RESEARCH ARTICLE

Citizens in uniform

Roadblocks and the policing of everyday life in Zimbabwe

Kathryn Takabvirwa [ID]

Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Correspondence
Email: ktakabvirwa@uchicago.edu

Abstract

Amid economic and sociopolitical turmoil in Zimbabwe, police roadblocks proliferated throughout the country, creating sites not only of extraction but also of citizen engagement. These sites show that sociality mediates policing, as police and policed together negotiate the precarities of living in the wake of crisis. Roadblocks are key to the performance of the state as such. Yet this occasions the very stage on which the state's failings are manifested, as officers are rendered highly visible and scrutable on the road—this visibility is central to sociality, in a mechanism of power that relies on enfleshing the system of policing by those through whom the state acts. Whereas conceptualizations of governance in Africa often take people as a corrupting element, here, the peopling of the system is central to its operation. Encounters at roadblocks invite a reconsideration of reified ideals of policing and power in governance, including reified concepts of disciplinary power.

KEYWORDS
Africa, citizenship, disciplinary power, policing, precarity, roadblocks, sociality, Zimbabwe

We came upon the roadblock suddenly. As we rounded the bend, Zimbabwe Republic Police officers came into view, in their blue and gray uniforms, arms draped in the signature yellow reflective sleeves of the traffic police. It was May 2015. We were on the A5 highway, somewhere between Harare and Chegutu. An officer stepped into the road and waved us to a stop. Roadblocks abounded in Zimbabwe. They were operated by police officers—no soldiers. They did not carry guns, yet their authority was certain. To be on the road was to encounter police, repeatedly, yet each time, my stomach would tighten. The other passengers and I glanced anxiously at each other and at V, the driver.[1] To hitch a ride in V's car, each of us had paid him the standard intercity bus fare. Using one's private vehicle to offer public transport was called *pirating*, and it was prohibited. We had not gone around the car saying our names and devising a story for how we were related. But the officer did not ask V who his passengers were or how he had come to have us in his car. Relief. The problem was that V had overtaken another vehicle at a continuous line. The fine was $20, the officer told him.[2] Fines were to be paid on the spot. V would not pay. He argued with the officer that he did not have cash on him to pay his ticket. It was unreasonable, he felt, to expect that

drivers always be in a position to pay fines. Who in Zimbabwe could produce $20 on demand? He said angrily to the officer, "Ndikakuti budisa $20 so-o, unayo?" That is, "If I say to you, take out $20 now, can you?!" The officer told V he was being a bigmouth, to which V replied, rather rashly, with contemptuous pleasure, "Kana 50 cents yekombi, hauna!" (Even 50 cents for a *combi*, you don't have!), as he pulled the car back into the road. *Combi*s are the country's main public transport vehicles. Affronted, the officer pointed at V and rebuked him, telling him, "Unozviona sani?" ("Who do you think you are?"; lit. "Who do you take yourself for?").

We drove on. I was relieved that the police did not call us back to settle the question of "who did V think he was." But there was a more pressing question buried in the officer's retort: Who did V think the police were? This question seemed to edge into each encounter we had with the police, unvoiced yet threaded through the looks, gestures, and spaces of anticipation as we engaged in the rituals of inspection. The question reverberated beyond V's brushes with the police and stood central in policing encounters on the roads in Zimbabwe. As I sat in V's car, it had been three years since police roadblocks had begun proliferating throughout Zimbabwe, multiplying

the sites where police and policed were brought into regular, frictional contact. Mounted on the highways linking towns and cities, as well as on roads within towns, roadblocks stood as a common feature of everyday life. They were a symptom and a product of the staggering economic and sociopolitical turmoil that Zimbabwe has been undergoing for the last 25 years, at the height of which, in November 2008, inflation hit 89.7 sextillion percent (89,700,000,000,000,000,000,000 percent; Hanke & Kwok, 2009).[3] Many Zimbabweans left the country, often migrating regularly between Zimbabwe and South Africa. This intensification of mobility in a region long shaped by migration, together with a heightened informalization of the economy, spurred the explosion of roadblocks throughout the country. In June 2016, there were four official police roadblocks on the four-and-a-half-mile road from where I was staying to the city center. Roadblocks were the insertion of the state into the mundane practices of everyday life. What had once been a 10-minute drive to work or to drop children off at school became an hour-long series of negotiations with the officers at the roadblocks.

In this article, I examine how police and policed ask each other who they take each other for, and how this relates to power's operation as an embodied experience between citizens. I focus on the five-year period, 2012 to 2017, when police officers along the country's roads stopped and inspected vehicles—sometimes probing the same vehicle multiple times a day.[4] Each inspection could cover a plethora of items. The police would ask to see one's driver's license, car radio license, vehicle registration, and insurance. They would check if seatbelts were fastened, how many passengers one had, how worn the tire treads were, whether all the wheel nuts were present, whether the windscreen (windshield) was cracked or dirty, whether there was a spare wheel, whether there was a fire extinguisher, whether the fire extinguisher was expired, whether there were reflective triangles, a reflective vest, red honeycomb stickers, white honeycomb stickers, and on and on. With so many potential sites of fault, roadblocks provided a node for the government to extract money through traffic fines, with some money also pocketed as bribes. Officers stationed at the roadblocks told me roadblocks were a safety measure, to enforce traffic law and thereby preserve life. Yet there is another story, wrapped up in attempts to extract and to protect, a story about how power is exercised by and through people, about the subjectivity of police officers, and about what it means to hold together as a state in a time of crisis.[5]

Inspection engendered a form of intimacy, one in which "the state" appears as and through police officers who crouch to inspect the treads on one's tires, who lean in through the car window to count one's passengers. In noting this, I am inspired by Monroe's (2016, p. 123) assertion that "police perform a kind of embodied work that is part of the everyday formation of the state." In what follows, I examine the implications of this embodiment and the ways that this mode of state formation is read and engaged by those subjected to policing, as well as the implications this has for citizenship. I take roadblocks as a site where the officers, and through them the state, are rendered increasingly visible and thus liable to assessment. When power ostensibly from the state operates through people, it is

deeply personal and mediated by precarity and sociality. Like those they police, police officers are implicated in the precarities of citizenship and of everyday life, precarities that have come to characterize life in Zimbabwe. Here, encounters evince the ways that motorists not only recognize officers as somewhat precarious but also call for officers to recognize this precarity both in those they police and in themselves.

The article is based on 24 months of ethnographic fieldwork I conducted on policing at roadblocks in Zimbabwe: 15 months continually from 2014 to 2015, and three months each year from 2012 to 2017—on the roads, in private and public transport vehicles, at police stations, and in the spaces of everyday life into which roadblock experiences flowed through retellings: at hair salons, in line to fetch water, and in the moments before church started. I went through roadblocks as a woman in her late 20s and early 30s, as a black person,[6] as a Zimbabwean, as yet another passenger in an overloaded vehicle trying to make it home safely, and as an ethnographer learning not to zone out on the bus when I was exhausted from listening, seeing, and learning from my fellow passengers and the drivers who tolerated my questions. I did my fieldwork in a midsized town in the country's Mashonaland/Midlands region. I do not name the town out of consideration for the people among whom I had the privilege of living and working.

As a point of departure, the article responds to how scholarship on governance and policing, particularly in Africa, often understands state officials. The latter usually appear in this literature either as bureaucrats beholden to institutions (that is, serving "the uniform") or, in the terminology of corruption, as individuals pursuing their own interests rather than those of the state project (that is, serving themselves). While anthropological scholarship is admittedly more nuanced than this binary suggests, the nuances nonetheless lie in the continuities of this binary. Attending to officials as themselves full citizens, the article proposes an alternative analytic. It considers officials—in this case, police officers—as socially contextualized actors. It examines how police officers operate not just as men or women in uniform, but as *citizens* in uniform. In so doing, it hopes to contribute to a fuller understanding of policing, the state, and citizenship in Africa. The article builds on scholarship that interrogates the continued recourse to ideal-type conceptions of policing and of the state. Such a move is imperative given that such constructions maintain frameworks that often hold African states as aberrant or deficient, maintaining an ideal against which these states are read to be "failing," when in fact the ideal type does not exist as an empirical reality. A case of this is to be found in conceptions of disciplinary power, which is posited as impersonal and depersonalizing. Challenging this mode of analysis, the article shows that roadblocks do not function as sites of disciplinary power, and that they invite a reconsideration of disciplinary logics more generally.

Policing can serve as "a privileged site for staging efforts … to summon the active presence of the state into being," as Comaroff and Comaroff (2004, p. 809) argue (cf. Steinberg, 2014, p. 182). This is of particular note given Zimbabwe's history. From independence, Zimbabwe had what Hammar (2008, p. 430) describes as a "far-reaching formalisation of everyday life, through the rituals and regulations of a

'responsible,' highly bureaucratised state" (see also McGregor, 2002, p. 12), even as state formation was rooted in party politics (Ranger, 2004). In the wake of economic turmoil, roadblocks became central to negotiating and reconfiguring citizenship and state power in this "highly bureaucratised" context. Roadblocks serve as a stage for performing the strength and continuity of the fractured state. Through police in crisp uniforms and polished boots, the government attempts to perform itself to the citizenry as able to examine tire treads again and again, building the sense that—to put it in Abrams's (1988, p. 63) terms—"the state" is "really there and really powerful." Yet, in so doing, it occasions the very stage on which its failures are shown, since the performance of "the state" relies on its mediation by police officers. What are ostensibly citizen-state encounters actually unfold as negotiations between citizens.

PRECARITY: WHEN "THE FATHER OF TOMORROW" IS TOO THIN

We were approaching the roadblock. The police were visible up ahead. Two of the police officers stood off to the side, a third in the middle of the road waiting to stop vehicles. I was in M's combi—a 15-seater Toyota HiAce minibus. All vehicles on Zimbabwe's roads were liable to be stopped at roadblocks, but combis were prime fodder, glutted as they often were with ticketable offenses: broken side-view mirrors, expired radio licenses, carrying too many passengers. As we drew closer to the police that particular morning in May, I counted 18 or 19 passengers, though the combi was certified to carry only 15. A passenger turned to the driver, M, and asked whether we would be stopped, what with the overload. "He doesn't arrest me, that one. He's ZANU-Ndonga," M said, ZANU-Ndonga being an opposition party. Surprised, I asked how he could tell what the officer's political affiliation was, let alone conclude that based on that affiliation, the officer would not arrest him. "He's so thin," the driver said jokingly. "I'll tell him that he's ZANU-Ndonga and I'm [ZANU-]PF. I only get arrested by ZANU-PF. PF deals with PF." The people in the combi laughed with the driver. ZANU-PF was the ruling party. Once prominent in the early years after independence, ZANU-Ndonga had waned after its founder, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, died in 2000. The joke about the officer being "so thin" might have been intended as a jab at Ndau people, what with ZANU-Ndonga associated with Ndau people. I read it as a gibe about the officer's standing. By saying he was "so thin," the driver implied that the officer was failing to feed himself properly. It was a commentary on financial means, an ironic reversal that allowed the joke to hold as such. There was the police officer, employed with a regular income, in one of the historically most respectable professions open to black people from the colonial period, failing to attain or sustain the social aboveness expected of him. Where ZANU-PF stood for power and plenty, albeit through plunder, the driver's "I'm PF" was more a claim to status than an expression of political affiliation. It allowed him to boast, "I only get arrested by ZANU-PF. PF deals with PF." The officer's "thinness" spoke from his uniform, to class him out of the right to not be mocked by a combi driver.

Central to the roadblock's operation as a site of power is the subjectivity of the officers themselves. Police officers are embodied instantiations of the state. The officer who stands as an agent of the state is a rotund man in his mid-40s. Or she is a woman whose back aches from standing in the sun all day. She has not had a raise in years and wonders how much longer she can dodge the landlord, since the rent money has gone to paying school fees. Or the officer is a man whose uniform feels looser each day, as he realizes that his wife is right: he is growing thin. He hears his mother's voice in the song "Batai Mazwi" by renowned Zimbabwean musician Leonard Zhakata (1996). It is the song of the mother who wonders where the child she labored to raise has disappeared to as she struggles alone. He longs to salvage from his salary the dollars to send her for food, or to use as bus fare to visit her, as a sign that he knows her struggle, that he remembers her pain. The unfulfilled dream weighs heavily in Zhakata's song, as he sings the words of the heartbroken mother:

> *Hanzi ndakamurera mwana wangu …*
> *mumwechete, sezai regondo …*
> *Ndikati Samatenga, tariraiwo nhiyo yangu iyi*
> *nerimwe zuva ichave jongwe …*
> *Akura zvake mwana; ave kuzvionera …*
> *Ini ndinongotamburawo nanhasi …*
> *Nhasi zvinondinetsa ndozviudza aniko; zvandaiti*
> *ndiwe baba vemangwana*

Translation:

> She says I raised him, this my only child …
> like the eagle's precious egg …
> I said, God of Heaven, watch over my hatchling
> One day, it will be a rooster …
> He's grown, the child; he fends for himself …
> As I hunger and toil still …
> Who do I tell what ails me now; I thought you were
> the father of tomorrow[7]

Zhakata's song played over speakers in the buses and scratchy radios on Saturday afternoons. It is an appeal to the unnamed listener to remember his mother. The listener is the subject of a form of urbanization in which one leaves the rural areas behind, kin and all, and fails to fulfill the familial duties for which they had ostensibly migrated. As scholars of southern Africa and elsewhere have shown, an aspirational element drives migration and urbanization. Those who move to work in urban areas hope to send remittances to their families in rural areas. These flows of money maintain families, literally, by keeping family members alive and, figuratively, by maintaining kinship ties and familial roles of provision and participation (Cole, 2010; Ferguson, 1994; cf. Worby, 2010). These patterns are rooted in colonial governance in southern Africa, whose policies turned Africans into laborers and migrants whom colonial society could exploit (Phimister, 1974). They did so by instituting a myriad of taxes—hut tax, dog tax, child tax, and so on—to force Africans to participate in the cash wage

economy (Davis & Döpcke, 1987, p. 73; van Onselen, 1976). This system of taxation disarticulated Africans from their lands and homes (Phimister, 1974). As Zhakata sings, the child has grown up and gone to work in the city, but the sustenance chain is broken. The mystified mother asks if her child is saving up his pennies to buy a plane, a train, or maybe a ship, while his mother "hungers and toils still," forgotten (Zhakata, 1996). Yet the child now grown stands at the roadblock, today the driver of a combi, tomorrow the police officer in uniform. The song of unrealized hope echoes between the police and those they stop, singing itself from within the officer: "I thought you were the father of tomorrow."

Those in the combi could laugh at the officer described as "too thin" because they knew what it meant to struggle to provide for their own families. In Shona, *baba vemangwana*, the father of tomorrow, means both the one who will be a father in the future and the one who will give rise to the future—who will sire the future. Not only will he wear the mantle of father, but he will also sire the hopes that compose the future. Understanding the ways officers are implicated in the difficulties of fathering the future is central to understanding how "the state appears in everyday localized forms" (Hansen & Stepputat, 2001, p. 5). As the effects of an unstable currency, chronic power outages, and the prohibitive cost of living reach police and policed alike (Jones, 2010), the officers at the roadblock stand, like the people they are commissioned to police, in a state of precarity, under an extractive state. Power does not operate in the clean, institutionalized manner of bureaucratic engines. It exists in a messy field of human relations, in exchanges between friendly, overworked, interested parties. In the postcolony, the state official is caught up in the failure of what Ferguson (1999) aptly terms "the expectations of modernity"—that sense of loss over not only a status once attained but now eroded by the economic crisis, but also the failure of aspirations once symbolized by independence and participation in the global economy.

ROADBLOCKS, POLICING, AND THE IDEAL-TYPE STATE

A history of roadblocks and policing

To understand policing as a site of citizen politics in Zimbabwe, it is necessary to consider the histories that have forged the state and the police. Policing in the country has a variegated history, and it stands as a key site where continuities between the colonial and postcolonial period are at once evinced and deeply contested (White, 2015). Rhodes's British South Africa Company (BSAC), which colonized what is now Zimbabwe in 1890, relied on paramilitaries to police the colony. When the BSAC clothed itself in state form to become Southern Rhodesia, the BSAC's paramilitaries were formed into a police force: the British South Africa Police (BSAP; Brogden, 1987, p. 12). Thus, the colony's first official police emerged from a private company's paramilitary forces (Stapleton, 2011, p. 4; White, 2015, p. 5). The police, as an institution, was formed to enforce extraction and domination. Policing served as part of a range of techniques to maximize the Rhodesian state's ability to "know"

and thereby name the population, in gendered, racialized, and classed ways (Lyons, 2004; Stoler, 2010), and to restrict movement into urban areas and thereby create cities as white spaces while delimiting women's mobility (Barnes, 1997). The BSAP conscripted black officers into its ranks (Gibbs et al., 2009). As Stapleton (2011, p. 5) notes, black officers outnumbered white officers from at least 1918 through the end of the colonial period, their proportion increasing over time. These officers were kept at a lower status than white officers, the racial hierarchy playing out even in the uniforms black police were forced to wear—shorts instead of trousers—and in their being forced to walk barefoot (Stapleton, 2011, p. 155; cf. Hornberger, 2011). On the one hand, black officers were trained, salaried professionals, having the status and respectability that came with that, and they were agents of the state vested with its authority, albeit constrained (Stapleton, 2011). On the other, they represented an oppressive state whose repression they themselves were subject to (cf. Biko, 1978, p. 49).[8] African police, Stapleton (2011, p. 55) notes, were despised by their fellow Africans during the colonial period, seen as cruel "sell-outs," benefiting from wielding an oppressive form of power (see also Vambe, 1972, pp. 106–7).

At independence in 1980, the Zimbabwe Republic Police was formed to replace the BSAP. Many of its building blocks were the residue of the BSAP (Muzondidya, 2009), since the newly formed government adopted many of the structures of the colonial state that preceded it (Muzondidya, 2009, p. 185; White, 2015). The colonial infrastructure was overlaid with anti-colonial aspirations. In the 40 years since independence, policing has continually reflected the struggle between colonial logics and the question of the postcolonial. Roadblocks are a site where this struggle plays itself out.

Roadblocks are not in themselves new. The Rhodesian government mounted them during the 1970s liberation war. After independence, roadblocks were used sporadically, to check for drunk driving during holidays and the transport of red meat during outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease (Scoones et al., 2010). They also appeared during the 2008 elections, and in 2005, when the government dispatched officials to demolish homes and arrest and displace informal traders during what came to be known as Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Drive Out the Filth; Potts, 2006; Takabvirwa, forthcoming). But whereas they were once exceptional, appearing only in times of danger (war, disease, accident periods) or of concentrated state violence (Murambatsvina and elections), roadblocks became a part of routinized everyday life in 2012. This occasioned sites for regularly interrogating the relationship between the police and those they police.

Reified ideals of policing and the ideal-type state

Efforts to understand police officers in relation to those they police have been complicated by a recourse to ideal types, both of the police and the state. Conceptions of policing often maintain what Hornberger (2011, p. 130) terms the "reified ideal" of policing, in which police are seen as "unbiased" and as providing "security and protection to all, equally and inclusively."

Similarly, as Jauregui (2016, p. 11) notes, "public police authority is structured by a legal bureaucracy that is supposed to be rational and impersonal." This is especially the case in "the ideal typical liberal democracy deriving from colonial European models" (p. 11). Yet, Jauregui underscores, "such rational authority has never been a reality in pure form, but it remains a normative principle" (p. 11). That is, it is not that there are places where the ideal type operates and others where it does not. Rather, the ideal type itself is not an empirical reality anywhere. Yet it endures, among scholars as an analytical tool and among police and policed as a category of experience. For this reason, it must constantly be set aside (Hornberger, 2011; Jauregui, 2016).

Reified ideals persist through the idea that the world of policing can be cleaved into two worlds. The first is a "liberal" world, governed by democratic ideals and imagined as a sphere in which the ideals of policing can operate within the regimes of the ideal-type state. The second is an "illiberal" world, exemplified, according to Martin (2018, p. 138), by "apartheid, American slavery, and colonial regimes." Yet, rather than seeing the world as split into these two versions, liberal and illiberal, we can consider how societies that claim to be governed by liberal-democratic ideals have illiberal spaces folded into them. This can be seen, for example, in their treatment of racialized minorities or immigrants (Smith, 2015, p. 385).

Similarly, the reified model is maintained through legacies of the state-society debate, in which "the imagined state-society dividing line remains implicit in most critical discourses of governance" (Jauregui, 2016, p. 11), despite long-standing critiques that have sought to challenge this. In the reified model, "the state remains a conceptual externality … as do its agents" (p. 11), including the police, who are seen as separate from the rest of the public. Holding the police as normatively separate can be a means of legitimizing them (Herbert, 2006, p. 488; cf. Byler, 2021) or of cultivating the suspicion and trust that surveillance requires (Feldman, 2015, p. 27).

Furthermore, conceptions of policing often maintain the idea that policing is "impersonal … [as] a normative principle," even though it is not (Jauregui, 2016, p. 11). A close reading of ethnographic studies of policing shows that policing is not only personal but also political and partisan (Brodeur, 2010; Hornberger, 2011). Police occupy what Monroe (2016, p. 131) terms "a vexed position," their work "contingent on localized relations of social hierarchy." Officers navigate the spaces within and beyond the law, doing so as people formed among and in relation to those they police (Beek, 2017; Takabvirwa, forthcoming). Kyed (2017, p. 224) notes how police officers in Maputo were "locally embedded," sometimes operating adjacent to the courts and the law, their judgments informed by "familiarity and compassion for the life situations that people found themselves in" (see also Steinberg, 2014). As officers, complainants, and accused work together, officers become enmeshed in social relationships and operate within them (Hornberger, 2011, p. 131, 144).[9]

Police officers and those they police stand in relation to each other in ways that are informed by both the histories and ideologies of non/citizenship. In the Americas, where polic-

ing is woven through with anti-blackness, black and brown people are often ascribed prior guilt (Coates, 2015; Ralph, 2020; Smith, 2015). In immigration policing, officers' impressions can supplant legal protections (Heyman, 2004; Klaaren & Ramji, 2001; Salter, 2008). In the US, police are trained to understand themselves as ever in danger (Lynch, 2018, p. 37). In France, police harangue African and Arab immigrants, using "racist slurs" against them, and beating and molesting them with batons (Fassin, 2019, pp. 556–59). Citing Nietzsche, Fassin (p. 558) argues that police take pleasure in assaulting these men. While the anti-blackness and physicality of police violence in everyday European and American policing stands in contrast to the seeming banality of everyday policing in Zimbabwe,[10] it is necessary to read the cases above as evidence that even in European and American contexts, policing unfolds as an intensely personal practice and experience, one in which police operate as informed not only by the institutional norms of their respective police cultures, but also by the social and historical conditions of their worlds. It is not the ideal-type state at work, nor is it the reified ideal of policing as unbiased, equitable, or impersonal. Policing encounters in Zimbabwe invite us to reconsider what it means for policing to be conducted by people: that is, by interested, historied, political subjects.

THE MUTUALITY OF PRECARITY

Consider the following case, involving a little red car. People driving between cities often scout bus stops for passengers, using their private cars as a type of public transport vehicle. If they are caught, they are liable to be fined and have their cars clamped by the municipal officers who police these bus stops. On the day in question, a little red Honda Fit inched forward near a bus stop, the driver calling out, "Harare? Harare?" as he searched for passengers headed to the capital city. An officer approached with large yellow metal spikes and a clamp to throw in front of the driver's wheels. Seeing the officer, the driver signaled left, turned at a corner, circled the block, and returned to continue calling, "Harare? Harare?" The car got its last two passengers and set off. As we stood there watching the car go, I asked the officer if he had noticed that there was a passenger in the boot (trunk). "There's a person in the boot?!" the officer replied and laughed heartily. In the humor lies recognition that police and policed are caught up together in the crisis economy and the need to do what one must to live—the need to "make a plan," or as it is known colloquially in Shona, *kukiya-kiya* (Jones, 2010). Citizenship is not only about positionality with respect to the state, but also about relations between people who are subject to state authority. In the wake of hyperinflation, a citizen is one who can recognize in another person—driver and officer alike—the mother who waits for them to call, and the prayers that constituted their world, as she appealed to Samatenga, the God of Heaven, to "watch over her hatchling," as Zhakata (1996) sings. It brings to mind Hornberger's (2011, p. 131) contention that models that hold police as separate, their work as impersonal, leave "no space for the complexity of the state-citizen encounter in contemporaneousness."

Policing unfolds as a dialogic encounter. The motorists in the theater of the road orate and gesticulate, their self-contortions and declarations reaching back to the officer in a commentary on their social positions and their coimplication in the grand theater that is life in Zimbabwe. Motorist and officer engage each other in the mutual production of their speech. Folded into this exchange is a call for officers to recognize themselves as precarious, as shown by the "not even 50 cents" encounter described above. There is a call to recognize the mutuality of precarity, a call that presses forward through humor, scorn, or appeals to set aside the rituals of inspection. One such appeal is evidenced in the following encounter.

I was in a combi driven by a man in his late 20s. The officer at the roadblock signaled us to stop, and the combi came to a halt right beside the officer. Before the officer could say anything, the driver leaned his head out the window and said, "Please, *blaz zvinhu hazvina kubalansa*. Please *chingondiregerai ndiende*!" This translates roughly as "Please, *blaz*, things aren't balancing [my finances are not coming together]. Please just let me go!" The officer pointed at the driver and said a half-accusatory, half-reprimanding "Iwe!" (You!/Hey!) and told him he could go. The men did not know each other, not even from the roadblocks. *Blaz* is a slang term for "brother." It can invoke a kind of familiarity and the faintest wink of fictive kinship, though more than anything, it implies an effort to encircle the referent as a compatriot. Referring to the officer as *blaz*, the driver risked offending him by appearing disrespectful, even though he used the honorific form of the verb "to allow" when asking to be allowed to proceed without inspection. A cynical reading of this exchange would be that the officer let the combi go because he had accepted that this driver would not pay anything—whether an official fine or a bribe. Policing, however, is often about the rituals of inspection and, through them, enacting power without need of money changing hands. In policing, the state can appear as various things: as "the law," as a representation of ideological forms, or as a conception of authority forged over time as people have learned—as Althusser (2008, p. 55) might put it—to be "obedient to God [and] … to de Gaulle." Yet motorists like this driver see the officer as more than a representative of "de Gaulle" or, in this case, the Zimbabwean government. The officer, rather than insist on protocol, allowed himself to stand as *blaz*, as a compatriot who understands what it means for finances to not be "balancing."

Roadblocks allow for redefining the terms of the policing exchange. I began this article with a policeman who expected V to produce $20 for a traffic fine; V retorted that not only could the officer himself not conjure up the $20, but the officer could not pay "even 50 cents" for combi fare. Shortly after V and I left the roadblock that day, I asked him what had possessed him to argue like that with the officer. He explained that he "knew those men" well. He was on that highway every day, and every day they stopped him at the roadblock. He described a type of understanding born of multiple interactions. This was part of the sociality that had built up between them over the years—a kind of friendly harassment, in which he could tell the officers how unreasonable their enterprise was. This "even 50 cents, you don't have" touched at the heart of the tensions in policing at roadblocks. Police in Zimbabwe have considerable authority. When an officer raises her hand to stop your car, you slow down, stop, and park for as many hours as the officer sees fit to detain you. Yet the officer has no gun and no vehicle with which to chase you if you flee. There is a reality in what V told me later about the police: "I'm in my car, and you're baking in the sun. You don't even have a piece of a car of your own, huh!"

The police are brought close in everyday policing, producing a form of intimacy central to the experience of policing. Where proximity can intensify the sense of power exerted on those liable to it (Chalfin, 2008), it can also reveal power's imperfections. This is evident even in the way the police themselves navigate transportation in Zimbabwe. Police at the local stations in my field site did not have vehicles for everyday use. They walked or hitchhiked from their stations to the points along the road where they would set up roadblocks and could be seen walking back in the evening, reflective sleeves slung over their shoulders, ticket books in hand. Once, when I was in a combi heading to town, there were two police officers waiting for public transport: a short man in a brown uniform, with a hard visor hat, and a woman in a skirt. The officers had two men with them, handcuffed to each other. Metal cuffs. One set. You would not have known the men were under arrest had it not been for the handcuffs. The combi driver told his conductor (fare collector) to tell the officers the vehicle was full, though it was not. The combi inched toward the four, as the driver and conductor debated whether to pick them up. Would the arrested men pay their 50-cent fares? When we finally drew up next to the officers and arrestees, the female officer complained that the combi had not wanted to carry them. The four climbed aboard, and we continued. The men under arrest sat in the third row, the officers elsewhere, each squeezed in among the other passengers. I leaned over and asked the driver if he was glad to be carrying the police with their arrestees. It was good for him, no? His combi was now an official vehicle. He would blaze past the roadblocks and tell the cops there he was carrying "the government." "Ha!" he said with contempt. "Not in the least. If it were like that, then we'd like them"—meaning the police—"but they'll write you a ticket for overload." Sure enough, we were stopped at a roadblock five kilometers later. The male officer in the combi made a sound of annoyance and told his fellow officer, who had stepped out to allow a passenger to exit, "Tell them we're rushing to court! Who's there?" craning his neck to look out the window. That day, the combi was not inspected. On many other occasions, though, combis were ticketed for overloading, even when uniformed police sat squeezed among the passengers, themselves causing the vehicle to exceed the allowable limit. Such instances show how officers' uniforms can be muted as they move among their fellow Zimbabweans. Even while transporting prisoners to court, police are enfolded into the general public in ways that challenge the persistence of the "imagined state-society divid[e]," which locates police as "state" and as removed from society (Jauregui, 2016, p. 11).

SYSTEMATIC, ENDURING BUREAUCRATIC KNOWLEDGE

The ethnographic vignettes above speak to what is produced in policing at roadblocks. Equally telling is what roadblocks

do not produce. Roadblocks result in volumes of paper in the form of traffic tickets. Officers stand by the road equipped with ticket books. The tickets have the words "Admission of Guilt" printed in thick black ink at the top. The officer fills out the ticket, the motorist signs their admission of guilt, pays the fine, and is issued the white top copy of the form. A carbon copy is retained by the police. By now, police stations have amassed a world of paper documenting the offenses of Zimbabweans on the road. Yet the production of documents at roadblocks has not "shored up … governmental power" (Feldman, 2007 p. 420). Instead, each paper records offenses as single events.

Examining the development of South Africa's documentary regimes of control, Breckenridge (2004, p. 1) notes that "modern discipline is maintained … by a dispersed 'meticulous archive' that situates individuals in 'a mass of documents that capture and fix them'" (see also Foucault, 1975). Documents can operate as sites and techniques of legibility, hegemony, and control, codifying otherwise complex social relations and flattening them, simplifying and ossifying their terms, to produce a population as legible and craft regimes that are "manipulable from the center" (Scott, 1998, p. 35), though it is difficult to directly and continuously surveil dispersed populations on a wide scale (Giddens, 1985, p. 14, 46).

Yet, at roadblocks in Zimbabwe, officers did not systematically collect information or statistics on people's characteristics or behavior—such as their rate of transgression, whether they were repeat offenders, and so on. There was no "meticulous archive" created. This phenomenon, which characterized policing on the roads, is well illustrated by example. Caroline, a woman in her mid-30s, was in a car accident. Her car collided with a 75-seat bus along the Harare–Bulawayo highway. No one died. When she was discharged from the hospital, she was informed at the police station that she had been the party at fault, and that she had to pay a $20 fine, sign an admission of guilt, and get fingerprinted. I was with her as the police officer rolled her fingers over the black ink pad and then pressed them one by one onto the green and white paper. I asked what would be done with the fingerprints. Was she now a convicted offender? The officer said the papers would be stored and sent to Harare. The other party to the accident was not present; while Caroline was being pried out of her smashed car and carried into the ambulance, the bus driver had spoken briefly to the police officers on site, then continued on his journey with his shaken passengers. Caroline's fingerprints were required for her to collect the remains of her car. That was it. The record of the accident would not follow her as she went through bureaucratic or commuting life. She had not killed anyone, so her driver's license was not being revoked. She was not contesting the issue, so she would not go to court. Her insurance premiums would not increase. Caroline was at fault, the police concluded, because she should have stopped at the stop sign before crossing the highway. Caroline explained to me that she had received many tickets at roadblocks for not stopping at stop signs, including stop signs leading into that very highway. These tickets on which she signed her "admission of guilt" did not accrete into a record that would augment her penalty for colliding with that bus, or bear on the state's "record" of her driving, or her insurance provider's.

The exhaustive list of potential points of inspection—reflective vests, driver's license, registration, fire extinguisher, seat belts, and so on—would imply the desire to know all. Paradoxically, however, the police do not collect or aggregate data on the driver as a person at fault. Policing is restricted to the encounter at the roadblock. Even when a roadblock encounter takes motorists to a police station, it is to resolve the roadblock-generated matter there rather than to develop an afterlife of the inspection. When policing continues beyond the space of the roadblock, it is in the narration of the event, the creation of impressions, and deposition of affective residues. As a bureaucratic praxis, the institutional memory is fleeting, emanating from the structure of the system. Roadblocks are not intended to produce "delinquency" or power/knowledge (Foucault, 1975). They are not designed to serve as an entry point within a larger carceral system that would otherwise allow for diffusing surveillance beyond the roadblock into broader society (Foucault, 1975). Motorists leave roadblocks with a document attesting to their "guilt," but there is no traffic school, parole officer, or inspection of the home or family. The absence of such follow-up is not simply due to lack of capacity for such an extensive project. Rather, they do not occur because police inspection at roadblocks is tied to the vehicle and to the motorist as motorist—rather than to the motorist as parent or as taxpayer. The forms of illegality produced by roadblocks are unlike those of the "delinquent"; they posit alternative temporalities to those of carceral systems.

It is well established that systems of legibility engender illegibility, as techniques of surveillance are negotiated, co-opted, and subject to vernacular interpretations (Bakewell, 2007; Jeganathan, 2004; Piot, 2010). In her study of roadblocks in the Central African Republic, Lombard (2013, pp. 157–58) finds that they serve to "further 'non-state' interests." Scholars have found that sites like checkpoints can operate as spaces of order, where routine and reiterative practices can produce authority amid crisis (Feldman, 2007). When created to serve the elite, checkpoints can create a sense of insecurity for everyone else (Monroe, 2016). Encounters in everyday policing can be fragmented and unpredictable, as evasion operates within and in tandem with forms of regulation (Chalfin, 2008; Hornberger, 2011).

In Zimbabwe, not only did unsanctioned practices continue, but new forms of illegality were born of the project of policing. During my fieldwork, vehicles in Zimbabwe tended to have functioning seat belts for the driver and the passenger seat.[11] Drivers and front passengers were required to fasten them, under Section Six of the Zimbabwe Road Traffic (Safety Belts) Regulations of 1987. This law was zealously enforced at roadblocks. Fastened seat belts were one of the first things police officers checked. Yet, time and again, the following scenario played out: I would be sitting in the front passenger's seat. The driver of the vehicle would be driving, seat belt unfastened. As we would approach the roadblock, the driver would quickly reach for his belt and fasten it while looking at me and telling me to hurry up and fasten mine. It would already be fastened. As we would drive away from the roadblock, the driver would unfasten their seat belt. Sometimes drivers would unfasten their seat belts while still in view of the police, as soon as

they were handed back their driver's license to mark the end of the inspection.

Despite the plurality of roadblocks, vehicles in my field site often had a cornucopia of ticketable conditions, like cracked windscreens. Combis negotiated roadblocks in their varying states of disrepair; roadblocks, while a site of inspection, also stood as spaces of selective nonseeing. To collect a few extra dollars, motorists like the driver of the little red car above packed extra passengers into the trunks of their hatchbacks. For years before the roadblock regime, combis certified to carry only 15 passengers carried 18, even as buses carried extra standing passengers in their aisles. But these forms of overloading had become the norm. From 2012 to 2017, however, as the roads filled up with police officers inspecting and fining vehicles, combis not only continued carrying 18 passengers—rather than the legal 15—but they also began to regularly carry a 19th, 20th, and sometimes 21st passenger. People using their cars as public transport vehicles similarly began to squeeze in an additional passenger or two, to cover the cost of being policed.

RETHINKING DISCIPLINARY LOGICS

The permutations at Zimbabwean roadblocks invite us to consider the ways power operates even beyond Zimbabwean policing. In the years since I started this research, I have kept coming back to the question of whether roadblocks were sites of disciplinary power. On the face of it, roadblocks seemed like a quintessential disciplinary apparatus, both at the level of the individual roadblock and collectively, as a system of roadblocks across the county. The very infrastructure of the road network allowed for maximal access to a population that was increasingly on the move: cities and towns are connected by a single highway, making the roadblocks almost inescapable nodes of contact between police and the public. There, it seemed the mobile populace could be subjected to the unrelenting gaze of state power, as the police inspected people, papers, and vehicles, again and again.

Indeed, sites like roadblocks are often analyzed as sites for the operation of disciplinary power. Scholarship on borders and checkpoints underscores how processes of inscription, which inspect and document moving bodies, attempt to fold people "into the disciplinary space of the nation-state" (Fuglerud, 2005, p. 310; see also Behdad, 1998; Salter, 2008; cf. Hull, 2012). There, those who fail to be "normalized" are marked as "deviant" (Das & Poole, 2004; Foucault, 1975). Techniques of control, like documents, roadblocks, and checkpoints, allow for state extraction of human, material, and affective resources from populations (Scott, 1998), for marking the limits of the nation-state and the citizenry (Dauvergne, 2008), and for "knowing" and thereby regulating populations (Torpey, 1998).

Similarly, there is a strong tradition of analyzing governance and the state in Africa more broadly through Foucauldian lenses (Bayart, 1993; Ferguson, 1994; McKay, 2012; Moore, 2005), even as the question whether and how Foucauldian theories translate in African contexts has animated considerable debate

not only in anthropology but also in African studies and international relations (Death, 2013; Gibson, 2004; Mungwini, 2012; Stoler, 2010; Vaughan, 1991; Williams, 1997). These debates center on the idea that Foucault's theorization does not account for African states' particular colonial histories and the segmentation of populations for racist ends. As Vaughan (1991, p. 9) rightly notes, for Foucault, power "does not emanate from any identifiable social group, is not 'exercised' in any deliberate fashion, but is 'capillary' in its operation." In the colonies, however, power was much more "repressive" than it was "productive," effecting and maintaining differences between groups of people (Vaughan, 1991). Some scholars argue that African states are not liberal enough to be examinable in Foucauldian registers (Death, 2013).[12] Indeed, Foucault himself notes the disjuncture between carefully constructed apparatuses of power and the empirical realities of life. He writes that power is exercised in "a witches' brew" of material realities, compared to "theoreticians' schemas" (Foucault, 1991, p. 81; see also Dreyfus & Rabinow, 2014). Li (2007, pp. 278–80) clarifies that Foucault makes this concession on the conditions that shape the structures of governance, but that he maintains his view that the effects of the apparatus hold constant.

The genius of a disciplinary schema is that over time, the official is rendered unnecessary, as people internalize the regulatory gaze and learn to self-police. As Foucault (1975, p. 201) puts it, "The perfection of power should tend to render its actual existence unnecessary … creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it." Ultimately, the sense of constant visibility among the policed obviates the need for the officer and for the apparatus of policing, such as the roadblock.

This is not, however, the case at Zimbabwean roadblocks. Instead, the mode of power at roadblocks depends on the officer's continued presence and the roadblock's continued existence. The apparatus is not broken or dysfunctional. Nor are Zimbabwean police somehow failing to operate the schema of power, failing to render themselves unnecessary to its operation and thus failing to render the materiality of the system unnecessary. Rather, roadblocks do not seek to become unnecessary. They do not operate to instill in Zimbabweans the conviction that they should not overload their vehicles or carry paying hitchhikers. The system of power is not designed to render itself "independent" of the human element. In theory, the "perfection of power" is when the motorist pulls off his jacket at the end of the day and finds that slowly, quietly, his garments have been weaving themselves into the khaki and blue of the Zimbabwean Republic Police uniform—that he has become his own police. In practice, police and policed operate on each other, as motorists and police collide and converse at roadblocks, and the transmutations that occur as a result of their exchanges reach under the officer's vestments, to lay claim on the officer as fellow citizen—as *blaz*, as one who also depends on combis for transport.

Power does indeed operate in a "witches' brew." In the world of dirt and sweat, power is exercised between people, who wield it from within historied selves. Colonial residues underlie the surfaces of citizenship, and unpaid rent, frustrated husbands, and pothole-gouged roads rattle drivers and police

as they approach each other on the road. Each is caked in the gunk of the cauldron. There, the effects are not as I would have imagined. Roadblocks in Zimbabwe do not operate as sites of disciplinary power, as shown by cases like Caroline's and the unfastening of seat belts. This is not because the Zimbabwean police fail to "discipline" the mobile citizenry. Rather, roadblocks stand as spaces of sociality, illegality, and negotiation over the terms of citizenship and of the authority to police, to detain, and to extract. Roadblocks do not operate according to a mechanism/logic that rests for its success on the depersonalization of power, on rendering unnecessary the person through whom power is exercised. Rather, power is deeply personal, and policing depends for its success on the continued presence of the people through whom the state appears. This personalized mode of policing is not a corruption of the system; it is the mechanism that allows roadblocks to stand as sites of sociality, where police and policed interpellate each other as political subjects navigating their places in the precariat economy.[13]

It is not only in Zimbabwean policing that questions of history and context are germane. Recent scholarship on policing offers an important corrective on conceptions of police violence. Scholars note the need to attend to systemic and historical factors (Coates, 2015, p. 78; Ralph, 2020) rather than propagate discourses that locate the problem of police violence in the person of the police officer, through the trope of a few "bad apples" (Ralph, 2020, p. 114, 152–53), thereby undermining efforts to confront systems of injustice. In proposing that we attend to the subjectivity of police officers and how these are read and negotiated in policing, I do not intend to divert attention from systemic issues. Rather, I hope that questions of subjectivity and systemic violence can be held in the same frame. In attending to the interplay between subjectivity and history, between the citizen and the uniform they wear, one can trace out the tenor of citizenship.

CONCLUSION: MANNING THE STATION

Roadblocks recenter the person in the mechanism of power. In his cogent summary of theories of state power, Geertz (1980, p. 123) outlines what he terms the "great beast" view of the state, which "locates its power in its threat to harm, [where] the function of the parade and ceremony of public life is to strike fear into the minds that threat confronts … a dark noise to impress the impressionable and to induce in them a trembling awe." Roadblocks are not only a means of extracting new streams of revenue, but they are also a crucial part of the repertoire for performing and enacting the idea of an all-powerful Zimbabwean state. They show that even as the government loses its ability to maintain the health care and education systems, or a functional currency, it can still inject itself into everyone's commute—all day, every day. Yet, as the officer leans in to check one's fire extinguisher, the commuter too can lean in and see the goose bumps on the emperor's skin. It is the state as spectacle—not the deliberate, ritualized performance that the state uses to draw "its force" (Geertz, 1980, p. 123), but the spectacle of state as mediated by human officials. The myriad policing encounters at roadblocks stand as micro-instances of the reversal of the spectacle, in which motorists can appeal to the officer as a fellow precariat.

Roadblocks operate according to a nonnormalizing logic, as policing unfolds as an encounter between citizens, in uniform and out. There, the mode of power at roadblocks requires the officer's continued presence as the flesh and blood of the state, their work redefining the meanings of "state." Given the need to develop theories of the state grounded in empirical evidence (Bierschenk & Olivier de Sardan, 2014; Gupta, 1995), that take African experiences as a center in their own right (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012), it bears asking: What would it look like to take as the starting point the assumption that police are political subjects, rather than starting from normative ideals rooted in the ideal-type state, and needing to set these aside, thereby maintaining them as a recourse? Not doing so limits the ways we can understand what it means for policing and for the state to be enfleshed. The recourse to ideal types leaves us with frameworks that hold the people in the government apparatus as its broken elements, as the corruption of the system, rather than its core components.

To understand the lived experience of policing, it is necessary to examine policing encounters as encounters between citizens, each negotiating their place in a crisis economy. The officer, enfleshing the system, is not the broken element. The officers, in/and their engagements with those they police, are key to understanding the modalities of this system, to moving beyond reified ideals and understanding how policing operates in everyday life. The police at the roadblock stand in view, their "thinness" assessed, irritation or empathy at the ready, the dust refusing to cling to their polished shoes, laughing, looking, law-enforcing, Whatsapping each other snippets of Zhakata's song: "I thought you were the father of tomorrow."

ORCID
Kathryn Takabvirwa https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1321-0261

ENDNOTES

[1] All names given for fieldwork interlocutors are pseudonyms. I conducted my fieldwork in Shona and English. In this article, where I have presented direct quotes in English, they are my translations of my interlocutors' words, which were spoken in Shona.

[2] All references to currency are in US dollars. During my fieldwork, Zimbabwe used the US dollar as its official currency within a multicurrency regime, the local currency having been abandoned in 2009.

[3] It is difficult to pinpoint when the economic turmoil in Zimbabwe started. Raftopoulos (2009) points to 1998 as an inflection point in Zimbabwe's longer history.

[4] During this 2012–17 period, roadblocks were operated by police. After the removal of Robert Mugabe as president in November 2017, soldiers displaced police officers from the road, initially mounting limited soldier-operated roadblocks, then joint soldier-and-police roadblocks, before periods with no roadblocks, after which police roadblocks reappeared. This article concerns the five-year period during which roadblocks appeared and persisted as police roadblocks, before the November 2017 shift.

[5] I use the term *crisis* in keeping with historians of Zimbabwe who characterize this period of upheaval as such, while keeping in view Roitman's (2014) provocation to interrogate the work that invoking "crisis" does.

[6] Although there is a convention to capitalize *Black*, I have not seen this in Zimbabwe. Thus, in keeping with how Zimbabweans write about themselves, I have used lowercase *black* and *white*.

[7] Transcribed and translated from Shona by the author.

[8] Biko (1978, p. 49) famously argued that "there is no such thing as a black policeman." He saw black officers under apartheid as having lost the right to a claim to "the black world," even as they were simultaneously unacceptable "to the white society."

[9] This article is not about relationships glossed as *patronage*, *patron-client relations*, or *neo/patrimonialism*, terms that often animate discussions of state officials in Africanist scholarship.

[10] This is not to understate police brutality in Zimbabwe. Rather, brutality usually unfolds in circumscribed spheres typified by national politics: against protesters or opposition supporters, and during elections, and it involves different police units, like riot police (Sachikonye, 2011).

[11] Many vehicles were in relatively good condition, in part because Zimbabweans imported lightly used vehicles from Japan. Old, spluttering vehicles were stopped at roadblocks more often than newer ones.

[12] Death (2013, p. 769), citing Williams (1997), writes that some critiques of Foucault see him as "having little of value to say to those outside metropolitan café culture."

[13] This is not to discount practices that present as "corrupt," like soliciting bribes, but to attend to the centrality of the human element in the system as a whole. This, bearing in mind Muir and Gupta's (2018, p. S5) account of how "extraordinarily polyvalent" "corruption" is.

REFERENCES

Abrams, Philip. 1988. "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State (1977)." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1): 58–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1988.tb00004.x.

Althusser, Louis. 2008. *On Ideology*. London: Verso. First published 1971.

Bakewell, Oliver. 2007. "The Meaning and Use of Identity Papers: Handheld and Heartfelt Nationality in the Borderlands of North-West Zambia." International Migration Institute Working Paper Series 2007.01, University of Oxford, 2007. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:c8f20c0b-ade8-4574-a34a-bb7b18344f47.

Barnes, Teresa. 1997. "'Am I a Man?' Gender and the Pass Laws in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe, 1930–80." *African Studies Review* 40 (1): 59–81. https://doi.org/10.2307/525033.

Bayart, Jean-François. 1993. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. Translated by Mary Harper, Christopher Harrison, and Elizabeth Harrison. London: Longman.

Beek, Jan. 2017. *Producing Stateness: Police Work in Ghana*. Leiden: Brill.

Behdad, Ali. 1998. "INS and Outs: Producing Delinquency at the Border." *Aztlán* 23 (1): 103–14.

Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, eds. 2014. *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies*. Leiden: Brill.

Biko, Steve. 1978. "Fear—an Important Determinant in South African Politics." In *I Write What I Want*, 73–79. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. First published as "Frank Talk," 1971.

Breckenridge, Keith. 2004. "Lord Milner's Registry: The Origins of South African Exceptionalism." History Department Seminar Papers 2004.02, University of Kwazulu-Natal, Durban, February 2004. https://phambo.wiser.org.za/files/seminars/Breckenridge2004.pdf.

Brodeur, Jean-Paul. 2010. *The Policing Web*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brogden, Mike. 1987. "The Emergence of the Police – The Colonial Dimension." *The British Journal of Criminology* 27 (1): 4–14.

Byler, Darren. 2021. "Anti-colonial Friendship: Contemporary Police Violence, Storytelling, and Uyghur Masculinity." *American Ethnologist* 48 (2): 153–66. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13020.

Chalfin, Brenda. 2008. "Sovereigns and Citizens in Close Encounter: Airport Anthropology and Customs Regimes in Neoliberal Ghana." *American Ethnologist* 35 (4): 519–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00096.x.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2015. *Between the World and Me*. New York: Spiegel and Grau.

Cole, Jennifer. 2010. *Sex and Salvation: Imagining the Future in Madagascar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 2004. "Criminal Obsessions, after Foucault: Postcoloniality, Policing, and the Metaphysics of Disorder." *Critical Inquiry* 30 (4): 800–824. https://doi.org/10.1086/423773.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 2012. *Theory from the South: Or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. New York: Routledge.

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, eds. 2004. *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Dauvergne, Catherine. 2008. *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, Benjamin, and Wolfgang Döpcke. 1987. "Survival and Accumulation in Gutu: Class Formation and the Rise of the State in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900–1939." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14 (1): 64–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057078708708160.

Death, Carl. 2013. "Governmentality at the Limits of the International: African Politics and Foucauldian Theory." *Review of International Studies* 39 (3): 763–87. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210512000307.

Dreyfus, Hubert, and Paul Rabinow. 2014. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fassin, Didier. 2019. "The Police Are the Punishment." *Public Culture* 31 (3): 539–61. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-7532691.

Feldman, Ilana. 2007. "Observing the Everyday: Policing and the Conditions of Possibility in Gaza (1948–1967)." *Interventions* 9 (3): 414–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698010701618653.

Feldman, Ilana. 2015. *Police Encounters: Security and Surveillance in Gaza under Egyptian Rule*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-politics Machine*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferguson, James. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House.

Foucault, Michel. 1991. "Questions of Method." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller; translated by Colin Gordon; 73–86. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fuglerud, Öivind. 2005. "Inside Out: The Reorganization of National Identity in Norway." In *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World*, edited by Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, 291–311. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in 19th Century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gibbs, Peter, Hugh Phillips, and Nick Russell. 2009. *Blue and Old Gold: The History of the British South Africa Police 1889–1980*. Johannesburg: 30 Degrees South.

Gibson, Diana. 2004. "The Gaps in the Gaze in South African Hospitals." *Social Science and Medicine* 59 (10): 2013–24. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.03.006.

Giddens, Anthony. 1985. *The Nation State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gupta, Akhil. 1995. "Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State." *American Ethnologist* 22 (2): 375–402. https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1995.22.2.02a00090.

Hammar, Amanda. 2008. "In the Name of Sovereignty: Displacement and State Making in Post-independence Zimbabwe." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26 (4): 417–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000802481999.

Hanke, Steve, and Alex Kwok. 2009. "On the Measurement of Zimbabwe's Hyperinflation." *Cato Journal* 29 (2): 353–64.

Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Finn Stepputat. 2001. "Introduction: States of Imagination." In *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State*, edited by Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, 1–40. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Herbert, Steve. 2006. "Tangled Up in Blue: Conflicting Paths to Police Legitimacy." *Theoretical Criminology* 10 (4): 481–504. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480606068.

Heyman, Josiah. 2004. "Ports of Entry as Nodes in the World System." *Identities* 11 (3): 303–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/10702890490493518.

Hornberger, Julia. 2011. *Policing and Human Rights: The Meaning of Violence and Justice in the Everyday Policing of Johannesburg*. Routledge: New York.

Hull, Matthew. 2012. *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jauregui, Beatrice. 2016. *Provisional Authority: Police, Order, and Security in India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jeganathan, Pradeep. 2004. "Checkpoint: Anthropology, Identity, and the State." In *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, edited by Veena Das and Deborah Poole, 67–80. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Jones, Jeremy. 2010. "'Nothing Is Straight in Zimbabwe': The Rise of the Kukiya-Kiya Economy 2000–2008." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36 (2): 285–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.485784.

Klaaren, Jonathan, and Jaya Ramji. 2001. "Inside Illegality: Migration Policing in South Africa After Apartheid." *Africa Today* 48 (3): 35–47. https://doi.org/10.1353/at.2001.0054.

Kyed, Helene Maria. 2017. "Inside the Police Stations in Maputo City." In *Police in Africa: The Street Level View*, edited by Jan Beek, Mirco Göpfert, Olly Owen, and Johnny Steinberg, 213–30. New York: Oxford University Press.

Li, Tania Murray. 2007. "Governmentality." *Anthropologica* 49 (2): 275–81. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25605363.

Lombard, Louisa. 2013. "Navigational Tools for Central African Roadblocks." *Journal of the Association of Political and Legal Anthropology* 36 (1): 157–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/plar.12008.

Lynch, Caitlin. 2018. "Don't Let Them Kill You on Some Dirty Roadway: Survival, Entitled Violence, and the Culture of Modern American Policing." *Contemporary Justice Review* 21 (1): 33–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2018.1415045.

Lyons, Tanya. 2004. *Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Martin, Jeffrey. 2018. "Police and Policing." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 47:133–48. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102317-050322.

McGregor, JoAnn. 2002. "The Politics of Disruption: War Veterans and the Local State in Zimbabwe." *African Affairs* 101 (402): 9–37. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/101.402.9.

McKay, Ramah. 2012. "Documentary Disorders: Managing Medical Multiplicity in Maputo, Mozambique." *American Ethnologist* 39 (3): 545–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01380.x.

Monroe, Kristin. 2016. *The Insecure City: Space, Power, and Mobility in Beirut*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Moore, Donald. 2005. *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place and Power in Zimbabwe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Muir, Sarah, and Akhil Gupta. 2018. "Rethinking the Anthropology of Corruption: An Introduction to Supplement 18." *Current Anthropology* 59 (S18): S4–S15. https://doi.org/10.1086/696161.

Mungwini, Pascah. 2012. "'Surveillance and Cultural Panopticism': Situating Foucault in African Modernities." *South African Journal of Philosophy* 31 (2): 340–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/02580136.2012.10751780.

Muzondidya, James. 2009. "From Buoyancy to Crisis, 1980–1997." In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo, 167–200. Harare: Weaver Press.

Phimister, Ian. 1974. "Peasant Production and Underdevelopment in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1914." *African Affairs* 73 (291): 217–28. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a096469.

Piot, Charles. 2010. *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Potts, Deborah. 2006. "Restoring Order? Operation Murambatsvina and Urban Crisis in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32 (2): 273–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070600656200.

Raftopoulos, Brian. 2009. "The Crisis in Zimbabwe: 1998–2008." In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo, 201–32. Harare: Weaver Press.

Ralph, Laurence. 2020. *The Torture Letters: Reckoning with Police Violence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ranger, Terence. 2004. "Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30 (2): 215–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/0305707042000215338.

Roitman, Janet. 2014. *Anti-crisis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Sachikonye, Lloyd. 2011. *When a State Turns on Its Citizens: 60 Years of Institutionalised Violence in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Salter, Mark. 2008. "When the Exception Becomes the Rule: Borders, Sovereignty, and Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 12 (4): 365–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020802184234.

Scoones, Ian, Alec Bishi, Neo Mapitse, Rebone Moerane, Mary-Louise Penrith, Ronny Sibanda, G. R. Thomson, and William Wolmer. 2010. "Foot-and-Mouth Disease and Market Access: Challenges for the Beef Industry in Southern Africa." *Pastoralism* 1 (2): 135–64. https://doi.org/10.3362/2041-7136.2010.010.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Smith, Christen. 2015. "Blackness, Citizenship, and the Transnational Vertigo of Violence in the Americas." *American Anthropologist* 117 (2): 384–87. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12242.

Stapleton, Timothy. 2011. *African Police and Soldiers in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1923–80*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Steinberg, Jonny. 2014. "Policing, State Power, and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy: A New Perspective." *African Affairs* 113 (451): 173–91. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adu004.

Stoler, Anne. 2010. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Takabvirwa, Kathryn. Forthcoming. "Make Shift: Street Vendors as Mobile Infrastructure in Zimbabwe." *Current Anthropology*.

Torpey, John. 1998. "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate Means of Movement." *Sociological Theory* 16 (3): 239–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00055.

Vambe, Lawrence. 1972. *An Ill-Fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*. London: Heinemann.

Van Onselen, Charles. 1976. *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900–1933*. London: Pluto.

Vaughan, Megan. 1991. *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

White, Luise. 2015. *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, Adebayo. 1997. "The Postcolonial Flaneur and Other Fellow-Travellers: Conceits for a Narrative of Redemption." *Third World Quarterly* 18 (5): 821–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436599714614.

Worby, Eric. 2010. "Address Unknown: The Temporality of Displacement and the Ethics of Disconnection among Zimbabwean Migrants in Johannesburg." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36 (2): 417–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.485792.

Zhakata, Leonard Karikoga. 1996. "Batai Mazwi." Track 6 on *Greatest Hits*, Zimbabwe Music Corporation. Audio cassette; Spotify, https://open.spotify.com/track/2rC8kZHOQJKa7d5tQzMpcl?si=144cf0da2bab4a0d.