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GOVERNANCE AND SMALL STATES

Liliana Curmi

This paper attempts to assess how small states perform in terms of governance using the so-called Kaufmann Index as a yardstick.

The issue of "good governance" has been at the centre of the development debate for many years. It has major normative implications and it is therefore subject to political and cultural interpretations. However, there is a broad measure of agreement on what might be termed essential elements such as open, transparent, accountable, efficient, effective and responsive administration. Respect for human rights and the rule of law is also generally included in the definition of good governance.

Governance is very important for all states, but it is particularly important for small states, which are often characterized by very limited resources endowments and are very exposed to the negative effects of external shocks. In the quest for economic development, effective, stable and accountable governments are indispensable.

Recently, good governance has been associated with economic resilience building, mainly for small states, which are very highly prone to external shocks and the promotion of good governance in the public and private sector of small states was considered to be a major element of an integrated approach for resilience building (Briguglio et al., 2006).

The paper is organised in five sections. Section 2 which follows this introduction deals with the meaning of good governance, while section 3 describes a number of governance indicators, focussing on the Kaufmann Index. Section 4 uses the Kaufmann index to assess the performance on small states in terms of good governance. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. The Meaning of Good Governance

Definition

Many definitions of governance have been proposed in the literature. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997) define governance as: "The exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in the management of a country's affairs at all levels: comprising the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations." Cheema (2005) argues that governance comprises difficult mechanisms, processes, relationships, and institutions through which citizens and groups cohere their interests, exercise their rights and obligations, and reconcile their differences. Some definitions refer to rules, enforcement mechanisms (the World Bank, 2002) while others to the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources (North et al., 2000).

In recent times, the practice of governance has been influenced by Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). The internet has given rise to the development of e-government by providing a cost-effective means of disseminating information, and e-democracy which permits citizens to contribute more dynamically to governance (United Nations Secretariat, 2007).

Certain attributes, such as efficiency, transparency, accountability and participation have been associated with good governance. Efficiency relates to the government's ability to create certainty in the institutional and policy environment (Mimicopoulos, 2006) and to correctly prioritize government services to correspond with citizen desires (Afonso et al., 2006). Transparency refers to the accessibility and clarity of information granted to the general public concerning government related activities. Lack of transparency is often associated with corruption. In line with transparency there is the issue of accountability, which involves identifying who is to blame for misdeeds and which requires criteria for the evaluation of the performance of public servants and institutions. Participation is associated with plurality (including that of the media), public contribution to decision-making leading to enhanced capacity and skills of stakeholders (Asian Development Bank, 2009).

Governance in Small States

In this paper, small states are defined as those with a population of about 1.5 million or less in line with the definitions adopted by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the World Bank (2000:80). Many of these states are also islands. Small states face considerable challenges relating mostly to their small size leading to limited ability to reap the benefits of economies of scale and high dependence on international trade and therefore high degree of exposure to external shocks (Briguglio et al., 2006).

Generally, the literature on Governance in small states focuses on the differences that scale imposes on these states, particularly the microstates.

Sutton (2006: 13-15) identifies four characteristics relating to the performance of the public service:
Exaggerated personalism. Usually the public service is strongly influenced by ministers and senior public officials and may therefore be open to personal favour and patronage;
Limited resources. As a results of this, civil servants have to wear many hats leading to inappropriate training and specialisation;
Inadequate service delivery. This happens as a result of cost indivisibilities, assoicatd with small size.
Relatively high degree of dependence on foreign consultants. The reliance on foreign management consultants often leads to these consultants promoting and applying 'scale-insensitive' management practices.

Reddy (2006) argues that the issue of governance plays a crucial role in the overall economic performance of small states. He states that there are serious bottlenecks relating to governance in many Pacific small island countries. Foremost is the lack of accountability, transparency and political instability. Practices of bad governance not only adversely affect economic performance, but also weaken the ability of a country to withstand external shocks. Reddy (2006).

Carment et al., (2006) identified a number of well-governed small states and maintained that the level of development, trade openness and the British legal system are major determinants of governance in such states.

3. Governance Indices

There is a growing interest in measuring governance and this has led to a proliferation of cross-country indices measuring different aspects of governance. Primarily, the interest in governance indices arose from the need for donor agencies, such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), to verify that resources are allocated to governments that will use them efficiently. The donor community benefits from the knowledge that their aid would be used effectively for worthy causes, and would generate growth in the recipient countries. Knowledge of the status of governance is also of importance to private investors, both foreign and domestic. In addition, these indices could help the governments themselves measure their performance. There is of course the usual problem of data limitations associated with cross country comparisons, including absence of required information and different conceptual frameworks in the measurement of indices.

The Kaufmann Index

A renowned governance index is that created by Kaufmann et al. (2002), and subsequently revised and updated. The Kaufmann index is based on six aspects of governance: voice and accountability; political instability and violence; government effectiveness; regulatory quality; rule of law; and, control of corruption. An updated (2008) version of this index will be used as a yardstick in this paper and will be described more fully in another section.

The Kaufmann Index (Kaufmann et al (2006) consists of six components

1. *Voice and accountability.* This aspect of governance relates, amongst other things, to freedom of expression and association, sustained by a free media.
2. *Political stability and absence of violence.* This component relates to the prospects that a political regime will be destabilized by unconstitutional means, such as political violence and terrorism.
3. *Government effectiveness.* This is a complex area of governance and covers the quality of services offered by the government and the degree of independence from political pressures, with reference to the quality of policy formulation and performance and the the reliability of the government's commitment towards such policies.
4. *Regulatory quality.* This aspect relates to the capability of the government to design and execute regulations that facilitate private sector development.
5. *Rule of law.* This component is associated with the extent to which the rule of law prevails in society as well as enforcement through the police and the courts.
6. *Control of corruption.* This component relates to the degree to which public power is implemented for the attainment of private gain, through illicit methods, as well as informal lobbying by powerful groups.

The different indicators are constructed on reports from businesses, citizens and expert opinion. The scores on the index range from -2.5 to 2.5, with higher values reflecting better governance ratings.

Kaufmann et al. (2005:42) that there is a degree of subjectivity in the compilation of the indicators and as a result there is room for interpretation regarding the score. Nevertheless, it can provide a contemporary "snapshot" of governance in different countries allowing some patterns to be recognized even if individual features, as reflected in the scores for each of the six dimensions, “remains a rather blunt instrument for specific policy advice at the country level”.

The authors also acknowledge that there may be margins of error in the computation of the indices, pointing to the fact that minor differences in country rankings are not likely to be statistically significant. However, these aggregate governance indicators are useful because they allow countries to be grouped into broad categories according to levels of governance. The indices also generated considerable interest in governance issues.

Other indicators

Three other indicators which are commonly cited when discussing governance are the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy, the Economic Freedom of the World Index and the Corruption Perception Index.[1]

Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP). The CIFP focuses on economic governance, human security and political stability, assigning major importance to fragile states. The definition of governance within the context of the CIFP recognizes the indispensable role of functional government regime (Country Indicators for Foreign Policy, 2007). The CIFP targeted six core components focusing on sound governance. These include peace and political stability, market and economic efficiency, rule of law, human rights, government transparency and accountability, and popular participation within democratic and political institutions. Each of these sub-categories is calculated by averaging scores being targeted to the diverse indicators, which reflect the latter, with a score ranging from 1 to 9, with lower lower scores indicating better governance

The Economic Freedom of the World Index (EFW). Gwartney and Lawson (2009) argue that individuals have economic freedom when property they obtain without the use of force, fraud, or theft is protected from physical invasions by others and they are free to use, exchange, or give their property as long as their actions do not violate the identical rights of others. The index measures the degree of economic freedom with regard to six major areas namely (1) Size of government: expenditures, taxes, and enterprises; (2) Legal structure and security of property rights; (3) Access to sound money; (4) Freedom to trade internationally; and (5) Regulation of credit, labour, and business. Each area has various components. Area 2 is intended to calculate the extent to which rightly acquired property is protected and individuals are engaged in voluntary transactions. It consists of 7 sub-components which are

[1] There four indices are correlated as shown in the following table:

	KI	FWI	CIFP	CPI
KI	1			
FWI	0.90	1		
CIFP	-0.95	-0.83	1	
CPI	0.96	0.88	-0.88	1

Judicial independence, Impartiality of the courts, protection of property rights, military interference in the rule of law, Integrity of the legal system, legal enforcement of contracts, and regulatory restrictions in the sale of real property. Each component is measured along a scale of 0 to 10.

The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). Since 1995, Transparency International has published an annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) directing the world's states according to "the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians". The organization defines corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" Transparency International (2008). The CPI 2005 draws on a large number of different polls and surveys from independent institutions. This index has been criticised because the results are somewhat subjective and for its lack of standardization. The designers of the CPI maintain that averaging enough survey data will remedy this situation. The CPI has been instrumental in creating alertness and stimulating debate concerning corruption. The CPI creates a single score per country, which cannot be compared on an annual basis. The Index scores countries on a scale from zero (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean).

Discussion on Governance Indices

Major issues associated with governance indicators relates to causality problems (Chong et al, 2000), measurement errors (Glaeser et al., 2004), missing variable considerations (Bardhan, 2005), conceptual vagueness (Weiss, 2000) and a number of econometric problems (Malik, 2002).

The issue of causality is of particular relevance to this dissertation. There appears to be a close correlation between governance scores and per capita income. It is not clear whether per capita income is influenced by good governance or vice-versa (Knack and Manning, 2000; Chong and Calderon, 2000; Glaeser et al., 2004). One implication of this causality debate is that one if governance depends on income, one can argue that good governance is a luxury which only rich countries can afford.

4. Small States and Good Governance

Analysis of the Components of the Kaufmann Index

In order to analyse the performance of small states, compared to larger ones, all countries listed in the Index (194 in all)[2] are first grouped into three size categories, namely Small (population up to 1.5 million), Medium (up to 10 million) and Large (more than 10 million),[3] as shown in Table 1. It can be seen that on average the small states have better governance scores than larger countries.

[2] The Kaufmann Index also included a number of jurisdictions which are not politically independent and these were left out of the present analysis. In addition, countries for which GDP per capita was not available, were also left out.
[3] See Appendix 1 for a classification of countries in terms of population size

Table 1
Average Scores for Components of the Kaufman Index and Country size

	VA	PS	GE	RE	RL	CC	Average KI
Small (population up to 1.5 million)	0.377	0.617	0.109	0.057	0.383	0.282	0.304
Medium (population higher than 1.5 and up to 10 million)	-0.117	-0.029	-0.063	-0.017	-0.144	-0.021	-0.065
Large (population more than 10 million)	-0.240	-0.476	-0.106	-0.123	-0.248	-0.229	-0.237

VA= Voice and accountability *PS = Political stability and absence of violence.*
GE = Government Effectiveness *RE = Regulatory quality*
RL = Rule of law *CC = Control of corruption*

Figure 1, which is derived from Table 1 confirms that countries with small population are, in general, better governed than larger countries. Small states fare better in all components of the Kaufmann Index. As shown in Table 1 and Figure 1, small states score best in terms of "Political Stability" pointing to the relative unlikelihood, when compared to larger states that the government will be destabilised or overthrown by violent means.

Figure 1
Population Size and the Kaufmann Index

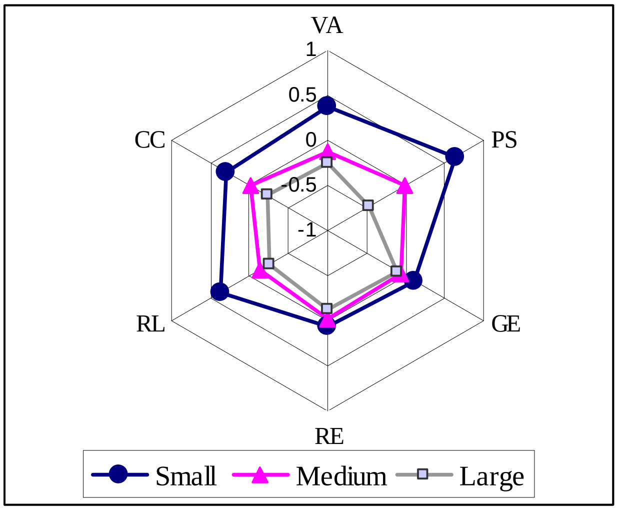


Table 1 and Figure 1 give averages, and this conceals the variations within each country size category. For this purpose, the next section will discuss the variation within the small-state category.

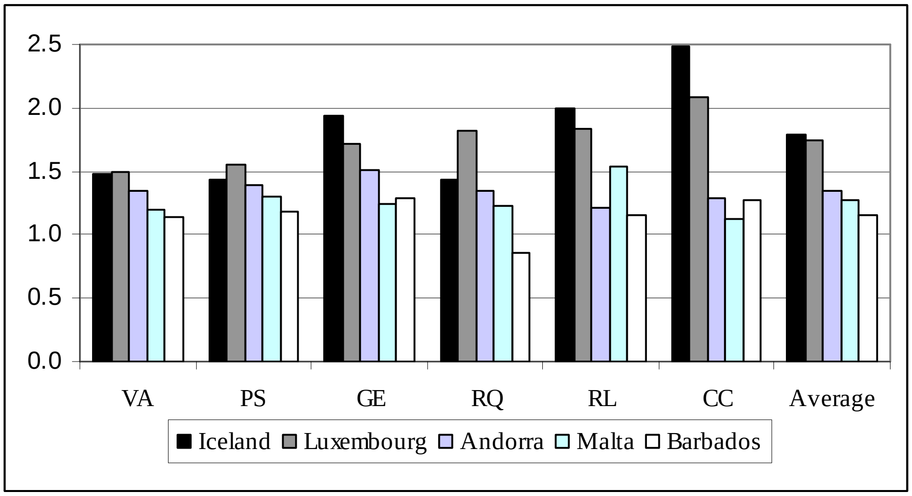
The Best and Worst Performance in Small States

The best 5 small-state performers in terms of the Kaufmann Index are Iceland, Luxembourg, Andorra, Malta, and Barbados as shown in Table 2 and Figure 2. These five countries do not have a single negative score. For Iceland and Luxembourg the highest scores were obtained in terms of control of corruption. For Andorra and Barbados the highest scores related to Government Efficiency, and for Malta the rule of law

Table 2
Scores for the Best Small-State Performers using the Kaufmann Index

	VA	PS	GE	RQ	RL	CC	Average
Iceland	1.484	1.434	1.931	1.435	2.000	2.478	1.794
Luxembourg	1.499	1.547	1.714	1.818	1.828	2.086	1.749
Andorra	1.348	1.390	1.505	1.343	1.212	1.292	1.348
Malta	1.204	1.299	1.237	1.234	1.532	1.128	1.272
Barbados	1.146	1.181	1.289	0.859	1.160	1.278	1.152

Figure 2
Scores of the Best Small-State Performers

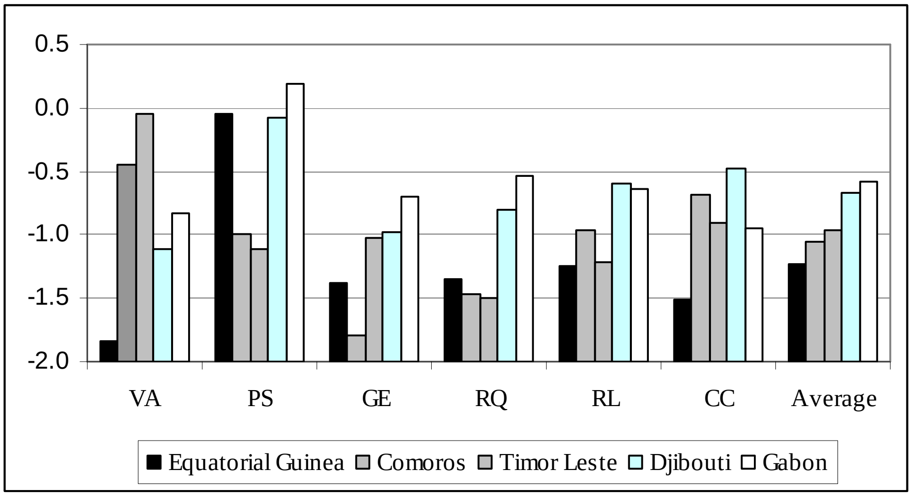


The five worst small-state performers in terms of the Kaufmann Governance Index are shown in Table 6 - these are Equatorial Guinea, Timor-Leste, Comoros, Guinea-Bissau and Djibouti. These countries received a negative score in every component of the Kaufmann Index, as shown in Table 3 and Figure 3.

Table 3
Scores for Worst Small-State Performers using the Kaufmann Index

	VA	PS	GE	RQ	RL	CC	Average
Equatorial Guinea	-1.835	-0.047	-1.377	-1.356	-1.240	-1.512	-1.228
Comoros	-0.444	-1.001	-1.795	-1.467	-0.960	-0.689	-1.059
Timor Leste	-0.047	-1.113	-1.028	-1.491	-1.213	-0.900	-0.965
Djibouti	-1.112	-0.076	-0.978	-0.799	-0.594	-0.476	-0.673
Gabon	-0.837	0.188	-0.698	-0.542	-0.635	-0.951	-0.579

Figure 3
Worst Performing Small States

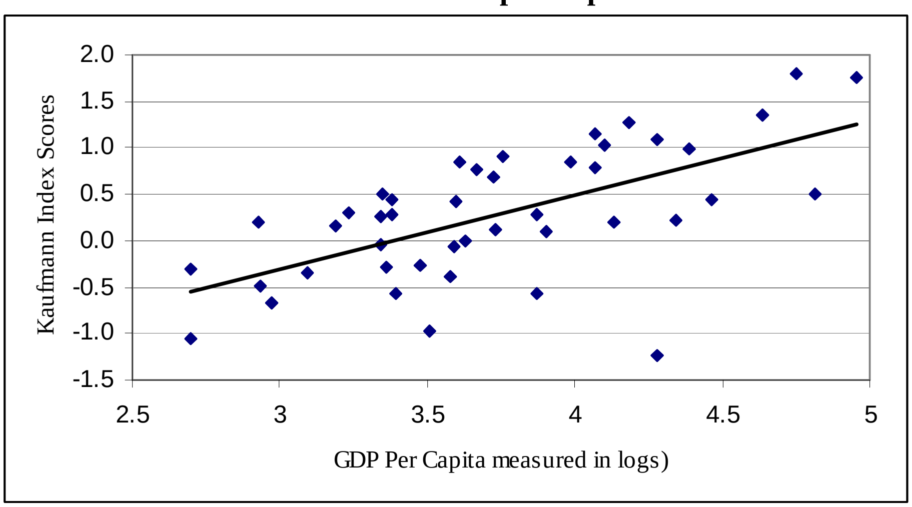


Figures 2 and 3 indicate that although small states generally register higher scores than larger states in terms of the Kaufman Index, there are exceptions, with some small states actually performing relatively badly in this regard.

Of the 45 small states considered in this study, 14 had a negative governance score, and most of these were countries with a relatively low per capital income, with the exception of Equatorial Guinea. The remaining 31 had positive overall average scores.

The diagram below confirms the tendency that low-income small states tend to register negative governance scores, although again here there are exceptions, shown by the scatter diagram. A major main outlier is Equatorial Guinea, which has a high per capita income due to ira resources endowments,

Figure 4
Small States: The Relation between GDP per Capita and Governance Scores



Country Size and Governance, keeping Per Capita Income Constant

This section will analyse whether small states, as a group of countries, register better or worse governance scores when compared to larger countries, if income per capita is kept constant. Again, governance will be measured by the Kaufmann Index. This following relationship is tested, using the Least Squares Method of Regression:

$$GOV = a_0 + a_1 POP + a_2 GDP$$

Where:

GOV is the governance scores as derived from the Kaufmann Index
POP measures population expressed in logs. This is intended to capture the size of the country. The source of the data UNCTAD (2002) and an average for 1995, 1996 and 1997 was taken.

GDP measures GDP per capita which is also expressed in logs. This is intended to measure the stage of development of the countries concerned. The source of the data is International Monetary Fund (IMF 2003) and an average for 1995, 1996, and 1997 was taken.

The reason why these two variables are measured in logs is that their effect on governance occurs at a diminishing rate, in that as a country which is twice as rich as another country in terms of GDP per capita, is assumed to have a governance score which is not twice as high.

With regard to the coefficients of the equation, a_1 which represents the relation between Population and Governance is assumed to be negative while $a_{2,}$ which represents the relation between GDP and Governance, is assumed to be positive.

The hypotheses underlying the signs of the coefficients are that small states may tend to be better governed than larger ones and that rich countries may tend to be better governed than poor countries.
The results of the regression analysis are as follows[4]:

$$GOV = -2.730 \quad - 0.129\ POP \quad + 0.903\ GDP$$
$$\qquad\qquad\qquad (-2.673) \qquad (14.416)$$

$R^2 = 0.60 \quad N = 190$

[4] Similar results were obtained when the Kauman Index was replaced by the Economic Freedom of the World Index (EFW), Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP), Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The is to be expected as the four indices are correlated as shown in the following table:

	KI	FWI	CIFP	CPI
KI	1			
FWI	0.90	1		
CIFP	-0.95	-0.83	1	
CPI	0.96	0.88	-0.88	1

The t-statistics, which are shown in brackets, indicate that the coefficients on Population and GDP per capita are statistically different from zero at the 95% level of significance.

The co-efficient on Population size (a_1) which takes a value of -0.121 suggests that holding other variables constant, smaller countries are generally better governed than larger ones. The positive relationship between the Kaufmann Index as the dependent variable and the co-efficient of GDP per capita (a_2), suggests that richer countries tend to be better governed than larger ones.

This result would seem to suggest that small states tend to be better governed than larger ones, keeping income per capita constant, the latter variable possibly reflecting the stages of development.

It may be asked in this regard whether the causal direction is that the stage of development affects governance or vice versa. This study does not settle this issue and in reality the two variables may be simultaneously determined. As discussed in Chapter 2, this issue has ushered in considerable debate in the literature. It is difficult to establish what causes what, using quantitative techniques only. However, it is safe to assume that countries that aspire to develop economically should improve their political governance in all its aspects, including voice accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption.

5. Conclusion

This main conclusion that can be derived from this chapter is that the small states, in general, tend to be better governed than larger ones, keeping income per capita constant, the latter variable possibly capturing the stage of development. When the components of the governance index were analysed separately, it was found that small states performed best in terms of political stability, regulatory quality and rule of law.

When considering small states separately, it emerges that governance performance tends to be related to income per capita.

These results have two major policy implications. Firstly, the Kaufmann Index and the other governance indices may help in promoting good governance. The "name and shame" possibilities may lead countries that are badly governed to attempt to move up the indices of governance by improving those areas of governance which score relatively low in these indices. Even countries with relatively good governance scores may be prompted by the result of the index to improve their governance. In the case of Malta, for example, the rule of law, the quality of contract enforcement, the police and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence received relatively high scores. The lowest score for Malta was voice accountability. Although this last component of governance received a relatively high score when compared to other countries, there is still considerable room for improvement in this aspect of governance. Likewise Barbados, which is well governed, received the lowest score in regulatory quality which focuses on measures of the incidence of market-unfriendly policies such as price control or inadequate bank supervision, as well as the burden imposed by excessive regulation. Again here, Barbados could do well to seek improvement in this component of governance. With regard to relatively badly-governed small states, improvement is most probably needed in all components of the index, and moving up the list of the governance score will require an overall reform in governance.

Secondly, it appears that countries that aspire to develop economically require good governance. Although the causal relationship was not established in this study, it makes sense to assume that well-governed countries are likely to attain a relatively high level of economic development probably because good governance reduces economic instability and enhances predictability, and this leads, amongst other things, to the attraction of investment from local and foreign sources. For example, small countries like Malta and Barbados, which are poorly endowed with natural resources, are highly exposed to external shocks, and are therefore disadvantaged economically, have still managed to attain a relatively high degree of economic development, possibly because of their governance performance.

An interesting question that arises from the results relates to the main reason as to why many small states are relatively well-governed. It may be argued that small size renders governance easier, in that the number of persons to be managed is smaller. Another possible explanation could be that small states tend to be socially cohesive (Prasad, 2008) and this may facilitate good governance. But these are contentious proposition, as many non-small states are also relatively well-governed, including the USA, Japan, Germany, France and others.

It can also be argued that many small states have transposed and adopted governance approaches from former colonising powers, where democracy and the rule of law were firmly established. Again, the evidence may not be very clear-cut in this regard – given some of the worst-governed small states have also been formerly governed by colonial powers that uphold the rule of law.

Finally, one could argue that small states have better possibilities to use discretionary approaches rather than rigid rules, and this permits them to manoeuvre better in terms of crises. By analogy, a small firm which does not need a huge bureaucratic machinery that creates rigidities, may be better placed than a large firm to react quickly to the needs of its staff.

Whatever the reason, the exercise carried out in this study does show that small economic size, though economically disadvantageous, need not preclude small states from being well governed.

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APPENDIX 1

Average Population and Average Gross Domestic Product

Country	Average Population (Millions)	Average GDP Per Capita (U.S. Dollars)
ANGUILLA	12442	192.20
BERMUDA	64370	4833.59
DOMINICA	67613	4427.52
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	84082	11990.87
SEYCHELLES	86087	8955.06
KIRIBATI	93541	670.97
TONGA	99836	2283.31
ARUBA	103519	2403.76
GRENADA	105501	5417.40
MICRONESIA	110598	235.36
SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	155128	810.73
SAMOA	185412	2351.41
VANUATU	220772	1907.97
BELIZE	281629	3986.00
BARBADOS	292919	11683.22
ICELAND	298389	57715.72
MALDIVES	300382	2653.71
BAHAMAS	327284	19036.03
BRUNEI	381947	29325.05
MALTA	404649	16265.93
SURINAME	455234	4088.69
LUXEMBOURG	461509	91156.97
SOLOMON ISLANDS	484034	666.80
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	495745	8619.32
CAPE VERDE	518602	2506.63
BHUTAN	648087	1524.99
BAHRAIN	738783	20739.12
GUYANA	738815	1231.32
COMOROS	818509	668.97
DJIBOUTI	818580	1037.85
QATAR	819378	66669.66
FIJI	833358	3655.04
CYPRUS	845533	24418.09
TIMOR-LESTE	1111926	380.98
SWAZILAND	1133189	2655.40
MAURITIUS	1251447	5164.90
GABON	1310695	7095.46
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	1328475	14149.16
ESTONIA	1339873	12678.30
GUINEA-BISSAU	1645834	198.15
GAMBIA	1662913	346.21
BOTSWANA	1858536	7228.21
LESOTHO	1994517	636.68
SLOVENIA	2000589	19837.73
NAMIBIA	2046793	3446.24
LATVIA	2289311	9183.64
OMAN	2549500	14026.58

MONGOLIA	2604723	1206.06
JAMAICA	2698285	3916.44
KUWAIT	2776598	30571.38
ARMENIA	3009827	2005.72
MAURITANIA	3043521	847.76
ALBANIA	3171966	2967.76
PANAMA	3287471	5304.23
URUGUAY	3332208	6176.78
LITHUANIA	3407721	9304.72
LIBERIA	3590328	173.42
CONGO	3689079	148.37
MOLDOVA	3834324	1062.38
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA	3925487	3222.40
LEBANON	4055052	6204.77
NEW ZEALAND	4138407	27331.32
IRELAND	4221805	53861.44
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	4244402	38077.41
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	4266324	361.66
SINGAPORE	4381885	31423.94
COSTA RICA	4397875	5247.86
GEORGIA	4433937	1862.78
CROATIA	4554304	9991.38
NORWAY	4668530	73952.51
ERITREA	4689866	259.67
TURKMENISTAN	4899332	4220.73
KYRGYZSTAN	5259572	579.35
FINLAND	5261381	41348.43
SLOVAKIA	5388383	11022.82
DENMARK	5429694	51889.79
NICARAGUA	5532698	893.13
SIERRA LEONE	5731656	255.88
JORDAN	5732426	2529.61
LAOS	5760902	578.23
PARAGUAY	6015705	1614.04
LIBYA	6039114	9491.13
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	6200810	928.34
TOGO	6411382	360.79
TAJIKISTAN	6642015	2773.42
EL SALVADOR	6762668	2665.63
ISRAEL	6809902	21546.64
HONDURAS	6969599	1479.97
HONG KONG	7014553	177687.6
SWITZERLAND	7489307	54357.46
BULGARIA	7691989	4275.27
BURUNDI	8180030	117.32
AUSTRIA	8326724	40312.67
AZERBAIJAN	8408407	2552.32
BENIN	8760914	642.72
SWEDEN	9078393	44457.83
GUINEA	9184701	341.45
BOLIVIA	9353477	1188.43

HAITI	9446696	595.62
RWANDA	9474203	310.40
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	9614645	4226.87
BELARUS	9742068	3852.96
HUNGARY	10058155	11968.88
CZECH REPUBLIC	10189016	14331.91
TUNISIA	10215731	3125.15
BELGIUM	10428558	38682.06
SERBIA	10459717	4268.40
CHAD	10464787	688.59
PORTUGAL	10576639	19063.92
GREECE	11123056	24866.51
CUBA	11264830	50045.05
ZAMBIA	11698827	827.70
MALI	11972089	483.92
SENEGAL	12073784	812.76
GUATEMALA	13030683	2336.72
ECUADOR	13201396	3068.94
ZIMBABWE	13232435	415.43
MALAWI	13573958	243.05
NIGER	13742145	284.88
CAMBODIA	14198599	524.51
BURKINA FASO	14358717	445.66
KAZAKHSTAN	15315606	5264.98
NETHERLANDS	16375171	42487.28
CHILE	16465093	8697.75
CAMEROON	18173008	1002.05
COTE D'IVOIRE	18920333	966.32
MADAGASCAR	19161652	323.94
SRI LANKA	19209131	1432.45
SYRIA	19409986	1803.86
AUSTRALIA	20527936	38159.91
MOZAMBIQUE	20967013	364.97
ROMANIA	21532392	5973.42
YEMEN	21739033	886.07
GHANA	23007283	599.12
SAUDI ARABIA	24173944	14810.68
AFGHANISTAN	26100113	297.34
MALAYSIA	26112865	6072.74
UZBEKISTAN	26981963	673.30
VENEZUELA	27191205	6856.45
PERU	27588534	3364.18
NEPAL	27643670	338.18
UGANDA	29909862	344.87
MOROCCO	30857366	2182.31
CANADA	32574471	39394.08
ALGERIA	33354403	3493.79
KENYA	36563386	667.50
SUDAN	37722574	1008.30
POLAND	38139212	9331.74
ARGENTINA	39137521	5590.64

TANZANIA	43651583	13770.91
SPAIN	43854497	28721.96
COLOMBIA	45553399	3609.89
UKRAINE	46560116	2411.09
SOUTH AFRICA	48265962	5503.48
MYANMAR	48381561	228.68
ITALY	58767323	32728.56
UNITED KINGDOM	60735997	41399.85
FRANCE	63187323	38086.92
THAILAND	63443507	3202.69
IRAN	70299722	3293.23
TURKEY	73922729	8146.17
EGYPT	74171401	1499.22
ETHIOPIA	81035219	207.45
GERMANY	82630897	36573.46
VIETNAM	86203235	729.67
PHILIPPINES	86263330	1379.13
MEXICO	105381129	9012.36
JAPAN	127938850	34753.04
RUSSIA	143224307	7107.74
NIGERIA	144722859	1011.27
BANGLADESH	155978952	426.63
PAKISTAN	160975351	814.91
BRAZIL	189314892	5822.28
INDONESIA	228851499	1623.35
UNITED STATES	306806609	43905.92
INDIA	1151723371	798.02
CHINA	1298008664	2071.62