

CYBERCRIME WORLD AND AFRICAN VODOO: UNDERSTANDING THE SUB-CULTURE OF ‘YAAHOO-PLUS’ AMONG SOME NIGERIAN YOUTHS**JACKSON, Onome Robinson**

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Abstract

This study explores how digital technology intersect with African Voodoo to encourage a form of cybercrime known as yaahoo plus in Nigeria and the effects of the sub-culture emanating from it on society. Primary data was obtained via self-administered questionnaire from a sample of 834 yaahoo boys and girls; lifestyles observed in night clubs with social learning as the adopted theory. Findings revealed the speculative nature of cybercrime and the fear of arrest are the dominant reasons for integrating African Voodoo as success and evasion strategy. Elements of African Voodoo introduced into cybercrime include charms, magical ornament and ritual sacrifices made with human body parts or wildlife. Yaahoo-plus way of life which include wearing of dreadlocks, sagging pants and oversized wears, congregation in noisy small groups at night clubs, celebrating victory or occasions abusing wasps of naira notes and ritual libations with expensive champagne questions Nigeria's moral content. To reverse the menace of cyber plus, the study recommended among others value re-orientation and good governance.

Keywords: Cybercrime, African Voodoo, Yaahoo-plus, and Sub-culture

1. Introduction

Global crime statistics and crime victimization surveys in the last two decades indicate a dramatic rise and prevalence of internet enabled crimes perpetrated in cyber space over traditional forms of crime such as assaults, homicide, robbery, and criminal destruction across societies. In fact, there are projections that cybercrimes are likely to accentuate even further in the years ahead (Afolabi and Raji, 2022; Borwell et al 2021 & Statistics Netherland, 2020). Cybercrime cost global businesses an estimated \$3 trillion in 2015 and may reach \$20 trillion annually by 2026 if current technique and methodology deployed to counter cybercrime are not reviewed (Chee-Hong, 2022, Calif, 2020). In Nigeria, economic losses from cybercrime

are estimated at N850 billion in 2022 up from an estimated N288 billion in 2018, notwithstanding the under-detection of many cyber-crime incidence (Odeniyi, 2024; Proshare, 2020).

Many African countries including Nigeria are not insulated from the social virus; cybercrime has become an issue of great concern due to its cost, the high number of participants, sophisticated technique of perpetrators and success rate of African cyber thieves. Nigeria for example, has been ranked 16th among nations with the largest cybercrime victimization rate in the world in 2020 and the most dishonest and fraudulence promoting nation globally (Adewopo et al, 2024; FBI, 2021; Quarshie & Martin-Odoom, 2012; Monsurat, 2020).

Although, attempts at fighting cyberthieves by law enforcement agencies and other related organizations achieved some breakthroughs in the area of enlightening citizens on the varied modalities employed by cyberthieves, the problem is far from over due to compromises and corruption within core units of the criminal justice system. These factors combined explains why the legal framework for addressing cybercrime like the EFCC Act 2004, Section 419 of the Nigerian Criminal Code Act, the Cybercrime Prohibition Act 2015 and the Amendment Act 2024 have been largely ineffective.

Cybercriminals in Nigeria can be broadly classified into two groups; regular internet scam for swindling unsuspecting victims simply (yaahoo yaahoo) and those who combine their internet expertise with African Voodoo (Yaahoo-Plus). Although search for body parts through ritual killing for money making and spiritual protection is not unknown among many Nigeria tribes, but the participation for very young persons in such operations, learnt from cyberspace which in many cases involves the dismemberment of human head and subjecting it to intense heat is a development requiring urgent sociological examination.

Despite a plethora of existing research on the subject of cybercrime in Nigeria there seems to be a dearth of studies specifically focused on Yaahoo-plus and its attendant unique sub-culture. The few studies on yahoo-plus such as Tade (2013) and Akanle and Babajide (2019) were limited in scope and methodologically questionable. Deviating from the moral question, strategies, causes and cost, youth perception and safety implications of cybercrime (Eme et al, 2023; Obaweiki, Njoroge and Kanga, 2022; Olayinka and Babagide, 2019; Lawani and Obazee, 2019; Omodunbi et al., 2016), this study is interested in Yaahoo- plus, a dimension of cybercrime that combine dexterity in the use of internet with African voodoo to fortify themselves against detection, enhance the success rate and the fizzy sub-culture emanating from it. The interest is predicated on its symbolism as point of unity between digital technology and African Voodoo (metaphysics) in the perpetration of crime and the consequential sub-culture that it promotes. The sub-culture is often revealed through a distinctive and symbolic life style identified by dress style, mannerism, slang, rituals, graduation sign out celebrations and identification with specific social locations such as night clubs, hotels and expensive drinking spots (Ojedokun and Eraye, 2012).

The questions this study seeks to answer are; what is yahoo- plus? How does the practices of African Voodoo encourage yahoo- plus? What is the sub-culture emanating from yahoo- plus, its symbolism and impact on Nigerian society. This is significant because as of 2023, over 60% of Nigeria's population is under 25 years old, making youth sub-culture a vital aspect of the country's future. Moreover, understanding the sub-culture could assist law enforcement personnel and other institutions of justice provision in developing more effective counter measures and empirically founded adjudication system to sanction perpetrators.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1 Cybercrime

The literature on cyber crime is replete with disparate definition of cybercrime. Akogwo (2018) defines cyber-crime as offence against persons or groups of persons intended to cause direct damage to the image, psych, and body of victims by the application of digitally driven communication networks like internet and mobile devices. It is an offence committed with mobile devices and computer system via cyberspace and the internet (Onyema, et,al 2019). cybercrime may include offenses such as child pornography and hate crimes, fraud, forgery, and identity theft and its most deleterious form known as cyber terrorism (Afolabi and Raji, 2022).

On socio-demographics of cybercriminals, Ahmad et al (2020) and Rich (2017) reports that they are predominantly young males ranging from 12 to 16 years old. However, other studies uncovered that cybercrime is gender and age neutral, participants come from poor and middle family background, and are largely educated and predominantly students of tertiary institution (Adesina, 2017; Tade & Adesina, 2017; Ojedokum and Eraye, 2012). Cybercriminals have also integrated African Voodoo in their game, which some scholars describe as cyber-spiritualism and is the focus of this investigation.

2.2 African Voodoo

African voodoo is a concept that describes complex practices and belief system consisting of faith in a deity, worship of venerated spirits, initiation to secret societies, divination and rituals, animal sacrifices, herbal remedies, and talisman with traditional West African religion, particularly, among Beninese, Togolese, Ghanaians, and Nigerians. Most ethnic groups in Nigeria have one or combination of these practices and beliefs enmeshed in their individual culture and religion. Although the origin of voodooism remains a subject of controversy among theologians, there is strong indication of its trace to historical kingdom of Dahomey located in southern part of what is now Republic of Benin (Adeyemi, 2024).

Voodoo practices are focused on reverence of spirits, the living deceased, and the power of physical nature. Reverencing in voodoo world is done through offerings, rituals, repeated chants conducted solely by a Chief priest, except in situations where individuals have specific petition to the spirits.

There is hardly any ethnic group in Nigeria without voodoo practices in the form of 'Zangbetos' which are spirits interfacing between the living and metaphysical world embedded in their culture and traditional religion. These spirits are believed to offer protection to communities and individuals against wicked persons and spirits (Nweke, 2023; Amaegwu, 2019).

Evidence from empirical studies of Yoruba traditional religion indicate the presence of some voodoo practices such as use of spell to hypnotize persons, use of ornament invoked with metaphysical and magical powers, oath taking, protective and evil amulets and different rituals requiring wildlife or their by-products (Janson, 2021). No doubt, the above narrative is similar to the cultural and traditional religious realities of many other tribes in northern and southern parts of Nigeria. Many criminals and criminal gangs including human traffickers have been reported to visit the custodians of these practices called Obah (in Urhobo), Bauka (in Hausa), Dibia (in Igbo), oluwo (in Youruba) and Osoja among the Ekpeye people of Rivers state to obtain spiritual and mystical powers against bullet shots, detection and for successes in their operations (Nwuche and Iloma, 2024; Ikeke et al., 2022; Kinsley and Keneth, 2024; Wigington, 2024). There are reports of employing occultic and other fetish powers by politicians and religious heads across West Africa to maintain hold on power, attract and maintain huge congregation and performing miraculous acts (Adolfsson et al., 2024; Oluyemo, 2022). This seems to be the imitating pathway leading to appropriation of the methodology and strategy by youths in Nigeria and many other West African countries to improve their chances of success in cyber theft.

2.3 Yaahoo-Plus

Yaahoo -plus is the integration of metaphysical powers into the operations of cyberthieves as technique for averting detection and enhancing chances of success. Individuals involved in Yaahoo plus deploy spiritual powers in the forms of magic, charms, witchcraft, and a plethora of other voodoo related rituals to swindle their victims through hypnotization in some cases with victim full awareness of the existence of many thieves in cyberspace (Whitty and Ng, 2017; Tade, 2013). Nigeria is currently experiencing sharp rise in the number of cybercriminals transiting from yaahoo yahoo to yahoo-plus as evident in the number of recorded confessions of arrested suspects in many police division across the country and media display of young persons arrested with human body parts intended for use in cyberthieves success rituals (Punch, 2024; Hanafi, 2022; Ijediogo, 2022). The transition is attributed to speculative nature of yaahoo yaahoo which makes it difficult for participants to sustain their opulent life style, the consequent shaming from peers and female companions due to failure, and fear of returning to pre-yaahoo living conditions; hence the resort to metaphysical powers as strategy for sustainable success.

The invocation of metaphysical forces manifested in the use of magical ornament and amulets, charms, witchcraft and rituals to solve human problems is a common feature of many communities and cultures across Africa, inclusive of Nigeria. Investigation into inter-communal clashes in many Ekpeye and Urhobo communities in Rivers and Delta of Nigeria

revealed the frequent use by warriors, youths and elder of charms, magical rings and varied forms of invincibility rituals as they take on their detractors. The use of 'Egbesu' occultic powers for protection and invincibility dominated the operational strategy of Niger Delta youths as they battle the coercive forces of the Nigerian state in the fight against economic injustice, environmental degradation and pollution associated with oil exploration and exploitation activities of multinationals companies in the region (Egbedi, 2024)

In south east Nigeria, many communities rely on metaphysical forces popularly called 'gods' of ancestors through the intermediaries called 'Chief Priest' to resolve land disputes, deliver justice to the oppressed and provide solutions to such problems as female infertility, hereditary poverty, spiritual attacks etc. Also, to redress the increased wave of criminality in south east, following failure of formal security architecture and non-state actors of justice provision, a self-group called Bakassi boys that relied heavily on voodoo powers to protect themselves from gun bullets, knife cuts, and to extract confessional statements came to the rescue (Ajeli, 2020). The Yoruba ethnic nationality is also known with cultural practices of using voodoo powers to address some pressing problems such ailments, romantic conflicts, and poverty.

Although the powers are generally deployed for good intentions, they could sometimes be used for negative purposes such as ritual killings for wealth acquisition, forcefully taking over people's wives, maintaining hold on power, causing road accidents, and bewitching people. In fact, voodoo powers are used daily in every aspect of social life in Nigeria, and probably accounts for its attraction as strategy for enhancing web-based scamming.

2.4 Subculture

Sub-culture refers to culture that developed from the mainstream culture; a distinct way of social existence from the dominant mainstream culture to which people belong (Jackson, 2024). Although subcultures are generally perceived in negative light, they may transform into agents of positive change and development (Adesina, 2019 Drew, 2013). The identifiable indices of subcultures may include inclination to rebel against normal behavior pattern; often critical of mainstream principles of society, hence viewed in bad light; often reveal their identity via unique way of life that may include dress style, idiosyncrasies and ascent; and consist of conglomeration of like-minded persons who feel abandoned or alienated from societal standards and thus encouraging the development of a new self.

One major fallout from the increased wave of yahoo plus activities across Nigeria is the emergence of a unique way of life that could be clearly distinguished from the mainstream cultures. Highlights of this way of life are:

- Deviant physical appearance of members usually young males and females often wearing dreadlocks, over-sized shirts, nasal and ear rings, and sagging pants;
- Hierarchically organized small gangs, making so much noise in bars, night clubs and apartments;

- Living ostentatious life style by driving expensive cars, power bike's and residing in polished apartments with array of the good things of life;
- Smoking of "Shisha", abuse of drugs and consumption of other psychotropic substances like cocaine, tramadol, cough syrup, SK etc;
- They enjoy the companionship of skimpy dressed young girls who hail and encourage them and may ultimately become victims for success rituals;
- Celebrating victory or cash-out by throwing wasps of naira notes on the streets, night club floor, swimming pools, at graduation sign-out and performing libation with very expensive wines.

Disturbingly, yahoo- plus subculture seem to have been adopted by nearly 95% of youths in Nigeria as mass culture; non-yaahoo youths have come to accept the subculture particularly with regards to fashion, dress pattern and argot (Obiora and Nwafor, 2022; Adesina, 2019). The appearance of many non-yaahoo students with nasal and ear rings, sagging trousers and extremely big shirts, expensive cars and social libation with expensive wines during graduation sign-out day of most tertiary institutions across Nigeria is indicative of its popularity and symbolizes acceptability. Moreover, many manufacturing companies particularly fashion industries reinforce this acceptability by appropriating the subculture's subversivism and attractiveness to device a unique selling model for promoting their products, leading to wide spread acceptability despite being counter to mainstream societal standards. This situation succinctly captures the moral deficit in global capitalist system that is primarily driven by profitability and material gains no matter how ethically inimical the profits may mean for society.

2.5 Social Learning Theory

Albert Bandura (1978) stands out as a popular social learning theorist; although there are other social learning advocates such as Sutherland (1947), Akers (2017), and Skinner (1997), propositions of the trio somewhat fit into Bandura's framework (Burruss et al., 2012), hence its adoption for this study. Bandura's thesis is that behavior is the outcome of continuous interaction between actors who learn deviant behaviors by direct experience and by observing and imitating models such as parents, peers, teachers, celebrities, religious leaders etc (Carvalho and Ossorio, 2021). If models are hailed for behaving violently, further violence (both by the model and the observer) becomes more likely. However, if models are sanctioned for violent behavior, violence becomes less likely.

By contextualization, social learning theory demonstrates that yahoo-plus is learned behavior. The use of voodoo powers to enhance capacity to steal online and avert detection is learned through observation and imitation of model actors in the Nigerian society such as celebrities, politician, religious leaders and drug peddlers who often seek assistance from deadly secret societies, shrines, juju and other metaphysical sources of power to rig elections and maintain hold on power, get rich swiftly, attract huge congregation, perform miraculous acts and evade arrest. The imitation of these actors is further reinforced by society's

idolization of those who display riches, power, affluence and huge followership notwithstanding the source (Premium Times, 2015). In many communities across Nigeria materialism is the vogue and no matter how questionable your character may be, your wealth erodes it all. The situation is worsened by connivance and sharp practices of those in charge of arresting and prosecuting the actors (Pensive and Theodore, 2023; Falana, 2020).

3. Methodology

The study employed self-administered questionnaire from a sample of 834 yaahoo yaahoo boys and girls drawn from selected night clubs in Benin city, Ibadan, Owerri, Nasarawa, Kaduna and Bauchi together with participant observation, guided by checklist of their unique way of life in one night club from each of the cities. Night club is the key environment of convergence for yaahoo boys and girls and the selected cities are the hotbed of the yaahoo plus variant of cybercrime in Nigeria's six geopolitical zone. Night clubs were randomly selected, cities purposively selected and sample respondents arrived at through chain referral.

Due to negative aspersion on yahoo- plus and the transitory connection between yaahoo yaahoo and yahoo- plus, many of those involved in yahoo-plus prefer to be called yaahoo yaahoo, hence respondents were approached as cyber offenders but asked questions tailored to both forms of cybercrime. Descriptive statistics was applied in the form of tables, frequencies and percentage through the deployment of SPSS and qualitative information from observation used to support quantitative findings.

4. Findings

Table 1 reveal that majority of the respondents 81.6% fall with the age of 18 -37, juveniles account for 3 % while those from 58 years and above constitute 0.5%. Majority 82.3 % are single, 93.4 % are unmarried, 75.1 % have attended or are in tertiary institution, 67.7% had parents who earn above N71,000 monthly, 77.1 % do not live with their parents and 63% come from polygamous homes.

In Table 2, majority of respondents 91% affirm the high involvement of youths in cybercrime with 30.7% joining in the last one year. The dominant forms of cybercrime are yahoo- yahoo 44% and Yaahoo-plus 40.3%. Also, major victims of cybercrime are private individuals 55.5%, business organization accounting for 30.6% of victims and 42.2% successfully carrying out victimization twice annually. Most respondents 64.8% make between 11–15 million annually, while majority 38.6% joined cybercrime to make quick money and be respected in society. respondents ranked problems faced by cybercriminals as fear of arrest and extortion by law enforcement officers 94.3%, many failed attempts at victimization 92%, unexplainable affliction, 82.4% and, 81.4 untimely death. 90% of respondent seek spiritual assistance to cope with challenges, while 85.3% make use of charms, magical powers and perform sacrifices sometimes involving ritual killing. Majority 84.8% reported failure of charms and sudden death as consequences of seeking spiritual powers and 50.4% of respondents claimed they can afford the good things of life.

Table 3 show that majority of respondents companions 88.7% are involved in yaahoo, majority of respondent ranked the criteria for identifying yaahoo culture as buying without bargaining 97%, wasting cash in night clubs 94.8% and possession of items invoked with spiritual powers 86.4%. Majority of participants 41.6% agree that yaahoo lifestyle encourage moral decadence, while 78.7 have no regret for being cybercriminals, and 71.9% of respondents say they would not quit even if they find another job. The most important way of taming yaahoo is societal re-awakening 95.5%, closely followed by stopping law enforcement agencies extortion 91.1%, good governance was ranked 77.6%, while improving cyber security was ranked 37.7.

Table 4 showed that observation of participants lifestyle was carried out in night club through participant observation between 9-12 pm every Friday night for three weeks with the aid of checklist and video recorder. The researcher observed the use of unique terms for communication (shit, mugu, bass, cash out and hushpuppy) and hailing or praising bigger boy. The observer noted that the purpose of night club is relaxation and entertainment; participants spend lavishly, generally wear different type of decorations (rings and beads) and also carry dreadlocks and male plaited hair. They worship money and sexual power exemplified by the use of phrases such as “show me your car no be motor or tuke tuke” and spraying money on ramming female buttocks in the dance floor.

5. Discussion of Major Findings

The study uncovered that majority of cybercriminals were young between age 18 -37, unmarried, males, educated, live outside parental regulation, and come from polygamous homes with parents monthly take home of N71,000 and above. The findings are in tandem with Ahmad et al, (2020) and Rich 2017 who reported cybercriminals to be young males. However, the study departs in the aspect of cyber offenders age range. Rather than age 12-16, this study found the dominant age to be 18 – 37. Moreover, despite agreeing with the studies on predominance of males, 17.7% female participation discovered by this study is significant and indicative of the complexities and dynamics of the cybercrime world. Observation report in night clubs also pointed a youthful picture of participants as it reads thus: The people I joined in the club were gender neutral, highly energetic, eager to dance and spray money on female participants as if they were in a competition

Furthermore, although this study agrees with Tade and Adesina (2017) that cybercriminals belong to poor and middle families considering their monthly income as reported in this study, a new socio-demographic element was found out; being that majority of cyber offenders come from polygamous homes. This probably explains why they resided outside family guidance as discovered in this investigation. Moreover, while cybercriminals are predominantly students of tertiary institutions (Adesina, 2017; Tade & Adesina, 2017; Ojedokum and Eraye, 2012), this study revealed a whopping 42.2% participation of graduates. This is a pointer to graduate unemployment, deficit in tertiary institutions curriculum and current economic hardship in Nigeria.

The study found out that majority of cybercriminals make as much as 11-15 million annually, but they face challenges majorly fear of arrest and extortion by law enforcement agencies, many failed attempts at victimization, and unexplainable affliction. This agrees with findings of (Tade, 2012) who reported that the speculative nature of cybercrime and harassment from law enforcement agencies account for the desperation to incorporate metaphysical elements into cybercriminal activities. It also agrees with Adolfsson et al., (2024) and Oluyemo (2022) who posited that like members of yahoo plus, fetish powers are often sought by politicians and religious leaders for mercenary ends. It is therefore, safe to argue that the youths learnt the behavior through observation and modeling from these actors that are seen as role models in society (Carvalho and Ossorio, 2021; Premium Times, 2015). Moreover, the low percentage evaluation for stigmatization as one of the challenges encountered by yahoo boys and girls is indicative of society's tacit acceptance of yahoo plus life style.

The study also discovered the use of spiritual assistance by cybercriminals comes with the major consequence of untimely death; however, they are able to afford the good comfort while they are alive. Despite the negative consequences of using metaphysical powers to commit crime in cyber space, yahoo plus continue to thrive because it enables perpetrators to afford expensive electronic gadget, cars, power bike, and lavish cash on alcohol and damsels in night clubs. Recorded interactions from observation in night club also support the findings: I also heard them making utterances such as "moni na everything"; "who no get money make eno talk", "who no get money make eno dance with any shinanem here", "show me your car no be motor or tuke tuke oh".

The study found out that cybercriminals associate majorly with their kind, and cybercriminals could be readily identified by a lifestyle of buying without bargaining, wasteful spending at night clubs and possession of items with invoked spiritual powers. This agrees with social learning theory and adolescent are more likely influenced by peers compared role players in the family such as fathers, mothers and uncles. It found out that although this lifestyle encourages moral decadence, majority will not quit cybercrime even if they find another job, the study also found out the three potent ways of fighting cybercrime are societal re-awakening, good governance, enhancing law enforcement capabilities and improving cyber security.

6. Conclusion

The integration of African voodoo into cybercrime represents strategic responses to instability associated with flow of fund from cybercriminals. The subculture emanating from it, has grave consequences for society, hence the need to for separate the has so much of fund flow.

7. Recommendations

The study proposed measures to address the problem of yahoo plus and the negative impact of its consequent subculture on society. First, the use of metaphysical powers for negative purposes signals serious danger, given its battering impact on reputation of Nigeria.

Moreover, the yaahoo plus sub-culture's appeal to many youths portends great danger for the future of the country. This call for urgent value re-orientation encapsulating collective detest of rituals for negative purposes including, ritual money and other metaphysically powered evils perpetrated within the socio-political arena of society. Second, good governance offers dividends such as justice and rule of law, welfarism, job opportunities, inclusivity and reduces the feeling of alienation, deprivation and exclusion which may be a principal factor in the emergence of alternative youth subculture in Nigeria. Good governance would help nip these triggering forces at the bud. Third, law enforcement agencies particularly the police and EFCC should live up to expectation by making arrest and punishing cyberthieves in what ever form according to law. This calls reformation and fishing out bad eggs from these agencies. Compromises and corruption from these agencies tend to encourage more deviance by offenders and potential offenders, since perpetrators of yaahoo plus are more often released rather than prosecuted once money exchange hands. This is one of the underlying assumptions of the social learning theory.

Table: 1 Socio-demographics of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Below 18 Years	25	3.0
18 -27	477	57.1
28 – 37	241	29
38 -47	77	9.2
48 -57	10	1.2
58 and above	4	0.5
Total	834	100
Sex		
Male	687	82.3
Female	147	17.7
Total	834	100
Marital Status		
Single	799	93.4
Married	55	6.6
Total	834	100
Level of Education		
Primary school certificate	4	0.5
SSCE/WASC/NECO	123	14.7
NCE/Diploma	345	41.4
HND/BSc	281	33.7
Masters and above	71	8.5
Others	10	1.2
Total	834	100
Parent monthly income		
Below N30,000	46	5.1
N31,000 – N50,000	79	9.47
N51,000 – N70,000	144	17.2
N71,000 – N90,000	183	21.9
N91, 000 and above	382	45.8
Total	834	100
Do you live with your parents?		
Yes	643	22.9
No	191	77.1
Total	834	100
Are you from a polygamous home?		
Yes	531	63.6
No	303	36.4
Total	834	100

Table 2: Nature, Motivations and Challenges Faced by Persons Doing Yaahoo

Response items	Frequency	Percentage
How would you rate cybercrime in Nigeria?		
Low	51	6.1
Very low	27	3.2
High	362	43.5
Very high	394	47.2
Total	834	100
How long have you been in cybercrime?		
Below 1 year	256	30.7
1 – 5 years	411	49.2
6 – 10 years	118	14.1
11 – 15 years	49	6.0
Total	834	100
Which of the following best describes your form of cybercrime?		
419	131	15.7
Yaahoo yaahoo	367	44.0
Yaahoo plus	366	40.0
Total	834	100
Who are your main targets?		
Private individuals	463	55.5
Business organization	297	35.6
Government	61	7.3
Religious bodies	13	1.5
Total	834	100
How often are you successful yearly?		
Once yearly	141	16.9
Twice yearly	354	42.4
Trice a yearly	177	21.2
Several times yearly	162	19.5
Total	834	100
How much do you make averagely per hit?		
1 million – 5 million	141	16.9
6 million – 10 million	101	12.1
11 million – 15 million	541	64.8
16 million and above	51	6.1
Total	834	100
Why did you join cybercrime?		
I want to live an affluent life	179	21.4
To make quick money and be respected	322	38.6
To be like other celebrities and big men	291	34.8
My parents are poor	21	2.51
I have no job	23	2.75
Total	834	100
Do you agree that these are the challenges yaahoo persons encounter?		
Arrest and extortion by police and EFCC	787	94.3
Many unsuccessful attempts	768	92.0
Stigmatization	76	9.1
Untimely death	679	81.4
Unexplainable affliction	691	82.8
Competition among members	241	28.8
Outsmarting one another	118	14.1
Total	834	100

Do you sometimes seek spiritual help to cope with the challenges?		
Yes	781	94
No	53	6.0
Total	834	100
Which is the most common form of spiritual assistance do you use?		
Prayers	123	14.7
Charms and magic	366	43.8
Ritual killing and sacrifices	345	41.5
Total	834	100
Which among the following is the main problem faced in using spiritual help?		
Failure of charms	57	7.0
Sudden death	371	44.4
Unexplained ailment	337	40.4
Spiritual attacks	33	3.9
Risk associated with getting ritual materials	36	4.3
Total	834	100
What have you gained from yaahoo ?		
I can afford the good things of life	421	50.4
I am highly respected by my friends	239	28.6
Although risky but it's a temporary job	133	16.0
I have investment	41	5.0
Total	834	100

Table 3: The Dynamics and Effects of Yaahoo Subculture

Response items	Frequency	Percentage
How many of your friends are into yaahoo ?		
None	15	2.0
Less than half	78	9.3
More than half	371	44.4
Almost all	370	44.3
Total	834	100
Do you agree that youth doing yaahoo behave this way?		
Buying without bargaining	811	97.0
Holding expensive phone and tablets	778	93.2
Wearing dreadlocks hair, ear rings, sagging pants and oversized dress	233	28.0
Possession of items invoked with spiritual powers	721	86.4
Wasting cash in night clubs	791	94.8
Total	834	100
What are the effects of yaahoo lifestyle?		
Contribute to inflation	121	14.5
Encourage moral decadence	347	41.6
Encourage more deviance	223	26.7
Negative image for society	62	7.4
Encourage investors due to distrust	81	9.7
Total	834	100
Any regrets being yaahoo person?		
Yes	177	21.3
No	657	78.7
Total	834	100
If you get another job opportunity, will you quit yaahoo ?		
Yes	175	20.9
No	659	79.1
Total	834	100
Do you agree that these are the ways to prevent and manage yaahoo ?		
Law enforcement bodies should stop extortion	670	91.1
Good governance	646	77.4
Societal moral re-awakening	789	95.6
Creating more awareness on the dangers of cybercrime	179	21.4
Improving cyber security	315	37.7
Total	834	100

Table 4: Observation Checklist for Yaahoo Plus Subculture in Night Clubs

Items	Observation
Context and setting	
Location	I observed the group as a participant in night clubs selected from the cities
Time	I was at the club every Friday for three weeks between 9-12 pm
Participants	
Purpose	The people I joined in the club were gender neutral, highly energetic, eager to dance and spray money on female participants as if they were in a competition
Observation type/tools	Most of us were chilling with all kinds of alcohol, some smoking cigarettes, shisha, eating roasted fish, chicken and shawarma, while others were dancing with their girl friends and feeling really cool.
	I participated in clubbing within the period; observing life style with the aid of a checklist and a video recorder. Like other male participants I was with my babe.
Cultural practices	
Interactions & communication styles	I noticed that shit, cash-out, mugu, bass, cast, Hushpuppi were common terms for communication and hailing of bigger boys in the club. The Hushpuppi was the king of the club for that day and had many entitlements. The Hushpupi is accompanied by many beautiful and nearly nude dressed girls shaking their boobs and buttocks while he libate with bottles of very expensive champaign and expensive wine drinks sold for as much as N500k. He sprays money of all global denomination like pure water, supported by other lieutenants.
Values and beliefs	I noticed that most participants adorned themselves with different type of jewelry such as rings, neck and leg beads, and most males carrying deadlocks or plaited their hair. I also heard them making utterances such as “moni na everything”; “who no get money make eno talk”, “who no get money make eno dance with any shinanem here”, “show me your car no be motor or tuke tuke oh”. They prefer naughty music that idolize money and sexual clout
Physical environment	
Arrangement of space	I noticed that the club had the red-light district type of lightening and seats were arranged and differentiated with popular secular shibolets e.g Maradona, De bang, Lucio, Nollywood, black magic, moni moni etc

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