Comparative Analysis of the Effect of Regime Type on Development in Nigeria

Public Administration Research Conference, Organized by the Center for Public and Nonprofit Management.16th Annual Research Conference, '**Promoting broadened prosperity, social equity, community resilience, and inclusive governance through policy reform and public service from local to global initiatives'** University of Central Florida (UCF), USA. 24th – 25th March

by

Idris Ahmed Jamo
Department of Public Administration
Ahmadu Bello University Zaria
Email: idrisahmedjamo7@gmail.com
iajamo@abu.edu.ng
Phone:+2348160992383; +2348028536501

and

Yusuf Ibrahim
Department of Public Administration
Ahmadu Bello University Zaria
Phone:+234806135423

Abstract

In recent years, democracy is becoming a second choice for many African states. In Africa and beyond there has been resurgence of military intervention in politics. There was a coup d'état in Mali, Sudan, Chad, Borkinafaso, Guinea Bisau and Niger republic. This is a clear sign that democracy is losing place in the Sahel region of Africa and probably due to the failure of the new democracies in Africa to advance development. Political tension and economic unrest in African democracies is another danger facing the continent. Nigeria is one of the countries facing democratic setback and high political drama. Yet no study has systematically compared regime type on development in Nigeria. To discern whether regime type has effect on development the paper used military and democratic regimes in Nigeria. Specifically the study looks at the impact of regime type on the level of corruption, insecurity, economic development, inflationary rate and poverty in Nigeria between 1997 and 2021. Qualitatively we found that whereas democracy is better in most countries, but in the Nigeria there is no momentous shift from military regime in terms of economic growth, poverty reduction, corruption and insecurity. We argue that national development is a product of regime' commitment toward improving people's standard of living. Both national and international efforts should be geared toward improving justice, accountability and the rule of law.

Key words: Democracy; Military; Development; Corruption; Insecurity and Poverty

Introduction

Globally democracy is considered as the best form of government. This notion is based on the assumption that democracy improves development. Thus there is dramatic increasing interest on democracy because of the need to improve welfare services, accountability, protect human rights and make government responsive to public. Consequently the most dominant narrative about

democracy is that, democratic institutions propel and strive to protect the needs and interests of the majority and the less privileged citizens in a society. However in spite of these values of democracy, many new democracies are not much different from dictatorial regimes in terms of their efforts to improve quality of life and attain sustainable development. In essence most new democracies maintained some elements of authoritarian regimes and seems unresponsive to electorates' interests. This has raised a doubt on whether democracy is the best alternative for development considering the outcome of democratic governance in many developing democracies of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Although democracy is on trial in many developing countries, but its success toward sustainable development in those countries is still blurred. Hence democratic governance has not made drastic change to reduce poverty, corruption inflation and insecurity.

Thus democratic aspiration common to most people in Africa is not limited to political democracy that guarantees franchise freedom, civil and other political rights, rather it include quest for higher standards of living, economic empowerment as well as overall economic development. In essence democracy is only meaningful when it delivers social services, enhances living standards and improves socio-economic development (Adejumobi, 2000). It is based on this reason that many countries celebrated the return to democratic rule, however studies show the contrary (Gerring, Strom, Thacker.and Alfaro, 2007), significant number of the new democracies are surrounded by critical development challenges. Nigeria as an example; since the return of Nigeria to the democratic rule, the country has been bedeviled with numerous development challenges including insecurity, poverty, corruption and inflation. Although the argument on whether or not democracy promotes development is still debatable, this paper examines the nexus between regime type and development in Nigeria.. i.e. whether regime type matter on its effects on development?.

Democracy and Development

Among the prevailing intellectual debate in political science is whether or not causality exists between democracy and economic development. One group of scholars contends that nexus exits between democracy and development. They argued that liberal democracy offers the basic foundation for economic development. Democratic values such as rule of law, fundamental human rights provide favorable route for economic development. Another group contends that democracy is a political project and should not be associated with economic development. But Lipset (1959) argued that level of industrialization and economic development directly lead to positive social and political change. The study concludes that the more the wealthier state tends to be, the higher the level of chances of that country to sustain democracy. This corresponds with Collier and Hoefler (2004) who suggests that democracy is likely to be more favorable in higher than in low income countries. While democracy makes rich countries safer, it's likely to increases proneness to political violence in low income countries. Similarly, Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, and Limongi (1996) study of 135 countries shows that democracies are more durable and likely to survive in more developed countries than in less developed ones. Thus most new democracies tend to be presidential states, yet democracies highly survive in parliamentary than in presidential poorest states. But Diamond (2003) argues that there is link between democracy and development. Democracy can work anywhere irrespective of its culture, history or poverty. What is paramount and needed are: democratic, accountable and transparent governance as basic fundamental condition for sustainable development. The study concludes that the only precondition for democracy is elites' willingness to govern by democratic means.

Supporting this view Alence, (2004) research in 38 sub-Saharan African countries found that 'combination of democratic contestation and institutional restraints on governments discretionary authority substantially improves developmental governance'. The study concludes that democratic institutions systematically enhance African states' performance as agents of development. Halperin, Siegle & Weinstein (2009) also argues that overtime democracies performed better than autocracies across a wide range of development indicators due to their relatively greater propensity for establishing institutions of shared power, information openness, and adaptability. Similarly Yi Feng (2005) contends that democracy has a positive impact on economic and social development, but mostly through indirect channels. These channels are establishment and enforcement of institutions that protect property rights, political stability, and policy consistency, reduction of inequality and promotion of private enterprises. On the contrary Adejumobi (2000) argues that political democracy may have a negative impact on macroeconomic performance especially in developing countries. Thus democracy compounded numerous economic challenges including high inflation rate and slower economic growth in developing countries due to unrestrained competition for resources and pressures for fiscal deficits. Similarly Halperin, Siegle & Weinstein (2009) further added that highly centralized and autonomous government is better for developing countries especially when it want to accelerate the development process to meet up with developed nations. This is because 'politics of democratization are too messy and unpredictable to provide such environment and political structure'. But authoritarian regimes enjoy much longer time horizon and does not need to bother about the short term politicking that generally arise from the electoral process and alter national development plan. These results correspond with Gerring, Strom, Thacker and Alfaro (2005) research which used infant mortality rate to measure human development and found no clear significant relationship**.** Similarly Augustine and Cyriacus (2019) provide evidence of no correlation between political regime and national development. Neither democracy nor authoritarianism has effect on the national development; rather development is the product of people's commitments toward national development. Empirical research supporting this view by Rachidia and Sadiq (2015) in MENA countries shows that democracy does not lead to economic growth. What is critical and required for economic growth is a well-functioning political system with a long-term protection of civil and political freedoms. This is in line with other studies (Haggard 1990, Zakaria 2003, Leftwich 2005) which indicates that, these qualities are not exclusive values of democracies, but some autocracies were relatively able to maintain rule of law, property rights, stability, and provide basic social services. Menocal (2007:8) further suggests that the tendency for authoritarian regimes to promote economic development is higher than democratic ones. This is because development requires 'highly autonomous government, especially when poor countries need to play 'catch-up', and that democratic politics are simply too messy and unpredictable to provide such a structure'. Empirical evidence supporting this argument shows that some authoritarian regimes (e.g. Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, China and Vietnam) are more effective than democratic states in promoting rapid development. But this does not mean that authoritarianism is a precondition for development. Previous perception was that all the richest countries in the world are democratic, but contemporary trend of events has distorted this earlier notion and thus the link between economic development is actually quite weak and questionable (Gerring, Strom, Thacker.and Alfaro, 2007). Therefore the answer to the question whether or not nexus exist between democracy and development will of course depend on how one defines 'development' i.e. the indices one choses to measure development (Menocal, 2007).

From the forgoing literature reviewed we can deduce that, there are three contending groups on the question whether or not nexus exist between democracy and development. The first group maintained that democracy lead to development, the group argued that liberal democracy laid the foundation for economic development. Thus liberal democracy poses certain values such as accountability, fundamental human rights and rule of law that are critical for economic development; while another group is of the view that there is no link between democracy and development. The group contends that neither democracy nor authoritarianism has effect on the national development; rather national development largely depends on people's commitments. The last group maintained that the discussion on the link between democracy and development is inconclusive.

Democracy and Development in Nigeria

Democracy remained the most dominant and increasing ideology on the globe. But some countries are more democratic than others. For instance the last two decades of the 20th century have witnessed transition of many countries to democracy. More than half of the world population is now under democratic governments. The era that termed by Huntington as 'the third wave of democracy' (Huntington, 1990, Adejumobi, 2000, Ijere, 2015). The wave in Africa was vigorously reinforced by the need to end the long years of 'dictatorial' regimes across the continent and the need to opt for another option for development. Nigeria is among the countries that opted for democracy with hope to achieve sustainable development. However how has democracy improved the living standard of the ordinary Nigerian? This section will examine the scholars' views on the performance of democratic governance on the Nigeria's development.

Suleiman (2016) research indicates that democratic governance in Nigeria has not improved development after two decades of uninterrupted democratic rule. This according to Ijere (2015) is due to failure of the government to adhere to the principles of the rule of law which hampered the utilization of Nigeria's full potentials for economic and social development. Similarly Nwalie and Nwaeze (2018) are of the view that although democracy supposed to cause development, but Nigerian democratic rule did not increased job opportunities, poverty reduction and other indices that may improve human and economic development. This corresponds to Ike, and Chinwendu (2008) assertion that GDP in Nigeria has increased under democratic governance than under the military regime. While level of poverty, unemployment and corruption were indifferent. The study rejects the hypothesis that development is better served or achieved under democratic government, and thus concluded that democracy does not lead to development in Nigeria.

The Travail of Democracy in Nigeria between1960 to 2021

Nigeria is the world's fourth largest democracy (Heerskonts, 2011), and gained its political independence on the 1st October, 1960. The country tested the first attempt to democratic rule, but six years later on the 15th January 1966 precisely the military took over and remained in power till 1979 when another democratic experiment came into force. Shortly in 1985, military struck again and stayed in power till 1999 when the country opted for another trial of democratic governance. Nigeria's return to civilian administration in 1999 after nearly fourteen years of military dictatorship brought another hope for the Nigerians to decide on their choice, (Jamo, 2010:2). But the democratic government inherited numerous challenges which make it very difficult to foster development in a very shortest period of time. Among the most difficult challenges inherited by the Nigerian democratic government in 1999 was excessive corruption, human right abuse, increasing poverty and unemployment (Jamo, 2021). However everyone expected the return of democracy would improve the country's quest for development, on the contrary, poverty, corruption, unemployment, inflation and insecurity under democratic rule have

been on the increase. The country spent twenty three years under democratic rule ever in the history of the Nigerian politics. But this democratic era is among the most challenging periods in the history of the Nigeria as a nation.

General overview of Economic Development and Inflation in Nigeria

The Nigeria's economic growth according to NBS (1969 and 1970) was unprecedented under the military regimes with 24.20% and 25.01% in 1969 and 1970. Nigeria also experienced three consecutive years of recession under the military i.e. -4.25%, -15.74% and -1.25% in 1966, 1967 and 1968 respectively (NBS, 1966, 1967 and 1968). Nigeria witnessed another three consecutive recessions under military regime i.e.-2.04%, -1.81% and -0.07% in 1993, 1994 and 1995 respectively. But under the democratic administration, Nigeria experienced four years consecutive recession with -13.13%, -6.80%, -10.92% and -1.12% from 1981 to 1984 (NBS, 1981 to 1984, 1993, 1994 and 1995).

Nigeria also witnessed highest inflationary rate during the military regime with 72.84% in 1995 and followed by 57.17% and 57.03% in 1993 and 1994 respectively. This followed by other two years of high inflationary periods of 54.51% and 50.47% in 1988 and 1989 respectively. The lowest inflationary periods were also under the military regime with -3.73% and -0.48% in 1967 and 1968 respectively. This followed by 3.46% and 5.40% in 1972 and 1973 respectively. Though inflation reached its peak under the military regime, but the administration was able to reduce inflationary rate to the minimal level.

Nigeria also experienced the highest growth under the military regime of Buhari military administration. At the time when he seized power the GDP rate was negative at -10.92% but when he left the power the GDP rate was 5.91%, an increase of 16.83%. Another period of GDP growth rate was during General Murtala Mohammed with -5.23% when he assumed power to the 9.04%, a 14.27% increase. Under the Obasanjo democratic administration between 1999 and 2007 Nigeria experienced growth from 0.58% to 6.59%, a 6.01% rise which indicate the third-best since independence. In General Murtala Muhammed military administration recorded 9 percent as highest the average GDP growth, followed by democratic administration of Olusegun Obasanjo with 7.7% and that of Musa Yar'Adua with 7.6%. Yakubu Gowon military regime recorded 6.8% followed by Goodluck Jonathan which recorded 5%.

Methodology

This study utilized qualitative approach. Data in this research was sourced mainly from the secondary source namely journal publications, conference papers and other online data. Data for GDP and Inflation Rate was sourced from World Bank. The data for poverty was obtained from Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) Statistical Bulletin and National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); Data for corruption was sourced from Transparency international; Data for insecurity was sourced from Global Terrorism Index. Data were sourced were thematically presented and analyzed.

This study is a comparative analysis of regime types. We compared both military and democratic performance on social and economic development. Indices compared include GDP rate, poverty rate, inflation rate and rate of insecurity. These indices are considered by the researcher as very crucial to the survival of human development. Data was compared from 1996 to 2021. This period represent the periods of democratic and military administrations in Nigeria.

Results

This section presents data drawn from the secondary source. Data for GDP, Inflation rate, Poverty level, Corruption Perception Index as well as Nigeria's position on the Global Terrorism Index from 1996 to 2021 were presented.

The data on Table 1 indicates that in1996 the Nigerian economic growth was 13.07% and declined to 4.00% in 1997 and depreciated to -2.20% in 1998. In 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic governance the economic growth was 6.05% and jumped up to 15.33% in 2002. The economy had maintained steady growth up to 2009 and 2010 when it reached 8.04% and 8.01% respectively. In 2016 the Nigerian economy had declined to -1.62% but improved to 2.21% in 2019 and depreciated to -1.79% in 2020.

Inflationary rate was 29.27%in 1996 before it declined to 8.53% in 1998. In 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic rule inflationary rate was 6.62% but increased to 18.87% in 2001 and dropped to 17.86% in 2005. In 2005 the rate of inflation was 9.01% and appreciated to 11.40% in 2019. Under the military regime inflation was reduced from 29.27% in 1996 to 6.62% when the military handed over power to democratic regime. This shows that the military has performed better than democratic government in its efforts to reduce inflationary rate.

The Nigeria's position on the Global Terrorism Index Ranking indicates that Nigeria is among the most impacted countries by terrorism since the return of the country to democratic rule in 1999. In 1998 Nigeria's ranking was 24th but ranked 15th when the country returned to democratic rule in 1999. The Table also indicates that violence in Nigeria reached its peak under the democratic rule in 2014 when the country was ranked second world most impacted country by terrorism. Nigeria maintained 3rd position since 2017 to 2021. This proved that the insecurity was higher under the democratic than military rule.
In 1996 under the military regime poverty rate was 65.6% but dropped to 42.7% in 1997. Poverty rate in Nigeria reached 54.4% in 2004 and 2005. The rate of poverty appreciated to 69.0% in 2010 and declined to 38.1% in 2018. The rate appreciated to 40% and 40.1% in 2020 and 2021 respectively. This shows that military performed better than democratic regime in term of reducing poverty during the period under study.
The Table 1 also indicate that Nigeria under the military rule in 1996 was rated 54th most corrupt state, while in 1999 when the country returned to democratic rule, Nigeria was rated 98th out of 99 countries surveyed. In the year 2000 Nigeria was rated 90th out of 90 countries. Nigeria was ranked 130th and 148th out of 180 countries surveyed in 2009 and 2017 respectively. In 2020 Nigeria was ranked 149th out of 180 countries surveyed. Finally in 2021 Nigeria was ranked149th out of 180 countries surveyed. This indicates that corruption was on the increase in both military and democratic regimes, but higher under the democratic government.

Discussion

The study examines the nexus between regime type and development using Nigeria as a case study from 1996 to 2021. The researcher used economic growth, rate of Inflation, rate of Corruption and Poverty as key variables. The study revealed that in both military and democratic rule Nigeria has witnessed worst recessions, but under the military regime Nigeria has recorded highest economic growth. This indicates that though there have been remarkable improvements during the democratic administration, but military regime performed better.

The study also shows that Nigeria performed better under the military regime in its efforts to reduce inflationary rate. Under the military regime inflation was reduced from 29.27% in 1996 to

6.62% when the military handed over power to democratic regime. However under the democratic rule inflation has been on the increase.

For corruption, Nigeria recorded 1st position twice under the military regime and once under the democratic government indicating that corruption has been growing at faster rate in both military and democratic regimes. However corruption persists at alarming rate under the democratic rule in spite of number of anticorruption institutions. By 2019 ranking, Nigeria was rated as the second most corrupt ECOWAS country (Transparency International, 2018 and 2019). This has led Nigeria to be classified among the most corrupt countries in the world.

This study also shows that terrorism has been on the increase since the return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999. Prior to democratic rule in 1998 Nigeria was ranked 24th on the Global Terrorism Index. When Nigeria returned to democracy rule in 1999 terrorism and violence continue to increase and reached its peak in 2014 when the country was ranked 2nd world most impacted by terrorism. Nigeria maintained 3rd position since 2017 to 2021. This proved that insecurity was higher under the democratic administration than military rule.

5. Conclusion

Though democracy is among the best forms of government, but in Nigeria democracy's success has been on trial. Thus both the military and democratic governments in Nigeria have failed to drastically reduce corruption, poverty and inflationary rate in the country. While there have been growing increase of GDP under the democratic rule, but the growth did not significantly reduced poverty, corruption, insecurity and inflationary rate in the country. Thus there is no marked difference between the military rule and democratic administration as expected. Hence both administrations have performed below expectations in transforming the lives of the ordinary Nigerians. The study concludes that democracy works better in high income countries than in low income countries. Findings of this study corresponds with Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, and Limongi (1996) ; and Collier and Hoefler (2004) findings. The study recommends the need to strengthen anticorruption institutions in Nigeria and to promote quality of life by reducing poverty and inflationary rate in the country. Efforts should also be made to promote good governance among the three tiers of government.

References

Adejumobi, S. (2000). Between Democracy And Development In Africa: What Are The Missing Links?. Paper Presented to the World Bank Conference on "Development Thinking in the Next Millennium", Paris 26-28 June 2000. www. Accord.org.za

Alence, R. (2004) "Political institutions and Developmental Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa". *Journal of Modern African Studies* 42(2): 163–187. www.smanticscholar.org

Augustine, E. O, & Cyriacus C. O. (2019). Democratization and the Paradox of National Development in the Global South: A Comparative Review of Selected Countries. Journal of Security Studies and Global Politics.Vol.(4)1. Retrieved from: www.sciplatform.com.

Collier, P & Hoefler, D. (2004). Democracy, Development and Conflict. Background note (1) prepared for the Wilton Park Conference on Democracy and Development, 23-25. Courses.edx.org

Gerring. J., Strom C. Thacker, C. & Alfaro, R. (2007). Democracy and Human Development.www.researchgate.net

Haggard, S. (1990). *Pathways from the Periphery: the Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrialising Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. www.amazone.com

Halperin, M; Siegle, J & Weinstein, M. (2009). *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace*. New York, NY: Routledge publisher.

Heerskonts, K.(2010**).** *Democracy in Nigeria. In Foreign Affairs published by the Council on foreign Relations.* African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol. 5(6) pp287-330. http://www.academic journals.org/ajpsir.

Huntington, S.P. (1990). Democracy's Third Wave. Journal of Democracy. Vol.2(2). Pp 12-34. www.journalofdemocracy.org

Ijere, T.C. (2015). Democracy and Development in Nigeria: An Appraisal of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Sixteen Years. International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies Vol. 2(9), Pp 1-7.www.researchgate.net

Ike, N, M. & Chinwendu, N. N (2008) Democracy and Development: The Nigeria Experience (19892008). International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research Vol. 4 No. 7 2018 ISSN: 2545-5303 www.iiardpub.org.

Leftwich, A. (2005) 'Democracy and Development: Is There Institutional Incompatibility?'. *Democratization* 12(5):686–703.https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340500322173 2006

Lipset, S. M. (1959) 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy'. American Political Science Review 53(1): 69-105.www.jstor.org

Menocal, A.R. (2007). Analyzing the Relationship between Democracy and Development: Defining Basic Concepts and Assessing Key Linkages. Wilton Park Conference on Democracy and Development, 23-25 October 2007. gsdrc.org

National Bureau of Statistics (2019). Nigerianstart.gov.ng

Nigeria's Scores on Corruption Perceptions Index from 1996 – 2019. Transparencit.com › wp-content › uploads › 2021/06 › nigerias-score.

Nwalie, M.I. & N.C, Nwaeze, N.C. (2018). Democracy and Development: The Nigeria Experience (1989-2008). International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Research Vol. 4 No. 7. ISSN: 2545-5303. Accessed from: www.iiardpub.org.

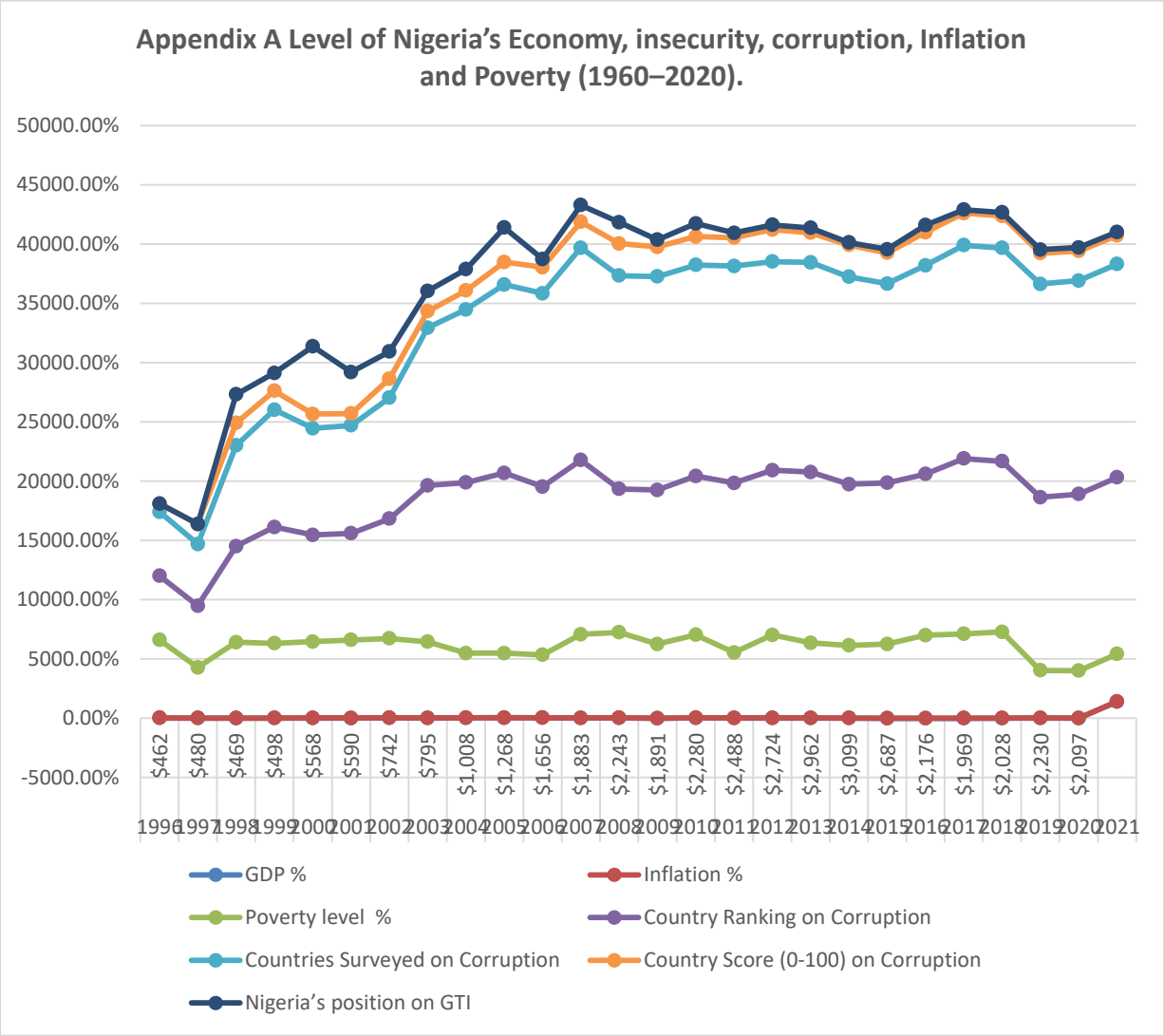
Przeworski, A., M.E. Alvarez, J.A. Cheibub & F. Limongi (1996) "What makes democracies endure?" Journal of Democracy 7(1): 39-55.scholar.google.com

Rachidia, S & Sadiq, S (2015) Democracy and Economic Growth: Evidence in MENA countries, Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 191 (2015) 616 – 621. Accessed from: www.sciencedirect.com.

Suleiman, A. O. (2016) Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria. Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research. Vol. 8(7) pp. 80-88, November, 2016 DOI: 10.5897/JPAPR2016.0378 Article Number: A8DE0C461743. ISSN 2141-2480. Accessed from: http://www.academicjournals.org/JPAPR.

Yi Feng (2005). *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: Theory and Evidence*. MFT Press. Scholar.google.com

Zakaria, F. (2003) *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company.



Appendix B showing economic growth, rate of terrorism, inflationary rate, corruption and poverty from 1996 to 2021

Year	GDP	GDP%	Inflation%	Poverty level %	Country Ranking on Corruption	Countries Surveyed on Corruption	Country Score (0-100) on Corruption	Nigeria's position on GTI
1996	$462	13.07%	29.27%	65.6	54th	54	6.9	
1997	$480	4.00%	8.53%	42.7	52nd	52	17	
1998	$469	-2.20%	10.00%	64	81st	85	19	24th
1999	$498	6.05%	6.62%	63.1	98th	99	16	15th
2000	$568	14.08%	6.93%	64.4	90th	90	12	57th
2001	$590	3.95%	18.87%	65.7	90th	91	10	35th
2002	$742	25.64%	12.88%	66.9	101st	102	16	23rd
2003	$795	7.23%	14.03%	64.2	132nd	133	14	17th
2004	$1,008	26.72%	15.00%	54.4	144th	146	16	18th
2005	$1,268	25.85%	17.86%	54.4	152nd	159	19	29th
2006	$1,656	30.59%	8.23%	53	142nd	163	22	7th
2007	$1,883	13.71%	5.39%	70.6	147th	179	22	14th
2008	$2,243	19.08%	11.58%	72.1	121st	180	27	18th
2009	$1,891	-15.67%	12.56%	62.6	130th	180	25	6th
2010	$2,280	20.57%	13.72%	70	134th	178	24	11th
2011	$2,488	9.08%	10.84%	55.21	143rd	183	24	4th
2012	$2,724	9.50%	12.22%	70	139th	176	27	4th
2013	$2,962	8.73%	8.48%	63.4	144th	177	25	4th
2014	$3,099	4.64%	8.06%	61.2	136th	175	27	2nd
2015	$2,687	-13.28%	9.01%	62.6	136th	168	26	3rd
2016	$2,176	-19.03%	15.68%	70	136th	176	28	6th
2017	$1,969	-9.53%	16.52%	71	148th	180	27	3rd
2018	$2,028	3.01%	12.09%	72.6	144th	180	27	3rd
2019	$2,230	9.97%	11.40%	40.1	146th	180	26	3rd
2020	$2,097	-5.95%	15.63%	40.0	149th	180	25	3rd
2021		13.92	16%	40.1	149th	180	24	3rd
2022								6th

Source: Global Terrorism Index (GTI), National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Statistical Bulletin and TI (1997 to 2022).