# Stigmatization of Threatening and Strategies of Situational Prevention in Gécamines factories of Shituru (To Likasi, in the Katanga, in DRC)

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**Abstract:** *Many studies on the labeling in different institutions (hospital, prison, psychiatric center ...) in various application fields (health, unemployment, ethnic origin, profession ...) report perverse effects of stigma on the stigmatized persons, in particular the amplification of the deviance or the reproduction of delinquent behavior. This article goes into this theoretical scheme while focusing on the policing of an industrial mining site. As part of the approach of the qualitative approach, the data of this survey were collected in the Gécamines factories of Shituru (in Likasi, DRC) via the direct observations, carried out with different positions, and thirteen interviews including eight with the police and the private security guards and five with the inhabitants who are near the factories. The field trip lasted nine months from November 2007 to August 2018. The results of this research show the beneficial aspects of labeling on the authors of stigmatization when, through the stigmata built on the basis of certain physical, social and intellectual characteristics of threatening as well as their different operating modes, the guards - producers of labels - perceive and attempt to elude, to manage the risks that undermine the space to be protected. In this case, the co-producers security officers adapt and readapt their situational prevention strategies.*

**Keywords:** Threatening factors, stigma, "clandestine", mining fraud, situational prevention.

## 1. Introduction

In Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC in initials, the Mining Code [1] legalizes three modes of mining (industrial, small-scale or partly industrialized and artisanal) and bounds the role of the State in the fact "to promote and to regulate the development of the mining sector by the private initiative ". So assuming a "minimal share", the State saves itself the role of simple regulator of this sector [2]. But as regards the investment in the social of local communities, the Congolese State lost its margin of laborer towards the mining companies. These care little about the construction of infrastructures (hospitals, schools, markets…) or of the creation of basic social services (electricity, drinking water). This non-distribution of obtained wealth to the local communities has consequences on the penal politics in particular regarding fight against the crime.

For lack of benefiting zones of mining extraction adapted to the craft exploitation, the diggers, said " creuseurs ", of the Province of the Katanga assault diverse careers of de Gécamines or GCM ("Générale de Carrières et des Mines'', in French), a state company, and other private mining companies. To prevent popular demonstrations of the artisanal mining operators, settled often by losses in human lives near the demonstrators and policemen, the Congolese government adopts an attitude of tolerance, laxness in front of certain illicit occupations of the mining concessions of Gécamines by these artisanal mining developers. Besides, number of threatening, among whom appears this "diggers", attacks frequently the industrial sites, among which Gécamines factories of Shituru (situated in the city of Likasi, in the Katanga, in DRC, to steal it the various properties.

In this place, the guards of safety attribute diverse nicknames to these delinquents: "immigrants",

"mujahedeen", "ravens" … These labels act on the behavior of the guards in the organization of the policing, by modulating and by remodeling, constantly, the strategies of situational prevention. This article examines and interprets the reach of these identical labels of the threatening ones of Gécamines Factories of Shituru. It will be a question of establishing the behavioral report enter the stigmatized and the security agents, the report centered on the modulations of the situational prevention. To do it, we shall try to answer the question to know how this delinquents' stigmata influences the continual modifications of current security measures in this mining site. One hypothesis emerge from this problem: The stigmatization would be a useful process in the perception of the risks which watch for a space to be protected.

## 2. Literature Survey

In Black Africa, generally, settles the problem of protection of the mining companies. Mineral and oil wealth are not distributed still fairly between the various sectors of society. Victims resigned by the negative effects of the exploitation (pollution, management of toxic waste) and dispossessed of their environment, the populations which surround the mining fields do not benefit enough from this exploitation, which enriches multinationals. These populations pour in the criminal acts of robbery of the industrial infrastructures, of which the theft of the production. Speaking about Nigeria, first producer of hydrocarbons in Africa, Pérouse de Montclos notices, for example, "the existence of a kind of " syndrome of Monaco " consisting in defending a minority of privileged persons against the assaults of the majority, excludes profits of the growth " [3].

From his side, Foaleng establishes a relation between natural resources and civil wars which tear sub-Saharan Africa, wars arisen generally from the concern to control mining

concessions or to reach their exploitation [4]. Often, these States post-conflicts become incapable to insure the protection of their citizens and their properties. The incivilities grow as far as, following the example of Kenya and of Nigeria [5,6], the criminals operate in complicity with "dangerous polices" or " bandits in uniform "[7] appointed nevertheless to the preservation and to the restoring of the order and some security. In these countries, policemen's fringe overturns easily into criminal activities, particularly the corruption and the thefts of the mining products. So, they are perceived as so many sources of incivilities: They are a part of the problem of the insecurity, instead of being the solution to the crime and to the disorder. These structural and cyclical failures of the policemen justify the fact that the extractive companies cut investment their confidence in these institutions and turn rather their look to other actors of the safety, in particular their own security and even the private security agencies. The guards of these companies, not armed in most of the African countries [8], are obliged to lean on the policemen holding the kingly monopoly of the armed security. The combination of the internal security, the private security companies and of the public police establishes the structure of security governance of diamond mines in Sierra Leone [9], oil factories in Nigeria [3,6] as well as the protection of the mines of copper and cobalt in RDC, particularly in Gécamines, undertaken under analysis in our subject.

It is advisable to note that almost the same socioeconomic conditions of precariousness (thin salaries, paid generally late) move closer to the public and private actors of security in the collection of existential expedients. They often become "subject to drift which lead them to make an excessive use of their strength, to ill-treat, to extort, to steal "[10]. And various researches led in the weak States of Africa bring back cases where the public or private providers of safety plot with criminal gangues to rob the customers [9,6,11]. This relationship of complicity between guards and delinquents makes so problematic the protection of the mining and industrial infrastructures.

## 3. Methodology

### 1) Study area

The corpus of this article was established in the hydro-metallurgical Gécamines factories of Shituru, situated in the city of Likasi, in the Province of Haut-Katanga, in DRC. These mining installations were built at about the 1930s on about 300 hectares at a time when the inhabitants of the surrounding cities and even their workers ignored totally the economic values of the mining products, their utility and the potential outlets. The socio-historic context profoundly changed, influencing the modalities of the general reassurance of the mining products. The cobalt, in particular, formerly stored outside is stored, on this day, hermetically.

### 2) Population and sample size

The elaboration of this text borrowed a qualitative approach. The data were collected with participants' variety (security, hard-working agents of Gécamines factories, populations living in the neighborhood of the company, the actors of the mining fraud…) selected within the framework of "the sampling by multiple cases"[12]. This sampling built itself on an "effect snowball" having for objective to identify "good cases thanks to people who know other people who know cases rich in information"[13]. In all, thirteen interviews were collected with the actors of ground: eight with the policemen and the guards by whom their number on the site is estimated at seventy-four, and five with the inhabitants surrounding Factories, estimated at more or less two hundred and fifty. At the heart of these interviews represented the functioning of the security device, as the central theme. They were the result of slices of observation. The observations revealed the skullcap of the iceberg of the illicit practices fought by the security device. Because the observed scenes send back to wings and subterfuges. The interviews allowed the collection of details on the outlines of the practices or the phenomena which did not lend themselves easily to the observations. Four sub-themes allowed to feed the central theme of the interviews: the modus operandi of the actors of incivilities, the types of flights, labels stuck on the thieves (and their symbolism) as well as the protective measures of factories adopted in narrow relation with the uncivic and the nature of their acts.

The harvest of the information took place for nine months (from November, 2007 till August, 2008) by direct observation and semi-direct maintenance. During this duration, diurnal observations and night from two to four hours served to identify the various measures taken by the persons in charge of these factories to protect their mining site. To understand the functioning of this security device and the practices of the actors which liven up this protective arsenal, we led direct observations under the status of an "uncovered observer". On thirty six monitoring stations, they were carried out, on one hand, on nineteen of them, of whom some people are closely linked to the production of the copper and the cobalt, and the others to the storing of their raw ore; and, on the other hand, they were directed to seventeen posts located along zones being of use as corridors to the escape of the mining products and as the properties of diverse natures (fuels, acid …) of the company.

### 3) Methods

These data were then analyzed in the light of the grounded theory by a progressive categorization of the empirical material. Textual sequences or fragments of speech were codified in categories semantically close of the words used by the actors of ground. The analysis of data refers to the "theory of the modified labeling ", revisited by Link and Phelan [14]. This theory places the concept "stigma" in the center of the questioning of the abnormality or the career of the deviant [15]. In this scheme, this article reports interactions between the stigmatized delinquents who weaken the Gécamines factories of Shituru and all the actors appointed to their protection. These interactions take place within the framework of security measures adopted in dialogue with Gécamines to insure the policing of its site. The modified labelling theory becomes useful to understand, besides, how the stereotyping of the threatening ones contributes, within the framework of the policing, to the perception of risks which watch for a space to be protected.

## 4. Results

### 1) Stigmatization of threatening and perception of risks
*Labeling and relations of power*

For Goffman, the stigma indicates a characteristic appropriate to the individual who, if it is known, throws a deep depreciation on him. In deviants' labelling, the aforesaid author identifies the physical stigmas, the stigmas holding the personality and the "tribal" stigmas which correspond to the race, to the religion or to the nationality [15]. But the security guards of the Gécamines factories of Shituru, for their part, attribute to threatening various labels built in connection with swindler's job of mining products. These "labels" can be classified in three categories:

**1)** The first one connotes physical capacities, intellectual and social qualities which, generally, the threatening develop to make the flights in these factories. Certain labels describe their strength or their endurance ("Mujahedeen"), their resistance in the hunger ("Chadian", allusion made for the population of the Chad which, at a critical moment of its history, resisted with great difficulty the famine).

Other labels ("Botcher", "Maï-Maï") send back to the intellectual qualities of the threatening: we stigmatize their skill of sabotage of the production tool for a low gain ("Botcher" of the fact that they are "mindless, unreasonable ", with regard to the nature of their activity). These "botchers" damage a equipment, a machine of a big value (a welding machine, an electric engine, an electric transformer) to steal a contents of 2 or 3 kilos of copper or cobalt. If their target fails, they inflame the sulfur as a tactic of diversion, to divert the attention of the guards centered on the efforts of extinction of this fire while they would steal some property at an unguarded corner of the factories.

According to the security guards, these threatening (so-called "Maï-Maï") would hold their extraordinary physical strength of a supernatural power inlaid in fetishes, amulets tied to cords. However, they are capable to accomplish their mafia job imperceptibly, and even of transporting only, easily, a burden of stolen objects which 3 or 4 guards could not lift together. Their physical resistance and their fetishism are worth to them the stigma of "Maï-Maï". Morvan places the origin of this word in the Congolese political context of the 60s, when raged, to Kisangani, the insurgents of the group "muleliste " anchored in the fetishism[16].

Other labels still relate to the social qualities of the uncivil: their relational behavior ("Brothers-in-law"). They call themselves "brothers-in-law" of the security guards because they persuade their own sisters, cousins, nieces, their friends… in favor of the collusive guards. Besides, they strengthen this social link by frequent gifts of cellular credits to the security agents.

**2)** The second category of labels sends back to the modus operandi, to the process of apprenticeship)of the acts of thefts. In this case, the threatening are called "ravens", "moles" or "Satan". They are appointed as "ravens": they perch in predators on a tree to rob (at about 4 am or 5 am) what was stolen by others thieves, and earing if there are guards or workers who hide, for themselves, Gécamines products. When these agents or these guards are distracted or leave dens and are going to steal others parcel, these "ravens" come down skillfully to seize the hidden booty, without knowing the first internal predators. This modus operandi allows to understand the expression of "stolen thieves ".

To enter factories or to go out of it, the thieves borrow either the subterranean way, or the surface. They cross by drains and tunnels, minimizing their risks and dangers, to appear in a production unit of factories and/or to take booties, these drains being dark, sprinkled with bare electric cables, papered by stinking waters mixed in the sulfuric acid. This act incites the security guards to consider them as "moles". These ways are borrowed when the threatening decide to steal without the help of the guards. But they pass in the ways of the surface of factories when the complicity is established between the guards and them.

The guards appoint them, besides, by "Satan" term because these thieves can "tempt" them, seduce them by all possible means: the gift of money, the offer of the mistresses to achieve their job. This criminal strategy aims to corrupt the guards - who benefit "from the bypassing of rules" - so that they facilitate them the entrance to the installations, the theft of goods and the exit of factories. This corruption goes into what Rubbers qualifies as "transaction which commits the relational network and the personal identity of the individuals"[17].

The labels of "ravens", "moles" and "Satan" indicate that the new threatening pass inevitably by initiation rites, sensibly organized by the delinquents experimented in the embrittlement of factories. The greenhorns learn and/or experiment the techniques of thefts.

**3°.** The third category includes three stigmas which indicate the delinquent career of the thieves of the Factories of Shituru. They are the terms as "the clandestine", "heathen" and "Judas". They are said "clandestine" because of their illicit and illegal actions, being the object of frequent questionings by the services of the order. And they are appointed as "heathen" or "pagan" for their repetitive intrusions and recidivists on the site. Because of their treason, they are called the "Judas". In the quest of the police intelligence, a group of the "clandestine" can, in the style of Judas Iscariot quoted in the Bible, betray another one to the police hierarchies.

Except these last three labels ("clandestine", "heathen" and "Judas"), all other ("Mujahedeen", "Chadian", "Botcher", "Maï-Maï", "ravens", "moles" and "Satan") relate to the process to become professional thief or to " the apprenticeship" diverse strategies useful strategies in this deviant career. The "pagan" label informs, besides, that the recurrence of the threatening is practically a retort in the loss of the status of conventional subject in the community. These labelled thieves lose any possibility of being hired in Gécamines and in any other mining company of this sphere, and even of finding easily a new accommodation in the nearby city in these establishments.

All these labels are, in fact, the resultant of the speeches of

the actors of the policing, the guards, the holders of power of surveillance of factories. In other words, the stigmatization is completely dependent on the social, economic and political power: it is necessary to hold the power to stigmatize [14]. But the observations of ground allowed to reveal the fact that the labeling establishes a not asymmetric, quasi-circular process. It is a phenomenon with a double meaning: the stigmatized, seen as passive and enthralled, can, in their turn, become active and label the "stigmatizer", by turning him invariably his own terms and to attribute him of the other, far from brilliant ones.

Thus there is a link between stigmatization and mechanisms of acceptance or refusal of labels: the stigmatized select them as they please. They accept certain metaphors: "mujahedeen, Maï-Maï, Chadian, Crow, Mole, Judas". Because these nouns variably praise their physical and mental capacities, their capacities of bypassing of a security device …

But they refuse other designations deemed to be swallowing, quasi-disparaging judged, such as "botchers" and "heathen". In doing so, they try to improve their image and their social status by self-stigmatizing. They replace, for example, the dark label of "pagan" by the "faithful of the factories" because they go there frequently. The stigmatization becomes, from then on, a process which can activate the auto-stigmatization of the stigmatized in the search of the positive social image.

- *Formal and apparent social distance*

For Lacaze, the social distance is an essential component of the stigmatization [18]. But in the context of these Gécamines factories, this social distance is not tight. Or if it is visible, it is of formal and not informal. The producers of stigmas and stigmatized live in the same context of "societal precariousness". The use of stigmas is, in fact, the creation of an artificial social distance imposed by the mining production structure (Gécamines). This one maintains this distance to facilitate the exploitation of mineral wealth, never distributed fairly.

Considering "clandestine" stigma, the individuals labelled as such reject it because, for them, their presence on the site is not "impromptu". Indeed, they get into these installations often thanks to the complicity of the guards. They are considered as "clandestine" with regard to the security organizations and to the Gécamines. And nevertheless, there are very clear social relationships between them and the guards (cf. the label of "Brothers-in-law"). With the guards, they make up one or several "clans" in which they share the same "destinies", of which the poverty (as common denominator of the actors), the wage precariousness of guards, the bad conditions of life, etc. Through a game of the words ("clandestine" or "clan" + "destiny"), fruit of the imagination of the threatening, " clandestine' " label shows that there is a social apparent distance between the producers of stigmas and the stigmatized. It can be displayed in the formal and disappear in the informal. Simply because the guards and the delinquents arise from the same universe characterized by the poverty (material and financial) and on the same side of the bad distribution of the country's mineral wealth. From then on, stigmas built by the guards "organize" the response to deviance. Labels are loans

- to think who allow to ignore the peculiarities of the individual or the situation.

**2) Report between stigmas and reshaping of the policing**
The protection of the Gécamines site was assured, since 1930, by its safety house, said the Industrial Guard (I.G. in initials). But since the 90s, the recurring flights and the mining fraud in this company have decided to establish a hybrid policing consisting of a plural security device. Its internal security benefits from the support at the same time of Defence Systems of Africa (in initials DSA), a private security agency owned by "De Moerloose Group" of Belgium [19], on one side and, of the other one, the Mining and Hydrocarbons Police (in initials PMH), an armed branch of specialized "polices" of the Congolese National Police force (PNC in initials). As noticed it the previous researchers [3,7,8], this "hybrid" security governance goes into the current plan of protection adopted by the extractive companies in Africa.

Through the labeling observed previously, the stigmatization of the threatening ones plays a role determining in the maintenance or the situational revision of prevention measures. The changes of the device lead confrontations supervisors - thieves. As a result, the three ultra-conventional security measures (access control, dissuasion, reduction of opportunities) analyzed successively below in the mining site are in perpetual construction-deconstruction, which makes the protection of an industrial site becomes processual and dynamic.

**1) Access controls**
The deployment of control measures of access takes into account the representation of the delinquents through the approach of stigmatization resulting from labels built by the security guards. Gécamines encloses its site to allow the guards to control easily entrances and the exits of the people to well aimed places. This company and the security organizations try to decrease the possibilities of thefts by integrating the measures below: strengthening of the closure of places containing targets, control of the accesses, the control and the barricade of outcomes and drains, bearing of badges of identification of the workers (badges, dresses)...

Perceiving the inconvenient intrusions of the "clandestine", the security agents try then to increase the risks of capturing them by means of the selection or of the meticulous filtering of entrances or releases of the people and the vehicles, even by the inconvenient searches, the regular patrols … Not knowing where to find the necessary resources to assure their survival, the delinquents, said "clandestine" for their character of professional theft, challenge all the strategies of access control to get repeatedly into the factories which they perceive as their feeder and providential mother. Some of them do not hesitate to use syringes containing some sulfuric acid (cf. their stereotyping of dangerousness through the label "Mujahedeen") to frighten the guards to allow to pass them or to defy the physical barriers. Firm, they use all the possible resources of defense to clear itself a corridor of passage.

In their turn, the guards change constantly their diverse strategies to anticipate the delinquents in their modification

of the intrusive modes (cf. the "mole" label). The security organizations increase the number of guards to strengthen, in front of drains, the security staff and/or create other monitoring stations in new places borrowed by the thieves. Besides, in these post offices, they juxtapose frequently policemen and private guards to fight firmly against the corruption of all the actors of the security. Then the labels of "Brothers-in-law" and "Satan" are not effective any more. But the wage precariousness moves closer to these actors, perceived as different, but who become allied in the commission of thefts.

### 2) Dissuasion

Gécamines obtains from the DSA the installation of the security technologies (alarms, detectors of the movements) and the putting of metal detectors at the disposal of the guards appointed to barriers, to make a much more accurate search. Revolving lights gone up on the jeeps of patrol make visible the movements of intervention teams and patrol boats to produce dissuasive effects on the delinquents, said "clandestine".

In so doing, the company estimates that it provides services deemed "less dissuasive and still insufficient" [20] for safety and physical resources. It combines "techno-prevention" with the increasing specialization of the police function or the "technicization of the police institution" [21,22]. In doing so, the company morally destabilizes the uncivic and can hope to make its security profitable.

Threat targets once reinforced by security technologies, repeat thieves (see the label "Pagans") in turn, are rehabilitated to the situation: they fall back on the links unprotected. Therefore, the overprotection of certain targets of offenders requires security guards to be vigilant on all property that is not primarily mining (wood, computers, engines ...) and which, generally, is not object of flights. Because the "clandestine", nicknamed "botchers", can target them provided they steal something from factories, of any importance whatsoever.

Besides, the ground of investigation also shows the importance given by actors' fringe to faiths in the spirits, in the occult practices and in the metaphysical powers. Certain security actors evoke supernatural abilities that reinforce the "clandestine", their colleagues or themselves. The possession of the fetishes proceeds of a personal initiative of the guards, the trend, as tells it Pérouse de Montclos, "to get back the strengths of the invisible in their advantage"[7]. They try to arm themselves with these strengths used by the labelled thieves "maï-maï" in order to compete on equal terms.

A guard can exploit (run) idols either to protect itself oneself against the attacks from threatening, that is to achieve effectively his mission of surveillance. He is for the quest of the capacities such as the invincibility, the invisibility at the moments of an attack orchestrated by said thieves " maï-maï ", the sublimation of the fear (generated by the dangerousness of the "clandestine"), the building of physiological capacities (the resistance in the sleep, for example) and the invulnerability against the evil spells which would be the work of the threatening. Besides, he believes that the use of fetishes is a mode of answer to the types of the thefts registered in factories. To "magic flights", exceeding any human understanding, the guards want to reserve proportional magic answers also.

Hardly of this representation of the modus operandi of the delinquents through the stigma " maï-maï ", certain guards are thus equipped with a possibility of reassurance by the "sixth sense": either by any physical indicator (arm, leg, eye) as element of alert when they are in a certain environment where hide "clandestine", or by the vibration of the penis of the guard which has this magic power. But instead of using this sexual sensibility, the guard can also use simply a stick, endowed with magic strength. Held by the guard, this object directs him to a den to chase away the "clandestine". In the confrontation of the users of fetishes (on the side of guardians like that of the delinquents), they can however neutralize themselves when they are holders from the same source provider.

To maintain the dissuasive effects on the delinquents so acute and persevering, the guards are obliged to modulate regularly their tactics of intervention: rounds, inspections, successions, management of emergencies… But in this universe of quasi-permanent duplicity between guards and watched, this security renewal of strategies often leaks out by the indiscretion of the guards who assure the informative relays with the Mafia networks: the mining fraud gathers even actors of the policing.

### 3)  Reduction of the opportunities

To access control and dissuasive measures, Gécamines and its security partners add significant reduction in thieves' intrusions and property losses by relocating coveted targets, substituting certain products, reorganizing the environment of factories... When Gécamines found that cobalt, stored outside in the periphery, was a target attractive to "illegals", it relocated this target in warehouses built inside the plants with strengthened walls 40 cms in thickness, with an inner layer of cement blocks, a middle layer of small baked bricks and an outer layer plastered in very high-dose cement. It aims to keep this ore in overprotected places. But the so-called "Mujahedeen" thieves do not disarm, they can steal something else and so and so we put on to them "botchers" label.

Numerous buildings and sheds of Gécamines factories are covered with the copper sheet steels, the rich element in more than 90%. These represent a big economic value and, when increases the demand of the brass cathode on the market, said thieves "botchers" tear away them and resell them to metal founders.

In order to counter this incivility, Gécamines, aware of the corrosively of the quality of the other sheet seels, substitutes the copper sheet steels of the only buildings by the galvanized irons. Nevertheless, they cannot be used on the roofs of the electrolysis rooms because this quality of copper sheet steels is indispensable. They are resistant to the corrosive effect of sulfuric acid used as a leaching input for the production of metals.

Besides, among the methods of fight against the movement of the delinquency on the targets little protected, Gécamines enlightens intensely, by high and powerful streetlights, a good sphere of its factories. Dark spaces are the most exploited, indeed, often by the "clandestine", labelled by the following words below: "Satan", "kings of darkness ".

The light is perceived as a safety factor, in the sense that it modulates the physical characteristics of the environment. These make acting out more or less effortful, involve more or less risk [23]. It brings a perception of the environment other than when the site is in the darkness. It facilitates the accessibility to corners and hidden recesses of the secure space. On this matter, Mosser says: " the lighting is thus envisaged in a security perspective and (…) in the logic of an "active" police surveillance: it has to allow the agents to see the criminals"[23]. The lighting thus influences "perceptions and behavior" [24] of threatening and guards. Its lack or its weak intensity affects the proactivity of the guards.

"Kings of darkness" are hampered by this lighting which hinders the progress of thefts. In reaction to it, they throw missiles on the bright points of the streetlights which they damage and so they maintain in the darkness spheres to be protected. The security actors, in their turn, replace them sometimes later and secure them by wire nettings to control better the operations of the delinquents.

To spread the security device or modify measures of situational prevention, the actors of the policing base themselves on the risk analysis which ensues from the process of stigmatization. The delinquents, them, exploit the limits of these measures and by-pass them or thwart them thanks to their various resources perceived through their stigmas. It is then born a context of cyclic "wars" between the actors of the prevention and those of the counter-prevention [25]. The guards build and deconstruct regularly their security strategies with regard to delinquents' representation thanks to their modus operandi, to the bypassing of safety devices, to the movement of the potential crime from a target to another one.

## 5. Conclusion

The construction of labels can leave not only physical, behavioral and tribal stigmas, as indicated it the previous studies, but it can also lean on the delinquent profession itself, as demonstrates him this analysis. The literature on the stigmatization indicates, besides, that is needed the power to stigmatize. But this article allows to relativize this point of view in the policing. The stigmatization is a symmetric process which allows, on one hand, the guards, the holders of power of surveillance, to label the threatening and, on the other hand, in the stigmatized to react to stigmas by the acceptance or the refusal of labels. In this last case, the stigmatized can auto-stigmatize so, just to protect their social status begun by the negative effects of the labeling. But they can also stigmatize stigmatizers by the same labels built by these or by the production of the other labels. These answers of labels by other labels produce a flat in the consideration of the notion of power [14,18] for the purposes of labeling. Every actor has, in a way, the power to

label the other one by considering the diversity of logics of his actions.

Besides, the contribution of this article is to show that the stigmatization is a process which can contribute to the perception of the risks which watch for a space to be protected. This representation ensues from the analysis of labels stuck on the threatening. As a consequence relation with this perception of risks, organizations and actors of the security governance adapt and/or readjust the strategies of situational prevention. The factory of measures adapted to the representation of threatening make that a mining site to be protected becomes a space of the tensions enter threatening and guards. The watched use counter-strategies to defeat guards' strategies: surveillance therefore faces counter-surveillance.

In spite of various positive results registered with regard to the protection of metals and to the decrease of the intrusions, Gécamines loses still certain estimated values in more than 30 %, according to the persons in charge of its internal security. This company adopts, certainly, measures of situational prevention while its circle of acquaintances is inhabited by a population at a loose end and needy. Even it staff rots in the wage precariousness and enlarges in spite of him the row of its threatening. In a social environment of extreme poverty, the only situational prevention remains a temporary approach in the management of the crime as long as an all-embracing social prevention targeted at the poverty will not be housing start against the deepest roots of this miserable human existence.

The appeal to the plural polices creates nevertheless other threatening factors at the heart of the safety device. Although perceived as different, the guards cancel their statutory differences and are engaged in the concerted actions of fraud, in complicity with the delinquents.

## 6. Future Scope

This study on the stigmatization of the threatening ones and the strategies of situational prevention in the Gécamines factories of Shituru, to Likasi, opens the way for other searches centred in particular on the evaluation of a safety device in which the guards identify the modus operandi of thieves. It also puts the milestones to question if labels built by the guards on this site of Gécamines extend in others, in mining sites or not. She also allows to question if safety devices are built on the preliminary identification of the threatening ones and their modus operandi to hold a perception equipped with risks which watch for a space to be protected.

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