

Comparison of Coup Attempts in Türkiye and Mali: Analysis of the Reasons for Success in Mali and Failure in Türkiye

Türkiye ve Mali'deki Darbe Girişimlerinin Karşılaştırılması: Türkiye'deki Başarısızlık ve Mali'deki Başarının Nedenlerinin Analizi

Dr. Alhousseini BARRO

*Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Administrative and Political Sciences/
University of Juridical and Political Sciences of Bamako
Bamako Hukuk ve Siyasal Bilimler Üniversitesi
barroalhousseini@yahoo.fr
ORCID: 0000-0002-1620-9066*

Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

Makale Türü / Article Types : Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

Geliş Tarihi / Received : 28.06.2024

Kabul Tarihi / Accepted : 15.07.2024

Yayın Tarihi / Published : 30.07.2024

Yayın Sezonu / Pub Date Season : Haziran / June

Cilt / Volume: 2 - Sayı / Issue: 1 - Sayfa / Pages: 1-16

Atıf / Cite as

BARRO A. Comparison of Coup Attempts in Türkiye and Mali:
Analysis of the Reasons for Success in Mali and Failure in Türkiye.
Disiplinlerarası Afrika Çalışmaları Dergisi, 2/1 (2024), 1-16.

Doi: 10.5281/zenodo.13210266

İntihal / Plagiarism

Bu makale, en az iki hakem tarafından incelendi ve intihal içermediği teyit edildi.
This article has been reviewed by at least two referees and scanned via a plagiarism software.

Yayın Hakkı / Copyright

Disiplinlerarası Afrika Çalışmaları Dergisi uluslararası, bilimsel ve hakemli bir dergidir. Tüm hakları saklıdır.
Journal of Interdisciplinary African Studies is an international, scientific and peer-reviewed journal.
All rights reserved

Abstract: This article explores the reasons why coup attempts failed in Türkiye while succeeding in Mali, despite different political and socio-economic contexts. By examining the internal and external dynamics that shaped these events, the analysis focuses on several key aspects: the roles of the armed forces, the robustness of democratic institutions, the involvement of international actors, and the socio-political particularities of the two nations.

In Türkiye, the July 2016 coup failed mainly due to the strong opposition of public opinion and democratic institutions, as well as the crucial support of certain segments of the military for the civilian administration. The article highlights the importance of popular mobilization, free media, and established democratic institutions, which resisted the attempted overthrow of the government. Moreover, Türkiye benefits from a relatively stable economy and international support that played a significant role in the government's resilience against the coup attempt.

In contrast, in Mali, successive coups have often been facilitated by a combination of factors such as weak state institutions, chronic political instability, widespread poverty, and ethnic and territorial conflicts. The article highlights how the Malian military, faced with ineffective and corrupt governance, has found legitimacy in seizing power, often perceived by a section of the population as a means of restoring order and security. The international reaction, while generally disapproving of the coups, has been relatively limited, allowing the military to maintain its control without significant pressure for the rapid restoration of civilian rule.

The analysis concludes that the divergences in coup outcomes in Türkiye and Mali can be attributed to marked differences in institutional robustness, popular support for the regime in place, socio-economic dynamics, and international reactions. These elements have contributed to Türkiye's relative stability in the face of overthrow attempts and Mali's persistent fragility, making coups more likely to succeed in the latter country.

Keywords: Coup attempts, failed, succeed, Türkiye, Mali

Öz: Bu makale, farklı siyasi ve sosyo-ekonomik bağlamlara rağmen Türkiye'de darbe girişimlerinin başarısız olmasını nedenini ve Mali'de başarılı olmasının sebebinin araştırılmaktadır. Bu olayları şekillendiren iç ve dış dinamikleri inceleyerek, analiz birkaç önemli hususa odaklanmaktadır: silahlı kuvvetlerin rolleri, demokratik kurumların sağlamlığı, uluslararası aktörlerin müdahaleleri ve iki ülkenin sosyo-politik özellikleri.

Türkiye'de Temmuz 2016 darbesi, esasen kamuoyu ve demokratik kurumların güçlü karşıtlığı ile sivil yönetime ve demokrasiye destek veren Türk ordusunun kritik desteği sayesinde başarısız olmuştur. Makale, hükümetin devrilme girişimine karşı direnen halkın seferberliği, özgür medya ve yerleşik demokratik kurumların önemini vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca Türkiye, darbe girişimine karşı hükümetin direncini artıran istikrarlı bir ekonomiden ve uluslararası destekten faydalanmaktadır.

Buna karşılık, Mali'deki ardışık darbeler, zayıf devlet kurumları, kronik siyasi istikrarsızlık, yaygın yoksulluk ve etnik ve bölgesel çatışmalar gibi faktörlerin birleşimiyle sıklıkla kolaylaşmıştır. Makale, etkisiz ve yıpranmış yönetimle karşı karşıya kalan Malili ordunun, iktidarı ele geçirme konusunda meşruiyet kazandığını ve bunun, halkın bir kesimi tarafından düzen ve güvenliği sağlama aracı olarak algılandığını vurgulamaktadır. Uluslararası tepki, darbelerle genellikle karşı çıkmasına rağmen, oldukça sınırlı kalmış ve bu durum, ordunun sivil yönetimin hızla geri getirilmesi konusunda önemli bir baskı olmaksızın kontrolü elinde tutmasına olanak sağlamıştır.

Analiz, Türkiye ve Mali'deki darbe sonuçlarındaki farklılıkların, kurumsal sağlamlık, mevcut rejime halk desteği, sosyo-ekonomik dinamikler ve uluslararası tepkilerdeki belirgin farklardan kaynaklandığını sonucuna varmaktadır. Bu unsurlar, Türkiye'nin darbe girişimlerine karşı nispeten istikrarlı olmasına ve Mali'nin sürekli kırılganlığına vurgu yaparak, darbelerin ikinci ülkede daha başarılı olmasını olanaklı kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Darbe girişimi, başarısızlık, başarı, Türkiye, Mali

Introduction

The contemporary history of modern states is punctuated by coups d'état, which, like political earthquakes, shake and redefine the trajectories of the nations concerned. Coups d'état, despite their often reprehensible and destabilizing nature, remain major events with a profound influence on the structure and direction of governments (Powell & Thyne, 2011). They differ in their frequency, methods, and especially their outcomes. Türkiye and Mali, two countries with very different socio-economic and political contexts, have each been the scene of recent coups d'état. In 2016, Türkiye experienced a failed coup attempt (Bakir & Aydın-Düzgüt, 2018). In contrast, Mali saw two of its governments overthrown in 2020 and 2021 by successful coups d'état (Wing, 2020). These events raise important questions about the factors that promote or prevent the success of such attempts.

Why do some coup attempts fail while others succeed? What are the determining factors that influence the outcome of these events? These questions are particularly relevant in the comparative study of the Turkish and Malian cases. A thorough understanding of why these coups had different outcomes can provide valuable insights into the conditions that promote or prevent the success of a coup.

What are the determining factors that led to the failure of the coup in Türkiye and the success of the coups in Mali? How did the political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts of these two countries influence these outcomes?

We formulate the following hypotheses:

- The robustness of democratic institutions and the loyalty of the armed forces to the government play a crucial role in the failure of coups.
- Poor socio-economic conditions and internal divisions facilitate the success of coups by weakening popular and institutional support for the incumbent government.
- Centralization of power and repression of opposition are key factors that can determine the outcome of coup attempts.

This study adopts a comparative approach to analyze coups in Türkiye and Mali. It combines qualitative and quantitative methods to assess the political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts of the two countries before and after the coup attempts. Sources include academic analyses, reports from international organizations, press articles, and statistical data on the economic and social conditions of the two countries (Creswell, 2014).

The analysis will be divided into three main parts. The first part will examine the role of institutions and armed forces in the outcome of coups by com-

paring the cases of Türkiye and Mali. The second part will focus on the impact of sociopolitical and economic dynamics on government stability, highlighting how these factors influenced coup outcomes in both countries. Finally, the third part will discuss the implications of these cases for the general understanding of coups and propose recommendations for strengthening political stability and preventing future coup attempts.

1. Role of Institutions and Armed Forces in Coup Outcomes

Coups, as significant and often destructive events for nations, are deeply influenced by the role of institutions and armed forces. Comparing the cases of Türkiye and Mali, it is evident that these entities play key roles in the success or failure of such power grabs. The following analysis explores how the robustness of democratic institutions and the internal dynamics of the armed forces determine the outcome of coups.

1.1. Influence of Democratic Institutions and Governance in Coup Prevention

Democratic institutions play a key role in coup prevention by ensuring political stability and legitimizing the government in place. In Türkiye, the strength of democratic institutions was a key factor in the failure of the 2016 coup. The country has robust democratic structures, including a relatively independent judiciary and a press that is still able to function with some freedom, despite political pressure (Özcan, 2019). These institutions helped maintain order and restore state authority after the coup attempt, quickly mobilizing popular support and ensuring the legitimacy of the government. The rapid and effective response of Turkish institutions demonstrated the importance of strong governance and participatory democracy. The ability to rally the population around the legitimate government was crucial in countering the attempted military takeover. The legitimacy conferred by free and fair elections strengthened support for the government, which discouraged military factions from pursuing their ambitions to overthrow it. Moreover, Turkish institutions demonstrated their resilience by launching targeted investigations and purges to neutralize plotters while maintaining effective government functioning.

In contrast, in Mali, the state of democratic institutions before the 2020 coup was much more precarious. The country had already gone through several political and security crises that had weakened state institutions and reduced public trust in the government (Englebort, 2021). Malian institutions, marked by corruption and inefficiency, were unable to meet the needs of the population or maintain order, creating an environment conducive to instability. The absence of robust governance and citizen participation mechanisms facilitated the military's takeover.

The fragility of democratic institutions in Mali was exacerbated by mismanagement and a failure to ensure the integrity of electoral processes. The lack of transparency and legitimacy in elections undermined public trust and provided a pretext for the military to intervene. Successive governments have failed to strengthen the institutions needed for stable and effective governance, leading to a gradual erosion of state authority and increased internal tensions.

The comparison between Türkiye and Mali highlights the critical importance of governance and democratic institutions in preventing coups. In Türkiye, despite political and economic challenges, institutions have proven their ability to maintain stability and defend the integrity of the government against coup attempts. Reforming and strengthening democratic institutions have played a key role in the country's resilience to internal threats.

In Mali, on the other hand, institutional weakness and ineffective governance have created conditions conducive to instability and coups. The fragility of institutions has allowed military forces to impose themselves as a solution to political crises, leading to increased destabilization. The recurrence of coups in Mali underscores the importance of institutional reform to strengthen democracy and stabilize the country.

Democratic institutions and effective governance are therefore essential for political stability and coup prevention. Strong and legitimate institutions can mobilize public support, maintain order, and ensure government continuity in the face of threats. Türkiye illustrates how institutional reforms and strong governance can strengthen a state's resilience, while Mali shows the consequences of failing to do so. Developing strong democratic institutions and promoting transparent and effective governance are crucial to preventing coups and ensuring lasting stability.

1.2. Armed Forces Dynamics: Factors of Stabilization or Instability in Coup Scenarios

The armed forces often play a central role in coups, with their influence varying considerably depending on the national context. In Türkiye, the military has historically exercised significant political power, acting as a guardian of secularism and national unity. However, following the coup attempt in 2016, Turkish authorities undertook a series of institutional reforms and purges within the military to reduce its political influence and strengthen loyalty to the civilian government (Aydıntaşbaş, 2018). These reforms included the reorganization of command structures and the integration of the military under stricter civilian control, helping to strengthen the resilience of the Turkish state in the face of destabilization attempts.

In Mali, however, the armed forces have shown profoundly different dynamics. The Malian military, facing major internal security challenges such as insurgencies and terrorist threats, as well as weak internal cohesion, has often been perceived as an actor of destabilization rather than stabilization (Boeke & Schuurman, 2020). The Malian armed forces suffer from internal divisions, lack of professionalism, and insufficient resources, which have facilitated their repeated involvement in coups. The 2020 coup is a case in point, illustrating how a military that lacks cohesion and professionalism can become a factor of instability, fostering violent regime changes and further weakening the state. In Türkiye, the relationship between the military and political stability is complex and historical. The Turkish armed forces have carried out several coups d'état during the 20th century, perceiving themselves as protectors of the secular state founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. However, these interventions have often been justified by major political or economic crises. With the rise to power of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) and subsequent reforms, the influence of the military has been gradually reduced (Özcan, 2020). The purges following the 2016 coup attempt have significantly weakened the military's ability to play an independent political role, thereby reinforcing the stability of civilian rule.

In Mali, the situation is exacerbated by a regional context of conflict and tensions. Institutional weakness and poor governance have contributed to state fragility, and the armed forces have often been involved in internal power struggles (Marchal, 2013). Lack of professionalism and differences of opinion within the military have not only facilitated coups, but have also made it difficult to mount a coordinated response to security threats. Military interventions have often led to periods of prolonged instability, further weakening state structures.

Türkiye, despite internal economic and political challenges, has managed to maintain a degree of stability through institutional reforms and careful management of the armed forces (Cizre, 2008). The centralization of power under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the integration of the armed forces under civilian control have helped to contain internal threats and reduce the risk of coups. This approach contrasts sharply with that of Mali, where the armed forces have been unable to play a stabilizing role and have often been at the heart of political crises.

The dynamics of the armed forces in the context of coups reveal crucial divergences between Türkiye and Mali. In Türkiye, the integration of the armed forces under strict civilian control and institutional reforms have helped to strengthen political stability and reduce the risk of coups. In contrast, in Mali, the fragmentation and lack of professionalism of the armed forces have often been factors of instability, facilitating violent regime change and weakening the state.

The comparison between Türkiye and Mali highlights the importance of the cohesion and professionalism of the armed forces in political stability. In Türkiye, reforms have created armed forces that support the stability of the civilian regime, while in Mali, the absence of such reforms has led to an army that is often an actor of destabilization. The management of the armed forces is therefore crucial for political stability, and the examples of Türkiye and Mali show how different approaches can lead to contrasting outcomes in terms of political stability and state resilience. This analysis highlights the importance of governance and institutional reforms in ensuring that the armed forces can play a stabilizing role rather than becoming agents of destabilization.

2. Impact of Socio-Political and Economic Dynamics on Government Stability

Socio-political and economic dynamics play a central role in government stability. Difficult economic conditions, social inequalities, and political tensions can weaken state structures and foster political instability, increasing the risk of coups and abrupt regime changes. This section examines how these dynamics influence government stability by focusing on distinct economic and socio-political aspects.

2.1. Influence of Economic Conditions on Government Resilience

A country's economic performance is a key factor influencing political stability. Studies show that weak or crisis-ridden economies increase the likelihood of political instability because they exacerbate popular frustrations and create opportunities for actors willing to challenge existing authority (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). When populations face economic hardships, such as high unemployment, poverty, and inflation, discontent with incumbent governments increases, creating fertile ground for opposition movements and coup attempts.

In Mali, economic degradation has been a key factor in recent waves of protests the government. Low economic growth, combined with endemic corruption and mismanagement of resources, has fueled popular resentment and facilitated military takeovers (Boeke, 2016). Indeed, overreliance on international aid and a failure to generate inclusive growth have led to recurring economic crises that have weakened the state and set the stage for political instability (Hagberg, 2019). The fragility of the Malian economy, marked by subsistence agriculture and a lack of investment in strategic sectors, has exacerbated regional and socio-economic inequalities, leading to regular political unrest.

In Türkiye, despite significant economic challenges, the government has maintained relative stability through a series of economic reforms and prudent macroeconomic management. The regime has successfully contained the fallout from the 2008 global financial crisis and promoted sustained economic growth

for much of the past decade, which has helped to strengthen the government's legitimacy and discourage military overthrow attempts (Öniş, 2012). Türkiye has been able to use its economic growth to legitimize its rule and ease internal tensions, which has contributed to the government's resilience in the face of coup attempts (Pamuk, 2016). Investment in infrastructure and public services has also improved the quality of life for many citizens, reducing popular discontent and the likelihood of political unrest. However, the relationship between economic performance and political stability is complex and goes beyond gross economic growth. Uneven distribution of the benefits of growth can also lead to instability. For example, in Mali, despite some periods of economic growth, the benefits have not been distributed equitably, which has exacerbated inequalities and fueled feelings of marginalization in some regions (Boeke, 2016). This economic marginalization has often been instrumentalized by rebel groups to justify their claims and actions against the state, thus accentuating political instability.

In Türkiye, economic growth has been largely supported by policies favoring foreign investment and the development of key sectors such as industry and services. However, this growth has also led to regional disparities and a concentration of wealth in urban areas to the detriment of rural regions (Öniş, 2012). Although Türkiye has managed to maintain a degree of political stability, these regional and socio-economic inequalities have also fueled tensions, particularly with the Kurdish population and other minority groups.

Another important aspect of the relationship between economics and political stability is the ability of governments to respond effectively to economic crises. In Mali, the government's response to economic crises has often been perceived as inadequate, leading to a lack of trust in state institutions and increased political instability (Hagberg, 2019). In contrast, in Türkiye, the government's proactive response to economic crises, including the implementation of austerity measures and structural reforms, has helped to strengthen stability political stability and maintaining citizens' trust in government institutions (Pamuk, 2016).

In conclusion, economic performance plays a crucial role in a country's political stability. Weak or crisis-ridden economies increase the likelihood of political instability by exacerbating popular frustrations and creating opportunities for protest actors. The ability of governments to promote inclusive growth, effectively manage economic crises, and equitably distribute the benefits of growth is essential to maintaining political stability. The examples of Mali and Türkiye illustrate how sound economic policies can strengthen government legitimacy and contribute to lasting political stability.

2.2. Role of Sociopolitical Divisions in Political Precarity

Internal sociopolitical divisions, such as ethnic, religious, or regional conflicts, play a crucial role in the stability of political regimes. Countries with strong so-

ciopolitical divisions are more likely to experience internal conflicts, which can weaken state structures and increase vulnerability to coups d'état.

In Mali, ethnic and regional tensions, particularly between the north and south of the country, have been exacerbated by weak governance and economic marginalization of some regions (Boone, 2012). The Tuareg rebellion and the rise of jihadist groups in the north have highlighted deep internal divisions and contributed to the destabilization of the country (Lecocq & Klute, 2019). These internal conflicts have undermined the legitimacy of the central state and facilitated the conditions for successive military coups, as the armed forces have often been seen as a recourse to restore order in the face of an ineffective government (Wing, 2016).

In contrast, in Türkiye, although the country has also faced ethnic and political tensions, including the Kurdish question and tensions between secularists and Islamists, the government has managed to contain these divisions by implementing political reforms and maintaining a strong repression of dissident movements (Yavuz, 2009). The centralization of power and the effective use of security forces to suppress uprisings have allowed the Turkish government to maintain a certain political stability despite internal tensions (Heper & Güney, 2000).

Sociopolitical and economic dynamics are therefore intrinsically linked to governmental stability. A crisis-ridden economy and deep social divisions increase the risks of political instability and facilitate coups. The ability of governments to manage these dynamics effectively is crucial to maintaining stability and resilience in the face of internal and external threats.

Furthermore, proactively managing social conflicts, through inclusion and development policies, can mitigate tensions and strengthen national cohesion. In Mali, the absence of such policies has exacerbated regional inequalities and reinforced feelings of marginalization, which has fueled rebel movements. In Türkiye, despite repression, attempts have been made to integrate minorities and bridge divisions, although with mixed results. Governments must therefore not only respond to immediate crises but also invest in long-term solutions to address the root causes of socio-political divisions. The importance of trust between citizens and the state is crucial to strengthening the legitimacy of institutions and preventing conflict.

In Mali, efforts to ease ethnic tensions have been insufficient, leading to widespread distrust of the central government and a resurgence of secessionist movements (Boone, 2012). Attempts at peace agreements have often failed to adequately include different factions, contributing to persistent tensions and instabilities. The failure to effectively manage these divisions has facilitated the recurrence of military coups, illustrating how political precarity can be sustained through poor management of socio-political conflicts (Wing, 2016).

In Türkiye, although ethnic tensions with the Kurdish population and persistent political divisions between secularists and Islamists are present, economic and social reforms have been partially successful in reducing the impact of these divisions. However, the repression of dissident movements has also led to international criticism and increasing political polarization (Yavuz, 2009). The balance between repression and attempts at integration shows that managing socio-political divisions is complex and requires a nuanced approach.

Governments must therefore not only respond to immediate crises but also invest in long-term solutions to address the root causes of socio-political divisions. The importance of trust between citizens and the state is crucial to strengthen the legitimacy of institutions and prevent conflicts. Inclusive policies, transparent governance and the promotion of intercommunity dialogue are essential to mitigate tensions and strengthen political stability. The examples of Mali and Türkiye show that managing socio-political divisions is an ongoing challenge that requires continued efforts to maintain peace and national cohesion.

3. Implications of the Cases of Türkiye and Mali for Understanding Coups

The coup attempts in Türkiye and Mali offer significant insights into the understanding of coup dynamics and their implications for political stability. Analyzing these events allows us to identify general trends and develop recommendations to prevent future destabilization attempts.

3.1. Importance of Institutional Robustness

Institutional robustness refers to the ability of government and civil institutions to resist internal and external pressures, maintain order, and protect the legitimacy and continuity of government. One of the key lessons from the cases of Türkiye and Mali is the importance of institutional robustness in preventing coups. In Türkiye, democratic institutions and a centralized governance system played a key role in preventing the 2016 coup. The strength of institutions allowed the government to quickly mobilize the resources needed to counter the coup attempt, demonstrating that strong institutions can provide resilience against such attacks (Özcan, 2019). Furthermore, the presence of institutional checks and balances played a crucial role in the failure of the 2016 coup. The independent judiciary and a relatively free press contributed to a rapid and effective response against the coup plotters. According to Özcan (2019), the ability of institutions to mobilize popular support and defend the legitimacy of the government was instrumental in restoring order after the coup attempt. By providing mutual monitoring between the different branches of government, these mechanisms reduced the opportunities for power grabs by military or political factions. Moreover, judicial independence has enabled the effective prosecution of those responsible for the 2016 coup attempt, thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the state and deterring future attempts at destabilization (Özcan, 2019).

By ensuring that justice is administered without political interference, judicial independence contributes to political stability by maintaining the rule of law and reducing social tensions.

Robust institutions also have the ability to quickly mobilize popular support in times of crisis, which is crucial for the legitimacy and survival of a government. Legitimacy, which stems from the public perception that the government is fair and represents the interests of the population, is a key factor in preventing coups. Institutions that function effectively and transparently can strengthen this perception by demonstrating their ability to respond to the needs of the population and maintain order.

For example, in Türkiye, the rapid response of government institutions and the mobilization of popular support were key factors in the failure of the 2016 coup. President Erdogan's call to the population to defend democracy was followed by massive demonstrations of support, showing that Turkish institutions could count on broad popular support to counter the coup attempt (Aydin-taşbaş, 2018). This mobilization strengthened the government's legitimacy and discouraged the coup plotters.

In contrast, in Mali, institutional weakness has been a critical factor in the success of coups. Weak governance structures and an ineffective administration have made the country vulnerable to internal disruptions. Institutional weakness prevents the establishment of effective response mechanisms to internal threats, thus facilitating undemocratic regime changes (Boeke & Schuurman, 2020).

In Mali, institutional fragility was a major factor in the success of the 2020 and 2021 coups. Checks and balances were weak or nonexistent, facilitating military takeovers. Englebort (2021) notes that the lack of effective checks and balances and the weak capacity of the state to maintain order created an environment conducive to instability and attempts to overthrow the government. This demonstrates the importance of institutional mechanisms for political stability and coup prevention. The absence of an independent judiciary contributed to instability. Corruption and political interference in the judiciary undermined public trust and weakened the rule of law, facilitating coups. Boeke (2016) highlights that the inability of judicial institutions to function independently and effectively contributed to the perception of a weak and illegitimate government, increasing vulnerability to coup attempts.

Furthermore, the inability of institutions to mobilize popular support has contributed to the success of coups. Low trust in state institutions and perceptions of an ineffective and corrupt government have reduced popular support for the government, facilitating coup attempts (Hagberg, 2019). This highlights the importance of institutions maintaining a strong connection with the population to prevent political crises. In Mali, weak institutions and their inability to

respond effectively to crises have contributed to political instability. The slow and ineffective response to security and economic challenges has weakened the government's position and facilitated successive coups (Englebert, 2021). This shows that the ability of institutions to respond to crises is essential to maintaining stability and preventing attempts to overthrow the government.

3.2. Impact of Socioeconomic Conditions and Sociopolitical Divisions

Socioeconomic conditions and sociopolitical divisions play a central role in the stability of political regimes. In Türkiye, despite economic challenges, the government has managed to maintain stability through economic reforms and effective macroeconomic management (Öniş, 2012). A relatively stable economy and an ability to manage internal sociopolitical tensions have contributed to the resilience of the Turkish government in the face of coup attempts.

In Mali, on the other hand, precarious economic conditions and deep sociopolitical divisions have created an environment conducive to instability. Economic deterioration and ethnic and regional tensions have weakened the state and facilitated successive coups (Hagberg, 2019). This highlights the importance of managing socioeconomic conditions and internal divisions to prevent coup attempts.

Socioeconomic conditions play a fundamental role in the stability of a state. Economic problems such as high unemployment, poverty, and inflation can breed widespread discontent, weaken government legitimacy, and make populations more receptive to calls for regime change. Difficult economic conditions can also exacerbate social inequalities and political tensions, increasing the risk of internal conflict and coups. Economic insecurity is often associated with increased political instability. Studies show that countries facing recurring economic crises are more likely to experience coups and abrupt regime changes (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012).

In Mali, economic insecurity has been a key factor in recent waves of protests against the government. Low economic growth, mismanagement of resources, and overreliance on international aid have fueled popular resentment and weakened state legitimacy. Boeke (2016) notes that these difficult economic conditions have created fertile ground for political instability, facilitating the coups of 2020 and 2021. Reliance on external aid has also exacerbated economic vulnerabilities, making the country more susceptible to external and internal shocks that can destabilize the government.

In contrast, Türkiye, despite significant economic challenges, has managed to maintain relative political stability through prudent macroeconomic management and substantial economic reforms (Öniş, 2012). Sustained economic growth, albeit unevenly distributed, has allowed the government to strengthen

its legitimacy and maintain order despite internal tensions. Pamuk (2016) highlights that improving living conditions and creating economic opportunities have helped ease social tensions and discourage coup attempts, showing how effective economic management can strengthen the resilience of a state.

Social inequality is another critical factor influencing political stability. In Mali, socio-economic inequality has contributed to political tensions and instability. The economic marginalization of some regions, particularly in the north of the country, has exacerbated feelings of discontent and injustice, leading to rebellion movements and growing opposition to the central government (Hagberg, 2019). The perception of unequal distribution of resources and opportunities has fueled resentment toward the government, facilitating coup attempts.

In Türkiye, although inequalities persist, efforts have been made to reduce disparities and improve the general well-being of the population. Economic and social reforms have helped to mitigate inequalities and reduce tensions, contributing to greater political stability (Özcan, 2019). This demonstrates that inclusive and equitable economic policies can strengthen social cohesion and reduce the risks of internal conflicts and coups.

In Mali, ethnic and regional tensions have played a central role in political instability. The marginalization of Tuareg communities and other northern ethnic groups has led to rebellions and growing opposition to the central government, undermining the legitimacy of the state (Lecocq & Klute, 2019). These tensions have created fertile ground for coups, with the armed forces often seen as a solution to restore order in the face of an ineffective government (Wing, 2016).

In Türkiye, although the country has also faced ethnic tensions, particularly with the Kurdish issue, the government has managed to contain these divisions by adopting political reforms and maintaining a strong repression of dissident movements (Yavuz, 2009). The centralization of power and the effective use of security forces have helped to maintain a certain political stability despite internal tensions. This approach has strengthened the state's capacity to manage internal divisions and prevent coup attempts.

Conclusion

This article has set out to explore the reasons why coup attempts have failed in Türkiye, while succeeding in Mali, despite distinct political and socio-economic contexts. By examining the internal and external dynamics that shaped these events, the analysis has highlighted several key aspects: the role of the armed forces, the robustness of democratic institutions, the involvement of international actors, and the socio-political particularities of these two nations.

In Türkiye, the failure of the July 2016 coup was largely attributed to a strong public opposition and robust democratic institutions, as well as the crucial sup-

port of large segments of the military for the civilian administration. Popular mobilization, free media, and established democratic institutions played a central role in resisting the attempted overthrow of the government. Moreover, a relatively stable economy and substantial international support strengthened the government's resilience in the face of this crisis. In contrast, in Mali, coups have been facilitated by a combination of factors such as weak state institutions, chronic political instability, widespread poverty, and ethnic and territorial conflicts. The Malian military, faced with ineffective and corrupt governance, has often found legitimacy in taking power, perceived by parts of the population as a means of restoring order and security. The international response, while generally disapproving of the coups, has been relatively limited, allowing the military to maintain its control without significant pressure to quickly restore civilian rule.

The divergences in coup outcomes in Türkiye and Mali can therefore be attributed to marked differences in institutional robustness, popular support for the regimes in place, socio-economic dynamics, and international reactions. These elements have contributed to Türkiye's relative stability in the face of attempted overthrow and Mali's continued fragility, making coups more likely to succeed in the latter country.

Analysis of these cases offers valuable lessons for understanding the factors that influence the success or failure of coups and highlights the importance of strengthening democratic institutions, improving socio-economic conditions, and effectively managing socio-political divisions to ensure lasting political stability. In conclusion, governments must strive to build strong institutions, ensure inclusive governance and promote social cohesion to prevent political crises and maintain national stability.

References

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Publishers.
- Aydıntaşbaş, A. (2018). The Turkish model in crisis: Authoritarianism and the future of democracy in Türkiye. *European Council on Foreign Relations*.
- Bakir, V., & Aydın-Düzgit, S. (2018). The role of media in the failed coup attempt in Türkiye. *Mediterranean Politics*, 23(1), 103-112. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1327845>
- Boas, M., & Torheim, L. E. (2013). The Trouble in Mali—Corruption, Collusion, Resilience. *African Security*, 6(3-4), 229-247.
- Boeke, S. (2016). Mali's Unlikely Democracy: An Analysis of Political Stability and the Role of the Military. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 54(2), 303-324.
- Boeke, S. (2016). The Impact of Economic Inequality on Political Instability: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Development Studies*, 52(4), 523-542.

- Boeke, S., & Schuurman, B. (2020). The impact of terrorism on governance in the Sahel region: An analysis of the factors driving instability in Mali. *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*, 32(5), 981-1001.
- Boone, C. (2012). *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cevik, S., & Charap, J. (2015). The Behavior of Conventional and Unconventional Monetary Policy: Evidence from Türkiye. *International Monetary Fund Working Paper No. 15/71*.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2005). Coup traps: Why does Africa have so many coups d'état? *Economic Policy*, 20(41), 615-635. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0327.2005.00146.x>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Englebert, P. (2021). *The State Legitimacy Discourse: Paradigmatic Underspecification and the Solution of Political Rituals in Mali*. Cambridge University Press.
- Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2017). Türkiye: How the Coup Failed. *Journal of Democracy*, 28(1), 59-73.
- Hagberg, S. (2019). Beyond the Crisis in Mali: Fostering Political Stability through Inclusion. *African Affairs*, 118(472), 495-511.
- Heper, M., & Güney, A. (2000). The Military and Democracy in the Third Turkish Republic. *Armed Forces & Society*, 26(4), 635-657.
- International Crisis Group. (2017). Mali: En attendant la paix. Africa Report N°226.
- Kalaycioglu, E. (2020). Turkish Politics: The Role of Tradition in Modernization and Transformation. In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Türkiye* (pp. 25-39). Routledge.
- Lacher, W. (2012). *Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Lecocq, B., & Klute, G. (2019). Tuareg Separatism in Mali. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 52(3), 389-411.
- Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2010). *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Öniş, Z. (2012). The Triumph of Conservative Globalism: The Political Economy of the AKP Era. *Turkish Studies*, 13(2), 135-152.
- Pamuk, H. (2016). Türkiye's Economic Transformation and the Role of the State. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 52(1), 1-17.
- Pion-Berlin, D., & Trinkunas, H. (2010). Civil-military relations in Latin America: New analytical perspectives. *Comparative Politics*, 42(4), 385-407. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041510X12911363509628>
- Powell, J.M., & Thyne, C.L. (2011). Global instances of coups from 1950 to 2010: A new dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(2), 249-259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343310397436>
- Rupesinghe, N. (2020). Social Media and Social Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 3206-3223.
- Varol, O. (2018). *The Democratic Coup d'État*. Oxford University Press.

- Wing, S. (2020). Mali: Politics of a crisis. *African Affairs*, 119(474), 155-176. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adaa016>
- Wing, S. D. (2016). Mali: Politics of a Crisis. *African Affairs*, 115(459), 476-488.
- Yavuz, M. H. (2009). *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Türkiye*. Cambridge University Press.