Research Article

THE NODAL GOVERNANCE OF THE SECURITY IN THE TEST OF THE OBSERVATION ON A "SENSITIVE" MINING SITE LOCATED IN HAUT-KATANGA, IN DRC

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DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.24327/ijrsr.2018.0903.1766

ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT

ABSTRACT

The nodal Governance of Security (GNS acronym) is an interpretative framework initiated in strong states. This research shows that this toolbox valid to explain a safety device installed even in weak states. Exclusively on the empirical level, the observation of the "mixed security" introduced in Gécamines Factories of Shituru (in Haut-Katanga Province, DRC) has used the theoretical contributions of situational prevention, interaction and network. This tool triangulation therefore allowed observing and analyzing the co-production of security through public and private policies located on a mining and industrial site in a weak state. In other words, these theoretical supports additive or complementary GNS used to observe the preventive measures adopted in the context of plural policing, exchanges between hybrid actors directly or indirectly involved in the protection of a mine site, as well as safe networks built and constantly restructured in order to adapt to the various modes of "vulnerabilization" often thought in mafia networks, called "circuits" by the observed actors.

INTRODUCTION

The pluralist theory considers that "the companies of security are not the only mode of answer of the private individuals and the moral persons to the deficiencies of the State" (Pérouse de Montclos, 2008: 23). This approach joins "beyond and below the government" and constitutes the pillar of the governance of security. In this logic, Shearing (005: 1-4) emits the concept of "the nodal governance of security" (NGS in initials) to identify at the same time "diverse knots which produce the security", their manners of organization and control, their interrelations, "the sources of orientation and service of the security in a specific field" and "the impacts on the global domain of the security".

After our harvest of data on a mining site weakened by a myriad of threatening, the paradigm of NGS was selected to report better the security device set up on the ground, subject to some adjustments, complements, theoretical reflections on its operational effectiveness (Wood, 2006: 220, Hufty, 2007: 1-7). It emerges from it that the object of the present article builds itself around the plural police implied in the surveillance of Gécamines Factories of Shituru, mining site situated to Likasi, in Haut-Katanga Province, in Democratic Republic of the Congo. Three big groups of security guards collaborate in this

plural police among whomrepresents in the first place the public police (Congolese National Police force, PNC in initials) represented by the Mine police; secondly a private security agency called the Defence Systems of Africa (DSA) Security, and thirdly the Industrial Guard (GI), an internal security of the "Générale des Carrières et des Mines" (in summary Gécamines). The central question formulates in these terms: how can the observed data help to report a plural device directed to the coproduction of security in Gécamines Factories of Shituru?

This article indicates that the observation of the nodal Governance of security, the abstract frame mobilized in the collection of data to explain the mechanisms of protection of the mining property (to Likasi, in DRC) passes by tools of situational prevention, interaction between actors and organizations and the analysis of network.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review in based on the context of the emergence of the private security in DRC. This reality is bound double to the incapacity of the State to assure the protection of its citizens and the property in a context post-conflict and the privatization of the sectors of the guarding (in 1998), of the mobile telephony (from 1997s) and of the mining sector (in 2002). The

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intervention of new actors in the commodification of the safety and the exploitation of natural resources and ores by private companies allowed an exponential request in the protection of the property. Being failing and following the example of other African countries, the Congolese State was incapable to adapt itself to the increasing request of protection of the mining companies, mainly. This is the way the companies of private security invested this vacuum left by the public power to answer, thanks to their effectiveness and thanks to their technologies, the needs for the private investors in the mining and the communication or telecommunication.

So, with the liberalization of the exploitation of the industry of the private security in 1998 and the liberalization of the mining sector in 2002, the companies of security, international (Group 4 Securicor, KK Security…) and national (Magenya, Delta Protection…), became established or were born in DRC to devote to the sale of the safety to protect residences of the well-to-do people, the banks, the business companies, the hotels, the agencies and the international organizations, the companies of mobile telephony and especially the mining companies. The latter are better providers of security contracts. These companies specialize essentially in the guarding and/or the escort of funds or ores.

In Haut-Katanga Province, the richest in mining resources in DRC, the setting-up of the companies of private security coincides with that of the private mining companies a number of which is signatory partnerships with Gécamines to exploit its deposits of copper and cobalt. Because Gécamines, backbone of the Congolese economy and the supplier of foreign currencies in the Congolese State, is in knee and incapable to fly from its wings (Rubbers, 2006: 115; Arieff, 2014: 1-12). It is because the mining boom (2005s in 2007 and 2011s in 2013) and the influx of private mining companies in Haut-Katanga explain, partially, the emergence of the industry of private security because, as notes it Foaleng (2007: 44) and De Goede (2008: 37), in numerous African countries, following the example of Liberia, of the Sierra Leone, of Congo (Kinshasa) and of Angola, the lightning growth of the industry of private security is bound to natural resources exploited by diverse mining companies in the context post-conflict or after civil wars.

This historic overview indicates that the investments of private enterprises in the mines of the DRC influence the mode of policing. To secure their capital, the private mining companies bring private agencies of contractual security beside other providers of security (police or internal guards of the security). The protection of the site of Gécamines was, from its origins, assured by its house security, said the Industrial Guards (GI in initials). But since the 90s, this company combined its internal security with private agencies of guarding as well as the national police force, to fight against the recurring flights and/or the mining fraud. In the time of the survey, Gécamines organizes the policing characterized by a plural device of security, a "mixed security", consisted by three groups: the Industrial Guards (in initials GI), an internal security or " house security", Defence Systems of Africa (in initials DSA), a private agency of guarding, a property of "De Moerloose Group" of Belgium (De Goede, 2008: 44), and the Mine police and hydrocarbons (in initials PMH), a branch of specialized "polices" of the Congolese National police force. In this hybrid structure, the first two organizations belong to private security and their guards, following the example of the other African countries, are not armed. But the last one, the PMH, is a branch armed of the PNC.

This combination of the "house security" and private agencies of security characterize generally the system of protection of copper and cobalt mines in DRC, little as security structure of diamonds mine in Sierra Leone (Abrahamsen & William, 2005a, 9) or oil factories in Nigeria (Abrahamsen & William, 2005b, 6). And the triptych security described above plays the protection of factories and re-revitalizes the capacity of the State to assure the protection of its site. Rather than to consider the unique protective role filled by this safety device, it is also advisable to perceive it as a pillar of the strengthening of the attributes of the State become "a weak" or failing to protect his citizens and their properties.

METHODOLOGY

The construction of this article borrowed a qualitative approach. The data were collected with people resources (security, hard-working agents of Gécamines factories, populations inhabitants the neighborhood of the company, the actors of the mining fraud) during nine months (from November, 2007 till August, 2008) by direct observation and semi-direct interview, in Gécamines Factories of Shituru. During this duration, diurnal observations and night-from two to four hours were led as well from sensitive posts (post offices connected to the production or to the storing of the copper, the cobalt or their raw ore) when on zones being of use as corridors to the escape of the mining products or as the other values (fuels, acid) of the company.

Besides, thirteen interviews were collected with the actors of ground: eight with the police actors and the guards, and five with the actors surrounding Factories and susceptible to work sometimes as partners of the security guards (mainly regarding the information), sometimes as of " distractors ", simply by distracting the vigilance of the guards or by diverting their attention on targets which do not captivate the interest of the threatening. The essential theme of these conversations was the functioning of the security device; four sub-themes were relative to the measures or technologies of protection of factories, in the interactions between the guards, in the modus operandi of the actors of incivilities, in the types of thefts… Generally, the interviews were led after a slice of observation with people-resources identified during the direct observations led openly. The data so collected by interview contributed to structure a speech on various observed, licit or illicit, often divided facts.

The analysis of these data took place according to the theory based through a progressive categorization of the empirical material, translated by the codification of the textual sequences into categories semantically close of the words used by the actors of ground. Of the wealth of the information, four mega-categories were identified from 359 categories thanks to a software called Weft QDA: pluralism policeman, interactions, coproduction of the security and\or the insecurity and the methodological questions. Each of these mega-categories contained of categories and subcategories. Except the coproduction of the insecurity and\or the insecurity, this article exploits the statements of three other mega-categories identified above.

RESULTS

Nodal governance of the security (NGS): paradigm and characteristics

In the context of pluralization, the policing is envisaged in "a multilateral activity" (Dupont & al., 2007: 2), in the "multilateralization" (Ocqueteau, 2005: 89-90) or the "horizontalisation" (Crawford, 2004: 227-231) or "sociétalisation answers" (Dieu, 2006: 8) in the crossroads of numerous organizations, that they were public, private, community or hybrid, involved in "the abstract set of three market - State - civil society" (Crawford, 2001: 16).

The studies political analysts carried on the "pragmatism administrator" or the challenges of the public action (for example, the analysis undertaken by Gaudin (2002)) inspire a new way of administering the policing, according to a pluralistic trend which the nodal governance of the security takes into account. Some people, following the example of Dupont, use this approach to governance, theorized in the strong States, to explain the new mechanisms of security set up in the low States (Dupont & al., 2007: 1).

According to the summary deciphering of three terms establishing the expression "nodal governance of the security", we consider that it is a "constellation of institutions - formal or informal, governmental or private, commercial or voluntary - in charge of the social control and in charge of the resolution of conflicts" (Dupont & al., 2007: 2). The original design of the NGS takes root in the works of Shearing, Stenning and many other authors who take the distance with regard to paradigm normative of "state-centred view of governance" (a stato-centered view of governance), in favor of an explanatory paradigm: the "nodal conception of governance". Dupont, Shearing, Grabosky and Tanner use it to explain pilot experiments led by Shearing in South Africa regarding regulation of the conflicts by Zwelethemba[1] model.

The model of nodal governance of the security thus questions the notion of centrality of a knot as one "nodal" dominating in a process and rejects the notion of the monopoly of the police in the policing. The nodal conception supports the idea according to which no priority is granted either to a single generative source of the security or to a central knot, knots being ruling and governed (Shearing, 2006: 32), launched in a symmetric process of the powers. The police is so taken as a knot among so many others. It is the same of the status of the State. So fragile, it is, considered by Dupont and Mulone (2008: 105), as a knot of governance among so many others.

The partnership mode and the coproduction of the security appear as two main characteristics of the NGS. The first one evokes the mode of intervention of the persons receiving benefits of the security, and the second, the convergence of objectives in a security process.

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[1] It is a model conceived for the regulation of the conflicts or the disputes of the everyday life in South Africa. It was born thanks to a partnership between a local NGO (NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION), Community Peace Program and two European governments (Sweden, then Finland) and started in 1998 in a community called Zwelethemba with institutions of micro-governance and extended in 21 other communities distributed in three provinces. Integral capacities of fast intervention of the police of State, this model bases itself on the mobilization of the skills and the local knowledges, and their integration to those of the professional actors contributing to the production of the security (Dupont & al., 2007).

The partnership model mentioned in the NGS considers all the partners involved in an associative process and not only considers the restrictive relations between the police and private security, but the partnership extends to other forces of the community. Public-private partnerships are based on an actuarial logic based on risk management. As part of the protection of the Gécamines Factories of Shituru, three groups of security providers (the police, a private security agency and a house security) are formally cohabiting on the basis of the security contracts, and as well as informally appears the contribution of the populations to control working inside this site, frequenting it to request a service or living in its immediate neighborhood.

According to Brodeur (2005: 5) and Hufty (2007: 4), the "police partnership" bases itself on a joint implication of organizations and institutions in a concerted action of security or preservation of order. The security partnership creates a frame of joint management, grip of the collective decisions, the negotiations of contract, the discussions of the necessary rules to supervise or refocus the actions. These activities materialize through synergic actions, exchanges of the experiences or the exchange and the distribution of the information registered in the meetings of the persons in charge, the briefings or the instructions to the guards…

Concerning the coproduction of the security, it is a set of common explicit objectives pursued by various security knots gathered in a partnership. It thus appears as a "new" repository table of actions regarding security and regarding fight against the crime (Le Goff, 2004: 81-82). At the same time as a speech in term of objective, action and result, the coproduction of security is a speech of legitimization of intervention of the actors implied in the policing. With the coproduction of the security, control mechanisms are not any more analyzed according to "the only public dimension", rather "in a redistribution of the powers" between various knots (Diaz, 2003: 429-430).

The logic of the results related to the protection of various targets coveted by a myriad of menacing forces invite the various security providers to the consultation, to pooling their 'toolboxes', in particular with regard to new technologies security, and the sharing of information capital on mutations of vulnerability mode, the interest is to invite these security nodes to the implementation of concerted strategies to expect a happy protection of the site concerned.

Related tools of operationalization of the NGS

The characteristics of the nodal governance of security are not enough for themselves to make operational the observation of it paradigm. To describe and explain the security device set up in Gécamines Factories of Shituru, we used three methodological crutches provided with the observable indicators, worth knowing: the situational prevention, the interaction and the network. These tools do not belong to the nodal governance of the security, but they are adequate in the analysis of the made observations and in the confrontation of the data by means of this theorization of the NGS.

Situational prevention

The situational prevention develops a set of "not penal measures to prevent the acting out by modifying the particular

circumstances in which a series of similar offences is committed or could be it" (Cusson, 1992: 139). This prevention acts on factors at risks (objects, subjects, environment or criminogenic environment) by applying a "preventive politic". It aims either at acting on the potential delinquent or on the dangerous state of the delinquents but at reducing the opportunities of the delinquent acting out by "the manipulation of the immediate environment" (Clarke, 1995: 91). With regard to principles of the situational prevention, Gécamines as well as its partners of security stop the following strategies:

- Decrease the possibilities of commission of the flights by adopting the measures of strengthening of targets (hang on solid padlocks on barriers), of access control (badges, dresses, and barricade of the drains). These strategies set up a material obstacle to make desired targets more difficult to achieve, and the intrusions very difficult.
- Increase the risks of be taken by the meticulous selection of the entrances of the people or vehicles, by the searches of the people and of their parcel, by the physical or electronic surveillance (through alarms, through metal detectors), by the detection "biophysics" of the thieves ("sixth sense", capitation of the "smells", the vibration of the penis of a guard endowed with the magic powers who would be in the area of a "illegal worker").
- Try to reduce the intrusions or the losses of the properties, by removing or by moving the target (relocation of the deposits of cobalt), by marking the products of Gécamines by the stamp GCM, by reorganizing the environment of factories (lighting of the site, the replacement of projectors, construction of a centralist drain).

The security of the Gécamines factories of Shituru, being neither routine nor static, is rather processual. It is constantly renewed by the security nodes through the techniques of positioning guards, access control... These measures are taken to fight against the intrusive and operative modes of thieves, known as "illegal", who are constantly undergoing mutations.

Interaction

The interaction is a situation of interview, which puts in relation (reversible and simultaneous) two subjects which play conversely the roles of transmitter and receiver and which influence directly. According to Dupont (2008: 67), the governance involves myriad actors (public and private), which maintain, in the practices of coordination and piloting of the collective action, interactions. These are often crossed by flows, waves and storms, moments of convergence and times of difference between the actors. It is a field of obvious and latent influences or an "organizational differentiated field", "limited and crossed by an 'outside'. (Mansion, 1990: 300 ; Dupont, 2006: 349).

The social player makes a commitment in an interaction by being in charge of declared or implicit objectives. What makes that the human interaction is always political, as far as it is underlain by diverse interests, strategic choices or intentions, veiled or not. In the analysis of the interaction, the main part is to examine how articulate and coexist the various logics (economic, political, to be able to) in diverse relationships

(cooperative, conflicting, competitive or contradictory).

The interactions observed between organizations and actors in Gécamines Factories of Shituru are made according to three modalities: the "collaborative" interactions, the conflicting interactions and the "cooperative" interactions.

In the "collaborative" interactions, the collaboration bases itself on a common mission of the guards and the organizations, in spite of their statutory or professional differences, and extends to the other actors (as partners) who, at first, are not security actors. In the conflicting interactions, the conflicts emerge from the fact that organizations or guards take care to control themselves mutually or to regulate the frame of division of labor and its effectiveness.

When the conflicts become obsolete or eased by diverse contacts, the guards aim towards the "cooperation". In these "cooperative" interactions, the guards seize illicitly products of the company, thanks to the consent of the accomplices, said "partners". In so doing, the guards can act in contradiction with their official mandate, which they put literally in night light by the failure to respect the mission assigned to the "mixed security".

After all, the representation of the interactions in 3 C (collaboration, conflict and "cooperation") allows to visualize better and to understand the nature and the sense of the relations between organizations and actors investigated in the Factories of Shituru, to Likasi. The collaboration and the conflict contribute to protect the properties of Gécamines. As regards specifically the "cooperation", actors play contradictory, harmful roles in the life of the company.

These forms of interactions can take place on the same scene. They can overlap. In an interaction between guard and responsible for safety, we can observe or record, for example, codes, specific vocal intonations, mimes, gestures… which do not send back to the interaction in presence, but which allow to understand another interaction linking the actor to wings. This one is, as says it Goffman (1973: 238), "committed in uncountable daily directions". The social player interprets several roles on a scenic space. He plays them clearly or simultaneously or still in switching. A thing is to raise these roles; another one is to discover his interlocutor and to decipher the message or his referent.

Networks

The plural police operate in three orientations: according to "the imperatives of a vertical hierarchy" (with a dominant node), in the "competitive constraints of a market" and in "the requirements of a functioning in network" or of a "network governance" (Brodeur, 2005: 4-9). This last context contributes to mobilize, in our search, the concept of network in the sense that the security knots are linked in a co-presence of the institutional, commercial and voluntary actors.

The analytical frame of the NGS leans on the network to describe a situation not "in terms of predefined categories" (Degenne and Forsé, 1994: 5), but in "a relational practice of not predefined cooperation's and always to reinvent, at a distance hierarchical armatures of the past and procedures routinizes" (Gaudin, 2002: 43). The stake in this tool is to analyze the links and the relations between various actors outside the hierarchical model.

Within the framework of this article, the network is approached on its sociological sense of social network. A security network is, in fact, a social network. Accordingly, the existence of a social network allows explaining, in theory or empirically, the functioning of the interactions between security actors. The concept of network appears as a fundamental element in the governance of the security (Dupont, 2004: 87) as far as it allows understanding the various connections and the diverse formal or informal exchanges between organizations and security actors. These adopt the way of functioning in network to fight on equal terms the networks of the delinquents.

The data analysis of our survey allows identifying security networks and "circuits", networks of the mining fraud. Runner of the categorization of Roche (1993: 177-181), these two types of networks answer the characteristics of networks "multiplexes" (sending back to the role and to the contents of the relations) and in "strong densities" (or of complexity of the relations between links).

The security networks are crossed networks of various organizational hierarchies and guards belonging to the different security organizations. Their stake is to protect the property of the Factories of Shituru. Their strategies of protection of the installations of Gécamines take out again principles of management of the risk factors (cf. the situational prevention).
But these networks extend to other actors of the ground (which have no identity of the security actors). It is the case of the workers and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. Of these actors, the security networks benefit from informative contributions so diverse as varied, from a feedback on the performance, the weaknesses of the security device, the skills and guards' laborers as well as the intrusions of the "illegals" or their planning, or even on their modus operandi. These other actors of ground work from then on as "partners" of the security.

The "circuits" are composed of a plurality of actors, internal or external to Gécamines. They are in fact built around the planning of flights of the property of this mining company. The permanent actors of "circuits" are the "clandestine" and the "false traders"[2]. Other actors (workers, security agents...) play episodic roles (moving a stolen package, for example). In a "circuit", the actors play roles that are gradually structured. Their mobilization is facilitated by the interconnection existing between them.
The security networks, as the "circuits", are stretchable and opened to other actors. These strengthen the protagonist's pits and weaken the actors who compose the opposite networks. The complex nature of networks makes that certain actors of a security network or almost all can be included, by effect of contagion, in "circuits" and vice versa. "Circuits" recompose, grow and include united individuals who know each other or who share certain affinities in spheres different from social life. Logically, every group of actors of a security network or of a "circuit" puts a lot into the functioning of a stake in the

networking. But, in practice, the stake in protection of the properties of the company and that of mining fraud can be embodied by the same actors whose position varies under the circumstances. There are informative exchanges between the security networks and the "circuits" via actors who assure the hyphen. The security networks as well as the "circuits" are not closed on themselves; they open on the contrary to the exchanges and to communications.

CONCLUSION

Paradigm of the NGS presents the advantage to be mobilized in empirical studies of various levels (micro-, meso- or macrosociological) and diverse contexts, in a prospect of pluralization of knots, theoretical resources, angles of observations. Besides, it allows, from relations between the social partners involved in a device of reassurance, to question their roles, their diverse postures as well as feel them of the relations. Its utility relates to a better objectification of a complex ground to be protected by a plural police compound of public, private and hybrid actors.

This article examines the NGS on the theoretical, methodological and practical plan by leaving observations of the security device of the Factories of Shituru. On the theoretical plan, the center of the GNS dedicates the coproduction of the safety through a partnership mode. The safety device installed in Factories Gécamines de Shituru gathers formally the public and private polices. These count informally on other "partners" who assure the hyphen. The security networks as well as the "circuits" are not closed on themselves; they open on the contrary to the exchanges and to communications.

From the methodological point of view, the NGS is one paradigm, which does not how presuppose to observe it on a ground of search. But it requires the employment of the additional tools convenient to return her operational on this ground The interest of this approach is to allow to explain the collected empirical materials and to question better the product of the productivity (is it the safety or the insecurity?) in a context of precariousness generalized of the actors appointed to the protection of the site. For that purpose, three tools were used: the situational prevention, the interaction and the network used in symbiosis in Gécamines Factories of Shituru. The relevance of these tools is due to the fact that they allow deciphering the modulation of the coproduction of the safety, the major characteristic of it paradigm, on base of the operations made by organizations and actors framed structurally in different networks.

On the practical plan (on a mining site, in a low State) or in the functioning of the device of "mixed safety", the formal and informal links (even with certain human factors of vulnerability) participate in the protection of factories. In other words, alternative solutions or of strengthening are thought inside and outside of the safety device. The knots of governance of the safety facilitate the intrusion of the informal in the formal. That one extends in relations with supposed actors to be fought by this one. The informal links rooted in a distant past and pierced by social and occupational relations are relatively strong with regard to the formal links of recent date, and fragile in front of interests of the actors themselves. And

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[2] The word "false traders" used in the jargon of the actors of ground mean simply the leader of a group of thieves. This boss does not come down physically in the site to fly but he puts within the reach of small thieves, said "clandestine", strategies of bypassing of the security guards. It is also him who defines the target to be reached. He often gets in touch with the persons in charge of the security organizations to lead their guards to be of simple extras in posts of guarding.

the security knots grow rich of information brought by this informal. From then on, the cleavage enters formal/informal, public/private, fort/weak… is exceeded.

Thus the analysis of networks allows illustrating better the general criminology of a regulation system.

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