form of circumambulatory knowing' (2004, p. 331).

On the first occasions that officers take to the streets they learn not to get lost in the territory and to draw on the radio connecting them to the station for any

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20   As with the majority of female officers, she married somebody she had met while undergoing police training. They were both posted to the same station. Both are from nearby regions in the north of the country, retain family ties with the area and have always hoped to return there a few years into their professional careers. The police force did give her husband the opportunity after five years in the force. She awaits her chance for transfer in Lisbon with their son.

assistance needed. They go through a period of *recycling*, a month when generally accompanied by more senior foot patrol officers. Only when they begin to patrol on their own, and only several months later when they have gained familiarity with the territory, do they recognise the function and the uniform that they are wearing: 'It is living with the pressure of the uniform, and in the street you are always a target', as one officer put it.

Constables in the patrol car acquire a 'topographic, operational, active and legal knowledge'. In covering an area, throughout its extent and responding to incidents in many places, these officers control an interstitial learning unparalleled in the organisation. Such knowledge even leads them to challenge the hierarchical order reaffirming the streets as 'their territory'. For example, when the *duty officer* (responsible for supervising the work of officers) seeks to locate a patrol car during long dawn shifts, officers on occasion hide away, parking in alleys and lanes in the area that in the police hierarchy only they know and 'rule'. With more years of experience and with the opportunity to take on more operational tasks in police vehicles, officers re-centre their attention on cases, situations, incidents, and suspects. This is similar to a relearning of functions no longer based upon a direct relationship with the territory but rather using it for their own purposes. In particular, their shifts are much more eventful on the streets travelled with the objective of getting to incidents. These are the time-space interval at the centre of their interest: disturbances, breakdowns in order, policing events. Both the services, foot and car patrols, are characterised by a certain distance from citizens, keeping social contacts and interactions down to a minimum. Hence, these police members say that they work for the *public*. The motto they stand by is: 'We cannot get too involved. We have to sort out the problems only and head onwards, get back to patrolling ...' With this experience comes legal knowledge that they build up through dealing with incidents.

On proximity duties, the constables implement 'relational knowledge and in networks', a knowledge that ends up being as important or even more so than their patrol colleagues for keeping local socio-spatial order, in an equilibrium between the social and moral orders nurtured by close quarter policing practices but in this case evoking different forms of authority (Goldstein, 1977). Hence, constables on various programmes defend working with *communities* (even if this means communities of elderly people, of schools, and local business) and persons (the elderly, students, employees, teachers, storekeepers). In this service, the attempt to contact people and establish a local network of relationship is the axis that guides activities and leads to a broader selection of streets and places to patrol. In their local social experience, citizens know how to differentiate between a proximity and a patrol constable. There are no visible distinctions in uniforms. Mutual recognition and the impact of informal language – the city's narratives and rumours (Roncayolo, 2003, p. 62) – create this shared knowledge. Thus, while the officers in the patrol car need availability and dedication, foot patrol and especially proximity constables need time to carry out their duties effectively. The

duration of proximity patrolling is short and for this reason its services remain largely incomplete, particularly within the broader scope of policing activities that may influence the philosophies and practices of traditional patrolling.

The differences detected in the station policing service contradict and demystify the idea that policing activities within a particular context are homogenous and indecipherable due to the opaqueness of operational policies (Palacios Cerezales, 2005). Policing plurality is a fact and the opening up of the organisation to changing philosophies on proximity policing, characterised by a 'silent revolution' (Matrofski, 2002), seems to be a reality. This article has demonstrated, through valuable recourse to ethnographic detail, that the work of policing is not unequivocal and can be built upon different dimensions of police relations with the city and citizens.[21]

However, certain understandings and territorial consensuses seem to underpin the different services. The professional variation expressed regarding the different services and street-policing sequences does not find reciprocal expression in the territories policed, thereby perpetuating, in different ways, the moral orders that segment the spaces making up the city. It may be stated that an actual professional and moral cartography is formed based upon the different policing routes. There is a socio-spatial division that runs through and explains the cartography. In the upper part, in the middle class neighbourhoods, police visibility is generally passive and the residents are attributed the status of *citizens* deemed worthy of protection. In the lower area, run down and poor, generally perceived as places and territories of drug trafficking, the police presence is ostensive and the territories need to be controlled. Correspondingly, the police are an integral facet of urban cultures, integrated into the map of political orders for the city in the efficient and widespread wielding of micro-power (Foucault, 1975).

It should be noted that even proximity constable activities take place and are developed in the upper neighbourhoods. While poverty among the elderly certainly exists in the lower section, this is hidden by policing anti-drug discourses. The poverty is silenced by doors closed to officers, in places where charitable institutions rarely set foot and where inhabitants lack representation or local spokespersons. The police, social organisations and the state overlook the elderly in these places as the streets of their neighbourhoods are not included on the proximity policing routes. Such elderly persons have a lower profile in the records and reports, and police and local mutual-help networks. It is incidents that lead officers, particularly in patrol cars, to come into contact with such persons, gen-

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21   I came to similar conclusions before (Durão, 2008a) while conducting an ethnographic interpretation of patrol maps based on the methodologies of the temporal geography created by Hagerstrand in the seventies (Gregory, 1985; Pred, 1977), being very much inspired by the detailed work of Nick Fyfe (1992) about geographies of policing. But in this article I decided to focus on the micro spatial dimension of policing using the simplest illustration maps of patrol work.

erally already within a problematic context, a situation of disturbance, disorder or violence. This results in growing ambiguity surrounding police activities and their support or control roles. Such ambiguity, in the spaces of the city where the control dimension is very much to the fore, easily leads to local charity and solidarity networks being dislodged in favour of the justice networks. The dominant policing movements in these parts of the city, these *drug neighbourhoods*, tend to amplify the punitive and criminalising aspect. Such movement highlights distances, delaying and hindering any proximity.

The changes in organisation philosophy thus do not have an analogous impact across all terrains. The innovations of proximity are far from reaching these territories stigmatised by the police, by the authorities and by inhabitants participating in the process (cf. Katane, 2002). Even if different policing sequences point to different logics of understanding activities that might enable the approximation of the police and the state towards citizens, they also reveal the police trend to separate and apply a certain selectiveness when applying their resources for controlling and supporting citizens and thereby perpetuating, in new forms, a separation between those who are on the *upper side* and those on the *lower side* both, in terms of location and in society. It is thus sequences, itineraries and the daily events of street-policing that help to create 'morally differentiated regions within the city' (Agier, 1996, pp. 39-40). The effect of the policing routines produce guides that are read and reread in society, in particular through mass media channels and the justice system. This text furthermore sought to demonstrate that this socio-policing cartography deserves attention as an object of study and should be examined in close detail for both its material practices and its symbolic significance.

The process of policing policy transformation is gradual and shared across multiple channels relating to global orientations and world events – in particular following the 9/11 terrorist attacks and reactions to it around the world (AAVV, 2004) – which perceives the work of police within the scope of public security as overwhelmingly anti-criminal in nature. These global influences, in terms of isolating and rendering criminal factors as the main policing target, may modify national policies even when the known contexts run counter to such trends. This is particularly clear regarding the contrast between what is statistically attributable to policing work – its work continues to be sustained by a series of actions and responses to prevailing social needs – and that statistically expressed, analysed and published: that work considered and classified as criminal.[22]

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22   In 2005, I had access to the handling of reported incidents at the station and the ethnographic notes making up this text stand out. Of the 1,346 total incidents handled, only 33% were classified as criminal processes. The remaining 67% corresponded to non-classified records even if relating to incidents of illegality in accordance with the legal codes, such information was deemed not to fall within the police administrative perimeter and a large majority would not even be formally handled. Even in the most active of years, the total of crimes recorded rarely exceeds a third of the total incidents recorded by the PSP. This is a trend in effect across the PSP and that this was general practice at stations under Lisbon Command was confirmed to me by senior officers.

The ethnographic fieldwork set out here illustrates the ambiguities running throughout the contemporary Portuguese policing system and across its length and breadth – the territorial differentiations (in *the upper part* and in *lower part*), the different police incursions and frequency of presence in these territories, the difficulties in balancing assistance to individuals and controlling crime. The particularities of each service are not mere functional duties but imply a difference in philosophy and point to changes taking place in the field of street-policing. However, even in front line services, where there is less probability for police officers to directly encounter criminal incidences, there are already trends defining this is the most favoured arena for reading policing activities.

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