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Social control and disciplining discourses on mobility practices during Portuguese dictatorships (1930s–50s)

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the production of discourses on the mobility practices of ‘the poor’ as a form social control in Portugal during the military dictatorship (1926–32) and the first decades of the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship (1933–74), namely on barefoot pedestrians, and on professional motorists. Built on safety discourses, they were not neutral, but produced norms, prescriptions on appropriate behaviour and power relations. These discourses had an impact upon two levels: regulations and representations. They were part of larger processes, such as: the legitimization efforts of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship indoors and outdoors (social and material ‘modernisation’ measures, the promotion of foreign tourism), and the redefinition of the street as a thoroughfare and the consequent increase of road ‘accidents’. This paper shows that the disciplining and moralisation discourses on both the bodies of pedestrians and professional motorists, as well as the control of their social behaviour, produced and were shaped by these larger processes.

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Introduction – on disciplined mobilities

This article deals with the production of disciplining discourses on the mobility practices of the poor people in the public streets as a form social control in Portugal during the military dictatorship (1926–32) and the first decades of the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship (1933–74). It analyses the disciplining discourses regarding the users of the public streets in two coeval case studies. The first case deals with the discourse by the organisations concerned with public health (like the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis) about barefoot pedestrians as a way of preventing diseases, namely tetanus. The second case analyzes the production of discourses on professional motorists and pedestrians by elite automobile clubs (like the Automobile Club of Portugal) and their private motorists, as a way of disciplining the use of the street. Both cases deal with pedestrians, albeit based on two different ‘scripts’ for the use of the street: the one aimed at all pedestrians, related to a mobility ‘script’ that foregrounded the use of private cars; and the other aimed specifically at barefoot pedestrians, in line with the Portuguese

Estado Novo dictatorship's efforts to hide poor people from public space, defined by their public health and moral 'script'.¹

Both cases were built on safety discourses (some supported by educational campaigns), which were not neutral, and were part of power strategies related to knowledge, producing 'normative categories, prescriptions for proper conduct, and relations of power'.² For instance, the claim that a particular practice was unsafe could legitimise an action at government, district, or municipal levels.³ To these disciplining processes contributed experts such as engineers and doctors, as well as policemen, both integrated into the central or municipal traffic services, legislators, groups from the car 'lobby', such as automobile clubs; or into groups concerned with public health and social prophylaxis.⁴

These discourses had an impact upon two levels: the level of regulation and the level of representation. At the level of regulation, it included municipal laws for the mandatory use of shoes, or the regulation of circulation, like the highway codes. Those who broke the law faced the consequent penalty. At the level of representation, these discourses comprised the promotion of social order fostered by the dictatorship as well as the improvement of the country's public image (by hiding poverty and showcasing 'modern' public works) for nationals and foreign tourists.

These representations were part of Salazar's *Estado Novo* discourse of 'national renaissance', associated not only with 'political and financial regeneration', but also with social and material 'regeneration'. They were associated with ideas of social 'order' and 'progress', materialised in public works, especially roads, in contrast to what was portrayed as the social and material decadence promoted by the previous political regime, the First Republic (1910–26). In terms of material regeneration, this discourse had a very limited adherence to the nationwide reality in terms of asymmetrical investment in public works, but it was embodied and applied to specific projects such as tourist roads and an 8 km stretch of motorway built in the late 1930s and early 1940s, which were supposed to showcase the country's 'modernity'.⁵ These projects were part of the propaganda efforts of the *Estado Novo* regime, as happened with the first motorways built in Europe, in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, but in those cases on a much broader scale (which nonetheless influenced the Portuguese motorway).⁶ Moreover, in the Portuguese case, the promotion of these elite tourist automobilities was as much part of the regime's efforts at modernisation propaganda as it was of educating and moralising the poor and promoting social order.⁷

This article builds on previous works that have dealt with the concept of 'disciplined mobility',⁸ which was developed from the concept of 'discipline' as articulated by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault identifies the appearance of 'disciplines' with the discovery of the body as an object and target of power during the 'classical period' (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), when the 'body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces'.⁹ The 'disciplines' are 'methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility'.¹⁰ The docility of the body is reached by the 'partitioning' of time and space, the imposition of exercises, and 'composition of forces', creating a precise system of command, which finds its highest expression in training.¹¹ Disciplinary power, in addition to these techniques, resorted to other resources, like the 'hierarchical observation', the 'normalising judgement', and the 'examination'. Another technology of

power, beyond the disciplinary, which can be applied in understanding the road system is related to 'bio-power', also conceptualized by Foucault.¹²

In the cases here presented, the reorganization of space promoted by disciplined mobilities according to speed or health and moral concerns was accompanied by the production of normative discourses regarding 'public order and morality', public health, and aesthetic concerns. The need to free public roads from obstacles to automobiles (particularly, private automobiles), and from disorder, diseases, and 'inaesthetic' views drove the creation of security discourses.¹³ These discourses are part of disciplinary processes that were made according to technical knowledge developed by various experts in assuring the safety of each public road user.¹⁴ The period covered in this article is also contemporaneous with the control paradigm of road safety (1920s–1960s) proposed by historian Peter Norton, in which a 'paradigm of safety through accident prevention [is] achieved through expert control. Such control was exercised primarily through the "three E's": [highway] engineering, education and enforcement'.¹⁵ The disciplinary process associated with safety discourses described below is also part of this expert control, including the medical discourses as well as those of the engineers.

Controlling the social order and the public spaces: the 'bare foot campaign'

The institutionalisation of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* regime took place with the issuing of the Constitution of 1933 that created a 'unitary and corporative Republic'.¹⁶ It followed the military dictatorship installed with the 1926 *coup d'état*,¹⁷ which ended the First Republic. This 'constitutionalised dictatorship'¹⁸ was supported by the institutions fixed in the State corporatist regime,¹⁹ the single party *União Nacional* (National Union),²⁰ presided by António de Oliveira Salazar (also president of the Council of Ministers), two chambers with reduced powers (National Assembly and Corporative Chamber), censorship and political police. Salazar's *Estado Novo* was part of the authoritarian cycle of the 1920s in Europe, mostly of military initiative and with the support of the authoritarian right-wing parties, and from those was the dictatorship more fully institutionalised and with greater longevity (falling only with the revolution of April 1974).²¹ There was a limited pluralism under the regime and some historians, such as the Portuguese Fernando Rosas, argue that different voices were kept and several compromises were made to keep a certain 'harmony': more significant disagreements did not emerge openly but only those about technical or organisational aspects, not disturbing the 'unity, cohesion and homogeneity' defined as watchwords of the regime.²² Although some investment in transportation and communications infrastructure (such as ports and roads) did take place during the 1930s (also as a way of achieving, through technical improvements, the 'regeneration' sought by the regime), social development did not, and the country's agriculturally based economy and attendant patterns of poverty were still dominant realities.²³

The repression of visible expressions of poverty, such as begging, especially in urban contexts, intensified with the *Estado Novo* regime,²⁴ coexisted with and was part of the regime's 'modernising' propaganda efforts. Not only did police officers and district governments participate in this repression, but also regime elites, such as doctors. Doctors, through a medical discourse, pathologised poverty and proposed measures (coercion, segregation, and education) to counteract what they also saw as the need to

‘regenerate’ the bodies and minds of the poor, a diagnosis that preceded the *Estado Novo* regime and was a continuity from the First Republic regime.²⁵ In the movement to pathologise poverty, medical discourse blamed the individual and their ‘harmful’ habits, downplaying social and political structural causes. This served the regime’s political propaganda and modernisation efforts, which accused beggars of ‘disturbing the social order and good customs’²⁶ and reinforced the need to educate and discipline them (which also meant making their mobilities less visible in public space).

The Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis (founded in 1924),²⁷ dedicated to the prevention of diseases and social problems, contributed to this effort to promote social order and hygiene through education campaigns. The ‘bare foot campaign’ promoted by the League was launched in January 1928, to fight the ‘indecorous, inaesthetic and unhygienic habit of walking barefoot’.²⁸ The campaign started in Oporto, the city where the League was based and the second most important in Portugal after Lisbon, with lectures in the ‘most humble neighbourhoods’ and at the workers’ associations ‘to educate’ and win what was considered to be the ‘toughest enemy’: the population’s ‘ignorance’ and ‘stubbornness’.²⁹ In the League’s words, these attributes of ‘moral misery’ were considered to be the real causes of barefoot walking, and not the lack of money to buy shoes.³⁰ This campaign would be echoed by the District Government of Oporto (*Governo Civil do Porto*), which issued a legal notice on the 8 May 1928 banning the entry of barefoot people in the city from the 20th of that month onwards.³¹ The League posted leaflets in markets, and other public places with ‘warnings and useful advice’, such as:

(...) All of those who walk barefoot spontaneously diminish themselves before society.

Footwear is one of the attributes of contemporary civilisation and serves as the measure of respect that citizens have for themselves and others.

(...) Only through ignorance or incomprehensible ill-will can anyone insist on maintaining a habit so harmful, anti-hygienic and anti-economic.

The best way to prove that the public lives up to its role in comprehending the reasons for the prohibition of the bare foot is by not giving a reason for the authorities to put in place repressive measures.

The fight against the bare foot is a valuable measure of protection of health and the public’s interests. (...) ³²

The discourse of the League was filled with normative judgments on the poor population, and placed the public health motivation (in particular, the concern with the problem of tetanus) at the same level of the concern with civilising the poor. The campaign also portrayed the two concerns in their slogans (Figure 1).

Although the repression of begging was legislated at the national level by the central government,³³ and the ‘bare foot campaign’ aimed to extinguish a ‘national disgrace’,³⁴ the actual prohibition of bare feet was not taken at national level, but only by some District Governments (*Governos Cívís*). The District Governments were under the aegis of the Ministry of Interior and were the loyal representatives of the dictatorship government in supervising local authorities.³⁵ With *Estado Novo*’s dictatorship, their functions regarding the control of populations became more comprehensive and effective, ensuring public order (notably the ban on political parties, associations, strikes, riots, meetings or

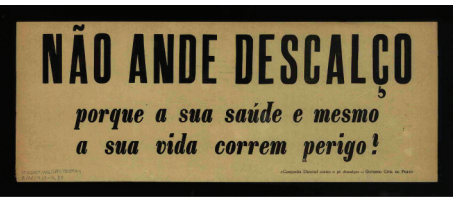
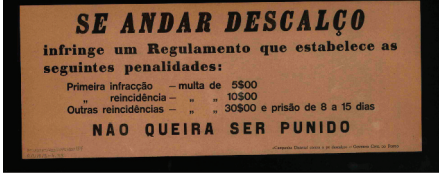
Public health concern	Concern with civilising the poor
 A bare foot injured may be a lost foot. Do not walk barefoot.	 The bare foot is an improper habit to civilized people. Do not walk barefoot.  The bare foot is punishable. Avoid being punished.  The bare foot is being repressed. You wouldn't want to be fined or imprisoned.
 The bare foot contracts tetanus! Tetanus leads to death! In your own interests do not walk barefoot.  Do not walk barefoot because your health and even your life are in danger!"  Don't walk barefoot: Bare feet expose you to irremediable harm!	 If one walks barefoot one violates a regulation that establishes the following penalties: First offense - a fine of 5\$00 First repeat offense - a fine of 10\$00 Other recidivisms - 30\$00 fine and imprisonment of 8 to 15 days You should not want to be punished

Figure 1. The posters for the 'bare foot campaign', organised by the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis and the District government of Oporto represented two concerns: the prevention of disease (particularly tetanus) and the need to civilise and discipline the poor. With permission of the Portuguese League for social Prophylaxis and the Oporto District Archive (Arquivo Distrital do Porto).³⁶

'noise' in the streets), and zeal for moral and public 'decency', which included, for example, the regulation of the prohibition of bare feet or prohibition of driving or riding any vehicle within the city 'to people who would not present themselves dressed with indispensable decency', as happened in the District of Lisbon.³⁷

Lisbon would follow Oporto in the same year (1928) in prohibiting barefoot walking inside the city. As in the case of Oporto, it was the intervention of the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis that led the District Government of Lisbon (*Governo Civil de Lisboa*) to issue the prohibition on 6 September 1928, which came into force from the 1 October 1928 onwards.³⁸ A Portuguese magazine would satirise this prohibition by publishing in that same month a photograph of itinerant fish vendor women, who were 'suffering from the municipal order to confine their feet in the most varied cases', and looking for 'moments of relief' to their 'feet wounded by too much comfort from civilisation', when they would be able to remove their footwear (see [Figure 2](#)).³⁹

After the two main Portuguese cities of Lisbon and Oporto prohibited barefoot walking within the city in 1928, only in 1934 did another important Portuguese city, Coimbra (in the centre of the country), prohibit it and confirm it as essentially an urban matter, but one that could have a wider impact.⁴⁰ A regional newspaper voiced the hope that the 'gradual coercion of the population', forcing them to wear shoes, and the



Figure 2. Portrait of 'varinas' (itinerant fish vendor women), reproduced in the magazine *Ilustração*. Col. Estúdio Mário Novais (1928). With permission of Biblioteca de Arte Gulbenkian (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

‘pressure exerted in the cities’ would have repercussions in the ‘rural villages’ and that ‘little by little, civilisation’ would rule ‘all feet, just as we hope it will rule the mind’.⁴¹

The ‘bare foot campaign’ would gain further support in the post-World War Two period, with new initiatives by the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis, and the issuing of prohibition regulations in other districts’ capitals in the north of the country, by their respective District Governments, such as Aveiro (in 1956), and Vila Real (in 1957).⁴² The League published a book in 1956 entitled ‘The bare foot: a national disgrace that urgently needs to be extinguished’ that combined the numerous initiatives stemming from the beginning of the ‘bare foot campaign’ in 1928, the legal regulations, and the newspaper articles on that subject, which functioned as a kind of manifesto.⁴³ In spite of the legal prohibition of walking barefoot within these cities, the habit persisted: although the rules were not consistently enforced,⁴⁴ in the mid-1950s, barefoot people were still being put on trial,⁴⁵ and new regulations in Oporto, Coimbra (both in 1957), and Lisbon (1964) were issued, reinforcing the prohibition in these districts’ capitals as well as bringing it to their neighbouring cities.⁴⁶

In this period, there was also increased pressure to improve the image of the Portuguese public spaces because of the growing importance of tourism. The new regulation issued in 1957 by the District Government of Oporto specifically prohibited people from walking barefoot in the district’s ‘tourism regions’ and national roads.⁴⁷ This was precisely the theme of a conference held at the Rotary Club of Matosinhos (a town nearby Oporto) the year before, with a colonial and pro-*Estado Novo* flavour: it was stated that the Portuguese were ‘civilisers of the people’ in the World and should not show people walking barefoot to tourists, a practice of the ‘most backward regions of India and Africa’, and an ‘inadmissible and improper’ habit in ‘Salazar’s era’.⁴⁸

Tourism was seen as part of the work of renovation, or ‘national revival’ done by the *Estado Novo* regime.⁴⁹ In the First Congress of the single party (called ‘National Unity’, *União Nacional*), held in 1934, three papers were presented on tourism. Two of them⁵⁰ raised issues that would be taken up in particular by the First National Congress of Tourism two years later, but also in other congresses.⁵¹ These papers highlighted the importance of the conditions of ‘trust, tranquillity, public safety and peace’⁵² attributed to the *Estado Novo*’s work.⁵³ Beyond peace, the other attractions for foreign tourists in Portugal presented by the congressmen were the mild temperatures, the landscape, and the Portuguese traditional ‘mores’. All stated that general improvements needed to be made to accommodate foreign tourists, for they were used to better comforts and to have ‘entertainments’. Although some papers only evoked the tourism done by foreigners in Portugal, some have also reflected on the importance of national tourism, done by the Portuguese in Portugal.⁵⁴ National tourism could correspond to the need to educate the ‘lower’ classes in terms of manners, tastes and ‘hygiene of body and spirit’⁵⁵ and to contribute to the ideal of social peace by bringing to these modest classes ‘joy in intimate communion with work’.⁵⁶ This stance underlined the mission of the recently created National Foundation for Joy at Work (*Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho*, FNAT), founded in June 1935 after the institutionalisation of *Estado Novo*, inspired by the Fascist Italian organisation, ‘Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro’ (National Leisure Hours Institution) and by the Nazi German organisation, ‘Kraft durch Freude’ (Strength through Joy).⁵⁷ National tourism would also serve as a kind of preparation for receiving international tourists. Congressmen, especially at the First Congress of National Tourism (1936),

also wanted to educate and train workers to deal with tourists in hotels, in transportation systems, and in restaurants.

Tourism in Portugal was also promoted abroad as the regime's 'national façade' to showcase its 'modern' achievements, combined with a symbolic emphasis on the country's past, rural and 'folkloric' images and the unity of the 'empire'.⁵⁸ Additionally, there was the proposal for the creation of a general orderly, clean and polite image of Portugal, by not only cleaning the streets but also by excluding beggars from public spaces or other realities considered to be less positive, like people walking barefoot. In parallel with the active promotion of 'national' symbols through tourism, the regime also actively repressed what was perceived as bad publicity: in terms of public health, for example, the censorship in place would prevent news of epidemic diseases from being published.

But despite the efforts of the regime and the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis, beggars and barefooted people continued to be present in the public space. The 1956 'Manifesto' of the League for Social Prophylaxis was fully in line with the *Estado Novo* regime's view of barefoot people as a 'national disgrace' that should be removed from public space, thus 'hiding its imperfections from national and foreign eyes'.⁵⁹ According to the manifesto of the League for Social Prophylaxis, the argument of promoting foreign tourism in Portugal and the public health argument (reduction of tetanus) were presented at the same level of concern to justify the repression of barefoot people. The promotion of foreign tourism carried aesthetic and moral concerns and was said to support the 'patriotic reasons' of the 'campaign against bare feet'.⁶⁰ One of many examples was reported in a national newspaper by the Portuguese filmmaker Leitão de Barros:

A few weeks ago, we had to stop the car we were driving to prevent a group of German tourists from photographing a group of barefoot children, shoeshine boys aged 10, who were posing for the foreigners in Lisbon as if it was something that needed to be documented. We threatened the children with a police guard, and they ran away.⁶¹

The contrast between motorists and the poor was commented on in a much more sarcastic and ironic way by the Portuguese writer Aquilino Ribeiro, who wrote that begging was an 'industry in crisis', but was still bearing fruit, notably near wealthy motorists.⁶²

The repression of the bare foot coexisted with and was part of the redefinition of the street, also in terms of the hierarchisation of modes of mobility, namely from the motorist's point of view. For motorists to have their way, pedestrians would not only have to walk wearing shoes, but they would also have to discipline their movements. This was part of a larger historical process that took place in many North Atlantic cities in which streets were physically and socially reconstructed for cars.⁶³

Disciplining professional motorists and pedestrians from the private motorist's point of view

Some historiography of the road system and its users produced from the 1970s on,⁶⁴ either using, or not, the *Foucauldian* concepts of discipline or bio-power, recognises the 'new culture of control'⁶⁵ or the 'transformation of behaviour'⁶⁶ in the process of the transformation from public roads into a thoroughfare for motorised vehicles. In this

historiography⁶⁷ there is an argument that the ‘motoring lobby’ imposed the motorist’s point of view on other roads’ users, on the one hand by being influential regarding legislative initiatives,⁶⁸ and on the other hand, by making educational campaigns on road safety, eventually negotiated with pedestrians’ protection associations.⁶⁹ There was a gradual organisation of space around this disciplining of bodies and of uses in order to prioritise the means to efficiently circulate on public roads, that is, to give priority to faster vehicles, particularly automobiles.⁷⁰ The automobile continued an earlier process of disciplining pedestrians by reordering traffic in cities and pushing them to the side.⁷¹ Historians have also noted how the exclusion of non-motorised road users is linked to the growing systemic nature of the automobile culture in the early twentieth century, with road networks increasingly shaped by automobiles.⁷² This idea was developed transnationally, in intergovernmental bodies and expert organisations, at a time when the number of automobiles in use in Europe represented only a small minority in the distribution of mobility modes.⁷³ In the first decades of the twentieth century, the automobile lobby contributed to the institutionalisation of the system of automobility in many countries, contributing to the preparation of roads and streets for automobiles and creating the idea of the inevitability of the dominance of these vehicles.⁷⁴ One of the most notable elements of this automobile lobby in historiography are the automobile clubs. In European countries, especially in Western Europe, automobile clubs and tourism clubs have played an important role in the construction of the socio-technical system of automobility, especially in the process of negotiating the use of automobiles.⁷⁵ The weight of the influence of automobile clubs or tourism clubs in the construction of the automobile mobility system varied from country to country: in France and England, for example, it was the automobile clubs that were most important;⁷⁶ in Italy and the Netherlands, tourism clubs were strongly associated with the promotion of automobility.⁷⁷ In the Portuguese case, the largest automobile club, the Automobile Club of Portugal (ACP), was one of the most important mediators in the development of the automobility system.⁷⁸

The Portuguese case is paradigmatic of the imposition of the motorist’s point of view (particularly the private motorist, belonging to the elite) to other public road users during the first half of the twentieth century.⁷⁹ This can be found both in the disciplining discourses produced by the ACP (founded in 1903), as well as in the National Assembly (*Assembleia Nacional* – the legislative chamber of the dictatorship) in the debates regarding the introduction of compulsory automobile insurance or on speed limits in the 1930s and 1940s. The Portuguese motoring lobby, which in the absence of an automobile industry was organized around groups such as the ACP, automobile and gasoline dealers and, later, road engineers, was also a producer of these disciplining discourses regarding public roads users, the organisation of the space and the setting of rules that would allow efficient circulation for automobiles. Thus, Portugal did not follow the argument defended by the economic historian James Foreman-Peck, according to whom countries like the Scandinavian nations, which did not have an automobile industry in the early stages of the automobile, had a more restrictive legislation regarding the use of automobiles, because the motoring lobby was not strong enough (in the case of Portugal, it lacked an automobile industry until the 1960s).⁸⁰ One of the reasons for this was the influence of the French legislation on the first regulations on the circulation of automobiles and the first Highway Code in Portugal (and the fact that the automobile

industry in France had a significant bargaining power).⁸¹ Another reason was that the Portuguese motoring lobby, particularly ACP and the automobile dealers, had enough proximity to the political powers to influence legislative initiatives, and that the road transport sector was amongst the social groups supporting the regime.⁸² Although in the interbellum period pro-automobile groups (and particularly those promoting motorways) and fascist regimes benefited from each other in terms of propaganda and expertise – especially in the Italian and German cases, but also in the Portuguese case (on a much smaller scale)—this also happened in other political regimes.⁸³ In this sense, the historian Gijs Mom has pointed to the ‘ubiquity of the car, its social versatility and ideological flexibility’, which served both liberal and fascist projects.⁸⁴

The safety disciplinary discourse regarding public road users had an important influence on the first regulations for automobile traffic, which foresaw disciplinary measures for pedestrians, animals and vehicles, and defined road edges and sidewalks to the exclusive use of pedestrians, reserving the primacy of higher speed mobility to the road. The first Highway Code of 1928 added other rules for non-motorised users of public roads, stipulating, for example, that pedestrians should cross perpendicularly to streets and roads. However, it was difficult to stabilise these rules. For example, as defined by law, if there was no sidewalk, pedestrians could walk on the road edges, which led to a verdict of involuntary manslaughter in 1934 to a professional motorist who fatally hit a pedestrian, in which was stated: ‘nobody is forced to walk in the ditches and the roads are not only for motorists’.⁸⁵

The disciplining of the bodies also extended to the body of the motorists. By creating a driving license, mandatory in Portugal since the issuing of the first regulation for automobile traffic in 1901,⁸⁶ rules were defined to decide who was fit to be a motorist. In this regulation and the others that followed (including the Highway Code of 1928), the selection criteria included good moral and civil behaviour (a minimum age was set and clean criminal record was required), good physical and mental health (applicants had to submit a medical certificate), and specific knowledge on driving (applicants had to be successful in practical and theoretical examinations).⁸⁷ A medical certificate declaring that the motorist applicant was not ‘endowed with nervous behaviour, incompatible with the necessary serenity’ was a common requirement in other countries, but it was not infallible in the detection of mental illness.⁸⁸ The construction of the image of motorists, also based on these selection criteria, helped to create two user cultures, despite their heterogeneity: the ‘amateur’ motorists, who were usually well-off and private motorists (who saw themselves as ‘gentlemen’) and the employed or ‘professional’ motorists. The latter were forbidden to be ACP members, which kept a class differentiation and reinforced the stereotypes: according to the club, professional motorists would have to be taught how to behave and were generally held responsible for what went wrong on roads (either in relation to road accidents, or in relation to their increased contribution to roads’ wear). The disciplining of professional motorists was also done in the framework of the state corporatist regime of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (with the creation of a guild for automobile transport’s employers and of a correlated national union of motorists for professional motorists, the employees), which intended to avoid social tensions, but instead reinforced the differential positive treatment given to ‘amateur’ motorists, who were part of an elitist culture.

The disciplining discourses regarding professional motorists also became visible in highway legislation and in technical requirements regarding commercial transport. The first Highway Code of 1928 established that private automobiles had no speed limits outside localities, contrary to what had been established in previous regulations, stating that: ‘outside the cities and villages the speed must never go beyond what prudence indicates as convenient, as long as motorists, in all circumstances, keep being the masters of the vehicles’ motion and being able to stop them quickly’.⁸⁹ For heavy vehicles, a speed limit outside of the localities was imposed. This type of legislation exempting private automobiles’ motorists of speed limits outside localities, giving them autonomy and assuming their ability to be masters of themselves and their vehicles, denied the technical limitations of the vehicles and of the roads (not to mention the human limitations of these motorists). Contrary, professional motorists driving commercial road vehicles were generally held responsible for road accidents and the infringements to the Highway Code and faced other technical limitations (like the obligation to have a speed control device installed in the vehicle).⁹⁰ This discourse left continuities in the post-World War Two period, for example in the continuation of the interwar debate on the coordination of land transports (namely railways and road transport). In the legislative measures aimed at hindering road freight transport, it was said to be responsible for the increase of road accidents⁹¹ when in fact, these vehicles accounted only for about a fifth of all the vehicles involved in accidents in 1963.⁹²

To justify the evidence that ‘amateur’ motorists were also responsible for accidents through their own negligence and by speeding, ACP appealed, nostalgically, to the return of a supposed ‘old etiquette’ followed by private motorists, those of the time when ‘there was no unknown on the road’ and when ‘the great motorist family’ reinforced their ‘bonds of camaraderie’ with acts of courtesy and mutual aid.⁹³ This construction of the private automobile motorists’ image produced a discourse that privileged the private motorist’s point of view towards other road users, particularly if this motorist was an ‘amateur’ (and not a professional motorist driving commercial vehicles), a man (and not a woman), and considered competent (he could not have a criminal record), who generally would not be held responsible for accidents.⁹⁴

In the ‘Ten Fundamental Commandments of All Circulation’, published in ACP’s *Bulletin* in 1930, two of them pointed out important aspects of this discourse: first that the public roads belonged to all, but served only to transport, i.e. efficient and fast movement; and second that the motorist (the amateur driver of a private passenger car) should remain free of restrictions, including speed limits outside of localities, because he would know how to judge the correct ‘relative’ speed (see [Figure 3](#)). This cartoon was similar to others published in other European countries in the same period (like France) also depicting the non-automobile road users as responsible for road accidents.⁹⁵

Countering these discourses, the statistics that began to be produced by the General Directorate of Traffic Services (*Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, DGSV) in the 1930s showed that motorists were the main source responsible for recorded accidents, and pedestrians the main victims.⁹⁶ Registered accidents happened mostly in cities and towns. In the two main cities, Lisbon and Oporto, where the majority of the country’s registered vehicles were located, the portion of registered deaths from road ‘accidents’ compared to the national total ranged between 20 and 30 percent, and registered injuries



A via pública pertence a toda a gente. A via pública só tem por objecto o transportê. Não é um lugar de conversa, nem de brincadeira, nem um canil, nem um galinheiro.



A velocidade em si não tem perigo e não tem limites. Só a velocidade relativa é perigosa. A velocidade relativa depende exactamente das condições e das contingências, infinitamente variáveis, em que se encontra o veículo.

Public roads belong to everyone. Public roads' purpose is solely transport. It is neither a place for talking, nor for playing, neither a kennel, nor a henhouse.

Speed in itself is not dangerous and has no limits. Only relative speed is dangerous. Relative speed depends exactly on the infinitely variable conditions and contingencies, in which the vehicle finds itself.

Figure 3. ACP advocates the commandments of circulation, as featured in its *Bulletin*: public roads are to be used to transport, and the speed in itself is not dangerous and should not have limits. 'Os 10 Mandamentos' (The Ten Commandments) with permission of Automóvel Club de Portugal.

between 50 to 60 percent.⁹⁷ To respond to this growing problem, which in the 1930s began to gain more importance in the public sphere, it was necessary to start producing knowledge about road safety, following what was being done in other countries.⁹⁸ Members of the ACP and of the Auto Portuguese Medical Club (*Auto-Clube Médico Português*, founded in 1936) defended at the First and Second Congresses on Automobility and Civil Aviation (both held in Oporto in 1935, and 1937), and at the First National Tourism Congress (held in Lisbon, in 1936), the need to improve safety in mobility, roadside assistance (medical and technical), and better medical assessment of the motorists' bodies.⁹⁹ Moreover, the interest in the motorists' bodies was also visible in one of the recurring topics in the Traffic Services (DGSV) reports in the 1930s: the remodelling of driving instruction, and a better selection of applicants to become motorists, a concern which was shared by doctors and members of the motorists union, who also defended the need for professional motorists to have breaks and balanced work schedules.¹⁰⁰

Traffic Services (DGSV) also aimed to have motorists' selection made on a 'modern scientific basis',¹⁰¹ including psychological aptitude assessment.¹⁰² The need for educational campaigns aimed at motorists and pedestrians, producing disciplining discourses on road users, began to be a recurring theme, as seen in proposals by ACP¹⁰³ or the Shell Company in Portugal,¹⁰⁴ or papers presented at the Second Congress on Automobility and Civil Aviation,¹⁰⁵ and in the debates on the road and traffic problems held in the National Assembly in 1949.¹⁰⁶

In addition to the medical issue related to the validation of motorists and to the treatment of road accident victims, there was also a legal issue, related to compensations. The civil compensation due to road accident victims was first legislated in Portugal in 1918, foreseeing the right to compensation by the injured and regulating its implementation, which was modified in 1919¹⁰⁷ and resumed in the first Highway Code. The 1928 highway Code, when compared to the 1911 Regulation for Automobile Traffic that preceded it, put greater emphasis on the question of civil compensation and criminal

liability in case of accidents, which revealed that the reality of the road fatalities, which had always existed and been an integral part of car culture,¹⁰⁸ started to have an undeniable visibility. This visibility was translated, for example, in the tables published in the Traffic Services' (DGSV) first report (1933) on the number of road accidents, which was followed, in a more succinct way, by the Statistical Yearbook of Portugal from 1935 onwards. New forms of producing knowledge on road accidents were created, as well as new forms of surveillance. In 1934, the Traffic Services (DGSV) foresaw the creation of tools that would help to study accidents, particularly regarding data collection and analysis.¹⁰⁹ The following year they created a 'Traffic Accident Form' to be completed by all entities that had something to do with the consequences of road accidents, like the authorities, hospitals or insurance companies, which enabled the Traffic Services (DGSV) to publish, from 1935 on, much more detailed information on road accidents.¹¹⁰ This form was based on those recommended by the American (USA) National Safety Council's Joint Committee on Statistics, and the Traffic Services (DGSV) expected that this data would allow for better control road accidents.¹¹¹ Surveillance was also developed. The main surveillance body became the traffic police set up with the 1930 highway Code. The traffic police (initially called a special police corps on road traffic)¹¹² began working with mobile brigades, which by 1934 had more than thirty vehicles for road surveillance, which were complemented by a network of fixed control posts on the national roads that started being built in 1935.¹¹³

The theme of road accidents was present in the National Assembly's debates during the 1930s¹¹⁴ and 1940s, namely the need to change the benevolent legislation towards the 'amateur' motorists and the tendency to exonerate their liability for accidents, which met opposition, in particular by ACP members who were also members of the National Assembly. The 1954 highway Code, which repealed that of 1930, would recognize that the 'criminal punishment for traffic accidents was overly benevolent, in no way corresponding to the social needs of the time',¹¹⁵ and made certain offenses (like drunkenness, or the victim's neglect in the place of accident) comparable to voluntary crime. It also removed the legal limit to compensation in the case of the driver being the culprit in an accident, created in 1930, which had been then considered by ACP as very well-conceived.¹¹⁶

Final remarks: disciplining mobilities of the poor at the intersection of the interests of controlling social order and mobility practices

The production of disciplining discourses on the mobility practices of the poor as a form social control here analysed coalesce concerns regarding public health and social order and concerns regarding the hierarchy of mobilities in public roads. To this construction of the poor as the 'other' that needs to be educated and disciplined (and accept the *status quo* of social and political organisation), many actors contributed, such as legislators (National Assembly members, District Governors) and mediators like the Portuguese League for Social Prophylaxis, and the Automobile Club of Portugal. This was achieved through legislative initiatives (to which these actors made an active contribution) and at the level of representation, through the construction of stereotypes of poor people walking barefoot or of professional drivers. This was also achieved through the denial of the existence of poverty and bad living conditions for most of the population and through the denial of wealthy 'amateur' motorists' responsibility in road fatalities. It

served the legitimization of the Portuguese dictatorship indoors and outdoors, the growth of foreign tourism as an important source of economic income, the redefinition of the street as a thoroughfare (i.e. for high-speed vehicles) and the consequent increase of road accidents (pedestrians being the main victims).

The two cases presented in this article explore how the *Estado Novo* regime's propaganda of social and material 'improvements', namely technical ones, with efficient roads for the flow of cars freed of barefoot people, coexisted with a more complex reality of different uses and mores, and the tensions in the efforts to discipline them. Moreover, in Portugal, despite the low rate of motorisation in this period and the absence of an automobile industry, the elite motorist's imposition of street uses, hierarchising automobilism, fitted in with the regime's imposition of social order. This article also shows how elites who supported the regime (in these cases, medical or automobile club members) helped to construct one of the regime's mottos for keeping people in rigid social compartments: 'a place for everyone and everyone in their place', a famous phrase by the Minister of National Education, António Carneiro Pacheco. I argue that this motto can be understood not only as the regime's position not to promote *social* mobility, but also as a will to impose social order through disciplined *physical* mobility, especially of the poor in urban settings.

Streets' spaces were defined according to certain users' mobility (traffic routes being dedicated to particular modes of mobility; pavements designated for pedestrians and other uses; pedestrians wearing shoes in public spaces; separation or mixture of low and fast mobility modes), through the social and mobility control and its surveillance (repression of begging and of barefoot pedestrians; creation of traffic rules, speed limits, signals; creation of penalties). This organisation of space led to the establishment of minimum standards for the movement of bodies and vehicles (inspection of the vehicles, their safety conditions, and the decision on having, or not, insurance; driving licenses and medical exams to motorists; mandatory use of shoes for pedestrians in public spaces).¹¹⁷ This article shows that the disciplining and moralization discourses on both the bodies of pedestrians and professional motorists, as well as the control of their social behaviour, were part of and shaped by these larger processes.

Notes

1. Silva and Sousa, "The 'Script'."
2. Packer, "Disciplining Mobility," 139.
3. Ibid., 152.
4. Bonham, "Transport," 61.
5. Sousa, "Roads for the 1940."
6. Ibid.
7. Trovão, "Da pobreza."
8. Packer, "Disciplining Mobility"; Bonham, "Transport"; and See also Sheller, "Uneven Mobility Futures."
9. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 136.
10. Ibid., 137.
11. Ibid., 164–165.
12. One main difference between disciplinary power and bio-power is fundamentally in the object upon which this power is acted: in the first, this object is the man-body (individualisation); in the second it is the man-species (massification), i.e. a new concept that emerges

- in the late eighteenth century. Foucault, “Aula de 17 de Março de 1976,” 292–293. See also Packer, “Disciplining Mobility,” 144.
13. Bonham, “Transport,” 64.
 14. Packer, “Disciplining Mobility,” 138.
 15. Norton, “Four Paradigms.” Although these four paradigms refer to the US, Peter Norton suggests that “American patterns were echoed across the Atlantic and perhaps elsewhere as well” (320).
 16. Pinto, “O Estado Novo,” 30.
 17. There had been previous attempts to institutionalise the military dictatorship that have failed because of the divergences and fight for power between three different factions of the Portuguese right-wing politics and the actions of the pro-democracy opposition.
 18. Ibid., 32.
 19. Portuguese State corporatism was promulgated in the same year of the political Constitution of the authoritarian regime, 1933, and was one of its pillars. Ideologically, Portuguese corporatism had its roots in the reactionary social-christian tradition. However, regarding governmental practices, it was closer to the authoritarian, bureaucratic and nationalistic school, such as the Italian corporatism. Its goal was not only to take claiming rights away from the working classes, but also to collect data on them, and privilege the sectors closer to the regime. See Schmitter, *Portugal*.
 20. This party was created by decree in 1930 and aggregated the civilian forces that supported the new regime. Pinto, “O Estado Novo,” 30.
 21. Ibid., 45.
 22. Rosas, *O Estado Novo*, 150.
 23. Ibid., 152–55, 202, 58; and Rosas, *O Estado Novo*, VII, 95, 96.
 24. Trovão, “Da pobreza,” 19–24.
 25. Ibid., 21; and Macedo and Saraiva, “República de laboratório.”
 26. Trovão, “Da pobreza,” 22.
 27. Vieira, “Em prol do Bem Comum”; and Barros, “Tétano.”
 28. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*, 5.
 29. Ibid., 6.
 30. Ibid., 71.
 31. This legal notice would be followed by a formal regulation issued in 27th September 1928. Ibid., 31, 51, 52; and Governo Civil do Porto, *Compilação de Editais e Regulamentos*, 17, 18.
 32. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*, 8, 9.
 33. “Decreto Nº 19687”; “Decreto-Lei Nº 30389”; “Decreto-Lei Nº 36448”; and “Decreto-Lei Nº 40318.”
 34. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*.
 35. Tengarrinha et al., *História*, 277.
 36. Pinho, “Pé descalço ferido pode ser pé perdido : Não ande descalço,” B/12/9/2–2.1, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000133; Governo Civil do Porto, “O pé descalço é um hábito impróprio de gente civilizada : Não ande descalço,” B/12/9/3–4.35, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000139; Governo Civil do Porto, “O pé descalço está a ser reprimido : Não queira ser multado nem preso,” B/12/9/3–4.36, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000140; Governo Civil do Porto, “O pé descalço contrai o tétano! O tétano ocasiona a morte! : No seu próprio interesse não ande descalço,” B/12/9/3–4.34, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000138; Governo Civil do Porto, “Se andar descalço infringe um regulamento que estabelece as seguintes penalidades: (...) : Não queira ser punido,” B/12/9/3–4.33, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000137; Governo Civil do Porto, “O pé descalço é punido : Evite ser castigado,” B/12/9/3–4.38, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000142; Governo Civil do Porto, “Não ande descalço porque a sua saúde e mesmo a sua vida correm perigo!,” B/12/9/3–4.37, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000141; Governo Civil do Porto, “Não ande descalço : Os pés nus expõem-no a males irremediáveis!,” B/12/9/3–4.39, PT/ADPRT/ASS/LPPS/DIR/020–002/000143. All these images are courtesy of

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37. Ibid., 258, 59, 68–70.
38. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*, 10, 51; Tengarrinha et al., *História*, 258, 259.
39. “Oh! Pés Que Andaram Descalços!” 19.
40. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*, 10, 11, 52, 53.
41. “O pé descalço,” in *Voz da Justiça*, 7/3/1934 quoted in Ibid., 102.
42. Ibid., 203; and Governo Civil de Vila Real, *Regulamento policial*.
43. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*.
44. Barros, “Tétano,” 70.
45. The trials reported on the 1956 League’s manifesto only included women, which might indicate a gender biases that would need further investigation. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social, *O pé descalço*, 159–166.
46. Governo Civil do Porto, *Proibição do pé descalço*; Governo Civil de Coimbra, *Colecção de Regulamentos*; Tengarrinha et al., *História*, Vol. II, 314.
47. Governo Civil do Porto, *Proibição do pé descalço*.
48. Portela, *O turismo nacional*.
49. These words were declared in the closing session of the First National Congress of Tourism by the president of its organisation, João Antunes Guimarães, *Relatório*, 11. On role of tourism in the Estado Novo’s dictatorship, see, for instance Pires, *O baile do turismo*, 250–258. Costa, Raphael, “The ‘Great Façade.’”
50. Ferreira, “A Indústria de turismo”; Torres, “Bases do desenvolvimento.”
51. Fonseca, “Do turismo nacional.”
52. Torres, “Bases do desenvolvimento,” 70.
53. This was particularly relevant during the years of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), which preceded and anticipated World War Two.
54. Ferreira, “A Indústria de turismo,” 347.
55. See, for instance, Lemos, “Excursionismo Popular.”
56. Lapa, “O Caminho de Ferro,” 5.
57. Valente, *Estado Novo*, 38–43, 81, 82.
58. Costa, “The ‘Great Façade.’”
59. Trovão, “Da pobreza,” 23–25.
60. Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia and Social, *O pé descalço*, 21.
61. Leitão de Barros, in *O Século*, 23/10/1938, quoted in Ibid.
62. Ribeiro, *Aldeia*, 167.
63. In relation to this process, Peter Norton, drawing on social constructivism, proposes three types of closure: rhetorical closure (framing the problem of street mobility as one of political and market freedom); closure through redefinition of the problem; and “closure through control of use and misuse,” to which the disciplinary processes mentioned in this article also refer. Norton, *Fighting Traffic*, 6. See also Oldenziel et al., “Designing (Un)Sustainable”; Sousa, *A Mobilidade*; and Mom, *Atlantic Automobility*.
64. Norton, “Urban Mobility,” 113.
65. Bertho Lavenir, “How the Motor Car,” 113.
66. Sachs, *For the Love*, 28, 31.
67. See also O’Connell, *The Car*; McShane, *Down the Asphalt*; Bonham, “Transport”; Foreman-Peck, “Changing National”; Fridenson, “La Société Française”; Norton, *Fighting Traffic*; Oldenziel et al., “Designing (Un)Sustainable”; Sousa, *A Mobilidade*; and Mom, *Atlantic Automobility*.
68. O’Connell states in the English case that the motoring lobby was consulted on the debates concerning motoring legislation, and although the government initiatives “did not always meet with their approval, they often were successful in limiting the extent of motoring legislation.” O’Connell, *The Car*, 117.

69. McShane, *Down the Asphalt*, 179, 81, 89. See also the important contribution by Peter Norton.
70. Bonham, "Transport," 61, 62.
71. Lewis Mumford went back to baroque cities and explored the way that the movement of wheeled cannons (to destroy the walled castles of independent cities) and of carriages (to advertise the importance of their occupants) created new orders of traffic at the expense of pedestrians. Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), quoted in Amato, *On Foot*, 84, 85.
72. Bertho Lavenir, *La Roue*, 159–63; Sousa, *A Mobilidade*; Oldenziel et al., "Designing (Un) Sustainable," 35; Mom, *Atlantic Automobilmism*. Historian Gijs Mom has focused on the production of driving experiences or "automotive adventures" in the development of user cultures (e.g. functional/tinkering, temporal/racing, spatial/touring), identifying also gendered, aggressive and violent dimensions, and how these relate to the legitimization of the car and help to explain its diffusion. Ibid., 324.
73. Oldenziel et al., "Designing (Un)Sustainable"; and Schipper, *Driving Europe*.
74. Norton, *Fighting Traffic*. For the Portuguese case, see Sousa, *A Mobilidade*.
75. Oldenziel et al., "Europe's Mediation Junction," 115; Schipper, *Driving Europe*, 25.
76. In France, however, the Touring Club also played a very important role. The main difference between the French Automobile Club and the Touring Club was their composition, the former being much more elitist. Bertho Lavenir, *La Roue*, 108.
77. Mom, "Mobility for Pleasure," 41, 42.
78. Sousa, *A Mobilidade*. For more on the concept of mediators, see Oldenziel et al., "Europe's Mediation Junction." This article discusses and proposes a research agenda that explores the role of these mediators as junctions between technology and consumption, in order to emphasise the role of users in the process of appropriating this technology. Automobile clubs are one of the given examples of mediators. For its application to a specific case related to the construction of the socio-technical system for tourism and travel purposes, see, for France, Bertho Lavenir, *La Roue*. For the Netherlands, the role of the tourism club as mediator is also highlighted. See Mom et al., "Civilizing Motorized Adventure."
79. See Sousa, *A Mobilidade*; Sousa, "A 'Mobilidade Disciplinada'; Sousa, 'Roads for the 1940'; Sousa, "Crossing urban."
80. Foreman-Peck, "Changing National," 270; O'Connell, *The Car*, 118, 119. On the automotive industry in Portugal, created by a policy of import substitution in the 1960s, see Sousa and Diogo, "Giving."
81. Fridenson, "La Société Française."
82. Sousa, *A Mobilidade*; Macedo, "A Problemática Tecnológica."
83. See Sousa, "Roads for the 1940"; Sousa, *A Mobilidade*, Chapter 8.
84. Mom, *Atlantic Automobilmism*, 532.
85. "Arquivo Jurídico."
86. "Decreto de 3 de Outubro."
87. Ibid., 702; "Decreto com Força de Lei," 2647, 48; "Decreto Nº 15536," 1282, 83; and "Decreto Nº 18406," 980, 981.
88. Furtado, "As Cartas."
89. In 1911 regulation, the speed limit increased by 10 km/h in relation to the 1901 regulation (it increased to 20 km/h within localities and 40 km/h outside them). The 1928 and the 1930 highway Codes only limited speed for private automobiles within localities (to 30 km/h, or up to 50 km/h, according to the 1930 Code). See article 19 of "Decreto Nº 15536"; and articles 61 and 62 of "Decreto Nº 18406." On the quotation see Ibid., 978.
90. In the Congress for Road Safety, in Paris, in 1933, a vote on the need of heavy vehicles to have a speed control device was approved. In Portugal, although this requirement was legislated in 1935, its implementation was difficult. "Portaria Nº 8000"; Teixeira, "Os Acidentes."
91. "Decreto-Lei Nº 45331," 1677.
92. Carmo, *A Batalha*, 126.

93. “Façamos Reviver.”
94. O’Connell, *The Car*, 127.
95. See a similar cartoon published by the French journalist and automobile enthusiast Baudry de Saunier’s in *L’Art de bien conduire les automobiles* (1933) in Bertho Lavenir, *La Roue*, 201.
96. From 1935 to 1950, apart from 1942 to 1945, due to wartime restrictions on the circulation of motor vehicles, motorists were held mainly responsible for accidents. See the reports of the Traffic Services (DGSV) from 1933 to 1950.
97. See, for example, for the years between 1939 and 1945, the following reports: *Relatório referente ao ano de 1939 da DGSV*, 155, 156; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1940 da DGSV*, 140, 141; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1941 da DGSV*, 160, 161; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1942 da DGSV*, 150, 151; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1943 da DGSV*, 146, 147; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1944 da DGSV*, 148, 149; *Relatório referente ao ano de 1945 da DGSV*, 158, 159.
98. Filarski and Mom, *Shaping Transport Policy*, 96–98.
99. See, for instance, Madeira, “A Segurança”; Santos and Magalhães, “Da Imperiosa”; Vidal, “Socorros médicos”; and Madeira, “Automobilismo.”
100. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1934 da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 15. See, for instance, the papers “O daltonismo e a viação moderna” (by Mário Moutinho), “As cartas de condução e as doenças nervosas e mentais” (by Diogo Furtado), “O esforço do cérebro do motorista nos momentos de perigo iminente” (by José Agostinho Paulo Junior), “Cartas de condutores amadores e cartas de condutores profissionais e apreensão de cartas” (by Francisco Marques). In Madeira, “Automobilismo.” The first two were members of the Auto Portuguese Medical Club and the latter two were members of the National Union of Motorists of the District of Lisbon.
101. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1934 da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 24.
102. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1935 da DGSV*, 15, 16, 23, 24.
103. “Acta Nº 991, 5/9/1935.”
104. *Quem Vai ao Volante*, 3.
105. Oliveira, “Automobilismo”; Madeira, *Automobilismo*.
106. “IV Legislatura, Sessão Nº 190,” 538, 539; and “IV Legislatura, Sessão Nº 191,” 559.
107. The decree issued in 1919 contained all the articles of the 1918 decree, excepting those that regulated the procedure. See “Decreto Nº 4536”; and “Decreto Nº 5646.”
108. On the impact of road accidents in the Portuguese press in the early twentieth century, and, in particular, the coverage given to the fateful race Paris-Madrid in 1903 see Rodrigues, “A Implantação,” 181–86.
109. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1934 da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 24.
110. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1935 da DGSV*, 21, 22, 24.
111. *Ibid.*, 24.
112. The name was changed in 1937. See “Decreto Nº 27838.”
113. In 1934 the Mobile Brigades had 17 passenger cars, 14 motorcycles with sidecar, and 4 motorcycles. In 1935 the first fixed control posts were open in “strategic points for effective traffic control of the main roads of the country.” *Relatório referente ao ano de 1934 da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 23. The number of fixed control posts gradually increased: in 1935 they were eleven, and ten years later, in 1945 they were more than 70. *Relatório referente ao ano de 1936 da DGSV*, 7; and *Relatório referente ao ano de 1945 da DGSV*, 18.
114. Some of the arguments on non-compulsory automobile insurance for individual motorists assumed that they were considered reputable and wealthy enough to compensate people if they were held liable for an accident. See, for example, the debate over a proposal to make the motor insurance compulsory, which was rejected. “I Legislatura, Sessão Nº 58”; “I Legislatura, Sessão Nº 65.”
115. “Decreto-Lei Nº 39672,” 573.
116. “O Novo Código da Estrada.”
117. Packer, “Disciplining Mobility,” 145–47.

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