

The Portuguese Police System: Conflicts and Tensionⁱ

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Abstract— The article aims to discuss conflicts and tensions in the Portuguese police system, from its historical process, from Monarchy to the Republic, from the New State to the present day. A structure and understandings they have about the police system are reflected in the Portuguese bibliography and in the perceptions of police officers who live with these pensions in their activities. In this investigation, information was collected from the GNR through ethnography and the application of questionnaires to guards, cables and officers. The questionnaire was prepared in view of the questions and objectives of this article and was applied to the Detachment of Sintra in its sub-stations: Sintra, Alcabideche and Colares. The structure of the Portuguese police system has institutional advances in the European context and they are a substantial part of the success in controlling crime and the system's flexibility to adapt to the context of political, cultural and technological changes. On the other hand, the corporate and individual ethos conditioned by the identity tension of each police force and the pressure from the political field keeps disputes between the monitored organizations.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The article aims to discuss the conflicts and tensions in the Portuguese police system, from its historical process, from the Monarchy to the Republic, from the New State to the present day and, consequently, to know its historical process and its institutional organization. The tensions in the Portuguese police system have their origins in the historical and political process that precedes the monarchic period, others arise with the creation of various police agencies that decentralize security activities and services and, finally, part of the tensions that reach the guards and agents because of their commanders' views on the current Portuguese police system.

The main Portuguese security forces, the National Republican Guard (GNR), the Public Security Police

(PSP) and the Judiciary Police dispute territorial space, functions and hegemony over the Portuguese police system. Notably, the GNR and the PSP stand out in this dispute, given the greater number of police officers and the greater policing area, with the GNR responsible for the rural area and the PSP for the urban regions.

The bibliographic research on the Portuguese police system brings the consolidation of the security forces from the changes in the political system and, parallel to the bibliographic information, the coexistence with the police of the GNR Detachment and other professionals of the security forces through ethnography (annotated in a field diary) held in Sintra and at academic meetings, and the application of questionnaires consolidate the data and results of this article.

The article is structured in two sections preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. The introduction highlights the research question and how the investigation was carried out. The second section deals with the development of the Portuguese police system and the emergence of the PSP as a civil police force and; the third section is devoted to ethnographic data and the results of the questionnaires applied to guards, corporals, sergeants and GNR officers. Finally, the conclusions that from the data bring to light that the existing conflicts in the Portuguese police system do not affect the functioning of its main security forces.

II. THE PORTUGUESE POLICE SYSTEM AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS

The idea of policing Portuguese society emerged in the twelfth century with the creation of the court policeman, however, the obligation to present oneself to the royal summons, the non-receipt of remuneration and the precarious working conditions did not guarantee the safety of people, not even of the guards. Only in the earthquake of 1755, in Lisbon, it was possible to perceive the need to structure security forces that could guarantee public order.

The General Intent Court and Kingdom Police begins to structure and manage matters of public order. The centric figure in this organization is Pina de Manique, appointed to the position in 1780. The action of the Intendency in this period resulted in the reduction of crime and the creation of a militarized body on horseback, the Royal Police Guard (1801). This same Guard accompanies the Royal Family to Brazil, which modifies the structuring bases of the security forces in the Colony.

The Portuguese political context is troubled and the Guard is dissolved and replaced by the National Guard, which had a short period of existence, in 1846 it is dissolved (Rodrigues, 2014) The municipal guards (1834) appear inheriting the physical space and the human resources of the previous forces. The changes in the police forces, after the return of the Court of Brazil, resulted from the distrust of the parties that proposed the reduction of power or even the end of the monarchy. As Oliveira (2010) says, these police bodies were committed to the defense of the Regime and recruited from the ranks of the army.

Parallel to the tensions related to the forces linked to the regime, ideas of creating police forces of a civilian nature run through the country. In 1865, the city of Porto created its Civil Police, on the occasion of an international exhibition, a fact that preceded the creation of the Civil Police of Lisbon. Part of the current tensions stem from the

Charter of 1867, which, in addition to establishing the Civil Police, subordinated to the civil governor, intended to replace the municipal guards with the new police, but this did not happen (Santos, 2006, Cerezales, 2006, 2017). The Municipal Guard, as heir to the Royal Police Guard, was identified as a defender of the Monarchy and viewed with suspicion by movements against the Monarchy.

With the establishment of the Republic in 1910, the Municipal Guards are dissolved and their estate remains with the new institution, the Republican National Guard. This arises with the aim of replacing the army guards in the rural part of the country. In addition to these actors, the police cables persisted even in the New State, these police forces, with the exception of the Cabos, were distributed throughout the national territory, following the position of European countries, especially France and Spain, of having a French Gendarmerie and the Spanish Civil Guard.

In the Republican period, the way of dealing with disturbances and the people remained similar to the ways of the Monarchy and, for that, the regime needed a strong and centralized police force, which made it impossible to discredit the old police forces, incorporated in the GNR, to the detriment of the Civil Police, as Cerezales says (2006, p.158)

With regard to the civil police officers of the various cities in the country, during the Old Republic reforms were proposed to increase their capacity to act in the face of public disorders, such as the motorization of reserve pickets and, especially, the transport of prisoners, since their escort the streets used to provoke situations of tension and fights. However, police commanders were faced with budgetary constraints and the distrust of republican leaders, who preferred to trust "their" GNR in which they instilled strong republican loyalty, rather than rear a police suspected of monarchical sympathies (free translation)

In the first phase of the Portuguese Republic, public security forces of a civil nature did not have the first look at the regime, despite identifying the other police force as heir to a monarchist past and, that this characteristic, at some point, could turn against the Republic. . About this, in the Revirahista Movement, there was the expulsion of members who still remained faithful to monarchist ideas. At the same time, the civil police were regrouped in a national coordination, called the Public Security Police (PSP).

After several acts, in 1932 the General Intendence of Police was extinguished and the Public Security Police was established, covering the entire Portuguese territory. In a study on public policies and policing, Oliveira [6] highlights three axes and three periods for public security policy in Portugal: 1) The consolidation of the democratic rule of law, period 1974-1980; 2) Policy of reaffirming internal security and legislative reform, period 1980-1995; 3) Public security policies, period from 1995 to 2004.

In the first phase, unlike what happened in Brazil after the Military Regime (1964-1985), the reforms aimed to restrict the power of the security forces, which acted in a violent and abusive way during the Salazar dictatorship. This political attitude demonstrated the strength and interest of the political power with regard to its police forces, even though they were present and collaborating in the movements of institutional rupture.

In the second period, the political system organizes and publishes Law n° 20/87, the Internal Security Law (LSI), which, among other measures, transformed the PSP into a civil police force, created the Escola Superior de Polícia, currently of Police Science and Homeland Security (ISCPSI) and the Safe School Program.

During this period, relevant changes took place in terms of the distribution of PSP and GNR personnel in Portuguese territory. One of them is the removal of the PSP from medium and small-sized locations and replacing it with the GNR. Elias (2011) states that of the 47 locations planned for replacement, only 17 were carried out. Even if the reasons demanded by the political power were more rationalization and articulation of the security forces, more economy with less effective, the reduced number of substitutions has to do with the internal dispute of power of the two great police forces, what if it perceives the reflexes in the positions of GNR actors. For Oliveira, these actions hampered the implementation of proximity policing, since it redefined the number of police officers, which resulted in the closure of small police stations.

In the third period, several actions have led to the updating of the security forces, among them: the confirmation of the civilian nature of the PSP (Law n° 05/99) and, consequently, the definition of the dual model of the police system; the creation of an Advisory Council for the Training of Security Forces and Services; the Organic Law of the PSP (Law n° 14/2002), the military disciplinary statute for the GNR, distinguishing it from the Army, for Elias (2011, p. 146):

Since then, PSP has gone through a process of reforming its organization, training and gradual reformulation of the operating

philosophy, in the areas of finance, human resources and logistics. Deep down, he is still in a kind of search for identity. (emphasis ours).

The transformations in the Portuguese police system are positive for demonstrating that the legislator and the government have been sensitive to the demands of the security forces and Portuguese society, on the other hand, the police forces question their organizational capacity within the system. The works Oliveira (2006; 2010), Elias (2011) and Rodrigues (2014), all PSP staff, call into question the efficiency of the current system. In the case of the PSP, it is evident from the quote above that the changes in the police system and its recent institutional history make it difficult to consolidate the identity of this security force, even considering that the transformations have benefited it with more territory for policing.

The different stages of organization and the proximity to the political power of the two great police forces in Portugal made it possible to produce different structures and privileges for each one. In the case of the GNR, even without police in Lisbon, it maintains a significant contingent in the General Command and in other activities in the country's capital.

III. ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA AND PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE POLICE SYSTEM

This structure and the understandings that one has about it are reflected in the perceptions of police officers and coexist with them in their activities. In this investigation we collected information from the GNR through ethnography and the application of questionnaires to guards, corporals and officers.

The questionnaire was prepared in view of the questions and objectives of this article and was applied in the Sintra Detachment, in its sub-detachments: Sintra, Alcabideche and Colares.

Elias (2011) adds a fourth period to Oliveira's (2006) periodization (2006), which begins in 2005 and continues to the present day. For Elias, this period stands out for changes in the command structures, but that little affects the actors of the police system. He calls these changes delayed reform and mitigated change of the homeland security system.

The criticisms of Oliveira (2006), Elias (2011) and Rodrigues (2014) stem from not positively affecting the PSP as much as they affect the GNR. Constitutional governments have expanded the presence and improved the structure of other police forces, but the discrediting and decreasing influence of the GNR has not happened.

The rationalization propositions of the Portuguese police system, which in the perspective of Oliveira, Elias and Rodrigues, would result in the unification of the security forces around the PSP collide with the prestige and presence of the GNR and the Judiciary Police in the Internal Security System (SSI).

The distribution was carried out by the Detachment, which sent the questionnaires to the commanders' e-mails and, when possible, to the guards, corporals and officers themselves. While the researcher was visiting the sub-departments or driving around in the vehicle, the guards told me that they had received them and that they were responding, the last day for delivery being a Friday, when the researcher ended his activities with them. The tables below describe the respondents.

The data in table 01 refer to all the professionals existing in the Detachment and in the sub-detachments of Sintra, and the respondents who returned the questionnaires, since there was no obligation to participate in the investigation, are shown in tables 02 and 03. age (Table 05), by sex (Table 06) and by patent (Table 02).

Table 01 shows the lack of renewal of the professional staff and the reduction in their numbers in the secondments. The reduction in the number of guards is more severe, especially from 2015 to 2016. This number may be impacted by the increase in the number of cables. These professionals are indispensable to the nature of the ostensive and preventive work. Guards and corporals are the “owners of the tour”, since the sergeants are there to assist the officer in organizing the detachment and inspecting establishments and private surveillance services.

On the first day that I was with the team of guards and corporals in Alcabideche to turn the vehicle around, I accompanied the sergeant on an inspection of the private security contract in a supermarket. Upon arriving, he asked the supermarket employee for the manager, at the same time we saw the private security, the sergeant approached and checked if the uniform and identification were adequate. A broader look at the facilities saw electronic surveillance equipment, asked the manager for authorizations to this service, which he replied that he did not have. In this case, the sergeant recommended the manager to go to the GNR website on the internet and register, without this it can be changed, said the sergeant.

When we arrived at the GNR unit in Alcabideche, the sergeant introduced me to the facilities, which, in addition to the space for receiving people and complaints, also have the part of the laboratories, part of the investigation function.

The sergeant arrives and invites me to enter the sub-detachment and introduces me to the facilities. We arrived in an area where there are several places, where people who file complaints and go through the reception sieve, at the moment they are talking to a guard, more internally, I understand a total of 4 places, of which there are people in two of them. Then he introduces me to the inmates' deposition room, when they are brought in to be heard. It has a specific room for dealing with domestic violence.

Then take me to the third building. In fact, it is a construction that is in the middle of the other two. This is one of the GNR's criminal investigation laboratories. It starts in the part of the building where the guards' quarters are located. Sergeant {name subtracted} invites another colleague, also a sergeant, to accompany me and introduce the facilities and laboratories. Criminal investigation personnel are selected internally, the lab sergeant explains to me. The various laboratories he presents to me are for the GNR to fulfill its role of judicial police in less complex crimes. (field diary notes)

With regard to table 01, I had the opportunity to read, while I was in a waiting room at the Sintra Command, located in the Sintra National Palace, the Guarda Informativa Bulletin. One of the pieces of information was that the Ministry of Internal Administration could not meet the total number of requests for promotions requested, responding to only 30%, of which the oldest .

TABLE 01 NUMBER OF PROFESSIONALS IN GNR UNITS IN SINTRA

YEAR/profe ssional	2014	2015	2016
GUARD	130	139	90
CABLE	61	59	53
SERGEANT	9	12	8
OFFICERS	4	4	4
Total	204	214	155

Source: DTSintra/GNR

Decree-Law n° 30/2017, designated the Statute of the Military of the GNR expands the achievements and rights of the GNR in relation to other Portuguese security

forces. By approving its own statute, it distinguishes it as a military force, distancing it from the Army. In this legislation, the rank of Brigadier-General was created for the access of GNR colonels. Before, the officers who chose to serve in the GNR did not reach the rank of general officers. With this measure, officers have a distinct career from the Army.

Another measure of the new Statute is the opening of the GNR officer cadre for sergeants who have a master's degree in an area of interest to the Guard. Likewise, sergeants who are qualified in the area of medicine, with qualification recognized by the Order of Nurses.

TABLE 02 - GNR/SINTRA GENERAL TOTAL / RESPONDENTS BY PROFESSIONAL PATENT

PATENTE	GUA RD	CABLE	SERGEA NT	OFFIC ERS
The amount	40	16	07	03

Source: DTSintra/GNR

The promotion framework is stagnant in the Portuguese police forces, according to information from the Bulletin and a police officer from the Judiciary Police (PJ), obtained in an informal conversation. He informed that careers in the PJ are frozen, the government has no interest and, for that, he informs that he has no resources. Although, the GNR is privileged to have 30% of its police officers promoted in 2017. On the other hand, the number of officers has changed.

TABLE 03 - QUANTITY OF RESPONDENT PER UNIT

UNIT	SINTRA AND COMMAN D	ALCABIDECH E	COLARE S
THE AMOUN T	33	22	11

Source: DTSintra/GNR

Table 4 (below) informs that the proportion of police per inhabitant has increased, the GNR is responsible for a growth of 7.5, the PSP by 0.5 and the PJ by 0.6. These data point to a greater growth of Guarda at the expense of PSP.

The former facts have reduced force in the present. In the early 1920s, the GNR's strength was reduced in order to curb the influence of this police force

on political movements. It succeeded, says Póvoa (2017, p. 132):

By decreasing the capacity of the GNR, democratic governments carried out an important reform to reduce and annihilate the radical nuclei of the corporation, but this was the same as shooting in the foot, as it increased the political weight of the conservative military in the Army.

The 'forgetfulness' of the past and the permanence of the GNR at the center of the interests of republican governments has provoked criticism and proposals for change in the Portuguese police system (OLIVEIRA, 2017; RODRIGUES, 2014).

The greater territorial and population extension under its responsibility, participation in international conflicts as a military force of conflict and peace, and the rise of its officers to generals, even opting to act in the GNR, tend to point to the GNR, the Portuguese security force. in the 21st century.

TABLE 04 POLICE OFFICERS PER 100,000 Inhabitants -2014 AND 2015

Police /year	Judiciary Police	Public Security Police	Republican National Guard
2014	9.5	206.0	214.6
2015	10.1	206.5	222.1

Source: INE, DGPIJ/MJ, PRODATA-2016

The age range of the guards (Table 05) shows that the Sintra Detachment receives professionals after passing through the more distant units and who are still passing through to reach their final unit, probably in the interior of the country. On the other hand, the age group means stability in the profession. The definitive option for Guarda provides training courses and, consequently, professional advancement. Table 01 informs that of the total of 143 guards and corporals, 37% managed to ascend to corporal, some of them being main corporal, in 2016. One of the corporals that I accompanied is main corporal and had participated in training and intervention forces.

TABLE 05 GNR/SINTRA GENERAL TOTAL / AGE GROUP

AGE RANGE	Up until 29	Up until	Up until

		30-45	46-60
The amount	16	38	12

Source: DTSintra/GNR

The training of guards, corporals and sergeants takes place at Escola da Guarda, based in Queluz and with training units in Figueira da Foz and Portalegre. In these training centers, the various qualification and updating courses take place. Candidates for the 2017/2018 competition are finishing their training course in Figueira da Foz and Portalegre.

The relevance of female participation in the Guarda Nacional Republicana (Chart 06) cannot be disregarded, since a significant part of the assistance in the detachments or in the guard tours involves women. The non-attendance of women by women causes embarrassment to the one who attends with the one who is cared for. As Durão (2016, p. 103) says in his study on the PSP: “The reduced number of women in patrol services makes the right to be attended by an agent or chief dependent on a call to neighboring police stations, which nothing practical is revealed in the day-to-day of police activity”.

In the GNR it is no different, the female presence is still a difficulty, despite the increase in the participation of women in professional staff. In the Sintra detachment, only 10% of the respondents are women. However, of these, two occupy command positions. In Alcabideche, I met two other guards who participate in police activities. One of them informed me that she knew the movie 'A tropa de elite' and shows that she wants police activities in Portugal to have the same pace, with regard to confrontations with criminals.

TABLE 06 GNR/SINTRA GENERAL TOTAL/SEX

SEX	FEMININE	MASCULINE
The amount	06	60

Fonte: DTSintra/GNR

At the end of 2015, according to data from the Ministry of Internal Administration, the GNR had 22,416 military personnel, of these 1,225 were women, of these 1041 are guards, 132 sergeants and 52 officers.

In the 2017/2018 admission contest, 42 women, out of a total of 584, were approved for the Guard Training Course. The path to a more significant participation of women in the GNR is not easily presented by the numbers. However, its relevance has attracted the attention of

military and civil authorities, who have debated about the organization of the police system.

In the following tables, guards, corporals, sergeants and officers express their positions on the current Portuguese police system and on the relationship with the PSP with regard to territorial division and their skills in policing and investigation functions. In a conversation with one of the officers of the GNR Detachment in Sintra, dissatisfaction with the current policy of reducing the territories policed by the Guard is demonstrated.

[...] the Detachment, the territory for which the Detachment is responsible. When talking about the territory, he informs me that in the past, the GNR policed the Cascais part, but by deliberation of the competent body, it started to be managed by the PSP, in view of its degree of urbanization. He showed dissatisfaction and made it visible that it is a relationship of political strength. He showed me a powerpoint with information about the Detachment and said he would email it to me. Next comes Lieutenant {name subtracted}. Begins a set of questions formulated by the captain to the lieutenant about the activities and information that she should know. He respectfully answers questions (field diary notes)

The GNR is distributed in most of Portugal and, according to the information that the lieutenant gave us, it polices a larger number of the population, however, concerns about this scenario are constant, due to the spatial changes being subject to political decision.

Because of this, the training process is taken seriously by the Portuguese police. Before Law nº 30/2017, which requires the criterion of the 12th year or equivalent course for the GNR, we were able to find, through this survey, guards in the 6th school year, according to table 07.

TABLE 07 GENERAL TOTAL – POLICE OFFICERS/SCHOOL TRAINING BY UNIT OF SINTRA DEPARTMENT

UNITY/ SCHOOL TRAINING	Command and Sintra	Alcabideche	Colares
6th to 9th grade	10	03	04
11th grade	06	08	01
12th grade	14	10	05

Graduation	01	00	01
Master	01	01	00

Source:: DTSintra/GNR

Table 07 presents a worrying diagnosis regarding the school training of guards, corporals and sergeants, in view of the significant number, in the Sintra detachment, of police officers from the 6th to 11th school year, that is, without complete basic training. Low education makes cognitive processes and interaction with the technological world and speech production difficult, which are necessary elements in a knowledge and technological society. In this same context, proximity programs are included, which require police officers in constant training and dialogue with the community. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the position of Major General, who opened the school year of Guard school, in 2007, after Law n° 63/2007.

It is a modern model that, in our opinion, will be a factor of success and excellence. We live in a time when societies, based on the democratic rule of law, are increasingly confronted with the specter of threats directed at their fundamental values.

The rights, freedoms and guarantees of citizenship, as well as their exercise, are often the target of various attacks, boosted by the globalization process, which gives special importance to all issues related to the topic of security.

With the approval of Decree Law n° 30/2017, training becomes a relevant criterion for the Guard. In this case, the requirement of complete basic training (12th grade or equivalent) for entry into the guard career means that this police force looks at a contemporary, pluralistic and technological society. On the other hand, a higher level of schooling is no antidote to poor professional training and corruption. When we analyze the trajectory of civil police officers in Piauí, in the period of 2001, we realize that the high level of training was not enough to avoid the involvement of a significant part of the police in the world of crime.

The numbers of educational background contrast with the length of service in the police, as one might think that less schooling would be associated with a longer time with the police, but this is not what the data indicate.

The data in table 08 show that a significant part of the guards, corporals and sergeants of the GNR are in the period from 0 to 15 years of service. Of the police officers who answered the questionnaire, most joined the Guard after the Dictatorship. Professional time can identify

guards that are more sensitive or flexible to new concepts of policing, especially proximity.

What can be reflected, having as variables, the time of entry and the reduction of the effective in the Sintra Detachment, according to table 01, is the existence of an intense turnover. In this sense, it can be concluded that the oldest police officers do not stay in Sintra, they move to other regions of the country.

TABLE 8 GENERAL TOTAL POLICE OFFICERS / POLICE TIME BY UNIT OF SINTRA DEPARTMENT

UNITY/ POLICE TIME	Command and Sintra	Alcabideche	Colares
00-05 years	05	05	02
06-10 years	05	08	02
11-15 years	10	01	02
16-20 years	05	05	01
21-25 years	01	02	01
26-30 years	05	01	03
30...	00	00	00

Fonte: DTSintra/GNR

The data in Table 08 explain the difficulty I had in finding the GNR police officers who collaborated with the research at the first moment I was in Sintra and Alcabideche. Upon returning to the detachment and to the unit in Alcabideche to supplement information, it was not possible to find the officers, as they had been transferred, with the large flow of guards to the interior of the country.

The transitoriness of the police in the operational units produces another difficulty, the implementation of proximity programs. The Sintra Detachment has several proximity programs, as described above, but the selection of police officers identified with this philosophy is a challenge for unit commanders. Most police officers understand the role of the police is in fighting crime, criminals. There are barriers to understanding proactive and preventive action.

3.1 Territorial distribution and skills to police and investigate

The issue of territorial division has caused debates between the three police forces, the PSP, the GNR and the PJ, however, due to the limitations of the investigation, we will analyze the versions obtained from the GNR in the sample universe described above in this chapter.

The questionnaire made available to the GNR contains six questions, which I group into two aspects: the

first, territorial division and skills, the second, the axis of the police system. The categories that guide the questionnaire are: organization of security forces, structure of the police system, territorial division of security forces, capacities to police and investigate.

Four categories that are intertwined with each other and that can bring to light the actors' view of the current organization of the Portuguese police system. To follow the thought of exposition of the text, we will initially highlight the questions from A to D that deal with territorial distribution and the skills of police forces for policing and investigation. The answers were organized from A to C in; bad, enough, good and great. In D, the answers were yes or no.

The questionnaire is a complementary tool to field activities to provide the necessary information about the subjects collaborating in the research and the research problems. The table below presents the results of the responses of the Sintra Detachment Command, in the units of Sintra, Alcabideche and Colares.

TABLE 09 TERRITORIAL DIVISION AND SKILLS

- a) What is your assessment of the territorial division of the security forces, especially the GNR and the PSP?
- b) What is your assessment of your institution's overt policing and investigative skills?
- c) How do you assess the policing and investigative capacity of PSP officers?
- d) Do you think that the GNR could police and investigate the same or better than the PSP in urban centers?

Items	Bad		Sufficient		Good		Great	
		%		%		%		%
A	17	26	35	53,0	12	18,2	02	3
B	03	4,5	36	54,5	25	38,0	02	3
C	03	4,5	24	36,4	37	56,1	02	3

Source: Author of the investigation

Although the modern process of training the Portuguese police forces ensured defined territorial spaces, in this case the GNR, which replaced the municipal guards and occupied the spaces of the Army forces in the interior of the country, but continued to police the crowds, that is,

maintained its role in urban areas. In the case of the civil forces, they did not have an adequate structure to face the conflicts (Cerezales, 2006, 2017; Póvoa, 2017) nor the confidence of the new republican leaders.

In the current phase of Portuguese democracy, police forces have their spaces determined by the tradition of the rural police force and by political convenience. In this sense, discontent appears in academic publications (Oliveira, 2017; Elias, 2011, Rodrigues, 2014) and through polls.

The results shown in tables 09 and 10 point to a dissatisfaction of the GNR members about the territorial division and the organization of the Portuguese police system, in view of the constant changes in the policing structure. 79% of respondents assess the territorial division involving the GNR and the PSP as bad and sufficient. In question b, 95.5% evaluate the GNR's competences and abilities to carry out policing and criminal investigation activities as sufficient, good and excellent. In question c, 40.9% rated the PSP's ability to police and investigate as poor and sufficient. In question d, 87.8% agree that the GNR does the same or better policing and investigation than the PSP in urban areas.

The data bring to light a reality, although the GNR was formed as a rural police force, like other European security forces, currently, the Guard overflows these characteristics. Not only because it always polices large populations in urban centers, but because it is present in large cities.

Another device that allows the GNR and its staff to compete for urban spaces is what is stated in the Organic Law of the GNR, 63/2008, in its article 5, when stating that the area of responsibility of the GNR is defined by an ordinance issued by the supervising minister.

Elias (2011) states that the PSP was replaced in 17 territories, out of the 47 in which the competent authority had foreseen. This difference was due to the resistance movements of the PSP in accepting the reduction of its field of action.

The data and the academic debate point to the discontent of the security forces, both the GNR and the PSP, in relation to their area of activity. On the other hand, the judicial and administrative authorities draw up common public security programs for the two security forces, especially the proximity police.

The Sintra Detachment Command identifies projects in operation in its units linked to the philosophy of proximity: Safe School, Safe Elderly, Safe Commerce, Safe Supply, Safe Pharmacy, SOS Azulejo, Safe Taxi, Santo António and AGRISEGUR.

Community philosophy projects are found in both the GNR and the PSP, Poiaras (2013) in his work on the PSP in Beja highlights several projects carried out in this city by the PSP, among them: Escola Segura, Comércio Seguro, Idosos em Segurança, Operação Férias and University Education/Higher Security.

Police activities are not strange to the GNR, despite having a military identity, it is a hybrid institution (military and police nature) and, to respond specifically to police activities, the Ministry of Internal Administration (MAI) organizes a Statute of the GNR Military, Decree nº 30/2017, which in addition to expanding rights, distinguishes them from the Army. According to Elias (2011, p. 145) this military identity is not just a matter of the GNR, only with Law nº 5/99 the PSP had its civil nature consecrated.

Since then, PSP has gone through a process of reforming its organization, training and gradual reformulation of the operating philosophy, in the areas of finance, human resources and logistics. Deep down, he is still in a kind of search for identity. Equally relevant is the approval of a disciplinary statute for the GNR108, no longer applying the military discipline regulation.

These facts demonstrate that the Portuguese security forces have undergone transformations in the periods described by Oliveira in order to adapt them to the democratic system, especially with the activities of proximity policing and the creation of the Consultative Council for the Training of Security Forces and Services. (CCFFSS). This last body to enable continuous training based on human rights and proximity policing (OLIVEIRA, 2006).

The definition of rules for the performance of institutions and police forces to reduce conflicts and competition between security forces, however, the operational base, that is, guards, corporals, sergeants and officers, by the Guard; the agents and officers, by the PSP, when provoked for an evaluation of the organization of the security forces and evaluation of the police system, present tensions and conflicts about them.

TABLE 10 ORGANIZATION OF SECURITY FORCES / STRUCTURE OF THE POLICE SYSTEM

- a) How do you evaluate the organization of the Portuguese security forces?
- b) How do you evaluate the structure of the Portuguese police system?

Items	Bad		Sufficien t		Good		Great	
		%	.	%		%		%
A	08	12	31	46	26	39.3	01	1.5
B	06	09	38	57.5	20	30.3	02	03

Source: Author of the investigation

Law nº 049/2008, Law on the Organization of Criminal Investigation (LOIC) assigns the same powers to the GNR and the PSP.

It is the general competence of the Guarda Nacional Republicana and the Public Security Police to investigate crimes whose competence is not reserved for other criminal police bodies and also crimes whose investigation is committed by the competent judicial authority to direct the process, under the terms of article 8°.

The powers of the police are carried out in different territories determined by order of the Ministry of Internal Administration (MAI). According to a report by one of the PJ inspectors, the overlapping of competences affects the Judiciary Police, which often comes up against guards or agents acting in crimes that are investigated by their institution.

IV. CONCLUSION

The conflicts between the GNR and PSP stem from the attributions of the police to a military security force and from the territorial space occupied by this military force. The first characteristic is historical and is part of Portuguese society, consolidated by DL nº 30/2017. As for the territorial space, despite the fact that a rural police force is a European tradition and, in Portugal, the GNR occupies this space, the territorial distribution is made by ministerial decree, that is, there is a political variable in the dynamics of the distribution of security forces. .

The Portuguese police system has a structure and organization compatible with the needs of the social, political and cultural system of its context and time. The efficiency framework of the security forces and services may be associated with the reduced degree of social tension, that is, social inequalities exist, but they do not threaten the security system or democracy.

The dual aspect, the complete cycle, the plurality of police authorities, the proximity of the public prosecutor and the coordination and integration of the police forces

carried out by bodies superior to the police forces contribute to the effective operationalization of the police system. However, some elements, considered negative, remain in the two major security forces, the GNR and the PSP, the double entry, one for guards and one for officers, in the case of the GNR, restricting the functional ascension of the former; is not distinct on the PSP, an entry for agents and another for officers.

Therefore, the structure of the Portuguese police system has institutional advances compared to the Brazilian one and they are in them a substantial part of the success in crime control and in the flexibility of the system to adapt to the context of political, cultural and technological transformations. On the other hand, the corporate and individual ethos conditioned by the identity tension of each police force and by the pressure of the political field keeps disputes between police organizations, which in this case, favors the good performance of these institutions in citizen security.

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