



**Principles and Practices of Crime Prevention
Policies in Mozambique
The Case of Community Policing Crime Prevention
Strategy in Matola**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

[A]	Anonymous
ACIPOL	Academy of the Police Sciences of Mozambique (<i>Academia de Ciências Policiais</i>)
APIE	Administration of State Properties (<i>Administração do Património Imobiliário do Estado</i>)
ARES	Rebuilding Hope (<i>Associação Reconstruindo a Esperança</i>)
CCS	Community Council of Security (<i>Conselho Comunitário de Segurança</i>)
CCM	Christian Council of Mozambique (<i>Conselho Cristão de Moçambique</i>)
CIP	Centre for Public Integrity (<i>Centro de Integridade Pública</i>)
CNJ	National Youth Council (<i>Conselho Nacional da Juventude</i>)
CIVPOL	United Nations Civilian Police
COREM	Religion Council of Mozambique (<i>Conselho de Religiões de Moçambique</i>)
CP	Community Policing (<i>Policamento Comunitário</i>)
CPC	Council of the Community Policing (<i>Conselho de Policamento Comunitário</i>)
CRM	Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique
DIE	Directorate of Research and Extension (<i>Direcção de Investigação e Extensão</i>)
EDMINT	Strategic Plan of Ministry of Interior
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDC	Foundation for the Development of the Community (<i>Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade</i>)
FOMICRES	The Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reinsertion
FPLM	People's Force for the Liberation of Mozambique (<i>Forças Populares de Libertação de Moçambique</i>)
FRELIMO	Front of Liberation of Mozambique (<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i>)
GV	Group of Vigilance (<i>Grupo de Vigilância</i>)
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus infection/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
IEPA	Institute for Peace Building for Lusophon Countries (<i>Instituto de Edificação da Paz para os Países Lusófonos</i>)

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
JUSTAPAZ	Centre for study and conflict resolution (<i>Centro de Estudo e Transformação de Conflitos</i>)
LDH	Human Rights League (<i>Liga de Direitos Humanos</i>)
LECPP	Law enforcement crime prevention policies
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MINED	Ministry of Education
MISAU	Ministry of Health
MINJUS	Ministry of Justice
MMAS	Ministry of Women and Social Affairs
MOZAL	Mozambique Aluminium
NAP	Core Police Support (<i>Nucleo de Apoio a Polícia</i>)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NEP	Norms of permanent execution (<i>Normas de Execução Permanente</i>)
OAM	The Mozambican Law Society or Bar Association (<i>Ordem dos Advogados de Mocambique</i>)
OSTP	Public Order, Safety and Tranquility (<i>Ordem, Segurança e Tranquilidade Públicas</i>)
PI	Personal Interview
PROPAZ	Associated Institute for the Promotion of Peace (<i>Associação Instituto de Promoção de Paz</i>)
PRM	Police of the Republic of Mozambique
REDICEM	Network of Children's rights in Mozambique (<i>Rede de Direitos da Criança em Mocambique</i>)
REMAR	Rehabilitation of Marginalized (<i>Reabilitação de Marginalizados</i>)
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance (<i>Resistência Nacional de Mocambique</i>)
SCPP	Situational crime prevention policies
SCPP	Social crime prevention policies
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency/Aid for International Development

Relevance to development studies

The general understanding illustrates that crime destroys social and human capital. The sentiment of unsafe takes control of both those who once were victimized and survived, and those who are never victims of crime. The results of this are the lost of skilled labour and the costs of victimization. People and investors get discouraged and this has negative impact on wealth accumulation and savings, and lastly, democracy is undermined due to the lost of trust by citizens for government and governance institutions.

Crime requires strong institution with effective, efficient and stable crime prevention policies. The relevance of this study to development studies lies on the fact that the thrust of this paper (social stability and democracy) is one the most importance pillars as far as development is concern. Without social stability, there would not be any claim to development. While crime is one the cause of instability, instituting crime preventions policies are possible measures for curbing it. This study questions why community policing in Mozambique got withdrawn without national consensus for it had made enormous positive on social stability. The Community Policing as one crime prevention strategy is a good strategy worthy of consideration in the policy and academic cycles for it brought social stability and reduced the incidence of crime within communities thus enhancing trust among different stakeholders.

Dedication

To Almighty God;

To my family;

To my late brother who's luck could be different if I was not absent!

Acknowledgment

In the process of building the Noah's Ark were the contributions of many people of which some lives perished in the process. However, each one of the people had value and purpose, and significantly all of them contributed to making project a success. Similarly, the synergy of many people and institutions made this study a reality. It is therefore only imperative that acknowledgements are made of these people and institutions.

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Abstract

Through policies, people might understand the way they are governed and the impact of the government on their welfare. The Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM)¹ is a Mozambican Organization with the main goal of guaranteeing the maintenance of order, security and public tranquillity. This requires the enactment of policies and the transformation or application of these policies to achieve goals. This is done to satisfy public expectations, such as ensuring stability, safety of people and good services, and freedoms from a government. The existence of principles in the police entities helps to reduce the use of discretion serving as guidelines and procedures for police officers which intend reduce the arbitrariness. And also, it helps performance and administrative control over the police officer as well as enhances motivation.

Taking the Community Policing (CP) in Matola- an industrial city in the South of Mozambique - as a case study, this research attempts to answer the question how principles on crime prevention policies are taken into consideration by the PRM in their daily activities and why they suddenly vanish without prior information and general consensus as when it was instituted. This was done by analysing deeply the principles of the CP and practices exercised by both the community and the PRM. The findings demonstrate that both the PRM and the CP members act with lots of discretion. They use experiences as their guiding principles for policing. Investigation and information are not thoroughly carried out demonstrating a clear contrast between the principles of crime control policies and their practices. This is attributed to the lack or inadequacy of resources and poverty, which influence the behaviours of both those responsible for crime prevention and the beneficiaries. Moreover the existence of different kind of individual frictions within the PRM as well as in the community translated in “silent manifestation” adds up to the flavour to the disappearance of many policies such as actual stationary stage of Community Policing.

Keywords

Community Policing, Crime prevention policy, community, policing, principles and practices.

1 Polícia da República de Moçambique

Map 1.1
Mozambique Map - Political Map of Mozambique



Source: Ezilon Maps

Chapter 1 Introduction

Crime is a social phenomenon which has live with humankind since time immemorial and due to human nature cannot be eradicated completely. It can only be alleviated to a degree which is society can cope with. Offenders and victims of crimes all co-exist in society and it is practically impossible to delink them. Indeed traditionally the police were lonely acknowledged as the sole institution for combating and preventing crime. However, In modern democratic society 'with the police no longer the sole guardians of law and order, all members of the community become active allies in the effort to enhance the safety and quality of neighbourhoods' (BJA 1994:vii). Envisage this way came community policing scheme (as one of the law enforcement and crime prevention strategy) is where a community and the police are partnered in order to prevent and combat crime. Many researchers believe that the origin of Community Policing –*Policiamiento Comunitario*-CP - in many countries was as a result of the inability of local police to respond to the rising population demand on crime prevention (Kyed 2009).

Mozambique, a 36 years old country after colonial era, has experienced wars intermittently across various regimes. The last one persisted for 16 years until 1992. Since then, efforts have been made in order to implant democratic state with accompanying democratic institutions. Although some institutions have been successful, others have failed to withstand the test of time and thus unable to reach their main goals. The Community Policing within the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM) is one of the many which has not survived. (Kyed 2009) argues that the appearance of the Community Policing in Mozambique was as a result of the failure of police democratization as well as problems such as being '... partisan the institution, ineffective, under-resourced and violent police force, deeply embedded in colonial and post-colonial paramilitary policing cultures' (ibid:354).

By using both primary and secondary data about crime prevention policies and community policing crime prevention strategy this study critically analyses and tries to understand the reasons why many crime prevention policies implemented by the PRM in Mozambique failed and disappeared with time without previous agreement among all the stakeholders.

1.1 Statement of the problem and justification

The fact that during robberies or their bad activities, offenders rape women, shoot infants or people using guns, weapons or violence to perpetrate their crimes is worrying, and this tend to increase fear and insecurity within the communities (Shabangu 2010). The media announce concrete facts of criminal actions tearing apart victims with less consolation, and the understanding of the government and the citizens is that the crime has increased and less is done by the police. This is the sentiment of lack of safety. Yet, one of the fundamental development aims is to protect citizens from violence, intimidation and to secure their personal property. This requires effective state and non-state policing as well as victim support policies such as crime preventions policies claiming for their principles to be clearly demonstrated for their implementation

could be done accordingly. For instance, many researchers such as Goldstein (1987), Greene (2000) and Mastrofski (1993) advocate the citizen-centred approaches and service delivery on crime prevention, mostly known as Community Policing (CP) crime prevention. This policy has been implemented by many countries, in contrast to traditional law enforcement crime prevention policies approaches. While CP is policing with the involvement of the community, crime prevention means to inhibit, prevent or stopping crime to occur; therefore, community policing crime prevention policy means the principles guiding the involvement of the community on policing in preventing crime to occur in the community (Mboso 1995:52 and Hope 1995). This claims for trustful public-private partnership and may possibly lead to an outstanding stability, safety and good services delivery which are the public expectations from a government.

The Mozambican situation is not far away from the deception of this situation; for instance, according to Shabangu (2010) one can understand that in 1990's was increasing gradually continuing the legacy to 2000's. The PRM have crime prevention as its main responsibility requiring commitment by the police officers in charge or the community. Their practices have to be in accord with respective principles. However in reality the situation shows that the practices are not consistent with the principles that guide their implementation and the strategies earlier started tend to disappear or be unsuccessful without any official repeal. Besides, the PRM is characterized as partisan, inefficient, under-resourced and violent and tactically resembling the post-colonial policing cultures (Kyed 2009:356), affecting their practices on crime prevention, and

'Reports of police brutality remain an issue within Mozambique and it is believed that many reported executions are often associated with corruption and ties to organized crime. The government has no independent organ for investigating police misconduct. Further efforts are also required to continue depoliticizing Mozambique's police forces' (Open Society Foundation 2006 as cited in Shabangu 2010).

Understandably according to (Sen 1999), one could argue that as these remain, development is undermined since the citizen's freedom as mean for development continues to be high jacked by crime. Efforts have been done to change this scenario and they introduced CP as both crime prevention policy and form of PRM reforms (Malan 1999, Seleti 2000, Chachia 2000, Alar 2010 and Kyed 2009).

Nevertheless, the PRM and CPCs who are truly responsible for crime prevention act as "multi-institution" without clear guidelines compelling the executor to fill the gaps. In practice, they act without discretion, using individual experiences as guidelines for policing, investigation and training leaving apart the principles and less accomplish the goals (Goldstein 1967b:1132). Accordingly, CP is gradually vanishing.

The fact that the CP is vanishing and the gap between its principles and practices are the main concerns of this research. For their better understanding, the researcher holds on the principles and practices of the CP as crime prevention strategy taken into account by the PRM and community. By doing so, this research tries to answer the question why the CP has been gradually abandoned in order to understand the overall situation of the crime prevention policies in Mozambique. One can attribute the emergence of this problem to

the antecedent of PRM background which is much mixed-up with the history of Mozambique or others can bring the idea of sabotage. However, this research brings a different approach by critically analyse the contrast between the principles and practices of CP crime prevention policy as practices within a certain cultural, social, political and ideological arena, demonstrating that the PRM practices, as of many police entities, are embedded in a political context guided by certain government ideology. Therefore, a case study on CP crime prevention strategy in Matola leads us for better understanding.

1.2 Background

PRM, as one of the public service institutions, has obligation to serve the public interest in a country where the dilemma of freedom concept lays on both the silence of the gun shots and the existence of sustainable security for development stimulation. Mozambique comes from a historical background encompassed by colonial domination and wars. With an area of approximately eight hundred thousand km², Mozambique is divided into eleven provinces, 129 districts, 405 administrative posts and 43 municipalities (INE 2007). Geographically, Mozambique can be found in the Southern region of Africa running along the Eastern coastline plated by the Indian Ocean for 2.470 km. It shares borders with Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe Swaziland and South Africa. It has an estimated population of 21,669,278 people, of whom 52% are women and 33.21 % do live in urban areas.(Reisman and Lalá 2012:6)

Under Portuguese rule for approximately five centuries, it was only known as Mozambique in 1891 comprised of different kingdoms namely Mwenemutapa, Marave, Ajaua, and Gaza (Newitt 1995:v) and declared independent on 25th of June, 1975 after ten years of liberation war initiated by “*Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique, Frelimo*”,² the ruling party since independence (Bowen, 1992:256). In 1977, RENAMO started war against the government which ended in 1992 with the Rome General Peace Agreement. During this period, the police, with the name Popular Police of Mozambique (PPM) – *People’s Police*, had double task, on one hand it was fighting RENAMO, the Rhodesian, Apartheid and Hastings Kamuzu Banda regimes and on the other hand fighting criminality (Alar 2010). After the war and with the introduction of democratization in 1990 (CRM³ of 1990), the police was given a single task - public security - responsible for the maintenance of the public order, security and tranquillity – OSTP. With the force of new political changes, the police shifted the name from PPM to PRM, Police of Republic of Mozambique - *Polícia da República de Moçambique* – PRM- by the force of the decree 19/92 of 31 of December. PRM has been with new approaches such as demilitarized and professionalized force according to the rule of law and human right (Lala and Francisco 2006:163 and Kyed 2009:355). This implied major changes on legal framework of the police shifting from its broad emphasis on defence of national unity including repression of ethnic and regional individual ideologies and division to the protection of individual rights and liberties; police impar-

² Liberation front of Mozambique

³ Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique

tiality; prohibition on torture; stricter regulations for detention; and legal prosecution of law-offending police officers' (ibid and CRM art. 254).

Similarly there were abolition of popular vigilantes-*Grupos de Vigilancia – GV-* and militias established after the independence to assist the government in crime control and fighting RENAMO (MINT 2005a in ibid). All the changes made to the PRM were as result of constant reforms based on tackling the formation such as the creation of ACIPOL (Police Academy of Mozambique) in 1999 and the cancellation of the “basic formation of the police” in Matalane and Dondo police training schools to give space to the project of “*reciclagem*”⁴ which ended in 2000. Additionally there were also the allocation of resources such as infrastructures, vehicles and empowerment of the management (Lala and Francisco 2006:168).

However, in a country of 21 million inhabitants and 800.000Km² of territory, the PRM has approximately 1/1050 ratio of police to inhabitants apart from its partisan characteristic, inefficient, under-resourced, violent and tactically resembling the pos-colonial policing cultures. Meanwhile, this contributed to the emergence of the CP crime prevention strategy. (Kyed 2009:356 and Lala and Francisco 2006:165).

This is broadly considered as the newest police reform in crime prevention policies based on partnership police-community approach as result of lack of satisfaction of traditional law enforcement crime prevention policies focused on individual (Rosenbaum and Lurigio 1994).

1.3 Research objectives and questions

1.3.1 Research Objectives

The main objective of this research is to understand and critically examine the reasons behind the gradual disappearance of many crime prevention policies such as CP taken into account the PRM. This is done by analysing critically the principles of CP as crime prevention strategy and its practices in Matola.

1.3.2 Research Questions

Main question

Why has the Community policing crime prevention policy in Matola moved from its boom point to its failure? In particular, why has the CP failed in Matola?

Sub-questions

What are the principles of CP crime prevention policy?

⁴ This project consisted of taking some PRM members to ACIPOL where they could be trained using democratic approaches. Most of the selected members were those from military force without police and integrated after the demobilization process.

How has the CP been practiced in Matola?

What are the possible factors for the failure of the Community Policing in Matola?

What are the main factors influencing the discrepancy between the policy and practices of CP in Matola?

1.4 Research methods

1.4.1 The selection of the Case study

For the methodological approach to this research, a case study approach was employed. This led to qualitative approach of data collection and analysis. The principles of accessibility, intrinsic interest, pragmatism and purposiveness (O'Leary 2010) and (Yin 2003) are the motivation behind the choice of the CP in Matola.

Matola is a class B municipality with 3 Administrative Posts (AP) and 672,508 inhabitants spread randomly in 41 neighbourhoods. Among other issues, it's mostly characterized by its industrial parks, high crime rate and rapid habitation expansion. Matola is a region with high rate of crime and dangerous criminal. In 2008 'A group of three criminals, armed with AK-47 assault rifles, attacked [the 2nd] police station in [...] Matola [700] in the early hours of Sunday morning, killing one police officer, who was on guard duty, and seriously injuring another, [...]' (AllAfrica 2008). This and other characteristics of Matola are further discussed in the chapter four of this paper. These facts make the research of CP in Matola a good case study and the results boost the implementation of CP in Mozambique promoting development by enhancing crime prevention.

1.4.2 Primary data collection

Selection of respondents

Two sampling strategies have been used: simple random and snowball sampling (O'Leary 2010). The first, consisted on identifying targeted population. A list was made for each group then randomly sampling MPs representing different commissions though just two showed up: one from FRELIMO and the other from the MDM; one senior officer of Ministry of Interior- MINT- and five high ranking PRM members from the General Command and Provincial Commands of Maputo City and Province. Using the snowballing sampling technique, interviews and focus group discussion FGD were conducted. For the interviews, 15 Police officers from different sub-units were sampled, among which commanders of police station (1st, 4th and 7th), Chef of Operations (7th and Beluluane), and chiefs of police posts (02 of Juba and 01 of Matola "C"). Moreover, Using the same technique, 15 Chiefs and members of CPC were interviewed, and 04 focus group discussions were formed and conducted where 03 were with 8 elements (in Kobwe, Matola "C" and Juba) and 01 of 10 elements (Dlavela). Finally, 20 people were interviewed using random selection as sampling technique. This consisted on selecting people on markets and those passing on the streets.

The reasons of selecting these samples are as follows:

The MPs were selected because they belong to the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Human Rights and Legality; Committee on Social Affairs, Gender and Environmental and Committee on Defence and Public Order. Among other duties, these commissions are responsible for the *operative oversight* of the public legality, safety and social development, therefore are in privileged position to offer rich contribution on the topic under discussion.

The six high ranking police officers: two from the general command of the PRM, one from the Maputo City Command and other two from the Maputo Province Command are better off to give a general analysis on the core points of the community policing in particular and crime prevention policies in general. The same has been taken into consideration for the senior officers in the MINT responsible for CP and planning at national level. It is meaningful to say that at national level the researcher had the opportunity to get in touch with 3 respondents whose life and career have been dedicated to the CP together with the late General Nataniel Jeremias Macamo – *the father of the CP in Mozambique*. The same characteristic of people was found in other low level among many interviewees who were obtained using the snowballing sampling technique.

Police officers in the police stations and posts are in a better position to tell the real situation concerning community policing as a strategy, their pros and cons as well as possible recommendations. This extends to the members of CPCs and those that implement the CP.

Lastly, citizens are the thermometer not only of the community policing within the community but also of the PRM interventions, so their understanding, feelings and perceptions have been crucial for the study.

Techniques employed to gather data

Three research techniques - interview, observation and document analysis - were employed to gather primary data from the area of jurisdiction of the PRM of Matola. This area encompasses 9 police stations – 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, Lingamo and Beluluane – among which, the research was conducted in the 1st, 4th, 5th, 7th and Beluluane. The same research techniques were used on national and provincial level. Snowballing sampling technique was crucial in the selection of these areas. Below, each of the techniques will be explained, including the reason behind its choice and how they were conducted.

Accordingly to (O'Leary 2010), interviewing is a 'method of data collection that involves researchers seeking open-ended answers related to a number of questions, topic area, or themes'. In this research, informal and semi-structured interview were applied in order to create a flowing communication, opening up lines of communication with the interviewees and leaving them relaxed. Moreover, in some cases multiple interviews were done in order to save resources and time. Furthermore, a mixture of citizens, members of CPCs and police officers was used for the conduct of the FGD in order to create a rich discussion and learn about opinions that could not be obtained from the direct questioning (O'Leary 2010). The focus group discussion also allowed the understanding of a multitude of perceptions on CP by observing the attitudes and perceptions of the participants where the quality of crime prevention policies was clearly presented (Nyamathi and Shuler 2006). In order to get the respondents, official channels and protocols were used and anonymity is highly held.

The interviews with the MPs were held in different days following successive missed appointments due to their inconstant and full agendas. The “effect surprise” was used for most of the other interviews, but previous information was given to them in a short period of time. This was to guarantee the neutrality of the answers. At the end of each interview, the interviewees were given enough time for final considerations concerning the topic.

Observation was another tool used in this research where the researcher applied the abilities to gather data through senses where data are taken from the real world differently from being told (O'Leary 2010). The main objective of this was to gather information on how things are done in terrain as well as to get sense of the ‘... reality and work through the complexities of social interaction’ (O'Leary 2010). Three non-participant observations were made where the researcher was present but unobtrusive (O'Leary 2010) - a meeting of CPC in Juba and two sporadic interventions: in Matola “C” in a case of domestic violence and in Juba on a homicide case.

Most of the interviews were recorded for data analysis. It is worth to mention that not all interviews were recorded or given their identification, neither were all interviewees interviewed as planned. The reason behind the first phenomenon has been an ethical issue in which many interviewees preferred to be anonymous [A] – ‘...you want to record, do you want me to appear tomorrow on media and lose my position...?’ (Personal interview (PI) with [A])⁵- Expression of most police officers interviewed. The second issue was because the period in which the research took place, Mozambique in general, and Matola and institutions in particular were facing a period of anxiety and troubles due to the FRELIMOS's X Congress which was being prepared including uncountable meetings for they could choose their representatives to the congress in the Province of Cabo Delgado, so many targeted respondents had overlapped agendas.

The last is document analysis. For this the researcher gathered relevant documents about the process of creation, implementation and the actual stage of the CP in Mozambique and in Matola in particular. These encompass reports of meetings, activities, research works, conference, laws, speeches of various individualities within the MINT and civil society about the CP.

The entire process of data gathering for the primary data took approximately eight weeks with many appointments being cleared out due to the busy and challengeable agenda of many targeted interviewees. For some of them there were no chances to be interviewed. This situation took place mostly at high level of the MINT. Some interviews were made by mobile-phone in order to overcome the impossibility of making appointments and lack of time claimed by some respondents, or in case of needing clarification of certain issue.

1.4.3 Secondary data collection

The primary data collection methods flows together with secondary data collection methods. E-journals, books, papers, written and electronic media, official documents were all used for literature review. These included both pub-

⁵ PI with [A], Matola, 31.07.2012.

lished and unpublished sources. Furthermore, videos, photographs and expositions were used as secondary data. These helped not only in triangulation of both primary data from the fieldwork and the literature itself, but also proved useful in framing the theoretical and conceptual framework used in the research.

1.4.4 Data analysis

Three theories - analytic induction, constant comparative analysis and grounded theory – were used for analysing the data. The analytic induction helped the researcher to create concepts and ideas using the gathered data; constant comparative analysis was used for triangulation and with the grounded theory the researcher used the collected data on Community Policing in Matola to build some theories instead of just using the theoretical framework for they could be tested on the ground (Charmaz 2003, Fernandes and Maia 2001, Whitaker 1975). For the last one, case summaries were written and the findings were explained and compared with other documents and secondary data. Triangulation strategy was always used for “cross-check” the reliability of the data (Marshall and Rossman 2011:220-221).

1.4.5 Moral, ethics and limitations of the study

The researcher found it difficult to get in touch with the key persons in the Ministry of Interior and to collect certain data. The first was due to the sporadic agendas of the key persons following meetings and keeping them for long time away from their offices and acceptance from their superiors. The second was due to a lack of policy of data processing and collection which characterises the PRM at any levels. In general, the secrecy that surrounds the police task and the national bureaucracy culture has been the main reasons.

Another concern is the literature related to the topic. Much research focuses on the CP in different aspects. Most of them have been done on the implementation of CP within countries such as the USA, UK and South Africa. Not few sources exist about the police reforms in Mozambique (Kyed 2009, Malan 1999, Alar 2010 and Lala and Francisco 2006), yet these sources refer to the CP as one of the items of the police reform. Much less literature was found on CP or crime prevention policies related to the principles and practices in Mozambique itself. In order to overcome this situation, this researcher has used peer review papers and lectures from other countries describing the same or similar topic and theories. Last, but not the least of issues, the research demanded much resources, which were scarce.

Regarding to the ethical issues, the researcher had respected all ethical or moral principles such as ‘respect for persons, beneficence, and justice’ (Marshall and Rossman 2011). For instance, many of the members of the PRM that were interviewed asked for anonymity.

1.5 Organization of the paper

Apart from the introductory chapter, this paper is structured as follows: Chapter two revises the literature and provides the theoretical and conceptual framework underscoring concepts such as Community Policing and crime pre-

vention policy. Chapter three presents some findings of the fieldwork highlighting the Principles of crime prevention and their practices in Mozambique. The main findings are shown and analysed in chapter four. Finally, Chapter five provides the main conclusion and suggest some recommendations on crime prevention policies in Mozambique.

Chapter 2 Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.1 Crime prevention policies

2.1.1 The nature of crime prevention policies

‘Crime and its control have become the bread and butter issue of competitive party politics’ Van der Spuy (2001:167). In general when we come to the issue of crime, everybody has something to say. Yet the issue of crime prevention is complex and has to be analysed deeply in term of strong, effective and efficient policies. According to Van der Spuy (2001:167), crime prevention policies require clarity about its normative framework (principles) for crime prevention, adequate administrative capacity, and reliable data on crime rate or violence as well as relying expertise.

Crime prevention policies provide to the implementers the necessary guidelines and tools to prevent and reduce crime by intervening on the risk factors before crime occurs. Frank (2011:5-9) and Lindblom (1959:89) argue that there are certain key elements which crime prevention policies have to embed which are: (i) it has to be modelled toward results: the relations between the inputs, the activities, the outputs and outcomes have to be clearly identified and the process of monitoring is patient to each stage of its implementation; (ii) this has to follow the principles of participation and democracy by involving as many different ideas as possible from different stakeholders; (iii) reliable data help the policy makers to understand the real dimension of the problem therefore the conception of the crime prevention policies have to be based on real evidences which (iv) most of the time the object for which the crime prevention policy addresses has been the same in different corners of the world recalling the police makers to be open minded looking deeply for experiences from others to ameliorate it; (v) finally, coordination among different institutions in the process of implementation claiming for the principles of coordination, rationalization of the resources, inclusivity and participation. Frank (2011) emphasises that the existence of political, social and economic stability help the muddling of the crime prevention policies.

These help the policy makers in their policy analysis and accordingly to answer with authority the questions ‘what would be the best thing to do? [And] what is the best result that can actually be achieved? (Munger 2000). According to de Mesquita Neto (2001), their violation could create institutional or inter-institutional conflicts which mostly weakened and de-legitimise the implementation of the policies. Although there are no direct association to the increase of crime, it can jeopardise the quality of the crime prevention in general and in most cases the policy could just vanish due the lack of followers, too much criticism and sabotage.

2.1.2 Areas of intervention of crime prevention policies

In actual democratic world, most of the police forces deceive their citizens by presenting them numbers of cases in which they have investigated, and by any

skill or chance caught the criminal. This is done by both police officers with or without uniform. According to Cordner (1997), those police officers that work without uniform usually enjoy higher status than uniformed officers, whereas, within many police agencies, crime prevention officers are seen as public relations functionaries who are less respected and worsened by both the public and their colleagues. To many police officers, crime prevention work is simply not real police work. Moreover,

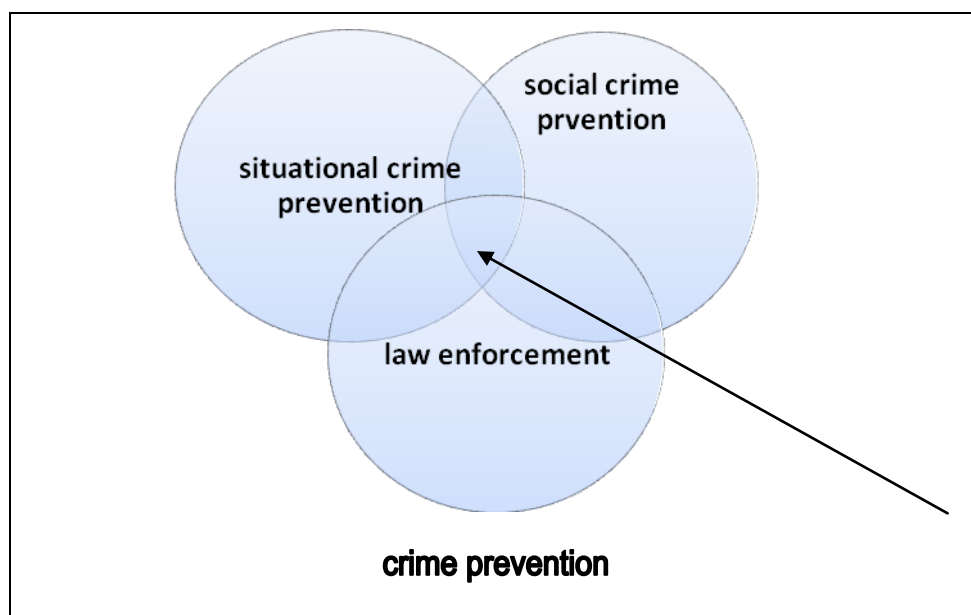
‘... within both informal and formal police cultures, crime solving and criminal apprehension are usually more highly valued than crime prevention. An individual officer is more likely to be commended for arresting a bank robber than for initiating actions that prevent such robberies.’ (Cordner 1997:3)

Accordingly Clarke and Eck (2005) and Braga (2008) quoting Eck (2000) argue that most researches in criminology focus on why some people become persistent offenders raising the question why people offend. Furthermore, they argue that the relevant question should be why they are committing crimes at particular places and time and against certain type of victims. For better understanding, Hough et al. (1998) illustrates the “problem analysis triangle” embedding three features - victim, offender and environments – which are the main conditions for crime to occur. Accordingly, crime prevention policies have to break this chain by tackling all or one of them.

According to Frank (2011), in general crime require interventions in three main areas of action - law enforcement, social and situational crime prevention - which combined to reduce dispositions of an individual to perpetrate crime and victims to victimization. On the other hand, some researchers such as Van Dijk (1999), Brantingham and Faust (1976) and even Frank (2011) argue that the “problem analysis triangle” can also be tackled by using the level models approach – primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. The ‘...(1) primary prevention [is] directed at modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large; (2) secondary prevention [is] directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances; and (3) tertiary prevention [is] directed at prevention of recidivism’ (Brantingham and Faust 1976:284).

However, for the success of the first approach, it’s necessary to understand the second one requiring reliable data. For instance, CP is law enforcement crime prevention, but it requires information about the criminal records of certain community before a CPC can be formalised. The first approach is best used if the real dimension of the second is known.

Figure 2.1
Sphere of general crime prevention



Source: Adapted by the researcher based on (Frank 2011)

Situational crime prevention policies (SCPP)

The SCPP give more emphasises on the habitat in which the crime can be committed by reducing the opportunities of criminal to commit crime. Clarke (1997) conceptualizes it as

‘... opportunity-reducing measures that (1) are directed at highly specific forms of crime, (2) involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in a systematic and permanent way as possible, (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders.’

Furthermore, this researcher understands that the SCPP

‘... is focused on the settings for crime, rather than upon those committing criminal acts. It seeks to forestall the occurrence of crime, rather than to detect and sanction offenders. It seeks not to eliminate criminal or delinquent tendencies through improvement of society or its institutions, but merely to make criminal action less attractive to offenders’ (Clarke 1997).

For instance, Frank (2011), Clarke (1997), and Tonry and Farrington (1995) acknowledge surveillance cameras, urban organization, electronic access for cars and for telephone systems, railing houses or locals for commerce, streets illumination, cleaning up of scrub on parks and public places, closures and traffic schemes for residential neighbourhoods, alcohol controls, promotion of sporting and training citizens in conflict management.

The SCPPs clearly demonstrate that the crime issue is not just for the state or the government; but indeed for both private and public sectors.

Law enforcement crime prevention policies (LECPP)

The LECPP are related to the governmental institutions oriented to the application of the law such as the police, courts and prisons. Frank (2011) argues that in LECPP, the law is applied in order to fortify the rule of law therefore to decrease the index of crime. Furthermore, he brings some examples while illustrating the policing, oriented or non-oriented patrol, severely punishment for repeat offenders or fight against corruption. This strategy also comprises changes of the criminal law enforcement techniques and sentencing policies where some radical systems such as the USA and China are encompassed by death penalty, and the involvement of the *media* to create awareness on preventive action. Mostly, it acts on deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation and on socialization (Tonry and Farrington 1995).

Social crime prevention policies (SCPP)

Although Tonry and Farrington (1995) agree on the designation of social crime prevention policies (SCPP), they prefer to bring double concepts for the same concept. Instead of considering SCPP as Frank (2011) illustrates, they look at developmental and community crime prevention policies. They understand that the community do influence the behaviour of the individual therefore by changing it physical and socially one can prevent criminal conducts - altering buildings and neighbourhood design, promoting awareness and recreational programs for the youth.

According to Frank (2011), SCPP's consist of tackling those social factors that can lead to perpetration of crime - programs focusing on the unflavoured families or families with a criminal record who have young children and adolescents and policies on education, employment and promotion of sport.

2.2 Community Policing (CP)

2.3.1 Concept and theories of the CP: Elements and principles

The consensus for the origin of the CP should be the mid year of the last century. Wrongly the British claim the first half of nineteenth century as the start of their CP from the Metropolitan Police, yet this period the police was not allowed to get in touch with people – they were just watchmen (Ross and Pease 2008:306). Meanwhile, Brogden (2005) argues that the CP appears from the Western, in the years 1960s and 1970s due to the emerging social changes in the societies and the inability in reducing the crime rates of the legal parallelism - legal reforms and traditional policing. Hence, in the West, CP has been based on three pillars, namely watch schemes, police community forums, and problem-solving policing with the objective of response to the rising crime, public expectations of a response, and the collapse and de-legitimation of local policing structures. Yet, researches have shown that Japan have implemented the CP for already more than hundred years namely the *Koban* characterized by strong presence of patrolling within the community, and the *Chuzaishos* where they work 24/24 hours focused in rural areas. Those scholars understand that the CP appeared mostly in failed societies, as well as in the decaying urban metropolises of the West and thus it has become remedy for many problems of the communities (Brogden 2005:66).

Oliver and Bartgis (1998) argues that the CP is a new form of conception and operationalization of policing largely to the partnership police-community principally on the control and prevention of crime so increasing public safety. Meanwhile researchers and police makers understand that the CP has to be considered as a bunch of ideas therefore a philosophy. They argue that

‘The definition of community policing has received much attention and debate by both police and academics over the past decade [...] The majority of the definitions focus on an increase in police and community interaction, a concentration on “quality of life issues,” the decentralization of the police, strategic methods for making police practices more efficient and effective, a concentration on neighbourhood patrols, and problem-oriented or problem-solving policing’ (Oliver and Bartgis 1998:491 citing Oliver 1998).

To understand the concept of CP demands the understanding of the two concepts policing and community. Accordingly, Durão (2011) conceptualizes the policing as an activity institutionally framed, based on regular patrols assigned as a practice secularly integrated in the cities, conducted by agents guided to monitor and act about who and what is happening in public spaces. It also has been conceptualized according to each country due to their multiple and different understanding. On the other hand, Friedman (1992) argues that community could be people living in a certain area, geographically identified, and working in interconnected relations motivated by ethnic or common interest. Moreover, ‘communities have special structures and feature their own process, problems and unique characteristics’ (ibid). Accordingly, in Mozambique, a community is a set of people and collective living in a certain territory such as a province, district, administrative post, locality, or *povoacao*, combining families whose goals are to defend common interests, such as safety of people, public and private goods and natural resources (art. 104 decree 11/2005 of 10th of Jun)

Hence, McGarrel (2004:2) argues that the concept of CP tend to vary accord to the social, political and cultural understanding of local people. Moreover he considers three elements of the PC: (i) partnership between the police and the community, (ii) problem solving involving police and community and (iii) decentralization of the police. However, Skolnick and Bayley (1988:abs), illustrate that the ‘[...] organization of community-based crime prevention, the reorientation of patrol activities to emphasize nonemergency servicing, increased police accountability to local communities, and the decentralization of command ...’ are elements to be considered for the CP. So generally the CP elements are: (i) cooperation between the police and the community, (ii) developing a different role than the orthodox policing, (iii) preventive rather than proactive measures, (iv) decentralization of the police resources to identified communities, and police accountability (Coquilhat 2008). These means that a well developed relationship and partnership with the communities are the fundamental elements for the CP, as it enhance police legitimacy towards the public and circulation of the information therefore boosts the police effectiveness resulting into a decrease of fear to crime (Mcgarrell 2004 citing Skogan and Hartnett 1997).

According to Friedman

‘community policing is a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of

life, improved police service and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on the community resources that seeks to change crime-causing conditions. It assumes a need for great accountability of police, greater public hark in decision-making and greater concern for civil rights and liberties' (1992:4)

2.3.2 Varieties of Community Policing

Whilst the origins of the implementation of the CP by many countries have the same roots – shortcomings of the police-, their understanding about the CP differs accordingly to their political, cultural, social and economic situation (Greene 2000). In many African countries such as the former British colonies the CP has been attached to the police giving them power of creating and co-ordinating activities of the CP within their communities and they resemble their colonizers CP models. One could argue that the CP in African as in many countries is seen as political and developmental programs resulting from both the change of political arenas of these countries and the existence of police shortcomings. Moreover, in many Asian countries such as in India and Pakistan more contact was created between the police and the community by creating friendly police officers and lines for emergency or report any case, characterised by the community problem-solving approach enhanced by the police. Accordingly, an outcome on the varieties of CP is that CP can work only if the correct procedures and resources are ensured deferring among countries or community.

There are some historical models of CP such as (i) the Anglo-Saxony model characterized by creating permanent contact, dialogue, exchange of experience and information to the police, normally is controlled by small group of 5 to 10 elements assigned to certain community; (ii) the francophone model, based on criminal investigation where the police appears to regulate social incidents and urgencies looking for a direct and a deep contact with citizens, and they are represented by a single police officer with an office within the community; and (iii) the problem-oriented policing, grounded on identifying the political, economic and criminal problems of the community, for they can create solutions together (Maguire et al. 1997, Mastrofski 1993 and Morabito 2010)

In reality the practice of the CP in different countries worldwide are practicing a mixture of three or two of the above models depending on the reality of local economic, political and social conditions as soon as they embed some key elements such as '... adopting a problem solving orientation, working with key stakeholders in the community, and making changes to the agency organizational structure to facilitate community participation in public safety' (Morabito 2010:565). For instance many countries are using the problem solving model which somehow covers elements of other models.

2.3.3 Community policing versus conventional policing

According to Cordner and Trojanowicz (1992), the increase of the human and material resources and technology has not been effective for crime prevention, nor have they increased the sensation of public safety.

According to Seleti (2000:13) quoting Marks (2000) the use of violence and brutality to obtain authority, control suspects and to gather information characterize the orthodox policing. Consequently, this presents poor rates of

conviction, deteriorated efficiency and effectiveness therefore declined respect for the law (Brogden 2005). Furthermore, Greene (2000:309-312) argues that this conserves its inflexibility characterized by the cynicism and scepticism of its officers narrowing the law enforcement and crime prevention mostly centred on serious crime and acting reactively as crime fighters. In addition, Brogden (2005) and Manning (1977) cited in Greene (2000), argue that the police are based on applying the law and deterring crime and mostly relying on the coercive power of the criminal law to gain compliance; consequently they are socially isolated from the large community due to their concern with danger, authority and efficiency creating code of secrecy to fence themselves from external control and oversight so that no one could change it, so they get control over the community. They demonstrate “*clientilism*” culture where their resources and attention are concentrated for the elite.

However, Skolnick and Bayley (1986) cited in Greene (2000) argues that ‘Russell (1997) identified three core theoretical concepts and assumptions that ground the philosophy of community policing. First, there is an expanded role for police in society. Second, there is a transformation of hierarchical structure to a decentralized cooperative model. Third, greater linkages must be created between law enforcement and the community [...]. The principles of [CP] grant patrol officers more discretion and the ability to creatively problem solve [...]. Further, [...] describe [CP] as proactively involved with the community.

Moreover, apart from demilitarization and police accountability to the community, Walker (2012) argues that the CP is much grounded on public safety, fear of crime, and community quality of life, creation of capacity building to the community in order to build and sustain community partnership.

Differently from the police whose aim is the end, CP is much concerned on both the means and ends of the police. Its success is measured by the amount of information about communities, social control, and local dynamics and how much efforts is applied to the community stabilization and capacity building differently from the police where their success is measured by focusing on violent crimes and property crime prevention.

2.3 Conclusion

Crime prevention policies provide to the implementers the necessary guidelines and tools to prevent and reduce crime by intervening on the risk factors before crime occurs and to break the “problem analysis triangle”. To do so, two concerns have to be taken into consideration: first, its process of modelling has to embed certain elements such as targeting the result involving monitoring, principles of participation and democracy, reliable data and involving other external experiences and coordination. Secondly, its intervention has to be in law enforcement, social and situational crime prevention by tackling certain level of beneficiaries considered as primary, secondary and tertiary crime prevention. For instance, the CP is a law enforcement crime prevention policy which has to tackle certain levels of intervention based on reliable data.

The origin of the CP is not only grounded on the shortcomings of the orthodox policing but also on the police’s harmful characteristics such as violence and brutality to acquire authority, control suspects and to gather infor-

mation resulting less efficient public safety. Meanwhile, to conceptualize CP demands the understanding of both concepts policing and community that vary according to social, political and cultural understanding. Moreover, it also considers the existence of certain elements such as the partnership police-community, problem solving involving both concepts and police decentralization. There are three identified models of CP: the Anglo-Saxony, the franco-phone and problem-oriented policing. Many countries use the problem solving model which somehow involves elements of other two.

Chapter 3 Accounting for Community Policing in Mozambique

3.1 PRM reforms and crime prevention policies in Mozambique

3.1.1. *The PRM reforms*

Many policies and law enforcement reforms in Mozambique were undertaken along the time and pushed by the force of political changes (Lorizzo 2001). Moreover, Chachiua argues that the

‘Security sector reforms in Mozambique therefore mean, among others, separating the internal and external components of security, changing the operational culture, including command and control structures, redefining the roles of the different security agencies, and involving civil society in the security debate’(2000:59)

Thus, early after independence the police had acquired the name of “*Corpo da Policia*”, created by decree 54/75, of the 17th of May where both the colonial police officer (PSP) and the Mozambican police from FPLM - *Forças Populares de Libertação de Moçambique*- were working together as the first could transmit experience to the second principally on the traffic police ([A] 2012, PI)⁶. In 1979 by the force of the decree 5/79, of 26th May, the People’s Police (PPM) was launched under the umbrella of the single party. Then with the implementation of the rule of law and democracy in Mozambique by the constitution of 1990, the Police of Republic of Mozambique (PRM) was created by the force of the decree 19/92, of 31th December mostly embedding the Rome General Peace Agreement (GPA) protocols, and 2001 the CP started officially in the sphere of the police reform (Rauch and van der Spuy 2006:87-94).

Moreover, Marks (2000:558) argues that ‘[...] the police not only reflect the nature of the state, but are also responsible for the prevention or promotion of state change’. In addition, Kyed (2009:356) argues that it was expected that the PRM reforms could reprehend tribalism and regionalism within the organization, boost police impartiality and prosecution of law-offending police officers and enhance the protection of human rights. Accordingly, with the police reforms, the training scope and the police force “modus operandi” changed towards human right based.

3.1.2 *Crime prevention policies in Mozambique*

Crime prevention policies in Mozambique lay under the rule of laws, plans, private and public action. Operationally, they may depend on the theories used by the administrator or the police maker bounded by intellectual limitations and a lack of information (Lindblom 1959:84). Frank (2011:5-10) argues that crime prevention policies have to focus on the outputs or results and its conception process has to be inclusive so that all or the main stakeholders could

⁶ PI with [2A], Maputo, 09.08.2012

be involved. Therefore, apart from the participatory approach, it has to be evidence-based, as well as they have to plan an institutional coordination for implementation. However, it was seen that the PRM due to the nature of the task, '[...] consider only some alternatives, have limited information, and stop searching for a solution when they have found a satisfactory one, instead of holding out for the absolute best course of action' (Deborah 2002:232).

For instance, the Institutional Development Strategic Plan for MINT, EDIMINT, contrary to PRM Strategic Plan – PEPRM

'[...] followed a participatory process, and privileged the Consultation Report Diagnostic MINT-2006, the PARPA II, the Agenda 2025 and other strategies of the Government of Mozambique such as Government's Five Year Programme 2005-2009; as well as other specific aspects of each area inherent statutory mandate.' (MINT 2008:2).

EDMINT as one of the crime prevention policies, in practice obey the following principles: observance of legality; respect for Human Rights; provision of a service that meets the needs of the citizen; establishing a close relationship with the community; ensuring the effectiveness of the corporation and efficient use of available resources; participation in the promotion of civilisation and patriotism; guarantee of non-partisanship, fairness and proportionality; cooperation with other similar organizations in the region and the world (obcit).

Whilst EDMINT denies the crime prevention strategies as such as illustrated on the PEPRM, it has identified absolute poverty and weak criminal justice system and social control as two relevant endogenous and exogenous factors, for the PRM can tackle the "problem analysis triangle" (MINT 2008).

According to a respondent, '*these government and institutional plans give origin to sartorial plans for policing such as (i) NEP⁷ bringing guidelines of the patrol and vigilance, sectorization (social help) and Community Policing (ii) instructions from the General Commander of PRM, (iii) Directives from the Ministry, (iv) Operative Plans. Each of these is adapted within the local reality such as province, district or police station* ([A] 2012, PI)⁸

Whilst the PRM is responsible for the combat and preventing crime (decree 19/92 of 17th May and CRM), applying law enforcement crime prevention, there are many other public and private institutions developing crime prevention policies. Moreover, Hough et al. (1998) argues that although there have been evident difficulties; the partnership among agencies is suitable for crime prevention. For instance, Reisman and Lalá (2012) illustrate some examples of participation of private and public institution on crime prevention in Mozambique through their institutional strategic plans or initiatives.

'The PGR underwent a period of institutional assessment and strategic planning [...]. The Plan envisages a greater involvement of public administration, private sector, civil society and communities in crime prevention actions, promoting ethics and moral values, inter-institutional articulation and coordination and the consolidation of the [anti-corruption office...](Reisman and Lalá 2012:29).

⁷ Norms of permanent execution (*normas de execucao permanente*)
⁸PI with a senior PRM officer [A], General Command, 06.08.2012

Moreover, recent research done by Reisman and Lalá (2012) illustrates that in the public sector one can identify the MINED implementing Zero Tolerance to Sexual Abuse Against Children Campaign; the MISAU has the Integrated Victims of Violence Program where they work in coordination with MINT, MINJUS and MMAS; the MMAS has created a joint venture with LDH working together on excluded groups like drugs addicts, detainees, street children, and mental and physically ill people including those living with HIV/AIDS. They also provide social, material and nutritional support as well as psychosocial interventions (Waterhouse 1996:4 and Reisman and Lalá 2012).

In the private sector, Reisman and Lalá (2012) identify the efforts of (i) UNICEF on promoting children's rights in Mozambique focusing on fire arms, alcohol and drugs, gender based violence, early childhood development, and urban design; (ii) UNDP and the EU intervene in security reform such as PRM, creation of the CP and police training; (iii) USAID and the Millennium Challenge Account tackling specifically HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment, municipal governance, anti-corruption, and girl's scholarships.

Furthermore, the research identifies some NGOs - Women's Rights and Victimization, Women's Forum, Muleide, NHAMAI, RedeCAME, Rede da Criança- *Children Line* , REDICEM/ROSC, ARES, LDH and FDC - focusing on primary and secondary crime prevention. These are directed toward women and children helping them judiciary, psychologically and economically - on conflict resolution, researches, exposure, advocacy, monitoring, and awareness building, creating and promoting peace, safety, and security, democracy and Human Rights, community empowerment, reintegration and development. According to the research, these NGOs work together with organizations and institutes like: CIP, FDC, JOINT, OAM, CNJ, JUSTAPAZ, IEPA, PROPAZ and FOMICRES. Likewise, there are religious organizations such as CCM, COREM and REMAR acting on human rights, democracy, HIV/AIDS, and peace building (Reisman and Lalá 2012).

Reisman and Lalá (2012) argue that some multinational companies such as SASOL, MOZAL, SOICO Group, VALE-Mozambique are also involved on crime prevention, and they tackle the social crime prevention such on education, housing, employment and recreation, and the media, academia and research.

This research illustrates that the private and public institutions have created some promising crime prevention policies covering law enforcement, social and situational crime prevention. For instance the following initiatives are undergoing : Well developed civil society networks, the Police Station Based Violence Victim Support Units; Dialogue Mechanisms; the Juvenile justice interventions, Legal Aid for the provision of legal aid, Child Help Line; Crime reporting system and Crime Observatory, Community radio (Reisman and Lalá 2012).

Yet, the questions to be risen are whether these initiatives do cover the necessities of Mozambique and with which coverage, for the local media still reporting cases of human right violation from both the society and the government.

3.2 Community policing in Mozambique

3.2.1 Objectives of Community Policing in Mozambique

In Mozambique the CP is implemented under two objectives.

[The first is] to promote the identification of problems affecting public safety and solve them together with the community; [and the second], to ensure accountability, professionalism, civility, and firmness in the most convenient, good will, correctness, impartiality, rigor and transparency of police authority. (Macamo 2008:19-20).

These clearly demonstrate that the intention of the implementation of the CP in Mozambique is not just to solve the problem of criminality but also to “clean the house”- “*arrumar a casa*” such as demilitarize, democratize, decentralize and fight corruption in the PRM.

3.2.2 Genesis of the CP in Mozambique

The origins of the CP have their roots from before the colonial era. At the beginning, the “*old ones*” called “*madodas*” or “*makholo*” intervened in diverse activities such as counselling, protecting properties, catching criminals or fighting adultery. Dava (2005) quoted by Dava et al. (2006:8) argues that the Ultramarine Administrative Reform dated 1907 gave power to the traditional local chiefs – *regulos* or *cabos de terra* – for they could discover and watch strange indigenous or take them to the administrator if they had no Ids. Moreover, they could isolate the indigenous suffering of strange diseases, and detain and take to the administrator for the judgement and punishment those that had disturbed the order or committed crime. Furthermore, Dava argues that they also had the power to ask the colonial administration for expulsion of those that were the cause or threats of local disorder from their properties (lands). According to Lourenço (2008)) and O’Laughlin (2002) this was the reason why FRELIMO in their III Congress in 1977 considered the traditional authorities as opportunistic and corrupt politicians who enriched themselves through their administrative role by collecting taxes, recruiting people for *chibalo*⁹. Accordingly, one can argue that *regulos* were responsible for handing over those that wanted to join FRELIMO in Tanzania to fight the colonial regime. Although this system helped the Portuguese administration to control the indigenous, Dava et al. (2006:8) illustrates that in 1975 the *regulos* were substituted by the *Grupos de Vigilancia* – *GV*- composed by 8 or 10 individual whose aim was to create political, social and economic awareness mostly on promotion of the community safety. *Regulos* were reintegrated in 2000 by force of the decree 15/2000. Moreover, in some communities some *GV*s were transformed in *regulos*, in other cases they have worked next to each other, which in most of the cases led to unavoidable fight between them (Lourenço 2008). Besides, with the situation of war, RENAMO-FRELIMO, “*milicias populares*” were created. These were not only for maintaining the community safety, but also to help the FPLM on the defence of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The “*milicias populares*” as the *GV* members were chosen among the citi-

⁹ *Chibalo* - Forced labour

zens of the community who had showed a good example, and were then given political-military trainings (DIE-ACIPOL 2007:9-12).

While the *regulos* were reintroduced, the PRM announced the willingness to create CP in the XII Coordinator Council of MINT, for it could help the police coverage in the periphery neighbourhoods and new areas of habitation. Differently from Namibia where their constitution adopted CP as a policy and used it to promote a dialogue between members of the community and officers, the PRM strategic plan – PEPRM – and national programs illustrates it as policing strategy. For instance, the PEPRM, on its “program 3” clearly demonstrates the necessity of the community involvement in preventing and combating crime having as objectives: the creation of a closer ties between the PRM and citizens activities; to set the Community Policing model adjusted to the reality of the Mozambique; create programs and activities on policing and civic Education in the respective communities; and to encourage the organization of the neighbourhoods and the police involvement in urban planning. Furthermore, the Government's Five Year Programme illustrates the necessity of boosting the collaboration with the population for human rights watch and to expand the CP.

The real period of the start of the CP in Mozambique has been a controversial among various sources. Kyed (2009) argues that the idea of CP has been implanted in Mozambique since 1992 and its implementation started in 2000. Nevertheless, the collected data has shown that although the idea of the CP could have started from 1992 as claimed by Kyed (2009), its practices started in 1996 in some areas of Mozambique such as in Matola “C” where the initiative come from the Secretary of this neighbourhood - *Secretario do Bairro* - with straight collaboration with the late Executive Council - *Conselho Executivo*.

‘The community policing in this area started in 1996, the idea was brought by the Secretary of the Neighbourhood, who had got the idea from a “visionist” president of Executive Council of Matola. We started in this house where we are now which was a milling and was rehabilitated by an investor named Largy and inaugurated at the presence of the Commander of 1st police station of Matola named Salvador Dimonio and was re-inaugurated later on 2006 at presence of late Jamal Chande who was Commander of 1st police station of Matola’ (Vilanculos 2012, PI)¹⁰

Furthermore, in the conference, Macamo (2008) argued that the first sign of CP was in 1999, when the National Conference of Public Relations and partnership Police-Community took place in Michafutene. On the understanding of the Director of DOSP of the Command of Maputo City, ‘... nationally, the CP started 2001 in Chamanculo “B” - [a periphery neighbourhood of Maputo City] - as result of a copy-pass of CP from some countries such as South Africa and other countries within the SADC. Mbanguine was the first CP chief who is actually working as regional coordinator of CP¹¹. Moreover, the Conference Report (2008) illustrates the end of 2001 as the kick-off of CP in the country.

Yet, many interviews such as the Chief Coordinator of the CP in Maputo Province were unanimous on saying that the CP started from outside the PRM. For instance, Zavala argues that *‘The roots of CP in some regions of Matola Munici-*

¹⁰ PI with Vilanculos R., Vice President of CPC in Matola “C”, 29.08.2012.

¹¹ PI with the Director of DOSP of the Command of Maputo City, 20.07.2012

*pality such as in this neighbourhood, have to do with local initiatives because the crime was really high, and someone organized small groups composed by the local youth that were unemployed for they could patrol during the nights and later CP was official created by the local administrative structures. The involvement of the PRM was some while.*¹²

The idea of CP in PRM was taken sensitively by late General, Macamo¹³, and the reason why he is known as the “father of CP”.

3.2.3 The First Community Policing Conference

I Conference of the CP took place on the period of the 6th to 8th of February 2008 in Beira City. The main objective of the conference was to define a national model of CP to be implemented that well fitted to the cultural, political and economical reality of Mozambique, moreover its legal framework and institutionalization were in the centre of attention (CP Conference Report 2008).

This report points out that at that time there were 2710 CPCs and the participants of the conference agreed to the following points: (i) the legal framework for the CP is based on the CRM but it has to be coordinated with administrative laws therefore claiming for a coordination between the MINT and the Ministry of States Administration, (ii) creation of procedures for the implementation of the CP embedding participatory and gender approaches; (iii) CP was conceptualized as a strategy and philosophy of the citizens participation on the maintenance of the public order, safety and tranquillity in the respective communities, therefore it is a voluntary work which fortifies the citizenship and (iv) fortification of the partnership PRM-Community (CP Conference Report 2008).

As consequence of the conference there have been many shifts to the life of the CP as described on the next chapter. For instance, the Chief of the CP Section in the General Command said that ‘... *the Councils of the CP-Conselhos de Policiamento Comunitario-CPC has changed their designation to Community Councils Safety - Conselhos Comunitarios de Segurança – CCS...*’¹⁴ similar to the Brazilian model. Moreover, documents from the CP Section in General Command illustrate that the CCSs are entities consisting of community leaders from the same neighbourhood who come together voluntarily to discuss analytically, plan and monitor problems of community safety and their respective solutions and develop closer bonds of understanding and cooperation among them. In this following people can join: local citizens with reputable and honest recognition; community leaders, entrepreneurs; representatives of public, private and religious associations and members of CP. Furthermore, the report shows that the CCS must normally meet once a week from 18 or 19 hours in a term not exceeding two hours; it does not have any specific place to meet but has to be within the neighbourhood. For the results acquired at the meetings, they are

¹² PI with J. Zavala, Matola “C” on 01.09.2012.

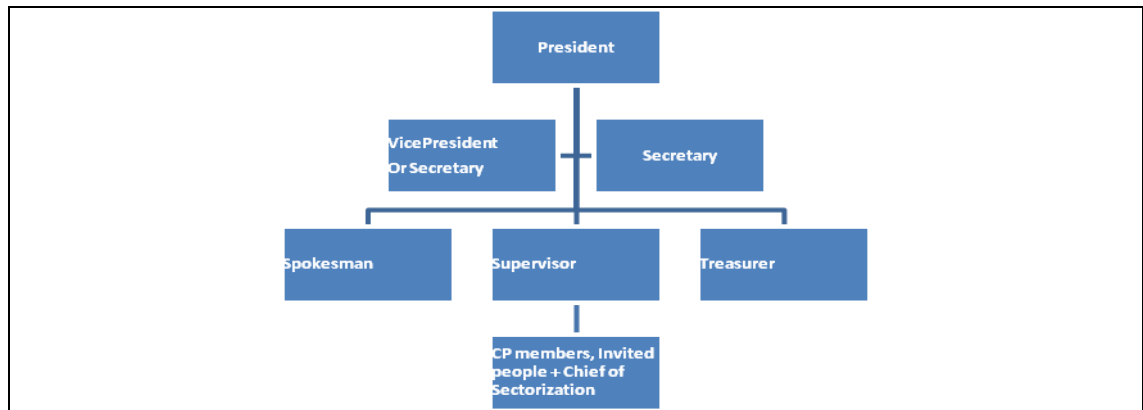
¹³ General Nataniel Jeremias Macamo, was project coordinator of CP, lecture at ACIPOL and also General Secretary of the International Association of Police in Mozambique. He died on 26.08.2010 during LAM flight, victim of heart attack. He was among the first police officers since 1974. Characterized by many as social and affable man, He become the first commander of Ancuabe in 1975 and became a provincial commander of Niassa, Director of Counterintelligence in Maputo City and at national level, head of Office of Studies and Analyses at General Command of PRM, chief of the Department of Public Relations at national level till 2008 when just became working with the project.(O Pais 2010).

¹⁴ PI with the Chief of the CP Section-General Command-PRM, 06.08.2012.

sent to the Commander of the police station of that area of jurisdiction for immediate analysing and action. The participation of the chief of sector – *chefe do sector* - is obligatory.

From the above one can argue that there is no difference between CPC and CCS. Yet, the name and the involvement of the Ministry of State Administrative are the only major shifts.

Figure 3.1
Organization of the CPCs/CCSs



Source: Adapted by the researcher based on FGD in Juba-Sede, 2012

According to the documents, the establishment of CPC/CCS illustrate that the community has to be well organized, for instance, through the police station, the district leaders are informed about the intention for officialising the CCS. The contact between police station and the community is reciprocal meaning that the initiative can come from both sides. Then the date is fixed after a long discussion between the leaders and the PRM. On the day of the meeting, a lecture is delivered and debate is open about safety and the philosophy of Community Policing. Finally the Council is elected, their representatives are elected in a number of between 30 to 50 members and the CCS is formed.

Figure 3.2
Structure of a meeting for the creation of a CPC



Source: Courtesy from Inspector Jorge Banda, PRM-Chief of Operation-Maxixe-Inhambane. The picture illustrates the process of officialization of CCS/CPC in Maxixe because no pictures of Matola demonstrating the same ceremony were found, so the picture is just to mirror the creation of CCSs/CPCs.

Accordingly, the CCS set dates for meetings. These meetings have the purposes of planning for future actions and their evaluation such as developing educational campaigns on community safety; identifying security problems and encouraging the citizens to denounce them to the Council or directly to the police station. Throughout the week, the CCS/CPC organizes working groups that work within the neighbourhood to collect information, opinions, and exchange ideas about community security.

Table 3.1
Table of CCPs/CCSs in Mozambique

NUMBER OF THE CCP/CCS PER PROVINCE		
N/0	Province	N ^{oo} of CCS
1	Maputo City	64
2	Maputo	89
3	Gaza	288
4	Inhambane	369
5	Sofala	453
6	Manica	444
7	Tete	617
8	Zambezia	489
9	Nampula	182
10	Niassa	416
11	Cabo Delgado	792
Total		3.997

Source: Adapted by the researcher based on data collected from the central CP Section

3.2.3 Legal framework of CP in Mozambique

The CP in Mozambique has its legal grounds from the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique – CRM; the PEPRM, EDMINT and many other government plans. For instance the CRM brings the duties and rights of the citizens (arts. 250 n^{oo}1, 90 n^{oo}1, and a), d) and g) of 45). One can argue that institutionally the CPC are embedded in the community and belong to the community therefore juridical they could be considered as a public legal entity and their members as administrative agents who clearly differ from state agents. Otherwise they could claim for certain rights such as salaries from the state or could not differentiate their area of action which is only in that specific community and not nationally as a police officer. Yet, on 25th of October 2010, one member of CP was murdered during his duties and his colleague was shot and gravely wounded by the South African army in Ressano Garcia. the corpus stayed in the morgue of Maputo City for more than 10 days because in the understanding of the General Command of the PRM, they were not employees of the PRM but CP members (Saúte 2010).

Moreover, CP members can only denounce the cases which exist only within the community (art. 166 CPP), differently to police officer that does not have limitation within the country. For detention, the CP member can detain only in a *caught red-handed* moment when the criminal is actually acting (art. 287 and n^{oo}6 of the art 293 CPP). In short, one can argue that the CP members are considered as normal citizens.

However, experiences from Tanzania illustrate that the *Sungusungu*¹⁵ members are granted by People's Militia Law. They can arrest without warrant and search and seizure any property with crime evidences. They act equally as officers of the rank of a constable and are also considered as semi-official police force (IACP 2000, Kapinga 1990:52 and Wisler and Onwudiwe 2007)

Going through some national laws such as CRM, one can argue that while the state is not responsible for the acts of CP members, differently as it is for state agents, the civil and criminal accountability of a member of CP is counted as individual accountability and only the community can compensate for their damage. This raises the question what happens if they are acting as public administrative agent, in a situation where they are totally substituting the police. Surely the state has to be forced to be held responsible for their acts and apply the n^o 2 of the art 58 CRM which states that *'The State shall be responsible for damages caused by the unlawful acts of its agents, in the performance of their functions, without prejudice to rights of recourse available under the law'*. However, Afrimap (2006:100) reports that in 2003, in the neighbourhood T3, one CP member fatally shot a 13 years old boy then the LDH fought for his criminal and civil accountability whereas the PRM clearly kept distance from the case and denied that they had given him the fire arm.

Although there is none specific law for CP and CPC/CCS, there is no doubt that its implementation is legal and obeys many democratic principles.

From the above, one can argue that the CP in Mozambique is community driven without proper legislation. This does not mean that it has to stop because not all social manifestation are legally framed meaning that if it was possible there could be a lot of paper and nothing could work unless with proper legislated. This idea was well elaborated by the MP, S.Excia. Alcinda da Conceicao who argued that *"... things that are not yet legislated and bring good results to the society can be carried on and the legislation can come later, meaning that we cannot be stuck on the laws, the law is made by the society"*¹⁶

3.2.4 An analysis on the impact of CP in Mozambique through a look to the criminal rates before and after its implantation

Standardizing 2001 as official start of CP in Mozambique and by analysing the few PRM released data, one could argue that before the start of the CP in Mozambique, the average of crime perpetrated was approximately 38835,4 crimes per year and then it dropped drastically to 34983 crimes per year. Arguably, one could argue that the CP in Mozambique has been a efficient crime prevention policy that somehow helped to prevent crime. But most of the data shown by the PRM predominantly illustrates criminal situation of the urban areas where the elite live and the police has considerable resources to register and to intervene. Therefore, these are areas where the CP less has impact and many do not have CPCs. On the other hand, in the rural areas where objectively the CP was implanted in order to solve the lack of the police coverage, the crime cases are mostly resolved in CPCs/CCSs or by the Traditional Leaders

¹⁵ Local CP.

¹⁶ PI with MP Alcinda da Conceicao, member of the Commission on Social Affairs, Gender and Environment, Maputo, 02.08.2012.

therefore less account is taken by the police. Generally, in Mozambique fewer victims have participated crimes to the police due to many factors such as lack of trust and corruption. Accordingly, the PGR, the Courts and the PRM have different data of crime index (Reisman. and Lalá, 2012)

Table 3.2
Crime trends in Mozambique without CP

<i>Province</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2001</i>
Niassa	2,906	1,513	1,698	1,492	1,847
Cabo Delgado	1,557	3,063	2,726	1,405	1,431
Nampula	5,459	4,904	4,486	3,154	2,649
Zambézia	2,894	2,475	2,865	2,981	3,569
Tete	2,214	2,380	2,418	2,308	2,523
Manica	1,745	1,774	1,379	1,216	838
Sofala	4,481	4,360	3,691	4,077	4,411
Inhambane	2,638	2,533	2,476	2,545	3,064
Gaza	2,463	2,760	2,839	1,979	3,346
Maputo prov	3,391	3,545	3,446	3,743	4,739
City of Maputo	10,090	10,306	10,531	11,321	11,533
Total	39,838	39,613	38,555	36,221	39,950

Source: Alar (2010:260)

Table 3.3
Crime trends in Mozambique with CP

Year	TOTAL	NIASSA	CA DELGADO	NAMPULA	ZAMBÉZI	TETE	MANICA	SOFALA	INHAMBANE	GAZA	MAPUTO PROVINCE	MAPUTO CITY
2001	39,054	1,847	1,431	2,649	3,569	2,523	843	4,411	3,063	2,446	4,739	11,533
2002	39,061	1,116	1,485	2,382	4,220	2,886	736	4,556	3,452	2,480	4,980	10,768
2003	40,223	1,266	1,264	1,766	3,986	2,624	679	5,242	3,795	2,506	5,449	11,646
2004	40,496	1,331	1,224	2,003	4,159	2,912	296	5,419	3,973	2,164	6,079	10,936
2005	37,252	817	1,161	2,155	3,050	2,693	360	4,550	3,503	2,461	6,280	10,222
2006	30,786	585	1,063	2,001	1,668	1,474	469	3,499	2,328	1,668	5,819	10,212
2007	29,639	530	982	1,612	1,216	1,155	330	3,995	2,790	1,602	6,062	9,415
2008	27,454	466	961	1,342	921	1,408	441	3,324	1,944	1,297	7,010	8,340

Source: Adapted from Reisman and Lalá (2012)

3.3 Conclusion

In Mozambique the crime prevention is not solely undertaken by the PRM. It is seem that different ministries, NGOs and private institutions are involved carrying out projects in form of policies, strategic plans or donations. The CP as one of the crime prevention strategies is practiced with the involvement of the community. It came about as a result of the PRM shortcomings and reforms with the objectives of creating partnership between the police and the community on solving the safety problems and contributes to the process of

democratization, decentralization, demilitarization and combat corruption within the PRM.

It is seen that the process of modelling the CP crime prevention strategy by the PRM did not embed all required elements leaving the late General Macamo heading the process with less involvement of different stakeholders within and outside the PRM. This resulted in misinterpretation, criticisms and inefficiency of the CP so that his death is one of the factors behind the CP decline.

In Mozambique, the CP has its roots from before the colonial era and its origin is from outside the PRM starting in Mozambique in 1990's, and officially starting in 2001. Since then the CP has taken place in many communities without proper legislation and their members acted without any special legal treatment having criminal and civil accountability similar as normal citizens. *Ceteris paribus*¹⁷, the crime rate data and many researches show that the CP in Mozambique is a meaningful crime prevention policy.

The CPCs are responsible for the CP in each community, meanwhile, among other changes; the realization of the CP conference brought the shift of the name CPCs to CCSs hoping that the MINT would share responsibilities on the management of CP with the Ministry of Public Administration.

¹⁷ From Latin - all other things held constant.

Chapter 4 Practices of Community Policing in Matola

The previous chapter has introduced the CP in Mozambique in term of origins and philosophy. These are taken in consideration for the CP in Matola and could be used as guide lines for the implementations of the CP in Matola. Yet, this chapter brings and analysis the key findings of the real dimension and situation of the CP helping to elaborate some theories. The process of triangulation showed that Matola was one of the first communities in Mozambique to practice the CP from 1996. Moreover the findings showed that CP is an experience with its origins from outside the PRM headquarters, without ignoring that knowledge carries emotional and political characteristic of the sources.

The main goal of this chapter is to present and critically analyse the reasons behind the abandonment of the CP in order to have a generally understanding of the collapse of many crime prevention polices taken into account by the PRM.

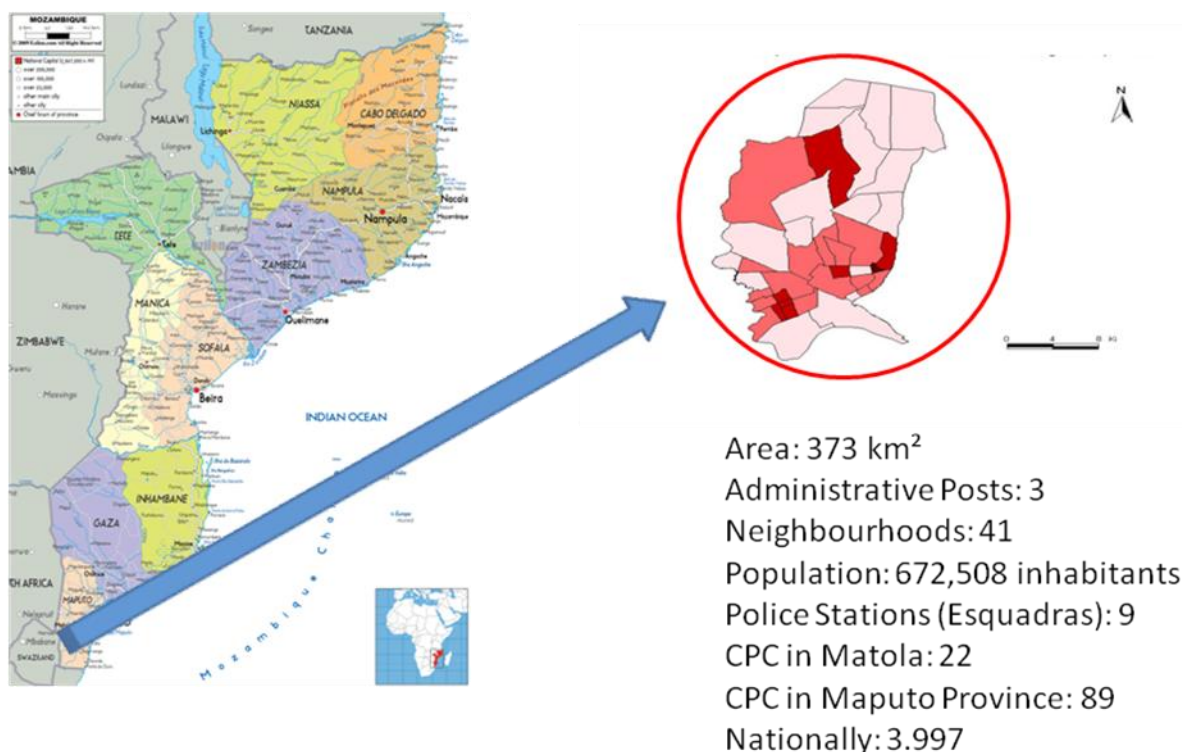
4.1 A close look to Matola: geographical localization, criminal perception and PRM coverage

Matola is the second crowded municipality behind Maputo City with a clear division between the industrial and the residential areas, and between the poor and the rich people. It is a city in constant expansion where those with monetary power demonstrate their strength by building big houses. In terms of crime rate, it competes with Maputo City, Beira and Nampula with 10 violent crimes committed in each neighbourhood per each day (Reisman and Lalá 2012). According to Shabangu (2010), Matola is one of the cities where violent crimes occur such as an increase in car hijackings and theft, robberies of banks and commercial stores, “armed assaults”, and home burglaries. While Maputo City leads on the crimes against properties, Matola may go leading the list of crimes against people, homicides, corporal offences, women and children violations and Human and drugs trafficking and also used as whereabouts and hideout for “big criminals”.

4.1.1 Administrative division

Since 2007, Matola, as Beira and Nampula, is classified as a municipality of class B (Impacto 2012). It has an area of 375 km² bordering Moamba District at the northwest and north, Boane District at the west and southwest, Maputo City at the South and East and Marracuene District at the Northwest. The population of the municipality has been estimated at 672,508 inhabitants, showing being 51.8% female (INE 2007).

Map 4.1
Map of Mozambique locating Matola



Source: Adapted based on Ezilon-Maps and de Araujo (1999).

The area is divided into three Administrative Posts (AP), Matola, Machava and Infulene with approximately 58.44, 185.88 and 153,55 Km², respectively (de Araújo 1999:5). The first is the part where one can find the oldest and most urbanized part of the city and the leading and oldest economic and social infrastructure. Most of the provincial government institutions are located in this side. It is crossed by the famous "Highway" Maputo-Witbank, the economic drive of Mozambique. It comprises 13 neighbourhoods, namely Matola "A", "B", "C", "D", "F", "G", "H", "J", Fomento, Liberdade, Mussumbuluco, Mahlampswe and Sikwama.

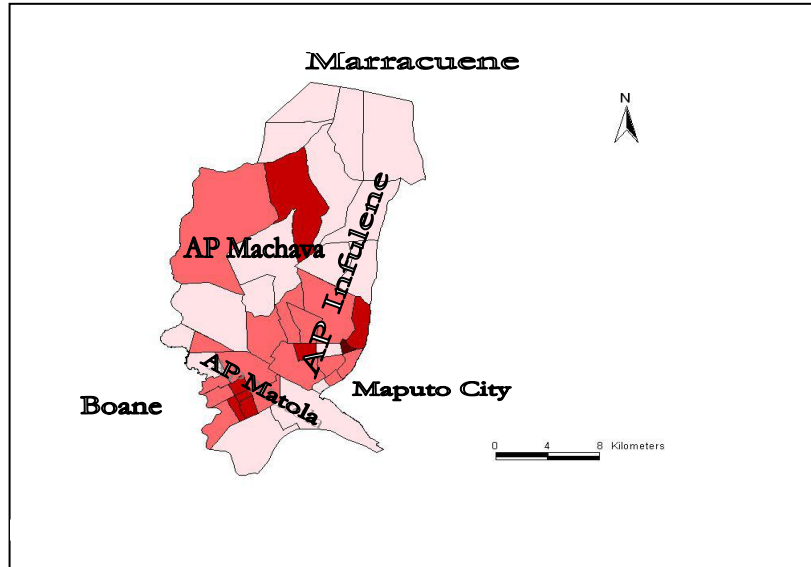
The AP of Machava has been transforming from its nature of the previous suburb of the city of Matola, with an industrial function to medium and medium low residential classes. Twelve neighbourhoods constitute the AP of Machava: Unidade "A", Trevo, Patrice Lumumba, Machava Sede, São Damaso, Bunhica, Tsalala, Km-15, Mathlemele, Kobwe, Matola Gare and Singathela.

Lastly, the AP Infulene arose as a result of the extension of the Maputo to Matola developing itself along the chain, the football stadium and the right bank of the Valley Infulene. "There were always more precarious neighbourhoods receiving immigrant population of poor economic resources"¹⁸ (de Araújo 1999). This area has sixteen neighbourhoods alongside the Mulauze River. These are, Infulene, Zona Verde, Ndlavela, Infulene "D", T-3, Acordos

¹⁸ *Foram sempre bairros mais precarizados que recebiam população imigrante de fracos recursos económicos* (de Araujo, 1999:5).

de Lusaka, Vale do Infulene, Khongolote, Intaca, Muhalaze, 1° de Maio, Boquisso “A” and “B”, Mali, Mukatine and Ngolhoza.

Map 4.2
Map of Matola



Source: Adapted based on de Araujo (1999)

4.1.2 Police jurisdiction and police coverage

The jurisdiction of the Matola police is much bigger than its administrative terrain. Its territorial extension is under control of 9 police stations – *Esquadras*- which are divided as follows: AP of Matola, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Police Station; AP of Machava, just the 5th police station, and in Infulene, the 6th and 7th police stations. Arguably, one could understand that the largest AP has just one police station and the smallest, where most elite live, has five.

Moreover, there are two special police stations namely Lingamo and Beluluane. The first belongs to Matola industrial park and overlaps with the 1st police station, localized beside Matola Port and within Matola Industrial Park. The second belongs to Beluluane Industrial Park where the mega-project Mozal is localized. Both of them are specifically in charge of the respective industrial parks. Although the Beluluane Police Station is localized in Boane District, jurisdictionally it belongs to Matola. This and other examples, such as the Police Post of Sao Damaso which belongs to 6th police station in AP Infulene instead of 5th police station in the AP of Machava, illustrates that the distribution of jurisdiction areas for the PRM do is not the same as the administrative division.

It is supported by 12 Police Posts and 22 Community Policing Council (CPC) among which three were recently created in Matola “A”, Tsalala and Tchomene by the new Provincial Commander of Maputo (see the tables below). In general, each police station works with less than ten police officers per day and one in the police post.

Table 4.1
Distribution/Localization of Police Stations and Police Posts per neighbourhood

Administrative Post	Neighbourhoods	Police Stations (<i>Esquadras</i>)	Localization	Police Post (<i>Posto Policial</i>)	Localization
Matola	Matola A, Matola B, Matola C, Matola D, Matola F, Matola G, Matola H, Matola J, Fomento, Liberdade, Mussumbuluco, Mahlampswene, Sikwama	1 st	Matola “A”	Matola Santos	Market of Matola Santos (Matola “A”)
				Matola “C”	Matola “C”
		2 nd	Cinema 700 = Matla “B”		
		3 rd	Bairro Fomento		
Machava	Unidade A, Trevo, Patrice Lumumba, Machava Sede, São Damaso, Bunhiça, Tsalala, km-15, Mathlemele, Nkobe, Matola Gare, e Singathela	4 th	Bairro da Liberdade	Mussumbuluku	Mussumbuluku
		5 th	Machava Sede	Nkobe	Nkobe
				Bunhiça	Bunhiça
				Trevo	Trevo
Infulene	Infulene, Zona Verde, Ndlavela, Infulene D, T-3, Acordos de Lusaka, Vale do Infulene, Khongolote, Intaca, Muhalaze, 1 ^o de Maio, Boquisso A, Boquisso B, Mali, Mukatine, e Ngolhoza			Tchumene 2	Tchumene 2
		6 th	Bairro do Infulene	N ^{oo} 4	Patrice Lumumba
				São Damaso	São Damaso
		7 th	Bairro T3	Khongolote	Khongolote
				Boquisso	Boquisso
				1 ^o de Maio	1 ^o de Maio

Source: Adapted by the researcher from data collected in the field work

4.2 Practices of Community Policing in Matola

For a better understanding of the models of the CP practiced in Matola we have first to understand three the dimensions of the CP. The first is that the CP is a fashionable policing approach as result of the shortcoming of the conventional policing and the decline on public trust in it. It takes into consideration that fighting crime is not only for the police but both the police and the community. Secondly, the ‘[CP] is a philosophy without one set criterion for implementing the approach. Rather, police agencies are expected and encouraged to apply the [CP] philosophy in ways that meet the specific needs of their locality’ (Marabito 2010:565). Lastly, theoretically, it’s necessary to divide the process of CP in three important periods: (i) the period before the I Conference of CP, (ii) the period after the conference, and (iii) the period overshadowed by the death of the “father of CP in Mozambique”.

4.2.1 The stages of the CP in Matola: why the CP has failed

The first stage: the launch and implication CP

This period was characterized mostly by major enthusiasm among both the PRM and the communities on the implementation of the CP. The findings have shown that the CP was launched in Matola in 1996. The commander of the 4th police station in the neighbourhood of Liberdade argued that in this period, many CPCs were officialised in different neighbourhoods of Matola by the respective commanders of the area of jurisdiction and some commanders were competing in order to “show service”. ‘... when the CP started I was the Chief of Operation at the most controversial police station in Matola, the 7th police station, too much crime in that area so that we had to involve citizens in policing, so there were great effort of us

to create awareness on the citizens for them could participate on the CP ([A] 2012, PI)¹⁹. According to Howana, ‘... the creation of CP brought hope for many of us to show our skill ...’ However, the politicization of CP, CPCs and the lack of agreement between the citizens due to their differences such as tribal or political on electing and choosing the president of the CPC and the members of the CP were frequent in many neighbourhoods. In many instances this created the failure of their officialization as the entire area of jurisdiction of the 4th police station and some neighbourhoods belonging to the 7th police station. Moreover, another reason given by the respondents was the existence of strong criminals in some neighbourhoods who by threaten the local citizen have discouraged the creation of CPs. Also in some neighbourhoods the existence of many unofficialised CPC was notable or some commanders were officialising CPCs without the minimum observation of the rules established by the local Department of Public Affairs. Some of these CPC’s were harmful and composed of criminals (Macamo 2008 and I Conference Report 2008). Many CPCs in Matola do not own proper places for headquarters therefore they use those belonging to FRELIMO such as neighbourhood headquarters – *sedes do bairro* - meaning that in most cases where you see a FRELIMO’s flag there is a CPC.

According to some researches, such as DIE-ACIPOL (2007:56-57) and Dava et al. (2006) which are supported by some interviewee illustrate that the implementation of the CP was not yet consolidated. Therefore, they concluded that the partnership between the PRM and the communities was not yet well materialized. One could observe that among the CPCs there was different (i) understanding of the philosophy of CP, for they do not have guide lines. Furthermore, (ii) they argued that the CP members did not even know to whom they could give their reports, if it was to the president of the CPC or to the police and when to report. And (iii), there were procedures developed by the CP that created lack of trust on citizens to them originating “private justice”. Above all, from the FGD in Matola “C”, one could understand that the poor quality of the members of the CP, as a result of the lack of formation and the absence of incentives transformed the behaviour of many, inducing them to the inversion of their roles and starting to be involved into acts of corruption, robbery and violating women. Most of the interviewees, in particular the police members said that most of the time the CP members acted as a police force (detention and patrol) and gave no respect to the police officers. (Dava et al. 2006:13) argues that there was a major worry due to the lack of good relationship between both members of the PRM and those of CP. This could jeopardise all efforts made by the Mozambican government in bringing the community to participate on the establishment of public safety. Moreover, Commando General da PRM (2007:2) reported that the involvement of the members of CP on releasing criminals detained by the police were undermining the reputation of both the PRM and the CPCs and were creating conflicts between the victim and the offender.

Due to the high crime rate in Matola and other points of Maputo province, this report recommends the PRM of Maputo Province, particularly of Matola, to encourage the members of the CPC, for they could intensify policing (patrols) in their areas of jurisdiction. The few patrols clearly demonstrate

¹⁹ Personal interview with M. Howana, Coordinator of the CPCs, Maputo, 01.08.2012

the incapacity of the PRM operational coverage and therefore provide a green card to the members of CP to act. Howana argues that in this period, *'...before the conference of Beira, some members of the CP "could eat"²⁰ by themselves, tie and beat citizens by their own initiative, and sometimes in order to get information they were using those methods that you may know: tie a person, put ants in their mouths or condensed milk in their ears, those traditional methods that some CP members had rescued from their past experience which in somehow are not proper for the philosophy of the CP...'*²¹ Moreover, some of the CP members were given fire arms and many CPCs own detention cells inappropriate for detaining human – *'...this is our cell..'* one of the CP members said pointing at an 1.5 meter depth half external wastewater made of cement²². Besides, most of them were using handcuffs, whistles, batons, sticks, strings, machetes and traditional methods of torture. For identification, each CPC idealized their own uniform using different style and colour, and others used bracelet. According to Macamo (2008:31) there was diverse interpretation of concept and philosophy of CP due to their different background - militias, police or military - and arguably some commanders assigned them guns and handcuffs for policing.

However, according to the claims of the majority of the citizens interviewed, the population was not aware on the real objectives of the CP and many were concerned. One of the citizens interviewed clearly complained without reservation saying that *'...these [CP] brought to us bad memories from the past GV and "operacao producao"²³ because what they were doing in this area was too bad. To arrest people without cause, sometime we could accept but rapping our women was inconceivable...'* (Mandamule 2012, PI)²⁴ If this political issue was brought up to the people's minds by the behaviour of many CP members, then the failure of the CP could not be a surprise to any attentive observer. Accordingly, to the researcher Omar Ribeiro Thomas interviewed by Pallone (2008), *"operacao producao"* consisted in taking people to "re-education camps" - *campos de re-educacao*, for they should be re-socialized at work working in the fields – *machambas* – learning the principles of Marxism-Leninism and at the end to be transformed in *"hemem novo"* - the new man. Many people died during the process. Their main target groups were women suspected of prostitution, alcoholics, people considered sluts or linked to trafficking, people suspected to have or who had connections with the former colonial regime, Portuguese political police –PIDE- collaborators, or chiefs, traditional authorities who were linked to the functioning of the colonial state. Furthermore, he argues that those accused of witchcraft and fellows of the Jehovah's Witnesses were enhancing the group. Accordingly, the main goal of FRELIMO was cleaning the representatives of ignorance and tribalism resulting from the Portuguese fascist colonial system.

²⁰ *"could eat"* is a jargon for corruption.

²¹ PI with M. Howana, Coordinator of the CPCs in Maputo Province, 01.08.2012

²² PI with Mwenhe, Juba, 15.08.2012

²³ *"Operacao Producao"* was implemented at the beginning of 1980s in order to clean and create order in Mozambique. In the understanding of Jorge Rebelo, former FRELIMO's Secretary, this was supported by those with good behaviour but inversely was not; therefore, it was to eliminate escape of the parasites and fight arrogance in the cities (Noticias, 1983a). Moreover, Teodato Howana, Vice-Minister of Interior at that period announced in a marginals and unproductive citizens so we can combat the hunger and armed bandits (Noticias, 1983b)

²⁴ PI with J. Mandamule, Matola "C", 01.09.2012.

Nevertheless, most of the citizens, the police and CP members interviewed believed that apart from these atrocities, the CP showed visible results. Therefore the population agreed on paying monthly 10,00Mt per each family. This amount was to compensate many CP members who have been asked for salaries from the state – PRM. In the I Conference, Vice-Minister of MINT emphasised that there were no salaries for working as CP, because this is voluntary work and because apart from being voluntary, it benefits the community on preventing and combating crime (Gil 2008). This clearly showed that the CP members could not receive salaries but the communities could be responsible as the state was responsible for the PRM and they would have to find the best way to address this problem.

Accordingly, each family paid an amount and in some neighbourhoods, those that could do more such as entrepreneurs could give more and also participate with nutritional articles. Other sources of money were the “car-parking”, such as the CPCs of Matola “C”, Dhlavela and Khobwe; and last source was to sell security labour as private security companies or to look for jobs for CP members in residences or condominiums or in private security companies. This could somehow minimise the problem of poverty-versus-voluntarism raised by many CP members as well as one of the MP. For this MP, the voluntary work cannot work in a country like Mozambique where people live below the poverty line, - *‘...in our operative oversight in Matola, the CP members had no salaries, therefore they turned to robberies, we discovered that the cattle that were always reported missing or stolen was made with the connivance of the CP members and even for those areas where the population pays, it can be compared with the buildings where some citizens pay for its maintenance, but many do not pay. This also happen for the CP and at the end no one pays. Is not that they do not want to pay, but because they are poor.* (Alcinda 2012, PI) Nevertheless, many citizens interviewed argued that the CPCs representative – President, Vice-President and the Secretary – could not give the money to other members of the CP as they were greedily dividing among themselves. As a result, people stopped to contribute.

Operationally, the CP had a *picket* where ten or more CP members could work per day. Four of them could be responsible for a “block”. The Chief Co-ordinator of CPCs in Maputo Province argues that *“Before the conference, our action was to patrol, vigilance and giving information to the police principally to the chiefs of “sectorization” who have worked directly with us. We acted mostly during night: in the road and markets guided by some codes for communication. In case of a crime in progress we could try to act, but we could communicate immediately to the PRM if it was not possible”* (Howana 2012, PI)

This stage is mostly characterized by active CP membership where they created more than 15 CPCs and invested all their efforts, experiences of being militia, military or GV and power to this noble cause, but they created victims of human right violation - corruption, robbery, rape, discrimination, torture and murder. Besides, the worsened relationship with PRM and the feeling of abandonment of the citizens by the State were the major sighs of this stage. Moreover, Macamo (2008:30) argues that CP created

‘Resistance [on the Commanders of many police stations] to assume that Community Policing is a reality of shared responsibility and neither has come to replace the PRM. Voices of some commanders say “community policing is a failed project” members of the Security Community Councils are unemployed, are thieves ’’

On the understanding of many Commander of Police Stations and other police officers the CP was trying to replace them, for the CP coverage was overlapping the action of the police force, and much attention characterized by many meetings and seminars was given to the CP.

Figure 4.1
Members of CP in Juba-Sede (Matola Rio)



Source: Researcher's collection

Second stage: Reflexion and the “lost-hope” of CP members

After the CP Conference, the CP has not been the same in Matola. The CP was hardly analysed and criticized by many stakeholders - political, religious and intellectuals figures - from the national arena where issues such as its legal framework, the model, “*modus operandi*” and incentives were critically analysed. The CP Conference Reports (2008) illustrate clearly that the “*modus operandi*” of CP members was not advisable and therefore had to follow the guide lines which were about to be prepared. And apart from the PRM being the only institution responsible for the CP, the Ministry of State Administration has to take part on the management of the CPCs/CCSs because they are responsible for the community committees where the CP is practiced. One high ranking police officer who participated on both “processes” of implantation of the CP in Matola and in the conference, said that *‘This decision comes as a result of lack of existence of capable police officers in the Section of CP to argue substantially about why the management of CP solely belongs to the PRM; as well as the lack of answers for many questions risen in the conference [...] this is what we call “shake-the-coat”[- sacudir o casaco²⁵-] to others, is our tradition ([A] 2012, PI)²⁶* Moreover, from the conferences, the model of community policing oriented to problem-solving was the most advisable for the Mozambican reality therefore the CPCs have to be substituted by the CCSs.

After the conference, the CPCs started to be marginalised, left with “an automatic pilot” without the promised guidelines. They have shown difficulties

²⁵ This means to transfer responsibilities or charges to others.

²⁶ PI with [A], PRM member, Matola, 24.07.2012

in on putting in practice the recommendations of the conference. The relation with the police was meliorated, but it was characterized by the abandonment of the PRM on the process using the conference debates to support their criticism to not only the CP but also, to the “father of the CP in Mozambique” and ostracised the CPC leaders. However, in many areas one could observe that the CPCs just stopped and their members reduced to two or three effective members – the president, vice-President and Secretary- who could coordinate with the PRM in case of a crime had occurred. They became more as services points of gathering information to the police. No more meeting were held by the CPCs. One of the CP members in Juba argued that ‘... *now we have less work to be done because the conference told us to stop to do many thing the way we were doing. We just give information to the police when necessary [...] for example, yesterday, a group of three individuals entered in a nearby condominium in construction and killed the guard who was one of our members working there, it was really sad [...] So now we are helping the police, looking for information about this case [...]*’ (Wereka 2012, PI)²⁷. This was also well supported by the FGD in the same areas. From this one could understand that, *apart from this phenomenon, the hope of one day they could receive salaries was dead therefore there was no need for the members to stay in the CPCs otherwise they could die of hunger unless they could go to look for job somewhere else.* Moreover, the Chief of the Department of Personnel Management of PRM in Matola argued that the CP has been reduced into an “espionage service” working just as a source of information for the PRM turning its late interventionist characteristic into a passive mode.²⁸

This stage was characterized by the desistence of many members of CP and disappearance of some CPC which just stopped working claiming lack of motivation. From the 19 CPCs existing before, 3 CPCs—Juba, Matola “C” and Dlavela - were still with their head up although without the body managing car parking. Nevertheless, the MINT and the PRM’s high ranking officers such as Vice-Minister, General Commander and those linked to the Department of Public Relations continued to motivate the nation to the continuity of the CP as the best way of connecting the citizens to the police. This period ends with the death of the first deputy Commissioner Nataniel Macamo.

Third stage: Catch up period

During the stage, the situation has worsened with the death of Nataniel Jeremias Macamo. The previous scenario prevails but now without the “father of the CP”. At central level, those working for the CP have confined themselves in a bureaucratic mission trying to follow up the legal recommendation of the conference, principally on transforming the name CPC into CCS which is a shift from the European approach of CP to Brazilian one.

Today, is like there has never been a CP; however, the new Provincial Commander of Maputo is trying to bring up some CPC. For instance, latterly he went to create three CPCs in the neighbourhoods of Matola “A”, Tsalala and Txumene. Yet, one can understand that although the top is talking about the CCS, less is known about in on the ground. The police officers, citizens and those CP members that have remained use the designation CCS much less

²⁷ PI with J. Wareka, Juba-Sede, 15.08.2012

²⁸ PI with the Chief of Department of Personnel Management, Fomento, 24.07.2012.

and the sentiment of abandonment is clearly illustrated in the words of the CP members. *‘We feel empowered when we see someone remembering on our existence’.*

Table 4.2
Distribution of CPCs in Matola

Police Station/esquadra	N ^o of CPCs	Localization in term of neighbourhood	CPCs formed recently
1 st	2	Matola “C”	Matola “A”
2 nd	4	“D”, “E”, “G” and “H”	0
3 rd	0	0	0
4 th	0	0	0
5 th	6	Trevo, Machava-Sede, Kobwe and Bunhica	Tsalala and Tchomene
6 th	0	0	0
7 th	5	Khongolote, 1 ^o Maio, Unidade “D”, Ndlavela, Zona Verde	0
Lingamo	0	0	0
Beluluane	5	Dzilinga, Molotane, Juba, Matola-Rio, Beluluane	0
Total	22	19	03

Source: *Adapted by the researcher from data collected in the fieldwork*

4.3 Conclusion: Operation and Impact of Community Policing

Although the situation of the CP is still flat in Matola, one could argue that there are two models of CPs: the old one (more interventionist and pro-crime prevention) - francophone - and the new model based on information dissemination (more to clarify the cases that have already occurred and to solve local problems). The second model is similar to the problem-solving community policing normally based on the identification of the problem; evaluation of actions to implement, implementation of actions, planning Actions and problem Analysis (NEV/USP 2009). This research argues that in the three stages there are some common figures. First, the lack of incentives to the members of CP. This phenomenon was caused in many CPCs such as of Juba-Sede and of Ndlavela by the unfair spirit of the leaders of the CPC who obscured the money designated as incentive and unanswered questions of the population who wanted to know where the money went. Secondly, the CPC mostly are composed by unemployed and illiterate citizens. Thirdly, the CP’s are composed majorly by ex-soldiers of both FRELIMO and RENAMO who never had any training concerning to work of CP. Fourth, also there was the lack of adequate material resource to fight criminals who use guns. Most have been equipped with whistles, batons and handcuffs with uniform without proper shoes or other accessories (see the picture above). Finally, most of the CPC’s are not aware of the changes taking place around the CPC.

Citizens interviewed showed that although the CP has not been seen or has stopped in some areas, the criminality has decreased strongly. Question can be raised concerning the importance of the CP. Other reasons can be that

Mozambique has been one of the developing countries with rapid growth in the past years which is reflecting in the family's income and in the government indirectly investing on crime prevention through social projects and situational projects. Many roads are illuminated and many schools have been opened therefore many are those citizens that go to schools. Other examples are those mentioned above where the public and the private sector are hardly involved on crime prevention by tackling the social side.

The shift from the conference was such a huge one that many CPCs in their CP were made to work together with members of the PRM. For many CPC had understood that what they were doing before was not legal so in order to legitimise their action they were obliged to work in straight connection with the PRM. This process was mostly seen in the regions where the Commanders are those trained by ACIPOL-Human Right based- who could clearly understand the CP legal implications.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

It is clear that the objectives of the introduction and implementation of the Community Policing in Mozambique have been to reform the police and to be used as a law enforcement crime prevention policy. This was needed as a result of public dissatisfaction with the traditional policing shortcomings, and its demilitarization, decentralization, democratization and to fight corruption within the police. By questioning why the CP has failed in Matola, we have reached the objectives of this paper; to understand and produce knowledge on the reasons behind the gradual disappearance of the CP in Matola, for one could comprehend the same phenomenon happening with many crime prevention policies taken into account by the PRM in Mozambique. Through a qualitative research, a case study of the CP in Matola was employed, where primary data from interviews and observation in concomitant with secondary data helped to gather answers to the question and to reach the main goal of the paper.

The practice of the CP has been associated with political issues in the sense that not only their leaders and the members of the CPCs and CP respectively have to be detached from any other partisan filiations but only to FRELIMO Part, but also because some CP practices such as the violation of human rights characterized by torture, women rape, illegal detentions made the citizens to relive their past. They were reminded of some late remarkable concepts such as *GV* actions and *operacao producao* which in the understanding of many respondents were not worthy to people but brought only sorrow. Moreover, in some regions the CP has never taken place due to the diversity of values and tribalism and in others due to the existence of strong criminals who threatened people and discouraged the formation of the CP in these neighbourhoods.

The start of the third stage of the CP period was the death of the General Nataniel Macamo. This also played a big role in the gradual decline of the CP in Mozambique in the sense that the process of modelling and implementing the CP was solely attributed to him with just few assistants. This means that, although it was modelled with regard to certain results and mostly copying from other countries experiences, there were many key elements missing. For instance, what was missing was the process of monitoring, the principles of participation and democracy by involving as many different ideas as possible from different stakeholder claiming for inclusiveness and sense of belonging, it was not based in reliable data and finally there was a lack of coordination among different institutions in the process of implementation. These issues were main reasons why the CP was heavily criticized in the conference of CP where many stakeholders were invited. Also, their violation could create institutional or inter-institutional conflicts which mostly weakened and delegitimised the implementation itself of the policies. Therefore, it can endanger the quality of the crime prevention policy in general and in most cases the policy just vanishes due the lack of supporters, too much criticism and sabotage.

Under all these discussion, there is the issue of *incentive* which the CP members had hoped to received before the conference as well as during their activities most of them could turn their duties into steeling or conniving with criminal or to be involved in corruption. After the conference it was clear

though that not only were there no incentives coming from the government, but also that their actions has not helped the community in decreasing the fear for crime. Indeed their actions created disagreements with the PRM and fear within the communities and therefore the CP had to be done in other models.

The sum of all these factors contributed in somehow to the decline of the CP in Mozambique.

The paper also shows that while this situation prevails, crime has decreased significantly in some areas. The reason is that there are indirect crime prevention policies being implemented by public and private sectors based on the awareness, advocacy and psychology programs that are social assistance and situational intervention.

In contrast to the expectations of the citizens or some theorist on CP, the CP in Mozambique does not show a linear model and its practice rarely follows the principles as the followers just use their military or militias experiences. For instance, unconsciously they have practiced two models of CPs: before the conference, the CP was more interventionist and pro-crime prevention - francophone - and after, they have implemented a new model based on criminal information gathering, basically to clarify the crime and solve local conflicts similar to the problem-solving community policing.

What are the policy implications of this study? Obviously, for better practices on the implementation and so the concreteness of crime prevention policy, the principles of a policy have to exist in reality before they can be universalized in sense that it can be made nationally uniform. Making it uniform will avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretation, which mostly gives space to corruption, nepotism, bureaucracy and many other issues, *enemies of state* in the name of experience or being dependent on one single person which brings the risk that in case of death or removal from the "*chair*" the country loses the gains of the entire "*processes*" of the policy.

It seems, therefore, that achieving the point at which the practices are just slightly difference from their principles and for the crime prevention policies become effective and efficient as predicted, might require Mozambique, and arguably other developing countries, to invest in indirect crime prevention policies. In the longer term this creates results by claiming for more focus by investors and donors on social projects creating advocacy, awareness, human right promotion which are some of the main central point for human development.

Finally, the best way to overcome the shortage of the CP is the empowerment of the "*sectorization*" service by the PRM because it resembles the francophone community policing.

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Legislation

- Decree - Law 54/75, May 17.
- Law 5/79 of 26 May
- Law 19/92, 31 December
- Decree 19/92 of 17th May
- Decree 15/2000 de 20 de Jun
- Decree 11/2005 of 10th of Jun
- Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique (1990)
- Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique (2004)
- Judgment 4/CC/2012 of 5 of September
- Mozambican Code of criminal procedures (CPP).

Appendices

Appendix 1 Interviews

To MPs in Republic Assembly (AR)

1. *In the field of prevention, the PRM has been implementing some policies of crime prevention. As a member of "Committee...." what is your understanding on the policies of the PRM on crime prevention?*
2. *One of the techniques of crime prevention implemented by the PRM is Community Policing, how do you analyse the process of CP in Mozambique?*
3. *As 'law checkers' and representative of the people of Mozambique, how could the CP been implemented in order to satisfy the needs of the people in terms of crime prevention?*
4. *Why is the CP practice declining?*
5. *What are the people complains about crime prevention in your area of action?*
6. *What is the legal framework of CP in Mozambique?*

To Generals or Senior Officers of the Police of the Republic of Mozambique

1. *What is the origin of CP in Mozambique?*
2. *What are principles that surround the implementation of the CP?*
3. *Why the CP has been implemented as such?*
4. *How has the CP been implemented in Mozambique?*
5. *What are the motives behind the decline of involvement of both PRM and the community on the implementation of the CP?*
6. *What is the actual status of implementation and consideration of CP as one of the Crime Prevention strategy?*
7. *What are crime prevention policies implemented by the PRM?*
8. *What is the involvement of other public and private sector on crime prevention?*

Responsible for Policy Community at Central Level and "ground" level

1. *What is the idea behind the CP in Mozambique?*
2. *What are the successes of CP so far?*
3. *What have been the highest points of CP in Mozambique since its emergence and why was that?*
4. *Why has the CP been implemented as such?*
5. *What could be done to reach the exact point of full success?*
6. *What is the uniqueness of the Mozambican CP comparing with other parts of the world?*
7. *How has PC being practiced?*
8. *What is necessary for the CP to reach its highest point?*

Population

- 1. What is the knowledge that you have about the CP?*
- 2. How has it been practiced?*
- 3. How has it helped the community?*
- 4. Who are the people involved in CPs?*
- 5. What has been your contribution toward CP?*
- 6. What is the difference between having the CPC and living without it?*

Focus group discussion

- 1. What is your understanding about the stage of the CP in your neighbourhood?*
- 2. Why the CP has been taken in action/account as it is by the implementers (PRM and the members of CP)?*
- 3. Has the CP always been implemented as such?*
- 4. What are the difficulties behind the implementation of the CP?*
- 5. What are the possible solutions for the CP to work as it was in its highest moments?*