

# Страны и регионы мира: динамика развития и модели взаимодействия

---

УДК 323(66)

DOI: 10.28995/2073-6339-2024-5-12-34

## Factors of socio-political (in)stability in West Africa

Alisa R. Shishkina

*HSE University, Moscow, Russia;*

*Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia, ashishkina@hse.ru*

Japheth Bondzie Appah

*HSE University, Moscow, Russia, dappakh@edu.hse.ru*

Andrei V. Korotayev

*HSE University, Moscow, Russia;*

*Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow, Russia, akorotaev@hse.ru*

*Abstract.* Recently, West Africa is represented in the research literature as the epicenter of socio-political instability. That is most relevant for such countries as Mali, Nigeria or Burkina Faso. However, it is worth saying that, despite a number of factors that could lead to potential destabilization in Ghana, the country has been characterized in recent years by a fairly high level of socio-political stability. The present study seeks to determine the factors causing political regime destabilization in West Africa by evaluating important governance indicators, sociopolitical stability, economic advancement, and historical occurrences. The paper uses a mixed-methods approach as well as qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) as an analysis tool. The authors conclude that among the destabilizing factors in the region under study, the following can be considered the most significant: weak mechanisms of accountability within the state, deficient governance frameworks, and corruption. Moreover, if we are talking about Ghana, in that case such indicators as developed media infrastructure, active civil society, initiatives of the country's leadership to create inter-religious tolerance and co-operation, as well as the general culture of peace inherent in Ghanaians, become the main factors stabilizing the situation in the country.

*Keywords:* West Africa, terrorism, political stability, QCA, corruption, Ghana

---

© Шишкина А.Р., Аппах Дж.Б., Коротаев А.В., 2024

*For citation:* Shishkina, A.R., Appakh J.B. and Korotayev, A.V. (2024). “Factors of socio-political (in)stability in West Africa”, *RSUH/RGGU Bulletin. “Political Science. History. International Relations” Series*, no. 5, pp. 12–34, DOI: 10.28995/2073-6339-2024-5-12-34

## Факторы социально-политической (не)стабильности в Западной Африке

Алиса Р. Шишкина

*Национальный исследовательский университет*

*«Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия;*

*Институт Африки Российской академии наук, Москва, Россия,*

*ashishkina@hse.ru*

Джафет Бондзи Аппах

*Национальный исследовательский университет*

*«Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия,*

*dappakh@edu.hse.ru*

Андрей В. Коротаев

*Национальный исследовательский университет*

*«Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия;*

*Институт Африки Российской академии наук, Москва, Россия,*

*akorotaev@hse.ru*

*Аннотация.* В последнее время Западная Африка представлена в исследовательской литературе как эпицентр социально-политической нестабильности. Это в наибольшей степени касается таких стран, как Мали, Нигерия или Буркина-Фасо. Однако стоит отметить, что, несмотря на ряд факторов, которые могли бы привести к потенциальной дестабилизации в Гане, эта страна в последние годы характеризуется довольно высоким уровнем социально-политической стабильности. Данное исследование направлено на определение факторов, вызывающих дестабилизацию политического режима в Западной Африке, путем оценки важных показателей государственного управления, социально-политической стабильности, экономического развития, а также некоторых исторических событий. В статье используется подход смешанных методов, а также качественный сравнительный анализ (QCA) в качестве инструмента анализа. Авторы приходят к выводу, что среди дестабилизирующих факторов в изучаемом регионе наиболее значимыми можно считать следующие: слабые механизмы подотчетности в государстве, несовершенные структуры управления и коррупция. При этом, если речь идет о Гане, то в данном случае основными факторами

стабилизации ситуации в стране становятся такие показатели, как развитая медиаинфраструктура, активное гражданское общество, инициативы руководства страны по формированию межрелигиозной толерантности и сотрудничества, а также общая культура мира, присущая ганцам.

*Ключевые слова:* Западная Африка, терроризм, политическая стабильность, QCA, коррупция, Гана

*Для цитирования:* Shishkina A.R., Appakh J.B. and Korotayev A.V. "Factors of socio-political (in)stability in West Africa" [Факторы социально-политической (не)стабильности в Западной Африке] // Вестник РГГУ. Серия «Политология. История. Международные отношения». 2024. № 5. С. 12–34. DOI: 10.28995/2073-6339-2024-5-12-34

After gaining independence in the 1950s, West African countries embarked on a journey to establish governance models and sociopolitical stability. Early aspirations for political stability, economic progress, and social equity, exemplified by leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, and Patrice Lumumba, were, however, marred by challenges and uncertainties. The path to realizing these aspirations was marked by political turbulence, including Nkrumah's overthrow in 1966 in Ghana for example. Facing challenges and uncertainties, most West African countries experienced both periods of success and moments of crisis throughout its post-colonial history. These periods of success and crises have shaped the trajectory of governance in the region and provide valuable insights into the determinants of political stability.

Recently, political regimes in West Africa have faced various forms of instability, ranging from civil wars to regime shifts [Besenyő et al. 2024; Kostelyanets 2016]. Political instability has had a significant impact on West African society, particularly in terms of economic growth, health outcomes, and social security. Studies have shown that political instability is associated with lower economic growth rates, as factors such as terrorism, social unrest, let alone civil wars, hinder economic development [Julius et al. 2023].

### *Major destabilizing political events in post-colonial West Africa*

The post-colonial period in West Africa was marked by significant political events, including decolonization, independence, and subsequent challenges. After a series of independence movements, West African countries gained autonomy in the late 1950s and 1960s, with

notable events such as the independence of Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah and the territorial redistribution of the region of French West Africa, which formed the basis of modern state borders. Liberia gained independence in 1847 and can be considered the oldest republic in Africa [Boafo-Arthur 2008]. Ghana, the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence in 1957, has experienced political instability, exemplified by the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. These events largely determined the political and socioeconomic portrait of West Africa in the postcolonial era, providing valuable insights into the drivers of political stability.

Subsequently, the fall of the French Federation in West Africa was associated with the radical position of the leader of Guinea Sekou Toure. He did not agree with Charles de Gaulle's plans for the independent French-speaking Africa within the French Community. Guinea's independence in 1958 triggered the full independence of the French-speaking colonies in this subregion in 1960 [Boafo-Arthur 2008].

West African post-colonial political history has been marked by both stable and unstable times. Several countries of West Africa have been plagued by notable civil wars, military coups, and failed economic development despite enviable natural resources [Jallow 2014; Besenyő et al. 2024]. This included conflicts and civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, which led to the growth of war economies and the presence of mercenaries in the region [Straussberger 2022]. Countries such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ivory Coast, experienced civil wars, while Ghana and Burkina Faso saw a succession of military coups after independence [Ajayi, Crowder 1971; Besenyő et al. 2024; Fain et al. 2024]. It can be inferred that the political sector in West Africa became heavily militarized in the early years after the colonialism.

The post-colonial period also saw conflicts and tensions between nationalist politicians and military leaders, as well as economic challenges and corruption among post-colonial leaders [Salihu 2016]. The leadership crisis in post-colonial African states has been attributed to the lack of visionary, transformational leadership required for effective rule, as well as the managerial skills needed for effective governance [Burimaso 2013]. Consequently, there was a significant focus on civil-military relations, with the advent of coups d'état being prevalent in the 1960s – 1980s in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Sierra-Leone and Ivory Coast followed by a relative decline in militarism during the third wave of democratization in the 1990s and the early 2000s [Korotayev et al. 2020; Straussberger 2022; Fain et al. 2024].

But recent years have seen an intensification of coup episodes in African countries such as Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger, Guinea, Mali and Guinea-Bissau [Adejumobi 2016; Fain et al. 2024; Копотаев и др. 2023]

with Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali withdrawing from the ECOWAS bloc. The political sector in West Africa has its roots in the air, not in the ground, and has become militarized, with the military in West African states becoming politicized [Jallow 2014; Fain et al. 2024]. What are the reasons for this situation? Are the government models of such countries the engine behind or are there other factors influencing the destabilizing of the political regime of these West African countries?

### *Drivers of socio-political instability in West African countries*

This study is a continuation of a series of previous studies on the risks of sociopolitical destabilization in African countries [Korotayev, Zinkina 2015; Kostelyanets 2016; Korotayev, Meshcherina et al. 2019; Исаев и др. 2022; Korotayev, Ustyuzhanin et al. 2022; Зинькина, Коротаев 2022a; Зинькина, Коротаев 2022b; Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2023; Korotayev, Shulgin et al. 2023]. An important point that helped the authors come to conclusions regarding the factors of stability in Ghana are the results of a field study conducted in July 2013 in Ghana. During the field work, surveys and in-depth interviews were collected about the current state of the country in the international arena among university students, teachers, politicians and public figures (Korotayev, Issaev et al., 2023).

The emergence and spread of socio-political instability in West African countries may be associated with a number of factors. We can talk about external financing [Madubuegwu et al. 2021; Kostin, Korotayev 2024], the presence of the so-called youth bulge [Sawyer et al. 2022; Korotayev, Romanov et al. 2023; Ustyuzhanin et al. 2023a], the methodology of conducting religious sermons associated with differences in doctrinal and interpretive approaches to the concept of jihad [Aning, Abdallah 2013] and so on. These and other factors may be driving forces behind radicalization and its possible transformation into episodes of political violence. In addition, an important destabilizing factor in this case is the activities of terrorist groups banned in Russia, primarily the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda [Nsaibia, Weiss 2020].

If we talk about the youth factor in the context of processes of socio-political destabilization, we can mention Moller's study [Moller 1968], which notes that the risks of destabilization may be associated not only with an increase in the share of youth as such, but also with an increase in the number of elite youth seeking to carve out a path to social importance and wealth, while facing a lack of opportunities to achieve their goals [Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2013; Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2014; Korotayev, Malkov et al. 2014; Ustyuzhanin et al. 2022].

Jack Goldstone states that “the rapid growth of youth can undermine existing political coalitions, creating instability. Large youth cohorts are often drawn to new ideas and heterodox religions, challenging older forms of authority” [Goldstone 2002]. According to Ikelegbe [Ikelegbe 2020], in West African countries in recent decades, the issue of youth bulges has been particularly acute, which may largely explain the difficult trajectories of economic development of the countries.

Ikelegbe [Ikelegbe 2020] underscores the mismanagement and marginalization of youths, deeming it a squandering of vital human resources, which consequently fuels social conflicts and political instability. Moreover, Ugal [Ugal et al. 2011] delves into the far-reaching consequences of youth unemployment, including the emergence of delinquent subcultures and a surge in crime rates. We also may find empirical support to the notion that youth unemployment significantly correlates with the elevated risks of socio-political instability in developing countries. This proves that youth unemployment is a contributing factor to the political stability of a country.

At the same time, we can see a rather unique example from Ghana. This is a country neighboring such regions as Burkina Faso or Cote d'Ivoire, which regularly face manifestations of socio-political instability or terrorism. However, Ghana has been quite successful in resisting attacks in recent years, despite a number of factors potentially making the country vulnerable to terrorism and extremism [Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2023].

However, despite the changing socio-economic landscape, as well as the factors and prerequisites described above for the deterioration of the socio-political situation in the country, Ghana is a truly outstanding example of the prevalence of political stability in recent years against the backdrop of growing destabilization processes in the region [Amoah 2020; Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2023]. Indeed, Ghana demonstrates a high level of resistance to destabilization processes in the region, as well as significantly low rates of terrorist activity in the country.

Recently, Ghana has recorded the lowest level of terrorist attacks (for example, in most cases only one episode per year was recorded, while this level increased to 10 attacks only in 2020, after which this indicator stabilized again at a fairly low level). The described features are particularly indicative in comparison with some other countries of West Africa, including those located near the border with Ghana. Thus, Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali show significantly higher levels of instability, and in Nigeria over the past ten years there has been an absolutely off-scale level of terrorist attacks.

When talking about the types of Ghana's responses to threats of violent terrorism and extremism, it is worth highlighting several areas.

First of all, it is about the legal component. Thus, the country has adopted a legislative framework in accordance with regional and international conventions and protocols, including the Anti-Terrorism Act 2008, the Anti-Money Laundering Act 2008, the Organized Crime Act 2010, and National Framework for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism. These legal documents ensure minimization of the threat of terrorism in the following areas: provision of preventive measures, identification and containment of terrorist threats, measures to protect territory and infrastructure, as well as measures to mitigate the effects of terrorist incidents [Aubyn 2021].

Further it is worth highlighting are efforts such as the Accra Initiative to Counter Violent Extremism in the Region launched in 2017 by such countries as, for example, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin and Burkina Faso<sup>1</sup>. The goal of this initiative was to prevent the dissemination of extremism from the Sahel region and fight against organized international crime.

The next level of preparedness for terrorist threats is rapid response, particularly through the combined efforts of the Ghana police, security services and military to build capacity and conduct counter-terrorism simulation exercises and counter-terrorism operations in border areas.

Next, let's move on to studying the factors that contribute to maintaining political stability in this country. First of all, in this case it is worth paying attention to *efforts to develop interfaith tolerance and cooperation*. Despite the general trend of increasing interreligious conflicts in West African countries, Ghana stands out as a country that has a fairly strong tradition of interfaith dialogue, due to which even occasional episodes of discrimination against Muslims in Christian schools rarely escalate into real conflicts.

Ghana can serve as an example of a heterogeneous society consisting of different ethnic groups. Historically, the population of this country has managed to acquire a certain level of national cohesion and noticeable tolerance towards representatives of other nationalities. The maintenance of this kind of dialogue is also largely due to the efforts of young people to develop interethnic and interfaith cooperation [Wandusim 2015].

The next parameter that explains Ghana's resilience in the face of the terrorist threat is its developed civil society. Civil society organizations play an important role in promoting democratic development [Whitfield 2003; Kumi 2022]. An example in this case is initiatives to resolve conflicts between nomadic herders and farmers in the Agogo region.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ohene Agyapong K.* Report of the Committee on Defense and Interior on the 2023 annual budget estimates of the Ministry of National Security. 2022. Ministry of National Security, Accra, Ghana.

Further, a developed media network can be a factor contributing to the maintenance of socio-political stability in Ghana. One of the important tools in this case is the functioning of the media and communication, which carry elements of competition, interpretation, public mobilization and news dissemination, and also serve as broadcasters of the agenda and display of the identity of various political parties in the public sphere<sup>2</sup>.

### *Qualitative comparative analysis*

This study uses a mixed-method research design. Specifically, this research uses Crisp-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (csQCA) to determine the mix of elements that contribute to a destabilised political system across the examples studied. QCA provides a systematic way to analysing the complex interaction of numerous elements that lead to regional political instability (Jordan 2011). For its application, QCA includes defining a particular result of interest, coupled with circumstances theorized to impact that outcome. After then, the information gathered from various cases – in this example, West African countries – will be tallied and quantified for every cause condition and result that is being examined. Finally, patterns in the resultant data array are found to highlight factors that favor the desired outcome, which in this instance is a destabilized political system.

In order to appropriately identify cases and examine them with respect to the existence of factors influencing the intended result, it is necessary to accurately describe what a destabilized political system in a West African country is as per this study. For the purpose of this article, socio-political destabilization is expressed not only through large-scale political unrest, ethnic clashes, significant civil unrest or war, as well as coups d'état that lead to regime change. These specific features were chosen as illustrations; rather, they are consistent with the government's fundamental responsibility to protect the lives and property of its citizens. Events such as political unrest, ethnic conflict, large-scale civil unrest, and coup d'états frequently result in property destruction and fatalities, weakening the government's fundamental mission and destabilizing it.

We also note that, as stated in this article, socio-political destabilization results from the cumulative effect of such variables as acts of violent extremism and terrorism, coups, civil wars, ethnic conflicts,

---

<sup>2</sup> The handbook of journalism studies / Ed. by K. Wahl-Jorgensen, T. Hanitzsch. L.: Routledge, 2009.



or the unconstitutional removal or assassination of the prime minister or president of a country. Because civil wars and ethnic strife cause widespread political violence, large numbers of casualties, as well as destruction of infrastructure, they may be regarded as significant factors in the destabilization of political systems. Further aggravating political instability are regime shifts brought about by coup d'états or unlawful removals, which weaken state legitimacy and cause governance frameworks to collapse.

To sum up, the study's target result is a destabilized political regime in a West African country, which is typified by significant political unrest, ethnic conflicts, widespread civil unrest or warfare, and coups that lead to regime shifts. This study intends to provide light on the intricate dynamics of socio-political instability in the area and suggest possible directions for intervention and conflict resolution by analyzing the casual variables that contributed to this result, notably civil war, ethnic strife, and regime shift.

To achieve the goals of this study and in relation to West Africa, six criteria have been determined as probable causative variables for political regime instability. They include the resource curse, weak political institutions/the government model, ethnic conflict, youth unemployment, violent extremism, and terrorism. Regarding Jordan (Jordan 2011), by considering the unique environment and the interactions between different components, the QCA approach allows a comprehensive understanding of the several paths via which regime instability may arise.

First of all, there are important causative factors that lead to political regime instability in West Africa, including weak political institutions and faulty governance models. Governmental systems' efficacy and legitimacy are threatened by structural flaws such as corruption, a lack of transparency, and inefficiency. Although social cohesion and political stability are weakened by these flaws, which can lead to an accumulation of power, an unequal distribution of resources, and essentially bad governance, political instability is that which has caused a major successful political revolution. The political stability of West Africa is then seriously threatened by high rates of young unemployment. Young people who are economically disadvantaged get more involved in criminal activity, social unrest, and demonstrations. The inability to find possibilities for productive work feeds inequality and weakens public confidence in public institutions. Furthermore, historical grudges, rivalry for resources, and feelings of marginalization causes ethnic strife, which is a serious danger to political stability in West Africa. Rapid escalation of tensions between ethnic groups can result in bloodshed, evictions, and societal divides. Furthermore, the spread of terrorism and violent extremism jeopardizes political stability in West Africa and

jeopardizes the safety of civilian populations and governments. Extremist organizations attack government agencies, widen social gaps, and impede overall progress in the economy. Political instability is further exacerbated and national sovereignty is compromised by outside meddling in the internal affairs of West African nations. Intra-national disputes can be exacerbated and attempts to establish democratic government hampered by external interference, whether they are diplomatic, economic, or military. Also, the phenomenon known as the “resource curse” might contribute to political unrest in West African nations endowed with abundant natural resources, which in turn causes poor economic outcomes and governance issues. Natural resource extraction dependency may weaken institutional capacity, distorts economies, and encourages corruption.

For this study, if the confluence of any of the above factors leads to a total overhaul of the political system, then we can say that there is an outcome of political instability.

There has been political instability, unrest, or turbulence of some type in several countries of West Africa lately. Benin has experienced political instability due to a variety of factors, including hard-fought elections and periods of authoritarian rule. Furthermore, Burkina Faso had political unrest and regime transitions, such as the Burkinabe Revolution that resulted in President Blaise Compaoré’s removal in 2014 and subsequent coups and coup attempts [Исаев и др. 2022]. Moreover, Côte d’Ivoire has experienced political turmoil and violence, such as an ethnic conflict and civil war in the early 2000s, which was connected to institutional issues with governance [Aubyn 2021]. Guinea has a past marked by numerous coups, civil turmoil, and authoritarian government. Liberia has seen substantial political unrest, including a civil war that lasted for 10 years and governance issues, which raises the possibility that the study of different forms of governance as destabilizing elements might be relevant. In addition, political unrest, including insurgencies, coupvolutions and coups, has occurred in Mali and Niger, especially in recent years [Fain et al. 2024; Коротаев и др. 2023]. There have been times of political unrest in these two West African nations, including military takeovers and contentious elections [Aubyn 2021]. In fact, after coupvolutions and coups that occurred in all three countries in 2020–2023, Niger Burkina Faso and Mali all declared their desire to officially exit the ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States).

The governance issues that Ghana and Nigeria have faced – corruption, ethnic conflict, and insurgency, for example – may be important to comprehending the region’s political unrest. Ghana’s democratic system is rather stable, although it has sometimes had difficulties and

controversies in its administration, which might have an impact on the political stability of West African countries.

Again, political instability, including civil war and governance issues, has also been experienced by Sierra Leone, Togo, and Guinea-Bissau, indicating possible links to governance model components. Their experience with political upheaval and competitive elections suggests that they may be relevant to the study of governance model types as elements that contribute to instability [Коротаев и др. 2022]. The countries in question are deemed suitable for this research due to their past political instability, which has been typified by military takeovers, political killings, and flaws within their political institutions. And lastly, when longstanding leader Yahya Jammeh was overthrown in 2017, the Gambia had a dramatic political shift in their system in the last couple of years.

All things considered, these nations have seen differing degrees of political instability and difficulties with governance, which might be impacted by elements specific to their particular socio-cultural and political environments. In the paragraphs that follow, further empirical analysis using QCA would provide deeper understandings of the particular combinations of elements that lead to the destabilization of political regimes in West Africa. The method's logic is not probabilistic; that is, it does not take into account the likelihood that few or many cases will exhibit particular characteristics.

After gathering data, we dive further into the qualitative comparative analysis technique to identify the intricate web of factors contributing to the instability of political regimes in West Africa. By applying Crisp-set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (csQCA) and incorporating knowledge from data collecting techniques, causal conditionality, and case selection, this research offers an analysis of the complex variables affecting political regimes stability in West Africa. Essentially, several values may be explored for every variable in csQCA, which broadens the scope of current QCA techniques and makes it easier to examine causative combinations in greater depth. csQCA, which builds on the equifinality principle, offers a flexible analytical framework that recognizes the many ways that regime instability manifests itself in various West African contexts.

The raw data table show whether variables are present or absent and how they affect political instability in West African nations. Providing the basis for the analysis is the primary purpose of the first table containing the raw data in Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). Information on the existence or lack of particular conditions or characteristics across several cases – in this example, countries – is often included in this raw data table. Every column denotes a condition or factor that is being looked at, and every row represents a case.

In Table 1 below we encapsulate the above data in a table to help form a structured presentation of the data gathered. At a glance the table juxtaposes the causal conditionalities outlined above with corresponding reports from reputable sources inter alia the World Bank, International Labor Organization, Institute of Economics and Peace, etc.

Table 1

Raw data for QCA analysis

Country	Weak Political Institutions (World Bank, 2023)	Youth Unemployment (%) (ILO, 2024)	Ethnic Conflicts (UCDP, 2010–2023) Deaths	Terrorism Incidents (Global Terrorism Index, 2020)	External Interference (ACLED, 2020)	Resource Curse? Challenges (NRGI, 2020)
Nigeria	–1,07	10,27	48985 (High)	8,314	Moderate	53 (High)
Ghana	–0.10	7,92	17 (Low)	1,743	Low	69 (Low)
Mali	–0.84	3,11	11588 (High)	7,099	High	53 (High)
Burkina Faso	–0.47	7,44	6755 (High)	6,755	Moderate	59 (High)
Côte d’Ivoire	–0.73	5,40	1413 (High)	1,945	Low	55 (High)
Senegal	–0.29	6,22	69 (Low)	0,391	Low	75 (Low)
Guinea	–1.13	7,03	186 (Moderate)	0,41	Moderate	62 (Low)
Sierra Leone	–0.92	3,6	0 (Low)	0,229	Low	46 (High)
Liberia	–1,01	2,35	0 (Low)	0,191	Moderate	44 (High)
The Gambia	–0,62	10,29	0 (Low)	0,000	Low	N/A
Togo	–0,89	6,91	63 (Low)	0,000	Low	N/A
Benin	–0,53	4,20	43 (Low)	0,663	Low	N/A
Niger	–0,64	1,07	4373 (High)	5,617	Moderate	54 (High)
Guinea-Bissau	–1,24	4,13	0 (Low)	0,000	High	N/A

The next stage of the QCA analysis is the Dichotomized Set. For further clarity, Table 2 below shows the dichotomized information from Table 1 above.

Table 2

Dichotomized Information from Raw Data

<i>Country</i>	<i>Weak Political Institutions/ Governance Model</i>	<i>Youth Unemployment</i>	<i>Ethnic Conflict</i>	<i>Violent Extremism/ Terrorism</i>	<i>External Interference</i>	<i>Resource Curse</i>	<i>Political Instability</i>
Benin	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Burkina Faso	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Côte d'Ivoire	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
Guinea	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
Liberia	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Mali	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Niger	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Nigeria	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ghana	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Sierra Leone	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
Togo	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Guinea- Bissau	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
The Gambia	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	1	0	0	1	0	0

The table provides a structured overview of the presence (1) or absence (0) of different factors that have contributed to regime destabilization across the selected West African countries based on the raw data evaluated.

QCA shown the following results:

<b>Result(s):</b>				
weakpolinsti *		weakpolinsti *	WEAKPOLINSTI *	WEAKPOLINSTI *
YOUTHUNEMP	WEAKPOLINSTI *	YOUTHUNEMP *	YOUTHUNEMP *	YOUTHUNEMP *
* terrorism *	youthunemp *	ETHNICCONFLICT	ETHNICCONFLICT	ETHNICCONFLICT
extinflu *	ETHNICCONFLICT	* TERRORISM *	* terrorism *	* TERRORISM *
resourcecurse	* TERRORISM *	extinflu *	extinflu *	EXTINFLU *
+	resourcecurse	+	RESOURCECURSE	RESOURCECURSE
			+	
(Côte d'Ivoire+The Gambia)	(Mali+Niger)	(Burkina Faso)	(Guinea)	(Nigeria)

Thus, as follows from the above analysis, for countries with an increased level of socio-political instability (outcome coded 1), a key role in the instability processes was played by a combination of factors such as weak political institution, youth unemployment, terrorism and resource curse. At the same time, for such countries as Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Nigeria, the factor of external influence is important as well. Ethnic conflict variable demonstrated its influence for Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Nigeria.

Conclusion

From the above it can generally be inferred that socio-political instability in West African countries may be caused mainly by weak political institutions, youth unemployment, spread of terrorism, ethnic conflicts as well as by institutional elements including accountability, deficient governance frameworks, and corruption. Citizens' faith in the government may be undermined when institutions are not operating efficiently or are being used for personal advantage. Protests, coups d'état, and political instability may flourish as a result. Furthermore, institutional flaws might facilitate foreign players' meddling in domestic politics, further undermining the stability of the government. Political regimes of West African countries have been shown to be significantly unstable by economic variables like income disparity and unemployment. Income inequality and high unemployment rates can also act as drivers of socio-political instability by triggering a subjective feeling of unhappiness.

This article also shows that, despite factors that predispose Ghana to certain types of instability, it maintains a high record of stability due to a developed network of media, a working system of informing the population about the consequences of terrorism and methods of

recruitment to good governance, an effective security sector with a long history of international peacekeeping, and successful initiatives to establish interreligious and ethnic dialogue. In addition, in this case it is worth mentioning the traditionalist system of society, as well as a developed network of family and community ties, which can serve as a kind of stabilizing factor.

For future research, it appears reasonable to take into account more directly the “youth bulge” factor (including its operationalization through the median age), as well as to consider such indicators as, for example, the level of urbanization, share of population with formal modern education or extremely low values of per capita GDP [Korotayev, Shulgin et al. 2023; Ustyuzhanin, Korotayev 2023a; Ustyuzhanin, Korotayev 2023b; Ustyuzhanin et al. 2022a, Ustyuzhanin et al. 2023c), which is very relevant for West Africa in general, and its Sahel zone in particular.

### *Благодарности*

Исследование выполнено в рамках Программы фундаментальных исследований НИУ ВШЭ в 2024 г. при поддержке гранта РНФ № 24-18-00650.

### *Acknowledgements*

This article is an output of a research project implemented as part of the Basic Research Program at the HSE University in 2024 with the support of the Russian Science Foundation (project No. 24-18-00650).

### *Литература*

---

- Зинькина, Коротаев 2022a – *Зинькина Ю.В., Коротаев А.В.* К прогнозированию некоторых структурно-демографических рисков социально-политической дестабилизации в странах Восточной и Южной Африки // Системный мониторинг глобальных и региональных рисков. Волгоград: Учитель, 2022. Т. 13. С. 363–402. DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_10.
- Зинькина, Коротаев 2022b – *Зинькина Ю.В., Коротаев А.В.* К прогнозированию некоторых структурно-демографических рисков социально-политической дестабилизации в странах Северной и Западной Африки // Системный мониторинг глобальных и региональных рисков. Волгоград: Учитель, 2022. Т. 13. С. 322–362. DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_10.

- Исаев и др. 2022 – *Исаев Л.М., Коротаев А.В., Бобарыкина Д.А.* Влияние «арабской весны» на «черную весну» в Буркина-Фасо // Вестник Московского университета. Серия 13. Востоковедение. 2022. № 1. С. 98–109.
- Коротаев и др. 2022 – *Коротаев А.В., Гринин Л.Е., Медведев И.Д., Слав М.* Типы политических режимов и революционной дестабилизации в XXI в. // Социологическое обозрение. 2022. Т. 21. № 4. С. 9–65. DOI: 10.17323/1728-192x-2022-2-9-65.
- Коротаев и др. 2023 – *Коротаев А.В., Исаев Л.М., Шишкина А.Р.* Факторы социально-политической стабильности в Гане // Вестник РГГУ. Серия «Политология. История. Международные отношения». 2023. № 4. Ч. 3. С. 316–331. DOI: 10.28995/2073-6339-2023-4-316-331.
- Adejumobi 2016 – *Adejumobi S.* Region-building in West Africa // Region-building in Africa / Ed. by D.H. Levine, D. Nagar. N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. P. 213–230. DOI: 10.1057/9781137586117\_13.
- Ajayi, Crowder 1971 – History of West Africa / Ed. by J.F. Ajayi, M. Crowder. Vol. 1. L.: Longmans, 1971. 649 p.
- Amoah 2020 – *Amoah P.A.* Examining attitudes towards welfare in an in/security regime: evidence from Ghana // Social policy and society. 2020. Vol. 19. No. 4. P. 661–676.
- Aning, Abdallah, 2013 – *Aning E.K., Abdallah M.* Islamic radicalization and violence in Ghana // Militancy and violence in West Africa / Ed. by J. Gow et al. L.: Routledge. P. 90–124.
- Aubyn 2021 – *Aubyn F.K.* The risk of violent extremism and terrorism in the coastal states of West Africa: Assessing Ghana's vulnerabilities, resilience and responses // Conflict trends. 2021. Vol. 3. P. 14–21.
- Besenyő et al. 2024 – *Besenyő J., Issaev L., Korotayev A.* Introduction: terrorism and political contention in North Africa and the Sahel region // Terrorism and political contention. New perspectives on North Africa and the Sahel region / Ed. by J. Besenyő, et al. Cham: Springer Nature, 2024. P. 1–17. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-53429-4\_1.
- Boafo-Arthur 2008 – *Boafo-Arthur K.* Democracy and stability in West Africa: The Ghanaian experience. Uppsala, 2008. URL: <https://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:279373/FULLTEXT01.pdf> (дата обращения 26.02.2024).
- Burimaso 2013 – *Burimaso A.* Political leadership crisis in the post-colonial African states: The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Johannesburg: Wits University, 2013. 75 p.
- Fain et al. 2024 – *Fain E., Issaev L. and Korotayev A.* Coupvolution as a Mechanism of Regime Change in the Sahel // Terrorism and Political Contention. New Perspectives on North Africa and the Sahel Region / Ed. by L. Besenyő, A. Issaev, A. Korotayev. Cham: Springer Nature, 2024. P. 133–150. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-53429-4\_1.
- Goldstone 2002 – *Goldstone J.* Population and security: how demographic change can lead to violent conflict // Journal of International Affairs. 2002. Vol. 56. No. 1. P. 3–22.



- Ikelegbe 2020 – *Ikelegbe A.* Youth bulge and West Africa: Understanding dispute triggers and conflict prevention // Preventive diplomacy, security, and human rights in West Africa / Ed. by O. Akiba. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. P. 77–105.
- Jallow 2014 – *Jallow B.G.* Leadership in postcolonial Africa: an introduction // Leadership in postcolonial Africa / Ed. by B.G. Jallow. N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. P. 1–25. DOI: 10.1057/9781137478122\_1.
- Jordan 2011 – *Jordan E., Gross M. E., Javernick-Will A.N., Garvin M.J.* Use and misuse of qualitative comparative analysis // Construction management and economics. 2011. Vol. 29. No. 11. P. 1159–1173.
- Julius et al. 2023 – *Julius M.E., Edouard T.K., Ongeh N.J. et al.* Political instability and HIV/AIDS response in the South West and North West region of Cameroon: a qualitative study / M.E. Julius, T.K. Edouard, N.J. Ongeh, A.N. Agbornkwai, O.A. Amadeus, I. Esa, K.E. Mekolle, N.A. Forbinake, C.N. Nkfusai, P.N. Atanga. N.Y.: Center for Open Science, 2023. 40 p.
- Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2013 – *Korotayev A., Issaev L., Malkov S., Shishkina A.* Developing the methods of estimation and forecasting the Arab Spring events // Central European Journal of International and Security Studies. 2013. Vol. 7. No. 4. P. 28–58.
- Korotayev, Issaev et al. 2014 – *Korotayev A., Issaev L., Shishkina A.* The Arab spring: a quantitative analysis // Arab Studies Quarterly. 2014. Vol. 36. No. 2. P. 149–169. DOI: 10.13169/arabstudquar.36.2.0149.
- Korotayev, Malkov et al. 2014 – *Korotayev A., Malkov S., Grinin L.* A trap at the escape from the trap? Some demographic structural factors of political instability in modernizing social systems // History & Mathematics / Ed. by L.E. Grinin, A.V. Korotayev. Volgograd, 2014. P. 201–267.
- Korotayev et al. 2020 – *Korotayev A., Medvedev I., Slinko E., Shulgin S.* The effectiveness of global systems for monitoring sociopolitical instability: a systematic analysis // Sociologicheskoe obozrenie. 2020. Vol. 19. No. 2. P. 143–197. DOI: 10.17323/1728-192x-2020-2-143-197.
- Korotayev, Meshcherina et al. 2019 – *Korotayev A., Meshcherina K., Katkova V.* Arab Spring and its echo in Sub-Saharan Africa: a quantitative analysis // Aziya i Afrika segodnya. 2019. No. 1. P. 17–24. DOI: 10.31857/S032150750003339.
- Korotayev, Romanov et al. 2023 – *Korotayev A., Romanov D., Zinkina J., Slav M.* Urban youth and terrorism: a quantitative analysis (are youth bulges relevant anymore?) // Political Studies Review. 2023. Vol. 21. No. 3. P. 550–574. DOI: 10.1177/14789299221075908.
- Korotayev, Shulgin et al. 2023 – *Korotayev A., Shulgin S., Ustyuzhanin V., Zinkina J., Grinin L.* Modeling social self-organization and historical dynamics. Africa's futures // Reconsidering the limits to growth. A report to the Russian Association of the Club of Rome / Ed. by V. Sadovnichy. Cham Springer 2023. P. 461–490. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-34999-7\_20.
- Korotayev, Ustyuzhanin et al. 2022 – *Korotayev A.V., Ustyuzhanin V.V., Zinkina J.V. et al.* On the mathematical modeling of the political and demographic future of Africa /

- A.V. Korotayev, V.V. Ustyuzhanin, J.V. Zinkina, S.G. Shulgin, L.E. Grinin // *Sistemnyi monitoring globalnykh i regionalnykh riskov*. Volgograd: Uchitel', 2022. Vol. 13. P. 271–321. DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_09.
- Korotayev, Zinkina 2015 – *Korotayev A., Zinkina J.* East Africa in the Malthusian trap? // *Journal of Developing Societies*. 2015. Vol. 31. No. 3. P. 385–420. DOI: 10.1177/0169796X15590322.
- Kostelyanets 2016 – *Kostelyanets S.V.* Terrorism in Africa: features, trends and prospects // *Paths to Peace and Security*. 2016. Vol. 51. No. 2. P. 101–113.
- Kostin, Korotayev 2024 – *Kostin M., Korotayev A.* USAID democracy promotion as a possible predictor of revolutionary destabilization // *Comparative Sociology*. 2024. Vol. 23. No. 2. P. 240–278. DOI: 10.1163/15691330-bja10102.
- Kumi 2022 – *Kumi E.* Pandemic democracy: the nexus of COVID-19, shrinking civic space for civil society organizations and the 2020 elections in Ghana // *Democratization*. 2022. Vol. 29. No. 5. P. 939–957.
- Madubuegwu et al. 2021 – *Madubuegwu C.E., Ibekaku U.K., Dominic O.E.* Terrorism in West Africa and national security of states. A critical analysis // *Nigerian Journal of Social Development*. 2021. Vol. 10. No. 1. P. 37–53.
- Moller 1968 – *Moller H.* Youth as a force in the modern world // *Comparative studies in society and history*. 1968. Vol. 10. No. 3. P. 237–260.
- Nsaibia, Weiss 2020 – *Nsaibia H., Weiss C.* The end of the Sahelian anomaly: how the global conflict between the Islamic State and al-Qaida finally came to West Africa // *CTC Sentinel*. 2020. Vol. 13. No. 7. P. 1–14.
- Salihu 2016 – *Salihu N.* The colonial legacy of civil-military relations and democratic stability in West Africa // *Conflict Trends*. 2016. No. 4. P. 50–56.
- Sawyer et al. 2022 – *Sawyer P., Romanov D., Slav M., Korotayev A.* Urbanization, the youth, and protest: a cross-national analysis // *Cross-Cultural Research*. 2022. Vol. 56. No. 2–3. P. 125–149. DOI: 10.1177/106939712111059762.
- Straussberger 2022 – *Straussberger J.* Entangled political histories of 20th-century West Africa: the case of Guinean exile networks // *Journal of Global History*. 2022. Vol. 17. No. 3. P. 477–495.
- Ugal et al. 2011 – *Ugal G.A., Eucharia N.N., Francis A.U.* Youth unemployment and its consequences in Calabar metropolis: need for government intervention // *Global Journal of Social Sciences*. 2011. Vol. 10. No. 1–2. P. 75–82.
- Ustyuzhanin, Korotayev 2023a – *Ustyuzhanin V., Korotayev A.* Education and revolutions. Why do revolutionary uprisings take violent or nonviolent forms? // *Cross-Cultural Research*. 2023. Vol. 57. No. 4. P. 352–390. DOI: 10.1177/10693971231162231.
- Ustyuzhanin, Korotayev 2023b – *Ustyuzhanin V., Korotayev A.* Revolutions and democracy. Can democracies prevent revolutionary armed violence? // *Comparative Sociology*. 2023. Vol. 22. No. 1. P. 95–137. DOI: 10.1163/15691330-bja10073.
- Ustyuzhanin et al. 2022a – *Ustyuzhanin V.V., Sumernikov E.A., Grinin L.E., Korotayev A.V.* Urbanization and revolutions: a quantitative analysis // *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*. 2022. No. 10. P. 85–95. DOI: 10.31857/S013216250018478-8.

- Ustyuzhanin et al. 2023c – *Ustyuzhanin V., Zinkina J., Korotayev A.* Dangerous youth: why do political uprisings take an unarmed form? // *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* = Sociological Studies. 2023. No. 5. P. 82–96. DOI: 10.31857/S013216250025805-8.
- Wandusim 2015 – *Wandusim M.F.* Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana: the role of the youth // *Journal of advocacy, research and education*. 2015. Vol. 4. No. 3. P. 223–230.
- Whitfield 2003 – *Whitfield L.* Civil society as idea and civil society as process: The case of Ghana // *Oxford Development Studies*. 2003. Vol. 31. No. 3. P. 379–400.

## References

---

- Adejumobi, S. (2016), “Region-building in West Africa”, in Levine, D.H. and Nagar, D., eds. *Region-Building in Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, USA, pp. 213–230. DOI: 10.1057/9781137586117\_13.
- Ajayi, J.F. and Crowder, M., eds. (1971), *History of West Africa*, vol. 1, Longmans, London, UK.
- Amoah, P.A. (2020), “Examining attitudes towards welfare in an in/security regime: evidence from Ghana”, *Social policy and society*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 661–676.
- Aning, E.K. and Abdallah, M. (2013), “Islamic radicalization and violence in Ghana”, in Gow, J., et al., eds., *Militancy and violence in West Africa*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 90–124.
- Aubyn, F.K. (2021), “The risk of violent extremism and terrorism in the coastal states of West Africa: assessing Ghana’s vulnerabilities, resilience and responses”, *Conflict trends*, vol. 3, pp. 14–21.
- Besenyő, J., Issaev, L. and Korotayev, A. (2024), “Introduction: terrorism and political contention in North Africa and the Sahel region”, in Besenyő, J. et al., eds., *Terrorism and political contention. New perspectives on North Africa and the Sahel region*, Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 1–17, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-53429-4\_1.
- Boafo-Arthur, K. (2008), Democracy and stability in West Africa: The Ghanaian experience, available at: <https://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:279373/FULLTEXT01.pdf> (Accessed 26 Feb. 2024).
- Burimaso, A. (2013), *Political leadership crisis in the post-colonial African states: The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Fain, E., Issaev, L. and Korotayev, A. (2024), “Coupvolution as a Mechanism of Regime Change in the Sahel”, in J. Besenyő, L. Issaev, A. Korotayev, eds., *Terrorism and Political Contention. New Perspectives on North Africa and the Sahel Region*, Springer Nature, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 133–150, DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-53429-4\_1.
- Goldstone, J. (2002), “Population and security: how demographic change can lead to violent conflict”, *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 3–22.

- Ikelegbe, A. (2020), "Youth bulge and West Africa: Understanding dispute triggers and conflict prevention", in Akiba, O., ed., *Preventive diplomacy, security, and human rights in West Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 77–105.
- Issaev, L.M., Korotayev, A.V. and Bobarykina, D.A. (2022), "Impact of the Arab Spring on the Black Spring in Burkina Faso", *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 13. Vostokovedenie*. No. 1, pp. 98–109.
- Jallow, B.G. (2014), "Leadership in postcolonial Africa: an introduction", in Jallow, B.G., ed., *Leadership in postcolonial Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, USA, pp. 1–25, DOI: 10.1057/9781137478122\_1.
- Jordan, E., Gross, M.E., Javernick-Will, A.N. and Garvin, M.J. (2011), "Use and misuse of qualitative comparative analysis", *Construction management and economics*, vol. 29, no. 11, pp. 1159–1173.
- Julius, M.E., Edouard, T.K., Ongeh, N.J., Agbornkwai, A.N., Amadeus, O.A., Esa, I., Mekolle, K.E., Forbinake, N.A., Nkfusai, C.N. and Atanga, P.N. (2023), *Political instability and HIV/AIDS response in the South West and North West region of Cameroon: a qualitative study*, Center for Open Science, New York, USA.
- Korotayev, A., Grinin, L., Medvedev, I. and Slav, M. (2022), "Political regime types and revolutionary destabilization risks in the 21<sup>st</sup> century", *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 9–65, DOI: 10.17323/1728-192x-2022-2-9-65.
- Korotayev, A., Issaev, L., Malkov, S. and Shishkina, A. (2013), "Developing the methods of estimation and forecasting the Arab Spring events", *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 28–58.
- Korotayev, A., Issaev, L. and Shishkina, A. (2014), "The Arab spring. A quantitative analysis", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 149–169, DOI: 10.13169/arab-studquar.36.2.0149.
- Korotayev, A., Issaev, L. and Shishkina, A. (2023), "Factors of socio-political stability in Ghana", *RSUH/RGGU Bulletin. "Political Science. History. International Relations" Series*, no. 4, part 3, pp. 316–331, DOI: 10.28995/2073-6339-2023-4-316-331.
- Korotayev, A., Malkov, S. and Grinin, L. (2014), "A trap at the escape from the trap? Some demographic structural factors of political instability in modernizing social systems", in Grinin, L.E. and Korotayev, A.V., eds., *History & Mathematics*, vol. 4, pp. 201–267.
- Korotayev, A., Medvedev, I., Slinko, E. and Shulgin, S. (2020), "The effectiveness of global systems for monitoring sociopolitical instability: a systematic analysis", *Sociologicheskoe Obozrenie*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 143–197, DOI: 10.17323/1728-192x-2020-2-143-197.
- Korotayev, A., Meshcherina, K. and Katkova, V. (2019), "Arab Spring and its echo in Sub-Saharan Africa. A quantitative analysis", *Aziya i Afrika segodnya*, no. 1, pp. 17–24, DOI: 10.31857/S032150750003339.
- Korotayev, A., Romanov, D., Zinkina, J. and Slav, M. (2023), "Urban youth and terrorism. A quantitative analysis (are youth bulges relevant anymore?)", *Political Studies Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 550–574, DOI: 10.1177/14789299221075908.

- Korotayev, A., Shulgin, S., Ustyuzhanin, V., Zinkina, J. and Grinin, L. (2023), "Modeling social self-organization and historical dynamics. Africa's futures", in Sadovnichy, V., eds., *Reconsidering the limits to growth. A report to the Russian Association of the Club of Rome*. Springer, Cham, Switzerland, pp. 461–490. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-031-34999-7\_20.
- Korotayev, A.V., Ustyuzhanin, V.V., Zinkina, J.V., Shulgin, S.G. and Grinin, L.E. (2022), "On the mathematical modeling of the political and demographic future of Africa", in *Sistemnyi monitoring globalnykh i regionalnykh riskov* [Systemic monitoring of global and regional risks], Uchitel', Volgograd, Russia, vol. 13, pp. 271–321, DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_09.
- Korotayev, A. and Zinkina, J. (2015), "East Africa in the Malthusian trap?", *Journal of Developing Societies*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 385–420, DOI: 10.1177/0169796X15590322.
- Kostelyanets, S.V. (2016), "Terrorism in Africa. Features, trends and prospects", *Paths to Peace and Security*, vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 101–113.
- Kostin, M. and Korotayev, A. (2024), "USAID democracy promotion as a possible predictor of revolutionary destabilization", *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 240–278, DOI: 10.1163/15691330-bja10102
- Kumi, E. (2022), "Pandemic democracy: the nexus of Covid-19, shrinking civic space for civil society organizations and the 2020 elections in Ghana", *Democratization*, vol. 29, no. 5, pp. 939–957.
- Madubuegwu, C.E., Ibekaku, U.K. and Dominic, O.E. (2021), "Terrorism in West Africa and national security of states. A critical analysis", *Nigerian Journal of Social Development*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 37–53.
- Moller, H. (1968), "Youth as a force in the modern world", *Comparative studies in society and history*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 237–260.
- Nsaibia, H. and Weiss, C. (2020), "The end of the Sahelian anomaly: how the global conflict between the Islamic State and al-Qaida finally came to West Africa", *CTC Sentinel*, vol. 13, no. 7, pp. 1–14.
- Salihu, N. (2016) "The colonial legacy of civil-military relations and democratic stability in West Africa", *Conflict Trends*, no. 4, pp. 50–56.
- Sawyer, P., Romanov, D., Slav, M. and Korotayev, A. (2022), "Urbanization, the youth, and protest. A cross-national analysis", *Cross-Cultural Research*, vol. 56, no. 2–3, pp. 125–149, DOI: 10.1177/10693971211059762.
- Straussberger, J. (2022), "Entangled political histories of twentieth-century West Africa: The case of Guinean exile networks", *Journal of Global History*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 477–495.
- Ugal, G.A., Eucharia, N.N. and Francis, A.U. (2011), "Youth unemployment and its consequences in Calabar metropolis: need for government intervention", *Global Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 10, no. 1–2, pp. 75–82.
- Ustyuzhanin, V. and Korotayev, A. (2023), "Education and revolutions. Why do revolutionary uprisings take violent or nonviolent forms?", *Cross-Cultural Research*, vol. 57, no. 4, pp. 352–390, DOI: 10.1177/10693971231162231.

- Ustyuzhanin, V. and Korotayev, A. (2023), "Revolutions and democracy. Can democracies prevent revolutionary armed violence?", *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 95–137, DOI: 10.1163/15691330-bja10073.
- Ustyuzhanin, V.V., Sumernikov, E.A., Grinin, L.E. Korotayev, A.V. (2022), "Urbanization and Revolutions. A Quantitative Analysis", *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*, no. 10, pp. 85–95, DOI: 10.31857/S013216250018478-8.
- Ustyuzhanin, V., Zinkina, J. and Korotayev, A. (2023), "Dangerous youth. Why do political uprisings take an unarmed form?", *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*, no. 5, pp. 82–96, DOI: 10.31857/S013216250025805-8.
- Wandusim, M.F. (2015), "Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana: the role of the youth", *Journal of advocacy, research and education*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 223–230.
- Whitfield, L. (2003), "Civil society as idea and civil society as process: The case of Ghana", *Oxford Development Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 379–400.
- Zinkina, J.V. and Korotayev, A.V. (2022), "Forecasting some demographic structural risks of socio-political destabilization in the countries of Eastern and Southern Africa", in *Sistemnyi monitoring globalnykh i regionalnykh riskov* [Systemic monitoring of global and regional risks], Uchitel', Volgograd, Russia, vol. 13, pp. 363–402, DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_11.
- Zinkina, J. and Korotayev A. (2022), "Forecasting some demographic structural risks of socio-political destabilization in the countries of Northern and Western Africa", in *Sistemnyi monitoring globalnykh i regionalnykh riskov* [Systemic monitoring of global and regional risks], Uchitel', Volgograd, Russia, vol. 13, pp. 322–362, DOI: 10.30884/978-5-7057-6184-5\_10.

### *Information about the authors*

*Alisa R. Shishkina*, HSE University, Moscow, Russia; 20, Myasnitskaya St., Moscow, Russia, 101000;

Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia, Moscow; 30/1, Spiridonovka St., Moscow, Russia, 123001; ashishkina@hse.ru

*Japheth Bondzie Appah*, HSE University, Moscow, Russia; 20, Myasnitskaya St., Moscow, Russia, 101000; dappakh@edu.hse.ru

*Andrei V. Korotayev*, HSE University, Moscow, Russia; 20, Myasnitskaya St., Moscow, Russia, 101000;

Institute for African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia; 30/1 Spiridonovka St., Moscow, Russia, 123001; akorotaev@hse.ru

*Сведения об авторах*

*Алиса Р. Шишкина*, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия; 101000, Россия, Москва, ул. Мясницкая, д. 20;

Институт Африки Российской академии наук, Москва, Россия; 123001, Россия, Москва, ул. Спиридоновка, д. 30/1; ashishkina@hse.ru

*Джафет Бондзи Аппах*, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия; 101000, Россия, Москва, ул. Мясницкая, д. 20; dappakh@edu.hse.ru

*Андрей В. Коротаев*, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики», Москва, Россия; 101000, Россия, Москва, ул. Мясницкая, д. 20;

Институт Африки Российской академии наук, Москва, Россия; 123001, Россия, Москва, ул. Спиридоновка, д. 30/1; akorotaev@hse.ru