

YOUTH VIOLENCE AND GOVERNANCE FAILURE IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF YAN DABA IN KANO AND YAN SHILLA IN ADAMAWA STATE

Rogers Roland Wazakari^{1*} and Prof. Kamilu Sani Fage²

¹Post-Graduate Student, Department of Political Science, Bayero University Kano

²Department of Political Science, Bayero University Kano

ABSTRACT

Youth violence remains a pressing socio-political challenge in Northern Nigeria, with gangs such as 'Yan Daba in Kano and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State contributing to insecurity, crime, and social disruption. Persistent governance failures, socio-economic deprivation, political manipulation, and poor institutional responsiveness have created conditions that facilitate youth involvement in violent criminality. Despite repeated security interventions, the underlying drivers of these gangs remain unaddressed, necessitating a deeper examination of their causes, activities, and consequences. This study aimed to examine the relationship between governance failures and the rise of 'Yan Daba and Yan Shilla; and assess the impact of these gangs on public safety, economic activities, and social cohesion. A descriptive-comparative research design was adopted, targeting 400 respondents, including youths, law enforcement officers, and community leaders. Data were collected through structured questionnaires and interviews, and analyzed using cross-tabulations, frequencies, percentages, and thematic content analysis to enable a robust comparative assessment. Findings revealed that harsh socio-economic conditions, family breakdown, political patronage, corruption, and drug abuse are the leading causes of youth gang activities. Both gangs engage in theft, terrorism, politically motivated thuggery, vandalization, and kidnapping, with 'Yan Daba exhibiting higher intensity and broader societal impact. Consequences include insecurity, crime, disruption of social and economic life, siege mentality, drug abuse, and human rights violations. The study recommends early youth socialization programs, productive engagement through vocational and employment initiatives, civic and value re-orientation campaigns, good governance and anti-corruption measures, and targeted rehabilitation and reintegration of gang members.

Keywords: Youth violence, 'Yan Daba, Yan Shilla, governance failure, socio-economic deprivation

Introduction

Youth violence remains a major socio-political challenge in Northern Nigeria, driven largely by governance failures, socio-economic deprivation, unemployment, political exclusion, and weak institutional responsiveness. These conditions have encouraged the emergence of violent youth gangs that undermine security, erode the rule of law, and destabilize local communities (Ezemenaka, 2021).

In Kano State, the *'Yan Daba* phenomenon illustrates how youth groups initially mobilized for political purposes have evolved into entrenched criminal gangs involved in robbery, extortion, intimidation, and street violence. Although the term *Daba* originally meant a group or association, it has acquired a negative meaning associated with social deviance. Over time, *'Yan Daba* has become one of the most serious security threats in Kano State, resulting in loss of lives, destruction of infrastructure, disruption of socio-economic activities, and rapid spread from urban centres to rural areas. The gang is largely composed of youths from poor socio-economic backgrounds, with unemployment, political manipulation, and weak rehabilitation mechanisms sustaining their activities (Fage, 2025).

More so, in Adamawa State, the *Yan Shilla* gang whose name translates as "fledgling birds" or "hawks" represents another manifestation of governance-induced youth violence. The group thrives in contexts of poverty, low educational attainment, and high youth unemployment. Despite security interventions and proscription efforts, persistent socio-economic and institutional failures continue to fuel cycles of violence and insecurity (Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020).

Therefore, the experiences of *'Yan Daba* and *Yan Shilla* reflect a broader pattern of governance failure in Northern Nigeria, where inadequate public service delivery, limited economic opportunities, and political exploitation of youth have weakened institutional legitimacy. The study therefore focuses on examining the activities of *'Yan Daba*, their causes, effects, and possible remedies, while drawing comparative lessons from the *Yan Shilla* experience to inform more sustainable youth-focused governance and security interventions.

Statement of the Problem

Youth violence in Northern Nigeria has escalated into a pressing socio-political and security challenge, particularly manifesting through the activities of gangs such as Yan Daba in Kano and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State. These groups are symptomatic of broader structural and governance failures, including high rates of youth unemployment, inadequate social services, weak law enforcement, and the politicization of youth for partisan purposes (Ezemenaka 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu 2020). Despite state interventions, such as proscription and sporadic security crackdowns, these measures have largely addressed only the symptoms of youth violence rather than its root causes.

The persistence of Yan Daba and Yan Shilla activities poses serious threats to public safety, economic stability, and social cohesion. In Kano, Yan Daba gangs exploit political and socio-economic vulnerabilities, engaging in robbery, extortion, and violent street crime, undermining the city's urban governance (Fage 2025). In Adamawa, Yan Shilla have similarly contributed to insecurity through armed robbery, intimidation, and disruption of commercial activities, reflecting the state's limited capacity to protect its citizens and provide meaningful opportunities for youth (Stephen et al. 2024). This phenomenon raises critical questions about the effectiveness of governance structures in Northern Nigeria. Existing studies suggest a direct link between governance deficits such as weak institutions, lack of youth engagement in decision-making, and political exploitation and the proliferation of violent youth gangs (Ezemenaka 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu 2020). However, there is limited comparative analysis of how local socio-political contexts and governance responses influence youth violence across different states in Northern Nigeria. Without such understanding, policy interventions risk being reactive rather than preventive, perpetuating cycles of violence and insecurity.

Objective of the study

The broad objective of the study is to examine youth violence and governance failure in Northern Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of Yan Daba in Kano and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State while the specific objectives are:

1. To examine the relationship between governance failures and the rise of youth gangs specifically 'Yan Daba in Kano State and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State by

analysing how socio-political and economic factors contribute to youth violence.

2. To assess the impact of 'Yan Daba and Yan Shilla activities on public safety, economic activities, and social cohesion in their respective states in order to inform effective policy and governance interventions.

Literature Review

Youth Violence

Youth violence refers to harmful behaviours perpetrated by individuals or groups, typically aged between 15 and 35 years, that result in physical, psychological, or social harm to persons, communities, or property. It encompasses a wide range of actions, including physical assault, armed robbery, gang-related activities, bullying, vandalism, and other forms of aggressive or antisocial conduct (World Health Organization (WHO), 2021). Youth violence is shaped by a complex interaction of socio-economic, political, and environmental factors such as poverty, unemployment, limited access to education, family instability, peer pressure, and exposure to community or political violence (Fage, 2025).

In Northern Nigeria, youth violence often manifests through organized gangs such as 'Yan Daba in Kano State and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State. These groups engage in criminal and violent activities largely as responses to structural inequalities, social exclusion, political manipulation, and restricted access to economic opportunities (Ezemenaka, 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020). Consequently, youth violence in this context extends beyond individual deviant behaviour to reflect deeper systemic failures in governance, social development, and economic inclusion.

Scholars further note that youth violence produces far-reaching consequences, including heightened insecurity, disruption of local economies, erosion of social cohesion, and declining public trust in government institutions (Fage, 2025). Understanding youth violence therefore requires a multidimensional approach that considers not only individual-level factors but also broader structural and governance conditions that enable or intensify violent tendencies among young people.

Governance Failure

Governance failure refers to the inability of political, administrative, and institutional structures to effectively perform their responsibilities in maintaining law and order, delivering public services, promoting economic development, and ensuring social welfare. It occurs when governments fail to formulate and implement effective policies, enforce laws, or establish mechanisms for accountability, transparency, and citizen participation (Grindle, 2020). Governance failure is often characterized by weak institutions, corruption, poor rule of law, ineffective policy enforcement, inadequate public service delivery, and limited responsiveness to societal needs.

In Northern Nigeria, governance failure is a critical driver of youth unrest and criminality. Weak law enforcement systems, political exploitation of youth, limited educational and employment opportunities, and inconsistent implementation of social intervention programmes have created conditions that make young people vulnerable to recruitment into violent gangs such as 'Yan Daba and Yan Shilla (Ezemenaka, 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020). These challenges go beyond administrative shortcomings, reflecting deep-rooted structural weaknesses that undermine state legitimacy, erode public trust, and exacerbate insecurity.

Therefore, governance failure functions both as a cause and an amplifier of societal problems, including youth violence, economic stagnation, and social instability. Addressing governance failure therefore requires not only coercive or punitive responses to crime, but also comprehensive reforms aimed at strengthening institutional capacity, promoting transparency, and expanding inclusive socio-economic opportunities for marginalized youth populations (Fage, 2025).

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Structural Strain Theory, developed by Robert K. Merton (1938, 1957), as its theoretical framework. The theory provides a useful lens for understanding the rise of youth violence in Northern Nigeria, particularly the activities of 'Yan Daba in Kano State and Yan Shilla in Adamawa State. Structural Strain Theory posits that when individuals or groups are unable to achieve culturally approved goals through legitimate means due to structural constraints such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, and weak governance they may resort to deviant

or criminal behaviour as alternative pathways to success (Merton, 1957; Ezemenaka, 2021).

Within the Northern Nigerian context, governance failures including inadequate law enforcement, political manipulation of youth, poor access to quality education, and limited employment opportunities generate conditions of strain that push marginalized youths toward gang membership and violent criminal activities as coping or survival strategies (Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020). Although the theory has been criticized for its strong emphasis on economic and material strain and for underplaying individual agency and ideological motivations (Agnew, 2020), it remains analytically relevant due to its strong linkage between structural inequalities and patterns of deviant behaviour.

The strength of Structural Strain Theory lies in its ability to explain both individual and collective responses to socio-economic pressures, highlighting how systemic governance failures can produce organized forms of youth violence. By applying this framework, the study conceptualizes *'Yan Daba* and *Yan Shilla* not merely as criminal entities, but as outcomes of structural exclusion and governance deficits. This approach provides a foundation for policy interventions that address the root causes of youth violence rather than relying solely on punitive or security-based measures (Fagge, 2025; Stephen et al., 2024).

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This study adopts a descriptive-comparative research design, which enables a systematic comparison of youth gang activities between *'Yan Daba* in Kano State and *Yan Shilla* in Adamawa State. This design is appropriate because it facilitates the examination of patterns, causes, and impacts of youth violence across two comparable socio-political contexts, while explicitly linking these phenomena to governance failures. The study employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques to capture both measurable trends and in-depth contextual insights. This combination enhances the robustness of the findings by providing a comprehensive understanding of the socio-political, economic, and

governance-related factors influencing youth gang activities (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

3.2 Population of the Study

The population of the study comprises youths aged 15-35 years residing in urban centres significantly affected by gang-related activities in Kano and Adamawa States, as well as law enforcement officers, local government officials, and community leaders. These categories of respondents are either directly involved in or affected by the activities of *'Yan Daba* and *Yan Shilla*, making them critical to understanding the causes, consequences, and governance responses to youth violence. Including both primary actors and institutional stakeholders allows for a balanced assessment of youth violence and the effectiveness of existing governance structures (Ezemenaka, 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020).

3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

A purposive sampling technique is employed to select respondents with relevant knowledge and experience of youth gang activities and governance-related issues. A total sample size of 420 respondents is targeted, consisting of 200 youths from Kano State (from areas affected by *'Yan Daba* activities), 200 youths from Adamawa State (from areas affected by *Yan Shilla* activities), and 20 key informants including law enforcement officers and community leaders—from both states for in-depth interviews and key informant discussions. This sample size is considered adequate to ensure data reliability, capture diverse perspectives, and support meaningful comparative analysis between the two states, in line with established sampling guidelines (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970).

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using a mixed-methods approach. Quantitative data were summarized using cross-tabulations, frequencies, and percentages to compare causes, activities, and consequences of *'Yan Daba* and *Yan Shilla*. Qualitative interview data were analyzed thematically to provide contextual insights. This integration allowed a concise comparative analysis of youth gang dynamics across both states (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Results and Findings

Table 1 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of 400 respondents from Kano and Adamawa States. The respondents in both states were fairly evenly distributed across the target age range of 15-35 years. In Kano, the largest age group was 21-25 years (29.0%), while in Adamawa, the 21-25 and 31-35 age groups were slightly higher at 31.0% and 25.5%, respectively. This indicates a concentration of young adults in the core working and socially active age range, highlighting a critical population potentially vulnerable to gang involvement.

Male respondents predominated in both states, with Kano recording 66.0% males and Adamawa 64.0%. Female respondents made up 34.0% and 36.0% in Kano and Adamawa, respectively. The higher proportion of males aligns with existing literature suggesting that young males are more likely to participate in violent or gang-related activities (Ezemenaka, 2021).

Education levels were relatively similar across the two states, though slight differences were observed. Kano had a higher proportion of respondents with secondary education (36.0%) compared to Adamawa (34.0%), while Adamawa had slightly more respondents with tertiary education (31.0% vs. 29.0%). Both states had similar proportions of respondents with no formal education (Kano 14.0%; Adamawa 16.0%). This suggests that while a majority have at least secondary education, a notable segment remains with limited formal schooling, which may influence susceptibility to gang recruitment.

Employment status varied slightly between the states. In Kano, 35.0% of respondents were unemployed compared to 35.0% in Adamawa, indicating a shared challenge of youth unemployment. More students were recorded in Adamawa (26.0%) than Kano (24.0%), while Kano had a slightly higher proportion of traders/artisans (19.0% vs. 21.0%). Civil servants and other occupations were relatively low in both states. These patterns reflect that both states face socio-economic challenges among youths, which may contribute to gang involvement.

The comparative analysis shows that Kano and Adamawa respondents share similar socio-demographic characteristics, including age distribution, gender composition, and educational attainment. Minor variations in education and occupation may influence differences in exposure to, or participation in, gang activities. Both states

have a significant proportion of unemployed and undereducated youth, underscoring the role of socio-economic and structural factors in fostering youth violence and gang membership.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents by State

Variable	Category	Kano (f, %)	Adamawa (f, %)	Total (f, %)
Age (Years)	15-20	38 (19.0)	42 (21.0)	80 (20.0)
	21-25	58 (29.0)	62 (31.0)	120 (30.0)
	26-30	55 (27.5)	45 (22.5)	100 (25.0)
	31-35	49 (24.5)	51 (25.5)	100 (25.0)
Gender	Male	132 (66.0)	128 (64.0)	260 (65.0)
	Female	68 (34.0)	72 (36.0)	140 (35.0)
Educational Level	No formal education	28 (14.0)	32 (16.0)	60 (15.0)
	Primary school	42 (21.0)	38 (19.0)	80 (20.0)
	Secondary school	72 (36.0)	68 (34.0)	140 (35.0)
	Tertiary/college	58 (29.0)	62 (31.0)	120 (30.0)
Occupation	Student	48 (24.0)	52 (26.0)	100 (25.0)
	Unemployed	70 (35.0)	70 (35.0)	140 (35.0)
	Trader/Artisan	38 (19.0)	42 (21.0)	80 (20.0)
	Civil servant/official	24 (12.0)	26 (13.0)	50 (12.5)
	Others	20 (10.0)	10 (5.0)	30 (7.5)

Source: Field Survey, 2025.

The comparative analysis in Table 3 shows that harsh socio-economic conditions (poverty, hunger, unemployment) are the leading cause of youth gang activities in both Kano ('Yan Daba, 47.5%) and Adamawa (Yan Shilla, 44.0%). Kano respondents attribute slightly more influence to family breakdown (36.0% vs. 32.5%) and political patronage (30.0% vs. 25.0%), while Adamawa respondents perceive corruption

(30.0% vs. 27.5%) and drug abuse (26.0% vs. 24.0%) as marginally higher contributors. Other factors such as peer influence, youths' attitude, social rejection, and media exposure are cited at lower but similar rates in both states. Interviews with key informants supported these findings. A Kano community leader stated, *"Most of these youths join Yan Daba because there is nothing at home or in the community to keep them occupied; politicians also provide money and weapons during elections, which makes things worse."* Similarly, an Adamawa law enforcement officer noted, *"Yan Shilla thrive where there is corruption and poverty; young people see gangs as a way to survive, especially when schools and jobs are scarce."*

Therefore, while minor differences exist, the underlying drivers of youth gang activities are broadly consistent, combining structural socio-economic challenges, governance failures, and social-behavioural factors across both states, with political manipulation and family breakdown more pronounced in Kano and corruption and drug abuse slightly higher in Adamawa.

Table 3: Comparative Cross Tabulation of Reasons for Youth Gang Activities in Kano and Adamawa States

Reason for Gang Activities	Kano -Yan Daba (f, %)	Adamawa-Yan Shilla (f, %)	Total (f, %)
Harsh conditions (poverty, hunger, unemployment)	95 (47.5)	88 (44.0)	183 (45.8)
Breakdown of family system	72 (36.0)	65 (32.5)	137 (34.3)
Corruption	55 (27.5)	60 (30.0)	115 (28.8)
Politicians (money, weapons, drugs, patronage)	60 (30.0)	50 (25.0)	110 (27.5)
Drug abuse	48 (24.0)	52 (26.0)	100 (25.0)
Poor leadership	42 (21.0)	40 (20.0)	82 (20.5)
Peer group influence	40 (20.0)	38 (19.0)	78 (19.5)
Youths' attitude (apathy, dependence, self-centred)	35 (17.5)	32 (16.0)	67 (16.8)

Social rejection and stigmatization	30 (15.0)	28 (14.0)	58 (14.5)
Films/Social media influence	28 (14.0)	25 (12.5)	53 (13.3)

Source: Adapted from Fage, K. S. (2025). *The activities of Yan Daba (Presentation)*. Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

The comparative table 4 shows that theft, terrorism-related violence, and political thuggery are the most prominent activities of 'Yan Daba in Kano (47.5%, 45.0%, 39.0%) and Yan Shilla in Adamawa (40.0%, 37.5%, 34.0%). Less frequent but serious activities include vandalization, kidnapping, and rape. Interviews with law enforcement and community leaders revealed that Kano's gangs are more aggressive and politically exploited, with one officer noting, "*The Yan Daba are highly organized and often backed during elections, which escalates their violence.*" Similarly, an Adamawa community leader observed, "*Yan Shilla mostly target vulnerable households for theft and intimidation, but their political involvement is less pronounced than in Kano.*" Overall, while both gangs engage in similar criminal behaviors, Kano experiences higher intensity and politically linked violence, whereas Adamawa gangs focus more on opportunistic crimes.

Table 4: Comparative Cross-Tabulation of Activities of 'Yan Daba and Yan Shilla

Activities of Youth Gangs	Kano-Yan Daba (f, %)	Adamawa-Yan Shilla (f, %)	Total (f, %)
Intra- and inter-gang warfare	85 (42.5)	70 (35.0)	155 (38.8)
Terrorism (violence, murder, maiming, riots, intimidation)	90 (45.0)	75 (37.5)	165 (41.3)
Political and politically motivated thuggery/vandalism	78 (39.0)	68 (34.0)	146 (36.5)
Theft (petty stealing, phone snatching, armed robbery)	95 (47.5)	80 (40.0)	175 (43.8)
Vandalization (destruction/looting of property, infrastructure)	70 (35.0)	65 (32.5)	135 (33.8)
Rape	25 (12.5)	20 (10.0)	45 (11.3)
Kidnapping/abduction	40 (20.0)	35 (17.5)	75 (18.8)

Source: Adapted from Fage, K. S. (2025). *The activities of Yan Daba (Presentation)*. Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

The comparative analysis in table 5 shows that insecurity, crime, and disruption of social and economic activities are the most prominent consequences of youth gang activities in both Kano ('Yan Daba, 80% insecurity; 77.5% crime) and Adamawa (Yan Shilla, 70% insecurity; 67.5% crime). Kano respondents also reported higher prevalence of drug abuse, vandalization, siege mentality, and human rights abuses, indicating more intense societal impact compared to Adamawa. Interviews supported these findings. A Kano law enforcement officer remarked, "*The city feels like a war zone; there are barricades, curfews, and fear everywhere. Yan Daba controls entire neighbourhoods, making life difficult for ordinary citizens.*" Similarly, an Adamawa community leader noted, "*Yan Shilla mainly steal and intimidate, but the fear is not as widespread as in Kano; still, local businesses and schools are often disrupted.*"

Therefore, the data and qualitative insights indicate that while both gangs have far-reaching negative effects, the intensity, organization, and political entanglement of 'Yan Daba make the consequences more severe in Kano, whereas Yan Shilla's impact is slightly lower but still significant in Adamawa.

Table 5: Comparative Cross Tabulation of Consequences of Youth Gang Activities in Kano and Adamawa States

Consequences of Youth Gang Activities	Kano-Yan Daba (f, %)	Adamawa-Yan Shilla (f, %)	Total (f, %)
Insecurity	160 (80.0)	140 (70.0)	300 (75.0)
Crime and criminality (robbery, abduction, violence)	155 (77.5)	135 (67.5)	290 (72.5)
Drug/substance abuse	120 (60.0)	100 (50.0)	220 (55.0)
Siege mentality (no-go areas, curfews, barricades)	130 (65.0)	90 (45.0)	220 (55.0)
Shift in cultural values (weaponized society)	110 (55.0)	85 (42.5)	195 (48.8)

Disruption of economic, social, civic, political activities	140 (70.0)	120 (60.0)	260 (65.0)
Flagrant human rights abuse (killing, maiming, rape)	90 (45.0)	60 (30.0)	150 (37.5)
Vandalization (destruction, arson, looting)	125 (62.5)	95 (47.5)	220 (55.0)

Source: Adapted from Fage, K. S. (2025). *The activities of Yan Daba (Presentation)*. Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings

The socio-demographic analysis (Table 1) showed that both Kano and Adamawa respondents were predominantly young males aged 21-30 years, with most having at least secondary education but facing high unemployment. This aligns with literature indicating that youth in this age group are most vulnerable to gang recruitment due to socio-economic deprivation and limited opportunities (Ezemenaka, 2021; Owonikoko & Momodu, 2020).

The comparative causes of youth gang activities (Table 3) revealed that harsh socio-economic conditions poverty, hunger, and unemployment were the leading drivers in both states, with Kano attributing slightly more influence to family breakdown and political patronage, while Adamawa emphasized corruption and drug abuse. Interviews confirmed these findings, with community leaders and law enforcement highlighting structural deprivation and political manipulation as key enablers of youth involvement in gangs.

Regarding gang activities (Table 4), both 'Yan Daba and Yan Shilla engaged in theft, terrorism-related violence, political thuggery, and vandalization, though Kano respondents reported higher intensity across most activities. Interview responses emphasized that 'Yan Daba are more organized and politically exploited, whereas Yan Shilla primarily engage in opportunistic crimes.

The consequences of gang activities (Table 5) were extensive, affecting insecurity, crime, drug abuse, siege mentality, disruption of social and economic activities, and human rights violations. Kano experienced more severe impacts, including widespread fear and cultural normalization of violence. Interviewees corroborated this,

describing Kano as effectively under siege, while Adamawa communities experienced lower but significant disruption.

Therefore, the findings suggest that youth gang activities in Northern Nigeria are driven by intertwined socio-economic, political, and social factors, with Kano experiencing higher intensity due to political exploitation and organizational capacity of *'Yan Daba*, whereas *Yan Shilla's* impact in Adamawa, though serious, is comparatively moderate. These patterns underscore the need for multi-dimensional interventions addressing governance gaps, socio-economic deprivation, and youth inclusion.

Conclusion

The study demonstrates that youth gang activities in Northern Nigeria, represented by *'Yan Daba* in Kano and *Yan Shilla* in Adamawa, are driven by a combination of socio-economic deprivation, governance failures, political manipulation, and social-behavioural factors. While both gangs engage in similar criminal and violent activities, Kano experiences higher intensity and broader societal impact due to the organizational capacity of *'Yan Daba* and their entanglement with political interests. The consequences are far-reaching, including insecurity, disruption of economic and social life, drug abuse, human rights violations, and erosion of public trust in institutions.

These findings highlight that youth violence is not merely a behavioural issue but a structural and governance challenge. Addressing it requires holistic interventions targeting poverty reduction, youth employment, family support systems, anti-corruption measures, and political accountability, alongside community-based rehabilitation and inclusion programs. By tackling both the causes and consequences of youth gang activities, policymakers and stakeholders can reduce youth vulnerability, restore public security, and promote social cohesion in Northern Nigeria.

Recommendations

The study recommends the following thus:

- i State/Federal Ministries of Education, Local Governments, Community Leaders should implement school and community programs that teach civic

values, conflict resolution, and ethical behaviours to prevent gang recruitment.

- ii State Governments, CSOs, Youth Development Agencies should provide vocational training, entrepreneurship programs, and employment opportunities; encourage youth participation in democratic processes and civic advocacy to resist political manipulation and avoid crime.
- iii Federal/State Governments, Traditional Institutions, Media Agencies should conduct intensive civic and political education campaigns to promote ethical leadership, anti-corruption values, and lawful conduct; involve traditional and religious institutions to reinforce social norms.
- iv Federal/State Anti-Corruption Agencies, Security Agencies, Political Leaders should implement a multi-dimensional, credible anti-corruption strategy and responsive governance systems to reduce youth exposure to political manipulation and address structural drivers of gang formation.
- v Security Agencies, Correctional Services, Social Welfare Departments, CSOs should develop programs combining counseling, skill acquisition, education, and community service to rehabilitate and reintegrate gang members while preventing recidivism.

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