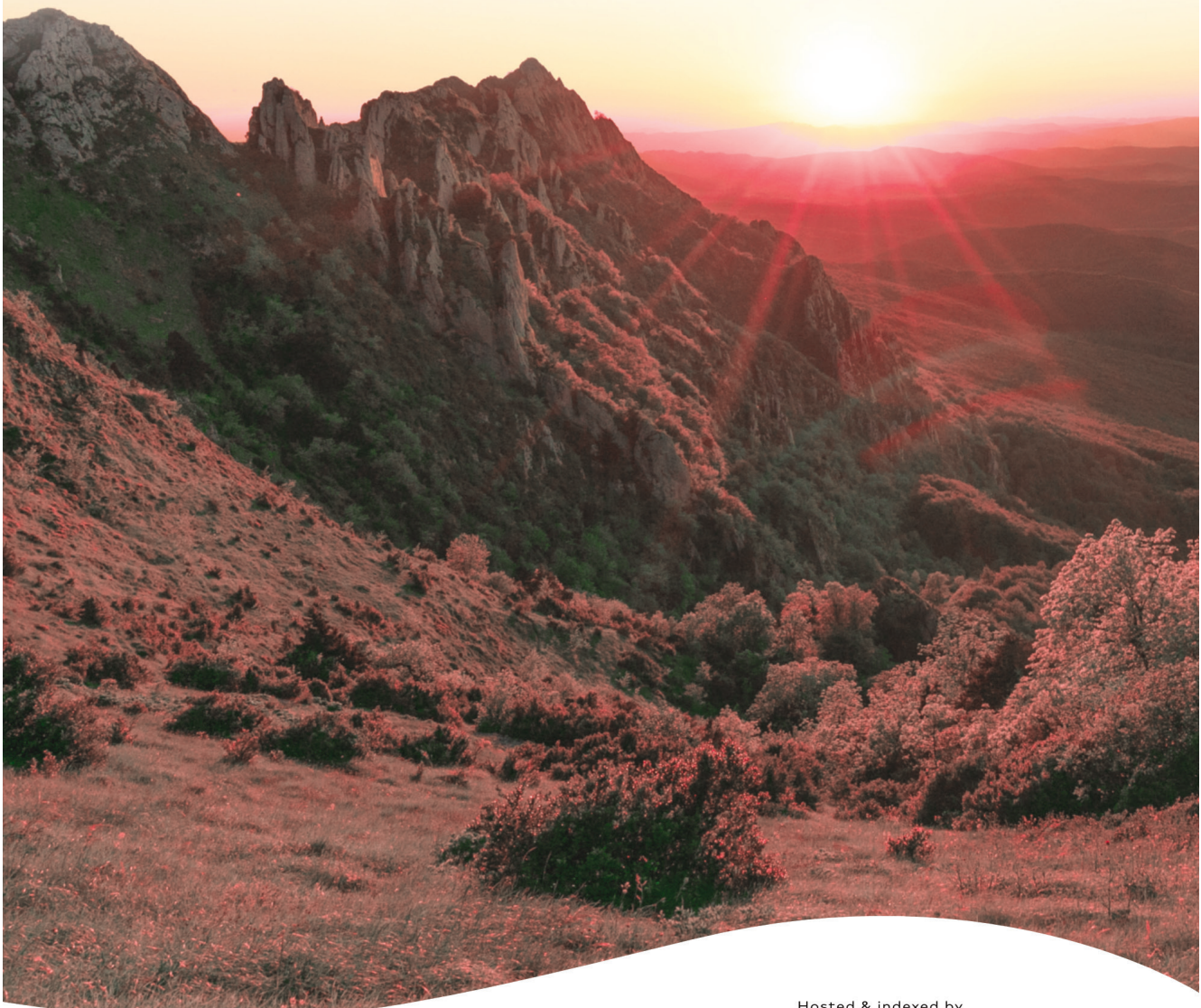


The Dyke

Volume 17 No.1

Special Issue on Drugs and Substance Abuse



Hosted & indexed by
Sabinet
African Journals



'Vapfanha ava havasi kurara neGuka': Zimdancehall, drug and substance abuse.

Wonder Maguraushe^a

^aMidlands State University, Zimbabwe

ARTICLE HISTORY

Published online, 2023

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the nexus between Zimdancehall music and drug and substance use and abuse amongst ghetto youths in Zimbabwe. The study adopted a qualitative design in which observations, interviews and document analysis were used as data collection methods. Lyrical content analysis of ten Zimdancehall songs was also done to expose how they promote or castigate drug and substance abuse. The study revealed that Zimdancehall lyrical content, peer pressure, family disintegration, and availability are the major causes of drug use/abuse by youths in the country. Some Zimdancehall musicians now advance a counter narrative that castigates drug and substance abuse, opposing the earlier one where some of them tended to 'glorify' it given the addiction and mental health challenges that youths now face in life. The government needs to tighten the implementation of anti-drug laws, and Zimdancehall musicians ought to strongly educate and encourage youths to desist from all forms of drug and substance use and abuse. We recommend that artists lyrical content be improved to portray positive messages in a morally acceptable manner so as to combat the problem that has risen to pandemic levels.

KEYWORDS: Drug and substance abuse, immorality, popular music, Zimdancehall



Introduction

The paper critically engages the portrayal of drug and substance use, and abuse, embedded in Zimdancehall music shows and lyrical content. The lexemes are seen as laying down the *modus operandi* for youths' drug and substance abuse encounters in Zimbabwean ghettos.

Music connects people and their values based on shared experiences; it is a means by which certain groups of people define themselves (Frith, 1987). Music has a major impact on creating, shaping and increasing interests, motivations, and desires (Petrucci, 2021). Music is also a social phenomenon, and a medium by which people shape their environment, and depict socio-political events (Dube, 2016); express emotions, portray their values, attitudes, and self-perceptions (Hargreaves & North, 1997).

Music plays a crucial role in the social construction of ghetto youths' understandings of living happy lives. This includes their concept of entertainment, leisure and pastime, and ultimately, shaping their behaviour. To this extent, music can be conceptualised as an agent of socialisation in society. It goes a long way in shaping how young people encounter intoxicating drugs and substances. Music has the capacity to cement and spread existing popular views and practices on the uptake of drugs and consumption of alcohol when people listen to it on their gadgets, as well as during live shows.

Culler's (2015) study considered the relationship between music and substance abuse, and the role of music in the treatment or recovery from substance abuse. The findings suggest that people turn to music as an outside object to alter, augment, or otherwise regulate self-states within changing environmental contexts. Such a relationship becomes a continuity across descriptions of relationships between music and substance use/abuse; between music and processes of recovery as well as in how people talk about their relating to music currently. Music's adaptive functionality seems made available through its personal, and cultural significance in people's lives and its impact in identity formation. Music appears able to function, like substance, as an external phenomenon, to soothe, excite, and distract. The continuity of its use in people's lives creates the possibility for it becoming a support for recovery.

Roberts et al. (1999) analysed 1,000 songs with substance references. Illicit drugs were mentioned in 63% of Rap songs versus about 10% of the lyrics in the other categories. Similarly, alcohol references appeared in almost half of the Rap lyrics, but in 13% or fewer of the other genres. In song lyrics that mentioned

illicit drugs, *marijuana* was by far the most frequent of the illicit drugs mentioned (63%). In general, 27% of the 1,000 songs contained a clear reference to either alcohol or illicit drugs. There were almost no references to tobacco. Substance use formed a central theme in only 2% of the songs and substance use was rarely associated with any motivations or consequences. There were few references that could be considered either explicitly pro-use or anti-use.

In this paper, the global extent of the problems of drug and substance use, and abuse is discussed. The discussion zeroes in on Zimbabwe where most youths are now drug addicts. The paper initially details how the Problem Behaviour Theory (PBT) (Jessor, 2014) informs analysis in this qualitative study. The next section traces the roots of Zimdancehall in which local artists began emulating the Jamaican dancehall culture as Zimdancehall rose to popularity. The paper goes on to chronicle the consumption of alcohol and taking of drugs and substances during Zimdancehall live shows. Of the purposively sampled and analysed Zimdancehall songs, nine songs selected make reference to drugs and substance abuse. The lyrics of five of these songs 'glorify' alcohol and substance abuse.

As the problem escalates, Zimdancehall artists turned and began to castigate drug and alcohol abuse as noted through the second set of 5 songs. The analysis steers a discussion in which we argue that Zimdancehall music lyrics have perpetrated alcohol and substance abuse which has risen to pandemic levels in the country. We recommend that these artists join forces with authorities in fighting this problem behaviour that is threatening the lives of ghetto youths in the country.

Background

The United Nations stated that the prevalence of substance and drug abuse had become a global issue as no nation was spared (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2017). Globally, the drug and substance abuse epidemic responsible for shortened life years and it is now widespread and growing, causing a devastating impact on adolescents and young people with an increased likelihood of developing substance use disorders that lead to clinically and functionally significant impairment (Muswerakuenda et al., 2023). Socio-economic challenges facing many nations have been singled out as the major cause of this problem behaviour. The scourge in drug and substance abuse in Zimbabwe is also a result of various socio-economic factors that are leading to addiction. It is believed that lack of employment and shortage of entertainment

are amongst the factors that lead to the use of drugs as a pass time activity whereupon some end up addicted (Muswerakuenda et al., 2023).

The number of drug addicts in Zimbabwe is worrisome and police stations are recording drug abuse cases on a daily basis. Zimbabwe does not have official data on drug or substance abuse, but organisations such as the Zimbabwe Civil Liberties and Drug Network (ZCLDN) (2020) say anecdotal evidence points to high illicit drug use in the country, especially after the outbreak of Covid-19 which has reached crisis levels (Nyathi, 2022, Marandure et al., 2023).

School girls in Mutare were arrested in 2016 for smoking mbanje (Gunda & Mbwirire, 2020). Eight teenage students at a private girls' school in Harare were expelled in 2022 after the school authorities found illicit drugs in their bags during a school trip (Dhlamini, 2023). The ZRP embarked on an anti-drug abuse campaign, nabbing more than 2000 youth culprits by mid-February 2023. The streets in Zimbabwean ghettos are oversupplied with drugs of all kinds notably bronclear, cocaine, coordain, heroin, histalix, *katsotsi*, *mbanje*, *mangemba*, *musombodhiya*, *tegu-tegu*, *soldier*, *twumbwa* and *zed* (ZCLDN, 2014). It is estimated that 60% of Zimbabwe youths are on illicit drugs. As such, youths are the most affected age group by drug and substance abuse in the country and the problem stems from lack of self-control and negative self-concept (Maraire & Chethiyar, 2020). According to Gunda and Mbwirire (2020: 41):

The Minister of Health and Child Care reported at a workshop at Harare Central Hospital in 2017 that 45% of all mental cases in Zimbabwe are due to drug and alcohol misuse and abuse. The same Ministry's Mental Manager also said figures show 57% of all admissions in psychiatric institutions to be due to drug and substance misuse and abuse. Anti-Drug Abuse Association of Zimbabwe (ADAAZ) statistics show that up to 43 per cent of learners know of schoolmates found in possession of cigarettes.

The Herald stated that 65% of the youths in Zimbabwe suffer drug-induced mental health problems. Chitungwiza Central Hospital reported in 2016 that 60% of its mental patients were youths aged between 15 and 24. Youths contribute 62% to the total population, which is a significant number to influence popularity of Zimdancehall music. Drug abuse is now a culture on the streets where it is difficult for them to survive without abusing drugs. Jakaza and Nyoni's (2018) study revealed that street children have now moved from abusing glue to the use of emerging hard-core substances such as *mangemba*, bronclear, *maragadu*, *musombodhiya*, coordain, high alcohol liquors such as blue diamond and cane-spirit. The said study also exposes how drug and syndicate leaders are now

engaging street children to sell drugs and substances. This has increased the vulnerability of young people to substance abuse.

In Zimbabwe, the music industry has been hard hit by alcoholism and drug dependence as evidenced by stories that have come out in national papers and news concerning artists. According to Musa (2021), substance abuse is present in show business. Substance abuse in the arts is at times encouraged by all sorts of 'crazy' beliefs such as increasing energy levels to match their audiences every time they have a show, and that artistes are rebels and nothing shows rebelliousness than substance abuse. For some genres like reggae, hip hop, ragga, dancehall and Zimdancehall, drug and substance use are part of the sub-culture's identity. Worldwide, musicians are more likely to die from alcohol and drug abuse than non-musicians. A lot of international artistes have had substance abuse episodes. While some have dealt with substance abuse, sadly for others it led to their demise.

Immoral behaviour in Zimbabwean society has always been associated with failure. The issue of drug use and alcoholism have for many years been condemned in various sectors of society. Many local and international musicians have been accused of taking illicit drugs at some point in their career. Some have openly shared their experiences, gone into rehabilitation and are recuperating while others continue to be in denial that they have a problem. Alcoholism and drug use have been associated with problem behaviour, which is a pattern of serious maladaptive actions in society (Jessor, 2014). Excessive use of substances is one of the leading causes of the transmission of HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis C given the involved sharing of the same injection with infected individuals, which happen to be just some of the effects of alcoholism and drugs.

Drugs and alcohol are often used by artists to 'calm' their nerves before big performances, or as an enabler to perform among many other reasons. Medically, drugs block signals sent, or from the brain, and they alter perceptions and emotions; vision, hearing, and coordination (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2004). This gives a perception of invincibility to the artist and takes away 'anxiety', and shyness. However, this has physical and psychological consequences in the end.

Of Zimdancehall music

Zimdancehall music is a contemporary genre in Zimbabwe whose popularity is on the rise, particularly among urban youths (Ureke & Washaya, 2016). Zimdancehall, which has become a major artistic and musical phenomenon in the country, is one of the growing youth expressive sub-cultures promoting, to some extent, drug abuse in Zimbabwe (Kufakurinani & Mwatwara, 2017). Despite many campaigns discouraging drug and substance abuse, the dependence problem continues to be a thorn in many societies and Zimbabwe has not been spared. Zimdancehall is infamous for its, sometimes 'dirty' lyrics, and the stereotyped 'ghetto' / dancehall culture of drug and alcohol abuse and rebellion that pervade its creation and consumption (Chihora, 2016; Ureke & Washaya, 2016).

Zimdancehall artists have laced their songs with lyrics that actually profess their use of drugs and alcohol. A worrisome number of Zimdancehall songs employ violent, and obscene language, which has recently found its way into popular music largely owing to the arrival of home studios in the Zimbabwe music industry. What used to be prohibited by professional studios is now being recorded in the home studios, who concentrate more on their charges per hour and care less about the content of the songs. Resultantly, violent lyrics can now be heard in Zimdancehall songs.

What is very puzzling is that Zimdancehall music has tended to surpass *sungura* music in terms of popularity despite the prevalence of these markers of immoral behaviour. In this article, the Jamaican roots of Zimdancehall music is surveyed, noting how it has evolved to popularity, and spreading globally, over the years. The role of home studios in popularising the genre associated with ghetto youths is examined wherein drugs, and alcohol are either involved or mentioned. Chirivanda (2019) says Zimdancehall provides a social commentary on issues such as poverty, unemployment, hustling or finding ways of getting by; the consumption of drugs as well as criticising the maladministration of the government. According to Maphosa (2024), Zimdancehall music started in the late 1990s but with just a little appreciation from the Zimbabwean society (www.zimdancehallartistes./.../com). It is a genre which was not popular or listened to by many people. That was until around 2006 when artists such as Winky D started to be recognised by the society. According to *The Daily News* (2014) artists like Major E, Booker T are celebrated as the pioneers of this genre up to the time the genre faded during the year 2001 forcing some of the artistes to abandon this type of music. It was not until 2006 when the genre started

to grow gradually. Now it is being rated as one of the most popular genres in Zimbabwe with the help of Simbarashe Maphosa, the pioneer of Zimdancehall music.

This study, therefore, examines the nexus between music, drugs and substance use and abuse. The main research question for this study is: How has Zimdancehall music lyrics contributed to the growth of immoral behaviour such as drug and alcohol abuse? How have such lyrics eluded the Censorship Board in Zimbabwe?

Methodology

In this study, qualitative research design was used in which multiple methods allowed for triangulation of findings, thus suggesting credibility (Bowen, 2009; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). This approach allowed use of two or more qualitative methods in the data collection and analysis process. Davis, Golicic and Boerstler (2017) assert that the results obtained from the use of the multi-method approach are more reliable and trustworthy as compared to those achieved through a single method approach.

Observed were the goings-on at Zimdancehall live shows. Lyrical content analysis of ten selected Zimdancehall songs was done to expose how they encourage or discourage drug and substance abuse. Document Analysis was also used in this study to uncover what other scholars researched on drug and substance abuse. Bowen (2009) defines document analysis as a qualitative research tool for interpreting written documents so as to give meaning to a topic. In this regard, documents related to the growth of dancehall music were reviewed which included both peer reviewed and grey literature. The advantage of using documents is that they are a very reliable source of data and they are easily accessible.

This study employed online interviews which were conducted using the survey monkey application to capture the views of key informants, practicing musicians and artist managers to whom questions were asked and got answers from in the study (Hart, 2005). This allowed for data to be collected electronically without any physical contact taking place. Considering that Covid-19 virus has led to the prohibition of physical contact, it was very applicable as a method of collecting data as the respondents simply respond online. This was a way of respecting the social distance laws put in place by the World Health Organisation and the national governments. Survey monkey was administered using email to reach a lot of participants in a very short space of time.

Theoretical Framework

The Problem-Behaviour Theory (PBT) (Jessor, 2014) as the lens through which to analyse immoral traits peddled through Zimdancehall music was adopted for this study. PBT is defined as any behaviour that causes issues or is seen by society as undesirable, usually causing some sort of negative response (e.g., verbal disapproval, incarceration). The Problem-Behaviour Theory suggests that there are factors, both internal and external, that influence problem behaviour within an individual. PBT explains three systems: the perceived-environment system, the personality system, and the behaviour system. There are factors within each system that are responsible for either encouraging problem behaviour or protecting the individual from problem behaviour. PBT suggests that it is the balance of instigation factors (encourage problem behaviour) and protective factors that determines whether or not the individual will exhibit problem behaviour.

There are three systems under PBT. The first one is the *Perceived-Environment System*, which includes environmental factors that influence problem behaviour. Instigation factors within this system include, peers that support problem behaviour or engage in problem behaviour, parents who do not disapprove of problem behaviour, minimal parental support and control over an adolescent, and lack of positive parental influence. The second one is the *Personality System* which includes factors within the individual that can contribute to problem behaviour. Influential personality traits include, low self-esteem, low value on academic achievement, low religiosity, enjoying being alone, high value of independence. The third one is the *Behaviour System* which includes behaviours that contribute to problem behaviour. Influential behaviours include experimental or regular use of substances and irresponsible driving.

According to Problem-Behaviour Theory, an adolescent who exhibits problem behaviours or any risk-taking behaviour (e.g., alcohol and drug use, truancy, delinquency) is said to have Problem-Behaviour Syndrome (PBS) (Jessor, 2014). Research suggests that even when an adolescent exhibits only one or two problem behaviours, the likelihood of developing more over time is certain. Adolescents with PBS can have substance abuse issues, educational under-achievement, unemployment, and a higher rate of suicide than adolescents who do not have PBS. Most ghetto 'youths' associated with Zimdancehall music possess some characteristics that can be viewed as Problem-Behaviour Syndrome.

The Zimdancehall roots

Zimdancehall borrows musical elements from other countries. Zindi (2014 p. 9) noted “the fusion with foreign elements and music styles.” Zimdancehall music borrowed the ‘Clarks’ dancing style from Jamaica, dressing and the language used in the lyrics. Many Zimdancehall music artists such as Soul Jah Love, Shinsoman, Sir Kalaz and others borrow the Patwa language from Jamaica to enrich the flavour of Zimbabwean dancehall music. According to *The NewsDay*, “Zimbabwean dancehall music mainly incorporates elements of the Ragga due to the contact with Jamaican burns that toured Zimbabwe during 2004” (www.dancehallcontent.com). Winky D had a stint in Jamaica where he performed with Jamaican bands. He is also one of the instrumental figures in introducing the new beat. Many Jamaican bands toured Zimbabwe and local musicians were eager to humble themselves by playing this foreign music, and also imitating foreign performers, and this has come to affect even Zimbabwean dancehall music artists in contemporary times (Dave, 2014.) In Jamaica, where the genre originates from, in the early 1980s, ‘Dancehall’ chanters such as Yellowman, Ninja man, Buju Banton and the late Tenor Saw were among the foundation artists, that paved the way for popular artists such as Major E, Booker T and Godfather Templeman.

Although they borrow from Jamaica, the Zimbabwean artists cited have Africanised the music such that it appeals to wider audience despite some attempts in the past to barn the music. Chirere (2009) says imposing a barn on any art form would almost be impossible since it is the society driving any genre. Generally, it may not be possible to put a barn on any genre because it is the society which drives any genre by liking it and supporting it. Most of the major Zimbabwean ‘Dancehall’ music artists are known for their sober habits, notably Tocky Vibes, who became popular for his mature lyrics in songs such as ‘*Mhai*’ and ‘*Ndivhurei maziso*’. In his songs, Tocky Vibes does not glorify drug and alcohol abuse. However, the competition has become stiff among Zimbabwean ‘Dancehall’ music artists such that there has been a lot of new music being tuned out not just on radio or television, but through other social media platforms.

The genre has always been seen as a copycat of Jamaican culture and way of life and has never been taken seriously and professional recording studios shunned it saying it did not appeal or sell. Zimoyo (2023) says Zimdancehall evolved with technology with a lot of home studios coming and paving the way

for artistes. The year 2005 saw the emergence of Winky D, arguably, the most decorated artist in the genre at the time of writing who released track after track under the label Black Lab records. They were probably the first Zimdancehall music label who went on to release the first tune compilation albums in Zimbabwe with Luckspin and Awareness tune. These tunes introduced artists such as King Labash and also put Daddy Distress back in the fold but all this time it was trading under various names such as urban grooves and dancehall. Zimdancehall music genre was popularised by individual promoters like Godfather Templeman, Simmad and Silverstone sound who would put out live shows in the ghetto (Panorama, 2014). In the present moment the genre has taken over the country and the region with present chanters like Snipper Storm, Winky D, LXG Di Topololo, Quonfused, Sir Kalaz, and Soul Jah Luv just to mention a few. Zimdancehall music is a genre consisting of both the young and the old as its listeners. Zimdancehall music has enormously changed the music landscape in Zimbabwe and is one of the major benefits derived from the introduction of the 75% (later 70%) local content at the turn of the new millennium.

Zimdancehall, thus, is a sub-genre of reggae and raga genres. Most famous Jamaican stars who perform these genres, have no issues with the consumption of the illegal drug, marijuana, for instance. While critics have castigated Zimdancehall's lyrical content for its mixture of raw lyrics and drugs, the genre has been embraced by most youths. Former Sports, Arts and Culture Minister, Andrew Langa, castigated young artistes for their choice in lyrics as he believed that songs that dominate are giving the stamp of approval to behaviours that are alien to the Zimbabwean culture. Langa is quoted in the press as having said, "The lyrics that you sing as musicians should reflect who we are. Why do you want to bring a culture that was never there in Africa? You must instead sing what depicts our country Zimbabwe and its diverse cultures. You must stop singing meaningless lyrics" (Dube, 2014). The Zimbabwean society shuns drugs and immorality but Zimdancehall artistes completely ignore this as they are riding on a wave of fame. Zindi (2014) echoed similar sentiments by indicating that Zimdancehall music's dirty lyrics played off in public spaces like commuter omnibuses threatens to erode the nation's moral fabric as it fuels moral decadence as such should be put to a stop.

Key Informant 1 (Personal Communication, 23 August 2021) indicated that Zimdancehall music originated from the deprived quarter of society where use and abuse of drugs, and substances is common, with the use of

marijuana specifically being attached to music by its connection to reggae and Rastafarianism where the use of cannabis is encouraged through vocalisation and video clips. There is a culture of substance use and abuse associated with Zimdancehall music (Musa, 2021). In the past, artistes were characterised by conservatism. In contemporary times, most popular Zimbabwean artistes from other music genres such as *Sungura* and Gospel are concerned with artists' role modelling and setting good examples to youths. Zimdancehall artistes seem to be disinterested in following this path if they are judged by the lyrical content of their songs. Their manner is reminiscent of rock and roll and hip-hop artistes of the 1980s and 1990s respectively. Zimdancehall artistes live by their own rules which include embracing drugs and alcoholism.

Zimdancehall is also characterised by lyrics which mention the use of drugs as well as substance use during live shows (Musa, 2021). Zimdancehall artistes expect their music to be the soundtrack to dance floors and parties, and not the blueprint to how youths should live their lives. Some of the Zimdancehall artistes believe that listeners should shun what they preach in their songs and instead do what they think is morally right. They do not desire to take responsibility for the behaviour of youths who take drugs as preached in their songs. Red Fox family of DJs, and member MC Smallz, noted in an interview that although their music on the surface seemed to be advocating for the consumption of drugs, it was not something that they actively advocated for as artistes. Ndhlovu (2014) says:

Although the youths hear us chanting on the mic saying youths should smoke mbanje, we say that they should stay away from drugs. That is a marketing strategy because as dancehall artistes we have to be controversial.

Artists, therefore, claim that the lyrics, in most popular Zimdancehall songs, should not be practiced by youths because they are for entertainment purposes. Unfortunately, music is responsible for the way young people conduct themselves. Popular musicians should chant morally and socially conscious lyrics that help to mould the younger generation. Nhara (2023) has a different opinion and argues that while Zimdancehall may play a role in drug abuse among Zimbabwean youths, it cannot be blamed as the sole cause. Nhara calls for an address of the underlying socio-economic and mental health issues that contribute to substance abuse apart from music. Studies have shown that respective resources are required to alleviate youths most of whom live in abject poverty, increase enforcement of drug laws, educate people about the dangers of drug use, provide mental health services to those who need them, and

prevent trauma and abuse through early intervention and support. By tackling these issues, reduction in drug addiction rates is hoped to be realised thereby promoting overall public health in the country. Thus, youth empowerment through provision of education and opportunities for growth goes a long way towards addressing the scourge of a pandemic, rather than blame a particular music genre.

Zimdancehall live shows: Dens of drug and substance abuse

Music has been used to draw crowds to events where drugs are peddled even to minors. Street parties popularly known as '*passa passa*', where youths come to dance to music and have fun, are one avenue where drugs are distributed. In the ghettos, drug lords found and host events and parties where they make a lot of money from selling illicit drugs such as *twumbwa*, *bronzclear*, *mbanje*, etc to young Zimbabweans. According to Key Informant 2 (Personal communication: 25 August 2021):

Most Zimdancehall *passa passa* shows are hosted and sponsored by drug peddlers. Remember there was a wave of themes of DVDs that were a precursor to the popularity of the genre. It is a culture characterised by explicit sensual dances, dressing, drugging, and vulgarity.

The founder of the Youth Against Alcoholism and Drug Dependency (YAAD), Tungamirai Zimonte, lamented how the alcohol industry in Zimbabwe is using music as a powerful marketing tool to promote their products in a way that is very harmful to public health. Reportedly, they place their products in music videos to appeal to audiences resultantly exposure to alcohol marketing increases the risk of binge drinking, and alcohol abuse, by young people. Alcohol sales are noted as make profits for some music sponsors (Marunya, 2023). Most music gigs are done at night, and the cover of darkness tends to mask some youths and enable them to consume alcohol, drugs and substances beyond measure. Delta Beverages, sponsors of the Chibuku Road to Fame Festival, have however, resorted to hosting the competitions during the day.

The list of Zimdancehall artists who praise drugs and alcohol is endless. Psychologist, Tashinga Matsika, is quoted in *The Herald* (22 Feb 2023) saying:

Music is one of the major influences of the rise in alcohol and drug abuse. The praise of drugs and alcohol in popular songs by celebrated artists makes taking drugs seem attractive. Some musicians have gone on to associate being 'high' or drunk to having fun. Many young people currently affected by alcohol and drug abuse listen to contemporary music which is rich in this message.

At one Zimdancehall show where a famous local artist was performing, the researcher observed bouncers with vicious dogs barring the audience from bringing intoxicants into the Harare Gardens venue. Some of the youths complained that they could not enjoy the show when they were sober. As the night progressed, bouncers started reselling the beverages deep into the show. There is laxity of this tight security later in the night when the venue is virtually turned into a 'crack house' of sorts as the youthful crowd start engaging in pleasure-seeking tendencies. Their determination to be high gets phenomenal and they seek illicit drugs such as crystal meth, *twumbwa*, cannabis, bronclear, and *mutoriro* which become readily available deeper into the night. The indulgence of many of these youths stems from the joy of being in a euphoric mood similar to that of the music star on stage. Suppliers manage to smuggle in and sell hard drugs inside the venue where audiences are at liberty to access, and use, such illicit substances.

Observations made at a musical show in Harare brought attention to a glass pipe cleverly made from a broken 3U LED bulb and duct tape which costs between US\$ 5 and 7 depending on the quality of the drug. Inside this makeshift 'bong' were small particles which when heated produced a smoke youths inhaled until they ran out of breath before releasing it through the nose. The superficially tight security at the gate turned a blind eye as clouds of mood-altering smoke signalled an end to decent behaviour. Notably, the police and other security details appeared to be only around to make sure that no one gained free access into the venue, as such and laws broken inside the venue appeared to be none of their business.

The charged-up mood somehow befits Zimdancehall shows where artistes are believed to be under the influence as they chant lyrics in reverence of getting high. The crowd's pursuit of happiness in these environs supersedes the dictates of the law, which is just blind to it. The reason could possibly be that those expected to put a stop to drug abuse are the ones actually peddling the drugs through their runners and lucratively feeding off such actions. According to Dhlamini (2023 p. 1):

An intricate web of powerful individuals, corrupt police operatives and lowly vendors had been bringing drugs to users on the streets, in particular Zimbabwean teenagers and young adults, causing Zimbabwe to be riddled with drugs in recent months.

Zimdancehall lyrics that 'glorify' drugs

Popular musicians impact the lives of ordinary people in a significant way, and when they hype alcohol and drugs, their fans believe that this is the way to go in popular culture. Zimdancehall artists have hyped drugs as through song lyrics as shown in i-v below:

- a) *Pamamonya (There amongst the bouncers) by Soul Jah Love*
- b) *Mzi (marijuana) by Winky D*
- c) *Paita Party (There is a party) by Winky D*
- d) *Tasangana zvidhakwa (We, the drunkards have met) by Shonsoman*
- e) *Musombodhiya (an illicit alcohol brew composed of diluted ethanol or methanol) by Shinsoman*

Over the years Zimdancehall music has been perpetuating drug abuse and some popular Zimdancehall artists have openly sung about taking illicit drugs. The late Soul Jah Love used to be highly intoxicated many times and missed shows whilst drunk. His love for hard drugs is revealed in part of the *Pamamonya* song lyrics:

*“NdiSauro mwana Stembeni
haasi mwana waShamaine,
anoda codeine
haangadhakwe ne Champaigne”
(It is Saul the son of Stembeni not Shamaine; he prefers codeine and doesn't get drunk after drinking champagne).*

At one time he missed a birthday jubilee meant to celebrate him because he was reportedly extremely drunk. The use of drugs and substances is suspected to have contributed to his illness and death. Recently, Silent Killer disclosed on radio that he was taking drugs, while revealing that dancehall star, Dobba Don, was now a wretch battling drug addiction. Either Zimdancehall music influences abuse of drugs, or the drugs influence Zimdancehall music. For example, At Turbulence's show, the artists smoked marijuana on stage and fans reciprocated, throwing sachets of the illicit drug on stage which were picked probably for later use. Saint Floew also admitted on national radio that he was going to South Africa for rehabilitation.

Renowned popular artist and one of the pioneers of Zimdancehall music, Wallace Chirumiko, popularly known as Winky D (Tivenga 2018), is one of

the protagonists in the genre who penned popular songs (*Mzi* and *Paita Party*) depicting scenes of drunkenness. *Mzi* is an example of a song by a popular artist that praises the use of marijuana. He calls it *mushonga wevanoimba* (medicine for musicians) which he smokes in order to be clever and won't allow anyone to dispossess him of (*handitsarwe mzi ndoubhema kuti ndingware*). He sings:

*mumusoro vakomana ngaugare Mzi,
kumapurazi vakomana ngaudyarwe Mzi,
ndouputa naambuya haunyarwe Mzi
(Marijuana must stay in the head. It must be grown on the farms. I can smoke marijuana
with my mother-in-law, I am not shy).*

The song alludes to drug trafficking, the importation (*kubva kuMalawi, Mozambique vanounza zibag reMzi*) of bags packed with different grades of marijuana from Malawi and Mozambique. He misleads youths into thinking that there will be no after effects (*vanogaya ndichaita mad neMzi*) but the truth is that thousands of youths are facing mental challenges due drug abuse. Youths are urged to destroy all other crops and spare marijuana (*usamboteme Mzi tema zvimwe zvirimwa*).

A close look at another song, *Paita Party* also by Winky D, reveals the nexus between joy and drinking alcohol at Zimdancehall shows. He sings:

*Paita party nhasi, ooh ooh eeh! (There is a party today).
Dira kuwa mugirazi (Pour drinks into glasses), ooh, ooh! Eehh!
Maoko arimudenga kunge muclass (Hands are raised as if students are in class).
Party yaka heater boisa bhachi (The party is hot, remove your jacket).
Vanhu varikufara zvapakfurikidza nhasi, kuita kunge Jesu adzika pasi (People are overexcited
today as if Jesus has come down).*

These words typically encourage people to get into a drinking mood to consume alcohol beyond limits. It appears the party is not lit if people are not drunk. Song lyrics like these ones reinforce the wrong notion that one has to get very drunk in order to achieve happiness. The song portrays people drinking alcoholic beverages nonstop (*Vanhu varikunakidzwa kumira tarambidzwa*). The line *Vabereki vatizwa mudzimba dzakapfigwa* (Strict parents have been outsmarted by their teen children) shows that the youths elope from their homes unbeknown to their strict parents to indulge in the beer binge and search for pleasure (*Prezha rabatidzwa, vanhu muchapfidza*). Winky D goes on to sing that the party will not end anytime soon since they want to be left to enjoy themselves (Party yedu

haiperi, hayidi sign Tisiye timbofara isu big time). Different kinds of booze are mentioned in the song;

*Fantan akabata red wine (DJ Fantan is holding red wine),
Ndipe kuoha handimwe Zed ka ini (Give me a soft drink I don't take Zed).*

Shinsoman, in *Tasangana Zvidhakwa*, in which Yoz features, also glorifies drunken behaviour. The song is a typical praise poem for alcoholism. The lyrics show the youth drinking culture of *passa passa* parties where they meet and drink themselves into a stupor

Tasangana zvidhakwa hamusati mationa isu takadhakwa (We drunkards have met; you have never seen us very drunk).

They are drunk but they feel like getting drunk some more (*Ndadhakwa ini ndirikunzwa kuda kungoramba ndichidhakwa*). The youths mix different alcoholic beverages to get drunk very fast through what is referred to as 'Punch' in drinking lingo;

*Togona kutora Breakers tomiksa neSkippers,
titambidzei Viceroy tonyika muviniger (We can take Breakers and mix it with Skippers, hand us Viceroy let us mix it with vinegar).*

Alcohol gives young people Dutch courage:

Kokutyei Tasangana zvidhakwa, tadhakwa, todhakwa kunge tisati tambodhakwa (We are not afraid, when drunkards meet, we drink and get drunk like we have never been drunk before).

When most youths are drunk, they cannot be restrained (*Tadhakwa, hatisikuda kubatwa*). When *Musombodhiya*, the drug, became phenomenal on the ghetto streets, Shinsoman released a song with the same name that became a hit with the youths as well. The lyrics of the song are:

*Takapedza vhiki takadhakwa neMusombodhiya
(We spent the whole week drunk with Musombodhiya),
Toimba Giroriya (we sing Glory).*

The repeated response line *Handikendeke* is an expression which means 'I don't care', in this sense being used by the drug taker to mean that whatever the consequences, they will consume the drug. From these sampled hit songs' themes and numerous others that did not necessarily become hits, one notices that there is a significant connection between Zimdancehall, drug and substance abuse. Its lyrical content focuses on themes such as partying, street life and the uptake of drugs and alcohol. Many Zimdancehall songs normalise, glamourise

and promote drugs and substance abuse. This has negatively influenced some youths, who aspire to emulate their favourite artists, into taking drugs. Key Informant 3 (Personal communication: 29 August 2021) said:

Zimdancehall is associated with protest against unemployment and socio-economic struggles, particularly by youth from the townships. The drugs substances give them confidence to speak out, and they are some kinds of solace but of course, not every Zimdancehall artist takes to drugs.

Key informant 4 (Personal communication: 05 September 2021) indicated that:

Youths who have crossed over the legal age of majority dominate Zimdancehall. The genre is followed by youths and the absence of adults means there is little or no restraint, and as such the youths compete to abuse substances. Freedom of expression subsists in Zimdancehall, and the freedom of expression makes them feel free to experiment on anything including drugs. The abuse of drugs leads to ripple side effects such as addiction and theft to satisfy the cravings from for drugs.

The musicians might be perpetuating, propagating their use, or just reflecting the attitudes and activities of the youths themselves. There is drug and substance abuse in Zimdancehall music lyrics and at live shows as some of the artists admit and the next section analyses songs penned to dissuade youths from the practice.

Zimdancehall lyrics that castigate drugs

Some Zimdancehall musicians have recently taken on the task to avail a counter narrative that disses the use of drugs and substance abuse. They probably have now awakened to the physical, and mental health consequences that drug abusers could develop due to misuse of multiple substances. Inhalants have been reported to result in mental and nervous damage, unexpected death condition due to cardiac arrhythmia, renal, pulmonary and teratogenic effects in some populations (Dell, 2006). Zehra et al. (2018) report that the long and short-term effects of drug and substance abuse include headaches, sweating, depressed mood, decreased appetite, trouble sleeping, nervousness, shaking, nausea, dependence and addiction. The lyrics of the songs shown in 6-10 below discourage drug and substance abuse:

- i) *MaTsom Tsom by Ras Caleb*
- ii) *Unorova shurwa by Kinna*
- iii) *Pazvikona (At the street corners) by Winky D*
- iv) *Guka (crystal meth) by Killer T*
- v) *Munomupireiko doro? (Why do you give them beer?) by Ndunge Yut*

Ras Caleb warned that drug and substance abuse amongst youths has reached pandemic levels. There is need, therefore, to educate and empower youths against drug and substance abuse. RaS Caleb lamented how musicians have been associated with negative behaviour such as crime, burglary, carjacking and most recently drug abuse. Ghetto youths have nothing to do to improve their lives in Zimbabwe. They are battling drug and substance abuse, especially crystal meth (*mutoriro*) and Guka or Dombo (Mbiriyamveka, 2021). In the lyrics of his song *MaTsom Tsom*, Ras Caleb pities ghetto youths who now seem like haunted people *Arikutsomeya uyu ghetto razara Matsom Tsom, ari kuteverwa uyu tevera tevera tevera* (S/he is being haunted the ghetto is now full of haunters, s/he is being pursued/followed). He adds *ini ndonzwa urombo maghetto youths pamoorova dombo* (I feel pity for you ghetto youths when you take crystal meth). The words *Ziva kwawakabva, ndokuti ugoziva kwaunoenda* urge youths to remember their beautiful youthful days where they came from when at school, they were warned that drugs are not 'cool'. Heeding those wise words can lead them to a brighter future.

Kinna sings *Musombodhiya* is a life-changing hard-hitting (*unovarova shuwa*) drug (*iri life yatochinja magear*) that makes its victim very pitiful (*iri life ndotovanzwira hurombo*) (this kind of life, I feel pity for them). *Musombodhiya* can drive an addict to find means and ways of taking it under whatever circumstances, even if they are broke (*vanodhakwa kunyangwe zvakakiya*), even if it means having to resort to gold panning in the morning (*makuseni vanotofuma vari gweja*) he bets (*hapana chekumbozeza vanotobeteta*) to spend his last dollar on this alcoholic beverage. The dancehall singer is determined to advise his addicted brother to stop taking *Musombodhiya* (*asi nhai ndoti dai ndavatsiura*). The situation is dire as the drug addict gets violent, throwing stones whenever he gets intoxicated (*mukoma vangu vanorohwa nemusombo, vachingodjakwa vanopotsera Matombo*). It is a sad situation that is facing ghetto youths which requires mercy and the artist calls for God's powers to intervene (*Zvakuda nyasha mwari isai zvombo*) (It now requires God's intervention).

The drunk person resembles someone possessed by an avenging spirit which must be appeased (*yatova ngozi ko why musingaripise*), and as he walks around clutching his head, he is an accident waiting to happen (*ukavaona vakamonera gotsi wobva waziva ndotosangana nenjodzi*). After consuming the drug, he goes shouting very loud (*kasi vamwa mhamba vongodaidzira hezvo*) like a mad man chasing nothing. He staggers (*hezvo kumira vongodzedzereka*).

Musombodhiya is a very strong drug which causes the drunkard to lose his ubuntu and start behaving weirdly like an undertaker (*vachinja hunhu vave undertaker*). The artist laments this and says he has learnt lessons (*nemaziso ndinoona zvidzidzo*) not to take drugs from such a sad lived experience of a blood brother suffering from the effects of abusing drugs. This is so demeaning in the community because Zimbabweans value the concept of being a good person among others (Kyker, 2013).

Winky D later turned and realised that youths are going astray because of consuming drugs and alcohol. He blasts the elderly for failing to discipline ghetto youths and leaving them to abuse drugs and alcohol. The song *Pazvikona* is testimony to his U-turn. He sings:

*Mirai kusimbisana pazvikona,
ndinopa mhosva kunemi madzikoma,
'vana vazhinji varikurasika muchiona (Don't mislead each other in the street corners, I blame you elderly brothers, young people are getting lost while you watch).*

Winky D blames the elderly for letting moral decay because they have been bought some beer by younger people. He sings:

Angokutengera pint atove mukoma nyamba izera remwana wawakazvara, vakuru dziripi tsika dzedu? (If one buys you a pint, he becomes like a big brother yet they are as old as your own child, where is our culture of respect?).

Karengzha (2014 p. 6) notes that:

...the song also teaches the importance of African culture and creating culturally acceptable content rather than imitating international music without due consideration of our morals and ethics as Zimbabweans or Africans.

Drug and substance abuse has become so appalling that more such voices are needed on the airwaves to drive the cleansing ceremony against this societal problem. Killer T's song *Guka* is another call for medical emergency services to pick up a drug addict who has gone mad. The chorus indicates how youths are suffering from mental health due to drug abuse, and they suffer from sleeplessness for the whole day. Killer T. sings:

*Vapfanha ava havasi kurara neGuka,
24 hours ukavatsvaga vakamuka (The addicts are always awake from sunset until sunrise)
Muchatosvika pakurara vakakuchenga, vakavhura ziso kusvika kwachena) (You will get to retire to bed, they remain awake)*

The verses add more effects of drug abuse such as losing weight to unrecognisable levels

Ukavaona hauchavaziva, vakambenge vakasimba zvino zvakaenda, aakurota akamuka) They now dream while awake
ndambozama kumupa sadza arikubuka (I have tried to give him some food without success)
azongovhura hombe bvaapfeka saga (They just eye you)
Aba hembe dzepanext akatengesa panext (They steal clothes belonging to one neighbour and sell them to the next neighbour.
Haachatsiurika (No amount of restraint deter them),
Hona manje kuzvigaira kana muchiround haasi kuwanika (They live secluded lives when sober)
anombopedza zuva rese mumba akahwanda achiti pane police irikunditsvaga. (They sped the whole day self-locked up in the house saying they are hiding from the police.

Probably the most popular song that discourages drunken behaviour in Zimbabwe is *Munomupireiko doru* by Ndunge Yut. The song made waves during the Cricket World Cup qualifiers in Harare and Bulawayo and a video of the Dutch National Team singing it went viral. Yut questions why they give alcohol to people because they end up talking a lot of nonsense (*Munomupireiko doru, munomupireiko hwahwa, hona adhakwa ave kutaura zvisina basa*). The problems of drunken behaviour are summarised as vomiting (*Ave kurutsa*), failing to pay rent and facing eviction by the landlord (*Anodzingwa paanoroja*). Ndunge Yut encourages the beer buyer to buy soft drinks and not beer (*mutengi wedoro mira ndapota Munyimei doru uyo mupei kuvha*), arguing that the person should rather stay sober because he risks getting too drunk (*ngaagare zvake ari sober, anodhakwa bherera, zvekudhakwa kusvika arembera*).

The presence of two different perceptions about the nexus between Zimdancehall, drugs and substance abuse, were highlighted. The artists seem to have learnt their lessons and now there are Zimdancehall songs that discourage substance abuse despite some still celebrating drugs.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the behavioural problems of alcohol and substance misuse and abuse synonymous with the Zimdancehall music genre in Zimbabwe. Idle ghetto youths who are jobless and find themselves spending the greater part of their day in the street corners, end up taking drugs. They are the ones whose appreciation of, and participation in Zimdancehall music. The youths propel the genre to popularity in both urban and rural centres. In such centres Zimdancehall has come to symbolise drug and substance abuse. Zimdancehall artists initially praised drugs and alcohol in the lyrics of their

songs, but recently some of these musicians have turned the corner and are now castigating drug abuse and singing against it. Artists, using their songs, educate their audiences about the vicissitudes associated with the consumption of crystal meth, *musombodhiya*, *tumbwa*, coordain, marijuana and many other illicit drugs that are being availed to youths in Zimbabwe.

Studies show that that a significant portion of the mental health problems handled at national health institutions can be traced back to drug and substance abuse. Who exactly is abusing drugs, alcohol and substances will not be statistically accurately represented. Some musicians and music fans are participating in this dangerous behaviour. Drug and substance abuse as a national problem can be addressed by solving the socio-economic challenges bedevilling the country, and solving them reduces the youths' indulgence in risky behaviour.

References

Chihora, T. 2016. The use of vulgar lyrics by Zimdancehall artists in some of their songs: A survey carried out in Gweru, Midlands, Zimbabwe. Honours Dissertation, Midlands State University.

Chirivanda, L. C. 2019. Zimbabwean Reggae and Dancehall: A History of Generations (1981 to recent times).

https://etd.uwc.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11394/7167/Charivanda_ma_arts_2019.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. 2011. *Research Methods in Education* (7th ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203720967>.

Culler, A. 2015. Substance abuse and music use: Exploring relationships through recovery. Masters Thesis, Smith College, Northampton, MA. <https://scholarworks.smith.edu/theses/654>

Davis, D., Golicic, S., and Boerstler, N. 2017. Benefits of conducting various methods research in marketing. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, DOI:10.1007/S11747-010-0204-7.

Dell, C. A. 2006. Youth volatile solvent abuse frequently asked questions. Ottawa, Ontario.

Dube, D. 2014. Stop singing meaningless lyrics, artistes told. *The Standard*, 17 February. Accessed on 6 March 2022 from <https://www.newsday.co.zw/southerneye/2014/02/17/stop-singing-meaningless-lyrics-artistes-told>

Dube, Z. 2016. Dancehall music and urban identities in Zimbabwe – A constructive postmodern perspective. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* ISSN: (Online) 2072-8050, (Print) 0259-9422

Dhlamini, K. 2023. Zimbabwe battles youth drug abuse. Accessed on 22. February 2023 from <https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202302/16/WS63ed85e3a31057c47ebaf15f.html>

Frith, S. 1987. *Toward an aesthetic of popular music*, R. Leppert and S. McClary (Eds.) *Music and Society*. Cambridge University Press.

Gunda, K. and Mbwirire, J. 2020. Causes of drug abuse in secondary schools: A case study of Zengeza 4 High School, Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies (IJHAS)*, 5(1)

Hargreaves, D. J. and North, A. C. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hart, S.E. 2005. Hospital ethical climates and registered nurses' turnover intentions. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 37, 173-177. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1547-5069.2005.00030.x>

Jakaza, T. N. and Nyoni, C. 2018. Emerging dynamics of substance abuse among street children in Zimbabwe: A case of Harare Central Business District. *African Journal of Social Work*, 8, (2), 63-70.

Jessor, R. 2014. *Problem behaviour theory: A half-century of research on adolescent behaviour and development*. In R. M. Lerner, A. C. Petersen, R. K. Silbereisen and J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *The developmental science of adolescence: History through autobiography* (pp. 239–256). Psychology Press.

Karengenzha, Y. 2014. Winky D drops sizzling single. *The Herald*, 11 June.

Kufakurinani, U. and Mwatwara, W. 2017. Zimdancehall and the peace crisis in Zimbabwe. *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review*, 7(1), 33-50

Kyker, J. 2013. A person among others: music, morality and postcolonial politics in the songs of Oliver Mtukudzi. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania.

Maraire, T., and Chethiyar, S. D. 2020. Drug and substance abuse problem by the Zimbabwean youth: A psychological perspective. *Practitioner Research*, 2, 41-59.

Marandure, B. N. Mhiza. S. Wilson, A., and Nhunzvi, C. 2023. Understanding the nature of substance use in Zimbabwe: State of the art and ways forward: A scoping review protocol. PubMed Central <https://doi.org/10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0272240>.

Marunya, K. 2023. Musicians challenged to shun lyrics praising drugs, alcohol abuse. *The Herald*, 9 February. Accessed on 17 May 2023 from <https://www.herald.co.zw/musicians-challenged-to-shun-lyrics-praising-drugs-alcohol-abuse/>

MbiriyaMveka, J. 2021. It has reached pandemic levels: Ras Caleb warns of drug abuse. Accessed on 24 February 2023 from <https://gemnation.co.zw/it-has-reached-pandemic-levels-ras-caleb-warns-of-drug-abuse/>

Mukwenha, S., Murewanhema, G., Madziva, R., Dzinamarira, T., Herrera, H. and Musuka, G. 2022. Increased illicit substance use among Zimbabwean adolescents and youths during the COVID-19 era: an impending public health disaster. *Addiction*, 117: 1177-1178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/add.15729>

Musa, P. 2021. Substance abuse and showbiz. <https://businessstimes.co.zw/substance-abuse-and-showbiz/>

Muswerakuenda, F. F., Mundagowa, P. T., Madziwa, C. and Mukora-Mutseyekwa, F. 2023. Access to psychosocial support for church-going young people recovering from drug and substance abuse in Zimbabwe: a qualitative study. *BMC Public Health*, 23-723. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-15633-8>

Ndhlovu, B. 2014. Zimdancehall, drugs, lyrics and violence. *The Chronicle*, 22 November. Accessed on 15 May 2022 from <https://www.chronicle.co.zw/zimdancehall-drugs-lyrics-and-violence/>

Nhara, P. 2023. Unpacking the Blame Game: Is Zimdancehall the Sole Cause of Drug Abuse Among Zimbabwean Youths? <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/unpacking-blame-game-zimdancehall-sole-cause-drug-abuse-percy-nhara>

Nyathi, K. 2022. Surge in drug abuse strains Zimbabwe's health system. *The East African*, <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/rest-of-africa/zimbabwe-drugs-abuse-3798496>

D. 2021. BCES Conference Books, 2021. *The cultural impact of music on society with a special emphasis on consumerism. New challenges to education: Lessons from around the world* Volume 19. Sofia: Bulgarian Comparative Education Society.

Roberts, D. F., Henriksen, L. and Christianson, P. G. 1999. Substance use in movies and music. Washington: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Admin (SAMHSA), United States of America.

Tivenga, D. R. 2018. Contemporary Zimbabwean popular music in the context of adversities. *TYDSKRIF VIR LETTER KUNDE*, 55 (1) DOI: [dx.doi.org/10.17159/2309-9070/tv1.v.55i1.158](https://doi.org/10.17159/2309-9070/tv1.v.55i1.158).

Ureke, O. and Washaya, Y. 2016. Social commentary, subaltern voices and the alternative medium of Zimdancehall music: Unpacking the music of Winky D and Sniper Storm. *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa* 13(1): 68-88. DOI: [10.1080/18125980.2016.1182383](https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980.2016.1182383),

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) 2017. *World Drug Report*. Vienna: United Nations Publications.

Zimbabwe Civil Liberties Drugs Network, 2020. Retrieved from <https://idpc.net/profile/zcldn>

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2015. Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey, Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.www.zimdancehallartists.com

Zimoyo, T. 2023. Urban Grooves never dies: Dormant volcano set to erupt again. *The herald*, 15 June. Accessed on 16 July 2023 from <https://www.herald.co.zw/urban-grooves-never-dies-dormant-volcano-set-to-erupt-again/>

Zindi, F. 2014. Zimbabwe: Dancehall Slackness Unacceptable. [Online] *The Herald*.