



Max Weber Programme

"Globalization and Inequalities: Reflections on the Development of a Divided World"

San Domenico di Fiesole,
Villa la Fonte, 11/13 June 2008

Inequality, Globalization, and Financial Development

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May 2008 *

Economic integration and financial development both interact with income inequality within each country. This paper briefly reviews the relevant theoretical and empirical literature and uncovers suggestive new evidence in an unbalanced panel data set of country-specific observations. Controlling for country characteristics, trade openness and an indicator of financial development are both associated with higher income inequality. But trade openness appears to be related to inequality mostly through interactions with public expenditure, which tends to be less strongly associated with lower inequality when trade openness is higher. The estimates sensibly suggest that economic integration may make it more difficult for governments to address distributional issues left unsolved by incomplete and imperfect private financial markets.

* **Preliminary.** For presentation at the Max Weber Programme conference on Globalization and Inequality (Fiesole, June 12-13 2008). Thanks to Anna Lo Prete for valuable cooperation on related projects and useful comments on a draft of this paper.

1. The issues

Removal of barriers to trade and to factor mobility implies new opportunities for the economic agents of previously isolated economies. As goods and factors flow across previously closed borders, efficiency should increase over that of previous and still feasible production and consumption patterns. In an otherwise perfect world, economic integration of countries would increase aggregate welfare, as broader markets afford more efficient trade and better specialization. Economic integration also affects the distribution of income, however, and that of consumption and welfare in our world of imperfect markets.

Gains from trade do not necessarily increase income equally across countries, of course, and this may partly explain patterns of trade liberalization and growth dynamics.¹ From the standpoint of a hypothetical “global” individual concerned with both the average and the dispersion of income, it may also be interesting to assess how inequality evolves across individuals in all countries.² But the impact of economic integration on distribution within each country has much more important implications, because policy is decided and implemented at the country level.

Removing obstacles to trade makes it possible to choose the cheapest producers. While all individuals benefit from this as consumers, some producers may be damaged by diversion of trade from within to across countries’ borders. Trade is grounded in diversity, and within each country each individual brings different goods and factors to the market. Income will increase with economic integration for those who can compete more successfully in the wider market, but will decrease for those who can be efficiently substituted by foreign producers, and all producers may be subject to the more frequent and intense demand shocks originating from a broader and more diverse set of foreign markets.

The different impact of economic integration on different countries’ aggregate income can be offset by appropriate side payments in the context of trade liberalization negotiations. But reluctance to accept economic integration is justifiable if individuals

¹ The income distribution effects of economic integration are not so strong empirically as to emerge clearly alongside that of technological progress, demographic developments, welfare and education systems, and financial market structures. Frankel and Romer (1999) study the relationship between per capita income dynamics and “natural” sources of economic integration, such as countries’ size, location, and language. Slaughter (2001) focuses instead on the policy variation across countries generated by participation in multilateral liberalization rounds, but finds that indicator’s relationship to per capita income is both theoretically and empirically ambiguous.

² Sala-i-Martin (2006) argues that global inequality has been falling as a consequence of per capita income growth in large and relatively poor countries, such as India and China.

within each country face uncertain outcomes in the aftermath of reform (Fernandez and Rodrik, 1991). And such worries are stronger if the collective country-specific policy instruments that may address distributional concerns are undermined, within each country, by international arbitrage and “race to the bottom” tendencies in a context of integrated markets without an integrated policy-making framework. To the extent that the welfare implications of income shocks cannot be smoothed by suitable financial market or policy instruments, and that distributional concerns shape country-level decisions to accept removal of trade and factor movement barriers across the borders of political entities, the interaction between financial market and political income-smoothing instruments may explain why economic integration is still incomplete and problematic after many decades of globalization.

The next Section reviews historical patterns, conceptual issues, and theoretical insights regarding the interaction of economic integration with within-country inequality. Section 3 discusses the role in this context of financial market imperfections and of redistributive and insurance-oriented policies. Section 4 reviews existing evidence and proceeds to assess the empirical relevance of interaction effects in a panel data set of country-specific observations. Section 5 offers concluding thoughts.

2. Income inequality and globalization: facts and mechanisms

Different empirical measures of income distribution are relevant for different purposes (Ravallion, 2004). Relative measures of inequality that remain unchanged as all incomes grow, and may index a country’s overall degree of social cohesion; but absolute poverty rates may better measure incentives to engage in disruptive (criminal, or revolutionary) activities. More importantly, income inequality that is foreseeable and permanent should be distinguished, in theory and in empirical measurement, from inequality that may be feared *ex ante* and is realized *ex post* as a consequence of unforeseen shocks. Consumption inequality and instability are of course most directly relevant to welfare, and are related to their income counterparts to the extent to which saving and portfolio choices can insulate individual welfare from income fluctuations.

An increasingly clear history of within-country inequality has been emerging from recent work on the scarce and imperfect indicators available (Atkinson and Piketty, 2007). Income inequality in advanced countries was high at the beginning of the 20th century, but declined sharply during the World Wars and until the 1970s. It began to increase again around 1980. It is tempting to associate this U-shape path with the superficially similar one followed by global economic integration, which was sharply lowered by wartime and Great Depression trade and migration restrictions, and rose again towards and beyond earlier levels at the turn of the next century (see O’Rourke, 2001, for a review of the available indicators). It is also interesting to note that while in

early data income inequality largely reflected the unequal distribution of financial and land wealth, increasingly diverse labor incomes are a key determinant of recent inequality developments, and that an important portion of earnings dispersion is accounted for by the increasing relevance of education in the determination of pay and employment opportunities.

Theory has no general and unambiguous predictions as to the relationship between economic integration and income inequality, because relatively rich or relatively poor producers may benefit or lose in the aftermath of economic integration. Observed patterns, however, are consistent with realistic mechanisms. In the Heckscher-Ohlin framework, for instance, where factor endowments are the only reasons why incomes differ and countries trade, the factors owned by high-income countries and individuals are scarcer in the integrated economy than in the rich country, and integration is expected to increase inequality in rich countries. While poor citizens of rich countries suffer the competition of many similar individuals from poor countries, their richer compatriots' enjoy the cheaper prices of services supplied by individuals at the bottom of poor countries' income distribution, and can invest their wealth in poor countries' high-return projects. Since skilled labor is complementary to less-developed country labor, international economic integration should indeed increase wage inequality in rich countries, and employment of low-paid workers should decline in countries where low wages cannot fall. Consistently with this mechanism, the level and the rate of change of earnings inequality are both higher in countries where the structure of earnings is left to market determination, and the same is true of unemployment rates in more heavily regulated countries. Over the last three decades of the 20th century unemployment displayed a trend increase in Continental European countries but remained trendless in the United States and other Anglo-Saxon countries, while earnings inequality remained stable (or even declined) in the former group of countries but trended upward in the latter.

More generally, income distribution depends on the amount of factors owned by each individual as well as on those factors' rate of return. If income inequality reflects concentrated ownership of land and natural resources (which, unlike physical and human capital, may be scarcer in the global economy than in poor countries), integration increases inequality in poor countries, as it makes it possible to obtain larger rewards from the larger amounts of those factors owned by their rich citizens. When more than two factors are used in production, moreover, they can be complementary rather than substitutable across borders. Since economic integration can exploit complementarity as well as substitution when more factors are considered, its effects on

factor pay are in general ambiguous.³ For example, if countries differ not only in terms of capital availability or technological efficiency, but also in terms of the mix of skilled and unskilled labor, then integration makes it possible for a poor country's skilled labor to work with the rich country's complementary capital rather than with substitutable unskilled labor, and wage inequality will increase in the poor country rather than only in the rich country.

It is also important to note, for both theoretical and empirical purposes, that only a portion of the observed income inequality reflects permanent characteristics of individuals. Another portion reflects fluctuations of income around an individual's average income, and the resulting non-permanent volatility may or may not (depending on the structure of financial markets and redistributive policies) imply welfare-reducing consumption volatility. If reallocation towards higher-paying jobs is costly, labor mobility cannot arbitrage away job-specific wage differentials. Instability of labor demand then implies wage differentials that are not only more volatile, but also more widely distributed at a point in time because wage differentials need to be larger, in order to motivate mobility, when they are less permanent. Wider and more volatile wage differentials have important welfare implications when individual workers cannot rely on private financial instruments or collective schemes in order to finance their mobility towards higher-paying jobs. In fact, earnings and consumption track each other quite closely at the individual level, especially at the low end of their distributions (see Blundell Pistaferri and Preston, 2008, and their references). The impact of integration on risk and uncertainty is also ambiguous in theory, because foreign shocks may be negatively correlated to those that originate in the domestic economy, and while barriers to trade and factor mobility protect domestic producers from external shocks, they also remove channels of adjustment to internal shocks.

3. Finance and policy

Economic integration affects the distribution of income across economic agents, in ways that increase income's inequality or instability within some countries. This makes it more important for individuals to rely on consumption smoothing instruments, whether through private contracts or public redistribution schemes.

When income is more volatile over the course of an individual's lifetime, financial markets may not be sufficiently well developed to afford consumption smoothing, with negative effects on the welfare of risk-averse individuals. Better financial markets tend to improve welfare, but financial market imperfections can affect income distribution

³ O'Rourke (2001) offers a clear discussion of theoretical mechanisms and of their historical relevance.

through a variety of channels. Self-financing constraints imply that investment returns are larger for the savings of poorer people, so they tend to reduce inequality, but access to non-contingent borrowing implies wider and persistently increasing inequality in the presence of uninsurable shocks, and stock-market access can increase income inequality by encouraging risk-taking behavior (Bertola, Foellmi and Zweimueller, 2006, chapter 7-9). And different financial market imperfections also have specific implications for the inequality impact of economic integration. If income is higher and returns to investment lower where more capital is available, integration should reduce inequality: production should grow faster in initially capital-poor locations than in initially rich ones, as investment takes advantage of higher marginal productivity in the former and savings flows out of the latter. Financial (rather than trade) integration also has implications for within-country inequality. In autarky, financing difficulties that prevent borrowing tend to boost aggregate savings and decrease the rate of return on investment. Upon integration, the rate of return falls in financially developed countries, and rises in underdeveloped countries, thereby increasing the relevance of wealth levels and increasing income inequality (Mendoza, Quadrini, and Ríos-Rull, 2007).

When private markets are imperfect public policies may target inequality and consumption volatility. Reducing *ex ante* inequality can be desirable in order to foster social cohesion, and redistribution policies can offset *ex post* income shocks when information and implementation problems prevent insurance markets from smoothing out their welfare impact. Redistribution policies are more appealing when financial markets make it difficult for individuals to self-insure (Bertola and Koeniger, 2007), but it usually comes at some cost in terms of efficiency. If available information does not make it possible to disentangle the roles of luck and effort then redistribution, at the same time as it reduces the role of luck in the determination of individual welfare, unavoidably relaxes the connection between individual effort and individual income, and decreases average production (Bertola and Koeniger, 2008). Imperfect information about effort and/or about personal characteristics makes it impossible for redistribution policies to erase the effects of luck without also decreasing incentives to provide effort.

Imperfect markets and imperfect policies together determine how the costs and benefits of change are shared across individuals, and the pros and cons of redistribution and risk-sharing institutions depend on structural features. The extent to which efficiency losses may offset insurance benefits depends in general on the structure of economic interactions. Economic integration improves efficiency because it offers more choices to individuals but, for the same reason, it also makes it more difficult for policies to shape individual choices differently from what would be implied by market mechanisms. To be effective, policies need to rely on compulsory rules and legal entitlements based on collective rather than on individual choices. They are weakened when international economic relationships offer opportunities to opt in and out of

welfare schemes. National tax policies face more elastic disappearance of tax bases when potential taxpayers can move income to other constituencies, rather than just reduce labor supply. National subsidy policies are more expensive when they attract recipients from other constituencies. The collective bargaining power of national unions is also reduced by employers' better outside options, and not only market shocks but also policy instruments have stronger effects on wages or employment when factors can be substituted in production across country borders.

Thus, wider but incomplete markets alter the balance of policies' positive and negative effects. For example, the impact of immigration may or may not make poverty relief more important for domestic low-skill workers: the effect on their incomes depending on whether the skill mix of immigrants is complementary or substitutable to theirs. But if immigrants can draw welfare benefits, immigration certainly makes welfare systems more expensive or less generous. From this perspective, concerns about the implications of globalization are justified. Redistribution could in principle ensure that nobody is damaged by efficient economic integration, but redistribution requires instruments that are blunted by the fact that economic integration makes it more difficult for policy to function within each country.

4. Evidence from a panel of countries

As discussed above, the effects of economic integration on income distribution are theoretically well understood, but not unambiguous. In theory, various possible outcomes reflect structural features such as complementarity, substitutability, and returns to scale. In reality, the income distribution implications of new market interactions depend on the practical relevance of such features. Whether and how globalization matters for inequality is therefore an empirical question, but theory indicates that answer depends on the circumstances in which deeper economic integration takes place.

Existing empirical work is suggestive but not conclusive as regards the relationships of interest. Lundberg and Squire (2003) and Clarke, Xu and Zou (2003) find that, across countries, larger volumes of credit are associated with lower levels of income inequality. Controlling for initial cross-country differences in inequality and period-averaged openness, as well as for real income growth but not for levels, Beck, Demirguc-Kunt and Levine (2004) relate credit development (on a period-averaged basis) to changes of inequality and poverty indicators. Bonfiglioli (2005) explores the relationship between stock market development and inequality, and finds that countries with larger stock market capitalization generally feature less inequality. The risks entailed by international trade and specialization may lead more open countries to engage in more pervasive interference with market-driven income distribution processes. Empirically, this is the case in the data analyzed by Rodrik (1998), Agell

(2002), and others. But while economic integration may foster demand for income redistribution and other means of offsetting uninsurable income shocks, it also makes it more difficult and expensive to implement such policies. Bertola and Lo Prete (2008) find that, in specifications with country fixed effects, increasing openness is associated with smaller government size and lower social expenditure, consistently with the notion that international competition increases the relevance of cost competitiveness, makes it difficult to operate social protection schemes based on youth education and lifelong employment, and challenges governments' taxation powers (Sinn, 2003; Bertola, 2007). They also find that the effect is more pronounced in countries with more accessible household financial markets. Since part of the observed heterogeneity in financial market development across countries may reflect exogenously different effectiveness of legal and administrative frameworks in supporting markets and administrations (La Porta et al., 1998), a stronger tendency for globalization to erode government policies is not surprising in countries where financial markets are make it less necessary to rely on government redistribution in order to smooth consumption.

This section explores the relationships between a standard set of inequality measures and indicators of trade integration and financial development. As briefly discussed above, both economic integration and financial development are ambiguously related to inequality in theory, and available indicators may or may not correspond to interesting theoretical concepts. A portion of observed income inequality indicators and trends is accounted for by the changing relevance of permanent skill characteristics, another may at a point in time reflect random events, and a particularly important component may reflect redistribution policies. All of these components are theoretically influenced by deeper international integration. Trade can affect inequality through relative labor demand across skill levels and also through stronger instability of relative demand across industries, regions, and occupations. As to the impact of policy, more intense product market competition increases the responsiveness of labor demand to labor costs, and to productivity and product-demand shocks.

The relationship of interest has the form

$$\text{Inequality} = f(\text{Openness}, \text{Finance}, \text{Policies}, \text{Structure}),$$

and the specification of $f(\cdot)$ should, in light of the theoretical insights discussed above, feature interaction effects representing the influence of each right-hand side variable on the effect that others variables exert on inequality. This general approach inspires the simple regressions, reported below, on empirical counterparts to the theoretical concepts of interest.

4.1 Data

As to the left-hand-side variable, a large number of Gini coefficient observations are available from the UNU-WIDER World Income Inequality Database (V 2.0b, May 2007). These are drawn from a large number of different data sets. Since the definition and quality of such “secondary” data varies widely across observations, so any results obtained from their analysis have to be taken with a large grain of salt.⁴ But any data are better than no data, and cross-country panel data offer more information about broad trends and relationships than single-country microeconomic datasets, where the impact of economic integration on the phenomena of interest may not be independent of country-specific circumstances.

Observations in the lowest two (of four) quality categories in the dataset are dropped. When more than one measure of inequality is available for a given country and year, inequality in terms of adjusted disposable income at the household level is retained, as it may be the most relevant, among available indicators, to the theoretical welfare notion. To enlarge the sample, it is possible to include also observations where inequality is measured in terms of gross income and/or at the personal level, and control for the different definition of the Gini coefficient on the left-hand side with simple additive dummies equal to one if inequality is measured on a gross-income basis, and if it is measured across persons rather than families. This is of course far from being fully satisfactory (see Atkinson and Brandolini, 2001, for a general discussion), in particular because the difference between gross and net income inequality is influenced by the different intensity of redistribution proxied by other regressors. But selecting samples according to availability of indicators turns out not to be innocuous either: for example, countries with larger governments are significantly more likely to report inequality across persons, rather than households. Results are however broadly similar for many possible samples. Differences are mostly found in the sign and significance of openness as an explanatory variables for inequality: that relationship is both theoretically and empirically influenced by interactions and controls, and the estimates of the most robust specification are very similar when regressions are run only on observations with inequality indicators all defined in terms of disposable, household-level income, or of person-level indicators (see below for an illustrative example of such regressions).

As to explanatory variables, two indicators are taken from the Penn World Tables: openness, measured in terms of export and import volumes as ratios of GDP as it is common in the literature;⁵ and the role of policies, proxied by the share of government

⁴ Atkinson and Brandolini (2001) discuss and criticize evidence drawn from an earlier release of this dataset.

⁵ Spilimbergo, Londoño, and Székely (1999) carefully examine the influence of various indicators of (policy-based) economic integration on income inequality. They find that the

in GDP. There is little doubt that social policy is associated with lower inequality (see Bertola, 2008, for an application to EMU and EU countries), and similar relationships with inequality can be detected in the data when more general forms of government spending are considered (see Afonso, Schuknecht, and Tanzi, 2008). The role of private financial markets can be proxied by the ratio of private credit to GDP, a common *de facto* indicator of the depth and efficiency of financial markets that is available for a large sample of countries in the World Bank's Financial Structure Dataset documented in Beck, Demirgüç-Kunt, and Levine (2000; the January 17, 2007 revision and update is used in the regressions reported here). Many other country-specific structural features are of course potentially relevant, and for this reason it will be important to compare results of regressions with and without country fixed effects.

4.1 Results

Tables 1-4 report estimates from a variety of specifications. Among countries for which inequality and financial development indicators are available, only Luxembourg features openness observations larger than 200%. That small country's 6 observations are dropped in the regressions reported below; results are essentially identical if they are included. After dropping countries for which only a single observation is available (in order to prevent sample selection from affecting comparisons of pooled and fixed-effects regression results), the sample includes 467 country-year observations, heavily unbalanced and irregularly spaced over time (countries and years available are listed in the Appendix).

The pooled OLS regressions of Tables 1 and 2 allow cross-sectional variation to bear on the results, hence they suffer from omitted variable bias if (as it is likely) countries differ permanently in relevant respects not controlled by the regressors included. The interpretation of the results is also subject to the Rodrik (2005) critique: to the extent that regressors are endogenously chosen by politico-economic mechanisms, and influenced by country-specific inequality conditions, it would be wrong to draw any causal implications from these partial correlations.

It is consistent with this criticism to find that the estimated coefficients differ very substantially between Table 1, which only includes the regressors of interest and their interactions, and Table 2, where GDP per capita is included. Since income levels are arguably influenced by the same historical, social, and geographical country characteristics that shape policies and inequality, the strong significance of per capita GDP in pooled OLS estimates confirms that countries and their regressors are

relationship is more complex than it would be predicted by the Heckscher-Ohlin framework, in that the impact of integration on factor prices does not appear to depend on relative development levels; in their data and empirical specifications, the combined implications of various effects lead integration to have no impact on income distribution in industrial countries.

heterogeneous in important ways that are related to the phenomena of interest. For example countries that are exogenously more productive and socially cohesive may find it easier to care for the poor, and display more generous social policy as well as more openness and lower inequality.

While similar concerns may be expressed about fixed-effects estimates, focusing on within-country variation delimits the scope of possible feedback effects to those that happen dynamically over time. Interestingly, in the fixed effects regressions of Table 4 GDP per capita (in terms of its variation over time for a given country, i.e. growth) is not significant, and the pattern of coefficients is essentially the same regardless of whether it is included (Table 4) or not (Table 3). The coefficients are indeed remarkably similar when interaction effects are allowed for in column (4) of Tables 3 and 4. On the basis of this informal specification check, the fixed-effects regressions of Table 3 appear robust enough to warrant detailed discussion.

Column (1) of Table 3 displays a positive association between inequality and trade openness, but the coefficient is insignificant after controlling for financial development. In column (2), the size of government is found to be negatively associated with inequality, financial development is positively associated with it: both relationships are strongly significant, and the slope of the residual relationship between trade openness and inequality is precisely estimated to be zero.

Government size has an important role as an explanatory variable for inequality: including it reduces the significance of the (negative) coefficient of openness in pooled regressions, and makes it completely insignificant in fixed-effects regressions. It is therefore worthwhile to characterize empirical patterns of variation for government size and openness. As shown in column (3) of Tables 1 and 2, in the absence of country fixed effects government expenditure is positively related to openness (as originally found and discussed by Rodrik, 1998). In the fixed effects specification reported in column (3) of Tables 3 and 4, government size is instead negatively related to openness: as discussed in Bertola and Lo Prete, this may indicate that increasingly intense international competition makes taxation more difficult and, more generally, reduces the effectiveness of country-level policies. In fact, the interaction between government spending and openness has a positive and significant coefficient as an explanatory variable for inequality, in both pooled and fixed-effects specification. Focusing on the preferred specification reported in column (4) of Table 4, finding that government expenditure is less effective (has a less negative effect on inequality) in more open economies is fully consistent with race-to-the-bottom mechanics, and with the fact that openness reduces government size in column (3) of the same table.

In the pooled specifications of Tables 1 and 2, as in the specification chosen by Beck, Demiguc-Kunt, and Levine (2004), financial development is negatively associated with

inequality. But the opposite is true in the arguably sounder fixed-effects specifications of Tables 3 and 4, and the preferred interacted regressions reported in column (4) also features a negative and significant coefficient for the interaction between financial development and openness.

Recalling that financial development measured on a 'de facto' basis reflects both supply and demand influences, the estimates may indicate that more efficient financial transactions can ease the inequality impact of economic integration, but may also reflect the fact that more pronounced income volatility leads to a larger volume of transactions for given financial market efficiency (see Iacoviello, 2008, for theory and US evidence). Other interpretations are possible, however, and the sign and significance of interaction coefficients are much less robust in the case of financial development than in the case of government expenditure. In general, financial market development smoothes consumption patterns but, as discussed above, does not necessarily reduce income inequality, and it is hard to see why they should do so in particular for more open economies.⁶

To check against the possible spurious effects introduced by the heavily unbalanced shape of the panel, and by the imperfect control afforded by additive dummies on heterogeneously defined left-hand side variables, Table 5 reports regression results for a sample including only observations where Gini coefficients are defined in terms of disposable income at the household level, and only the first and the last observation available for each country. Coefficients are much less precisely estimated in such a small sample when interactions are omitted but, while noisy, empirical patterns in the data are broadly in line with the partial correlations implied by the regression. The estimates are extremely similar to that obtained on the larger sample for the regression reported in column (2), which includes interaction effects. Figure 1 and 2 plot partial correlations from the regressions reported in Table 5, and show that interaction effects fit empirical patterns remarkably well.

It is particularly interesting to assess how the overall effect of openness on inequality is shaped by interaction coefficients applied to country-specific financial development and government policy indicators. The small size of the sample makes it possible to appreciate the role of interaction coefficients results graphically. Figure 3 plots, for

⁶ Allowing for a nonlinear impact of financial development on inequality (as suggested by Bonfiglioli, , 2005) yields a negative and significant coefficient for the square of the credit/GDP ratio. In that regression, the point estimates are not such as to imply that any reasonable level of financial development has a negative association with inequality, but the interaction between financial development and openness is not significant. It would be interesting, but probably not warranted by the quality of the data, to allow for further nonlinearities, such as an interaction of (financial) openness with both the level and the square of debt stocks to see whether integration has different implications for income inequality in countries with more or less developed internal financial markets, as suggested by the Mendoza, Quadrini, and Rios-Rull's (2007) framework.

each country in the sample, the two available data points and the slope, as implied by the country-specific financial development indicator, of the relationship between openness and inequality. The predictions plotted of course depend on all the covariates included in the specification of column (2) in Table 5, and cannot be interpreted at the individual country level. Still it is interesting to see that in most cases the regression fits the observations remarkably well, and that the slope is positive in a country such as the US, with well developed financial markets and small government, and negative in a country such as Italy, with tighter credit (but expanding) credit and larger government size.

5. Concluding comments

Broader and deeper markets are more powerful both in generating strong incentives and high production, and in allowing individual choice to circumvent policies meant to offset undesirable aspects. More widely integrated markets react more promptly and more sharply to differences in prices. This fosters efficiency, but also implies that small cost shocks can have dramatic effects on production, and can increase the risk faced by producers in more open economies (Scheve and Slaughter, 2004). Even though integration is beneficial on average, the average individual may well oppose to it in light of uncertainty about whether one will find him or herself above, or much below, the average of income changes.

Opposition to economic integration may reflect fears that unconstrained market interactions across borders would, in the absence of appropriately coordinated regulation, foster market failures. Structural change can change the efficiency impact of institutions meant to redistribute income and remedy financial market imperfection, or can make them redundant if, for example, financial market development makes labor income fluctuations less problematic. But as long as policy addresses economic and political problems left unsolved by imperfect markets interactions, then barriers to economic interactions across the boundaries of political constituencies are natural elements of policy intervention packages.

Further work could bring this perspective to bear on the role of more detailed policy instruments than the size-of-government indicator used in this paper's simple regressions (Checchi and Garcia Penalosa 2008, for example, study the relationship between labor market institutions and total income inequality, and their findings could be related to international sources of risk and inequality as suggested by Agell, 2002).

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Table 1: Pooled OLS regressions

Dependent Variable:	(1) Inequality	(2) Inequality	(3) Govt.share of GDP	(4) Inequality	(5) Inequality
Trade openness	-0.0310 <i>-2.95</i>	-0.0153 <i>-1.34</i>	0.1287 <i>7.60</i>	-0.2102 <i>-4.10</i>	-0.1033 <i>-5.18</i>
Financial development	-0.0603 <i>-5.03</i>	-0.0739 <i>-5.12</i>	-0.0007 <i>-0.04</i>	-0.1947 <i>-6.92</i>	-0.1670 <i>-6.72</i>
Govt.share of GDP		-0.2069 <i>-2.68</i>		-0.5240 <i>-3.12</i>	
Openness*Fin.dev.			-0.0010 <i>-3.14</i>	0.0018 <i>5.39</i>	0.0014 <i>5.41</i>
Openness*Govt.				0.0049 <i>2.68</i>	
Dummy: Gross income inequality	12.7330 <i>11.52</i>	12.8907 <i>11.76</i>		13.2432 <i>12.34</i>	12.6968 <i>12.15</i>
Dummy: Persons inequality	0.3839 <i>0.51</i>	0.8519 <i>1.09</i>		1.5372 <i>1.97</i>	0.2519 <i>0.33</i>
R ²	0.29	0.30	0.35	0.33	0.32

Note: All regressions include a constant; robust *t* statistics are shown in italics below the coefficients.

Table 2: Pooled OLS regressions, controlling for GDP

Dependent Variable:	(1) Inequality	(2) Inequality	(3) Govt.share of GDP	(4) Inequality	(5) Inequality
Trade openness	-0.0276 <i>-2.62</i>	-0.0069 <i>-0.61</i>	0.1303 <i>7.97</i>	-0.1881 <i>-3.65</i>	-0.0984 <i>-4.97</i>
Financial development	-0.0116 <i>-0.84</i>	-0.0254 <i>-1.70</i>	0.0117 <i>0.65</i>	-0.1393 <i>-4.75</i>	-0.1167 <i>-4.53</i>
Govt.share of GDP		-0.2680 <i>-3.56</i>		-0.5603 <i>-3.20</i>	
Openness*Fin.dev.			-0.0010 <i>-3.28</i>	0.0016 <i>5.01</i>	0.0014 <i>5.41</i>
Openness*Govt.				0.0046 <i>2.44</i>	
GDP per capita	-0.4155 <i>-5.11</i>	-0.4483 <i>-5.52</i>	-0.0975 <i>-2.77</i>	-0.4308 <i>-5.57</i>	-0.4104 <i>-5.24</i>
Dummy: Gross income inequality	9.7749 <i>7.28</i>	9.7457 <i>7.26</i>		10.1965 <i>7.76</i>	9.7763 <i>7.59</i>
Dummy: Persons inequality	0.6650 <i>0.86</i>	1.2932 <i>1.62</i>		1.9131 <i>2.40</i>	0.5323 <i>0.69</i>
R ²	0.34	0.35	0.36	0.38	0.36

Note: All regressions include a constant; robust *t* statistics are shown in italics below the coefficients.

Table 3: Regressions with fixed country effects

Dependent Variable:	(1) Inequality	(2) Inequality	(3) Govt.share of GDP	(4) Inequality	(5) Inequality
Trade openness	0.0060 <i>0.36</i>	-0.0002 <i>-0.01</i>	-0.0307 <i>-2.28</i>	-0.0906 <i>-2.25</i>	0.0409 <i>2.01</i>
Financial development	0.0268 <i>3.59</i>	0.0250 <i>3.55</i>	-0.0143 <i>-1.26</i>	0.0559 <i>3.00</i>	0.0754 <i>3.80</i>
Govt.share of GDP		-0.2156 <i>-3.13</i>		-0.6696 <i>-3.81</i>	
Openness*Fin.dev.			0.0001 <i>0.79</i>	-0.0003 <i>-1.85</i>	-0.0006 <i>-2.88</i>
Openness*Govt.				0.0060 <i>3.05</i>	
Dummy: Gross income inequality	3.4883 <i>4.32</i>	3.1448 <i>3.82</i>		3.4189 <i>4.11</i>	3.7689 <i>4.45</i>
Dummy: Persons inequality	-1.4811 <i>-1.36</i>	-1.3467 <i>-1.25</i>		-1.0722 <i>-0.99</i>	-1.5098 <i>-1.39</i>
R ²	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.14	0.09

Note: Robust *t* statistics are shown in italics below the coefficients.

Table 4: Regressions with fixed effects, controlling for GDP

Dependent Variable:	(1) Inequality	(2) Inequality	(3) Govt.share of GDP	(4) Inequality	(5) Inequality
Trade openness	0.0099 <i>0.58</i>	0.0039 <i>0.23</i>	-0.0315 <i>-2.16</i>	-0.0785 <i>-1.96</i>	0.0502 <i>2.35</i>
Financial development	0.0321 <i>3.73</i>	0.0307 <i>3.75</i>	-0.0154 <i>-1.19</i>	0.0673 <i>3.37</i>	0.0882 <i>4.16</i>
Govt.share of GDP		-0.2184 <i>-3.16</i>		-0.6560 <i>-3.76</i>	
Openness*Fin.dev.			0.0001 <i>0.79</i>	-0.0004 <i>-2.13</i>	-0.0007 <i>-3.15</i>
Openness*Govt.				0.0058 <i>2.97</i>	
GDP per capita	-0.0477 <i>-1.11</i>	-0.0513 <i>-1.23</i>	0.0056 <i>0.19</i>	-0.0589 <i>-1.44</i>	-0.0695 <i>-1.57</i>
Dummy: Gross income inequality	3.3407 <i>4.01</i>	2.9815 <i>3.50</i>		3.2577 <i>3.81</i>	3.5831 <i>4.14</i>
Dummy: Persons inequality	-1.3378 <i>-1.24</i>	-1.1907 <i>-1.11</i>		-0.9065 <i>-0.84</i>	-1.3038 <i>-1.21</i>
R ²	0.07	0.09	0.02	0.14	0.09

Note: Robust *t* statistics are shown in italics below the coefficients.

Table 5: Fixed-effects regressions on a small and homogeneously defined sample

Dependent Variable:	(1) Inequality	(2) Inequality
Trade openness	-.0201 <i>-0.69</i>	-.2807 <i>-2.79</i>
Financial development	.0421 <i>1.69</i>	.1299 <i>1.56</i>
Govt.share of GDP	-.1082 <i>-0.56</i>	-1.245 <i>-2.75</i>
Openness*Fin.dev.		-.0001 <i>-1.30</i>
Openness*Govt.		.0212 <i>2.68</i>

Note: Regressions are run on deviations from country means (approximate *t* statistics are shown in italics below the coefficients) and the sample includes only the first and last observation with household net income inequality information for each country, for a total of 34 observations. Partial correlations and predictions from these regressions are plotted in Figures 1-3.

Figure 1: Fixed-effects regressions on a small and homogeneously defined sample: partial correlations without interactions

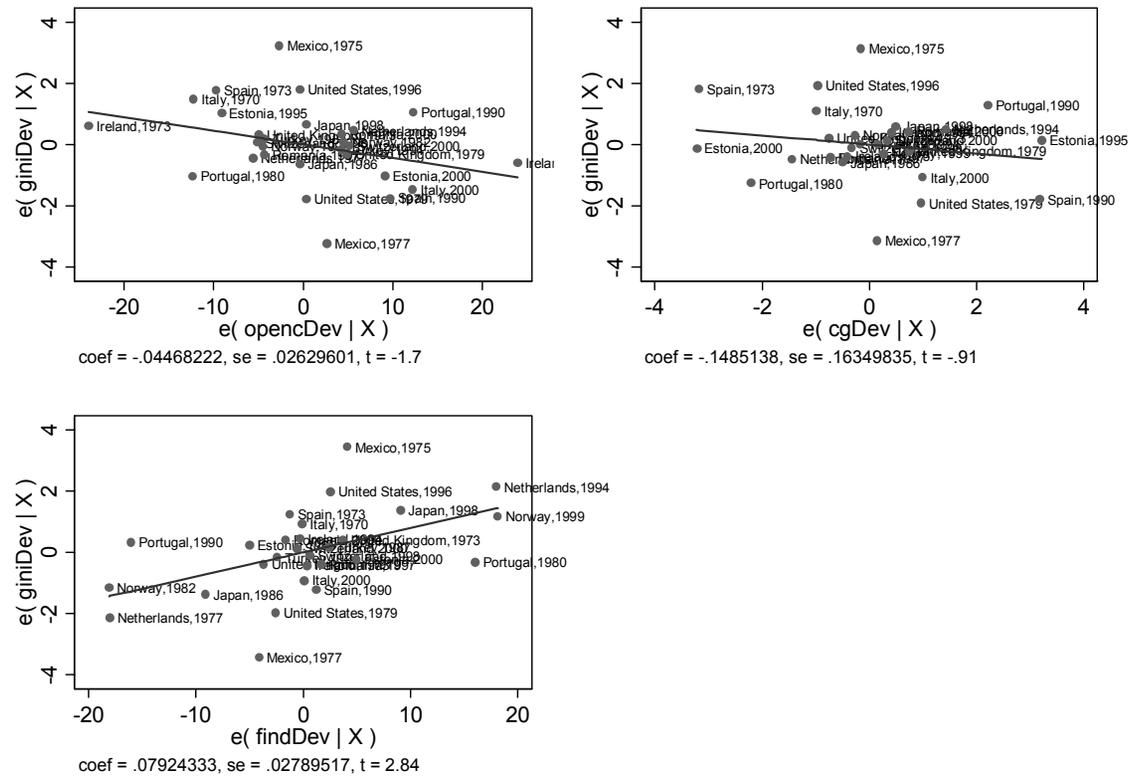


Figure 2: Fixed-effects regressions on a small and homogeneously defined sample: partial correlations with interactions

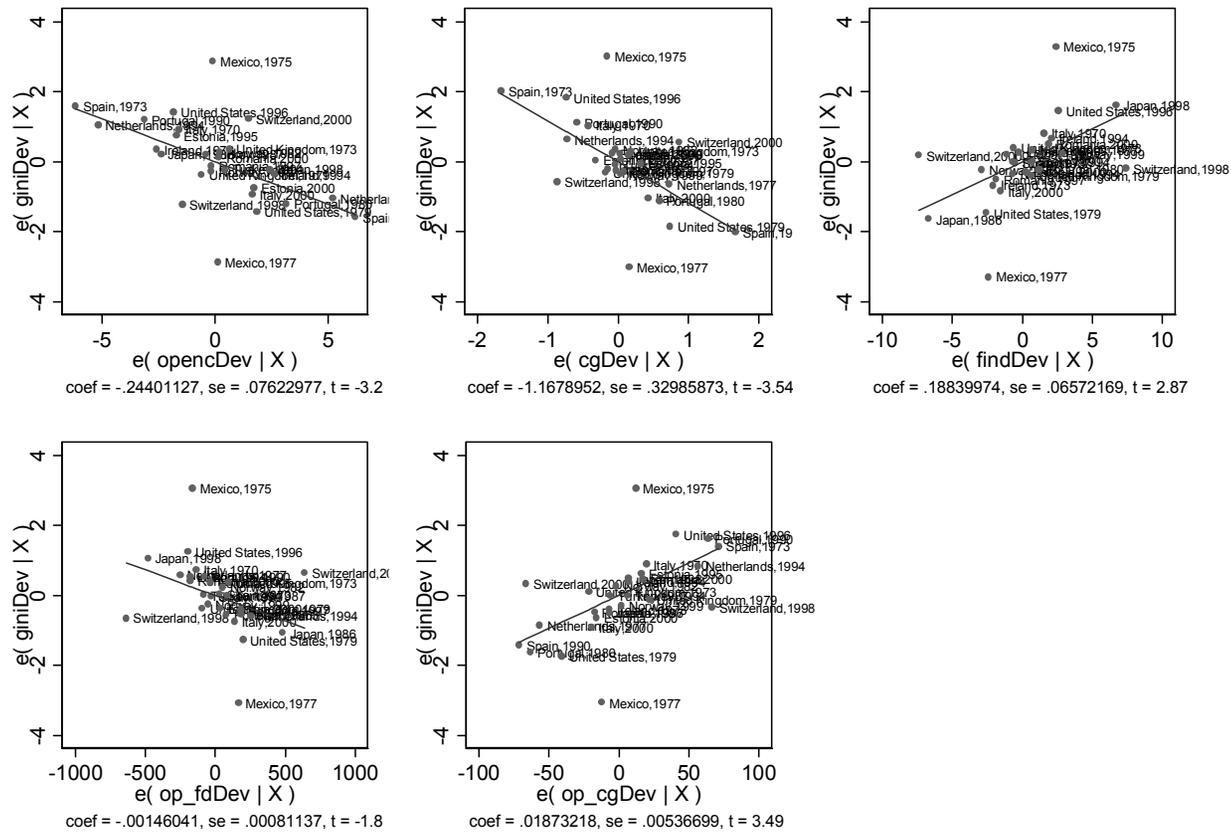
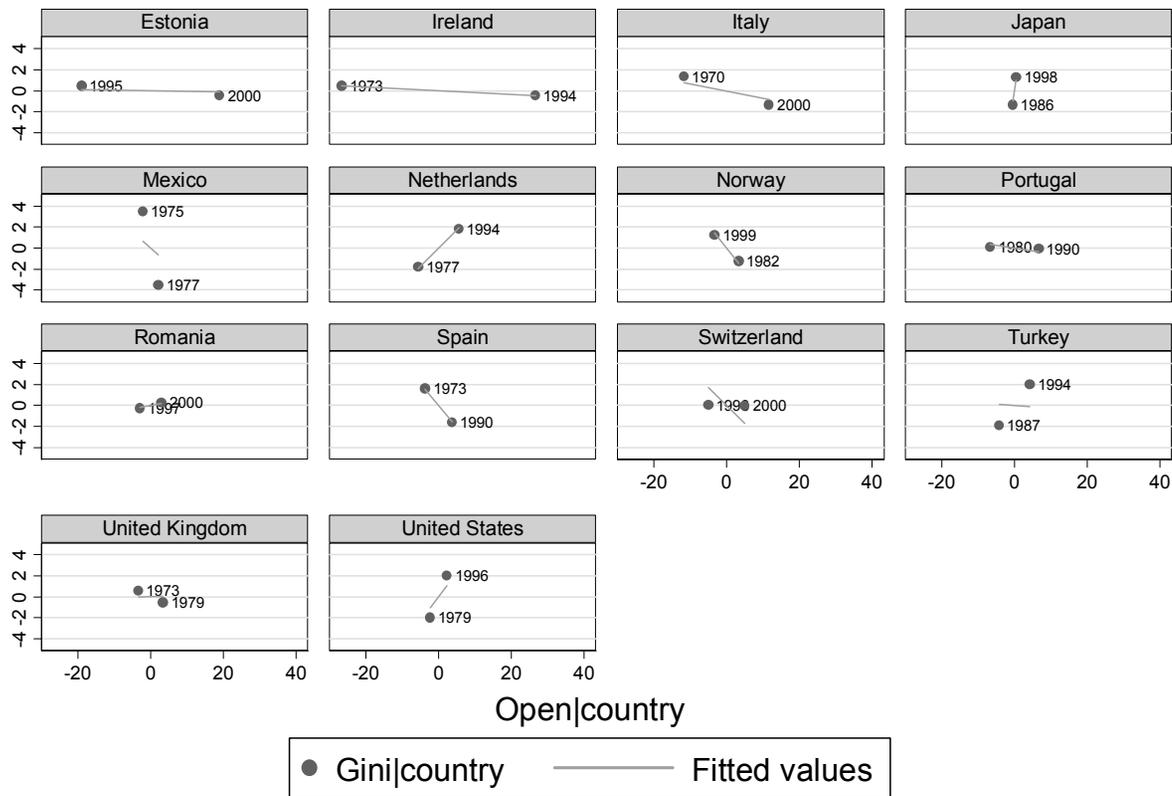


Figure 3: Fixed-effects regressions on a small and homogeneously defined sample: country-specific interacted predictions of openness impact on inequality



Graphs by Country

Appendix: available observations

1.	Armenia	1996
2.	Armenia	1998
3.	Austria	1983
4.	Austria	1995
5.	Austria	1996
6.	Austria	1997
7.	Austria	2000
8.	Belgium	1979
9.	Belgium	1985
10.	Belgium	1988
11.	Belgium	1992
12.	Belgium	1995
13.	Belgium	1996
14.	Belgium	1997
15.	Belgium	2000
16.	Bolivia	1999
17.	Bolivia	2000
18.	Botswana	1986
19.	Botswana	1994
20.	Brazil	1992
21.	Brazil	1995
22.	Brazil	1996
23.	Brazil	1997
24.	Brazil	1998
25.	Bulgaria	1992
26.	Bulgaria	1993
27.	Bulgaria	1994
28.	Bulgaria	1995
29.	Bulgaria	1996
30.	Bulgaria	1997
31.	Bulgaria	1998
32.	Bulgaria	1999
33.	Bulgaria	2000
34.	Canada	1980
35.	Canada	1981
36.	Canada	1982
37.	Canada	1983
38.	Canada	1984
39.	Canada	1985
40.	Canada	1986
41.	Canada	1987
42.	Canada	1988
43.	Canada	1989
44.	Canada	1990
45.	Canada	1991
46.	Canada	1992
47.	Canada	1993
48.	Canada	1994
49.	Canada	1995
50.	Canada	1996
51.	Canada	1997
52.	Canada	1998
53.	Canada	1999
54.	Canada	2000
55.	Chile	1987
56.	Chile	1989
57.	Chile	1990
58.	Chile	1992
59.	Chile	1993
60.	Chile	1994
61.	Chile	1995
62.	Chile	1996
63.	Chile	1998
64.	Chile	1999
65.	Chile	2000
66.	Colombia	1991
67.	Colombia	1993
68.	Colombia	1995
69.	Colombia	1996
70.	Colombia	1997
71.	Colombia	1998
72.	Colombia	1999
73.	Colombia	2000
74.	Denmark	1976
75.	Denmark	1987
76.	Denmark	1992
77.	Denmark	1995
78.	Denmark	1997
79.	Denmark	1999
80.	Ecuador	1994
81.	Ecuador	1995
82.	Ecuador	1998
83.	Ecuador	1999
84.	El Salvador	1997
85.	El Salvador	1998
86.	El Salvador	1999
87.	El Salvador	2000
88.	Estonia	1993
89.	Estonia	1994
90.	Estonia	1995
91.	Estonia	1996
92.	Estonia	1997
93.	Estonia	1998
94.	Estonia	1999
95.	Estonia	2000
96.	Finland	1971
97.	Finland	1976
98.	Finland	1977
99.	Finland	1981
100.	Finland	1985
101.	Finland	1987
102.	Finland	1988
103.	Finland	1989
104.	Finland	1990
105.	Finland	1991
106.	Finland	1992
107.	Finland	1993
108.	Finland	1994
109.	Finland	1995
110.	Finland	1996
111.	Finland	1997
112.	Finland	1998
113.	Finland	1999
114.	Finland	2000
115.	France	1970
116.	France	1975
117.	France	1995
118.	France	1996
119.	France	1997
120.	France	2000
121.	Germany	1994
122.	Germany	1995
123.	Germany	1996
124.	Germany	1997
125.	Germany	1998
126.	Germany	1999
127.	Germany	2000
128.	Greece	1995
129.	Greece	1996
130.	Greece	1997
131.	Greece	1998
132.	Greece	1999
133.	Greece	2000
134.	Guatemala	1998
135.	Guatemala	2000
136.	Hungary	1987
137.	Hungary	1989
138.	Hungary	1991
139.	Hungary	1993
140.	Hungary	1994
141.	Hungary	1995
142.	Hungary	1996
143.	Hungary	1997
144.	Hungary	1998
145.	Hungary	1999
146.	Hungary	2000
147.	Indonesia	1984
148.	Indonesia	1990
149.	Indonesia	1993
150.	Indonesia	1996
151.	Ireland	1973
152.	Ireland	1980
153.	Ireland	1987
154.	Ireland	1994
155.	Ireland	1995
156.	Ireland	1996
157.	Ireland	1997
158.	Ireland	1998
159.	Ireland	1999
160.	Ireland	2000
161.	Israel	1979
162.	Israel	1986
163.	Israel	1992
164.	Israel	1997
165.	Italy	1970
166.	Italy	1971
167.	Italy	1972
168.	Italy	1973
169.	Italy	1974
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171.	Italy	1976
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181.	Italy	1991
182.	Italy	1993
183.	Italy	1995
184.	Italy	1996
185.	Italy	1997
186.	Italy	1998
187.	Italy	1999
188.	Italy	2000
189.	Jamaica	1988
190.	Jamaica	1990
191.	Jamaica	1992
192.	Jamaica	1993
193.	Jamaica	1995
194.	Jamaica	1996
195.	Jamaica	1997
196.	Jamaica	1998
197.	Jamaica	1999
198.	Japan	1970
199.	Japan	1971
200.	Japan	1972
201.	Japan	1973
202.	Japan	1974
203.	Japan	1975
204.	Japan	1976
205.	Japan	1977
206.	Japan	1978
207.	Japan	1979
208.	Japan	1980
209.	Japan	1981
210.	Japan	1982
211.	Japan	1983
212.	Japan	1984
213.	Japan	1985
214.	Japan	1986
215.	Japan	1989
216.	Japan	1992
217.	Japan	1995
218.	Japan	1997
219.	Japan	1998
220.	Latvia	1995
221.	Latvia	1996
222.	Latvia	1997
223.	Latvia	1998
224.	Latvia	1999
225.	Latvia	2000
226.	Lithuania	1994
227.	Lithuania	1995
228.	Lithuania	1996
229.	Lithuania	1997
230.	Lithuania	1998
231.	Lithuania	1999
232.	Lithuania	2000
233.	Malaysia	1979
234.	Malaysia	1984
235.	Malaysia	1987
236.	Malaysia	1989
237.	Malaysia	1992
238.	Malaysia	1995
239.	Malaysia	1997
240.	Mexico	1975

241. Mexico 1977
242. Mexico 1984
243. Mexico 1989
244. Mexico 1992
245. Mexico 1994
246. Mexico 1996
247. Mexico 1998
248. Mexico 2000
249. Moldova 1997
250. Moldova 2000
251. Nepal 1977
252. Nepal 1996
253. Netherlands 1977
254. Netherlands 1981
255. Netherlands 1983
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268. Netherlands 2000
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270. Nigeria 1980
271. Norway 1970
272. Norway 1973
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277. Norway 1985
278. Norway 1986
279. Norway 1987
280. Norway 1988
281. Norway 1989
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285. Norway 1993
286. Norway 1994
287. Norway 1996
288. Norway 1997
289. Norway 1998
290. Norway 1999
291. Norway 2000
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293. Peru 1994
294. Peru 1997
295. Peru 2000
296. Philippines 1971
297. Philippines 1975
298. Philippines 1985
299. Philippines 1988
300. Philippines 1991
301. Philippines 1994
302. Philippines 1997
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346. Slovenia 2000
347. South Africa 1990
348. South Africa 1995
349. Spain 1973
350. Spain 1980
351. Spain 1990
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358. Sri Lanka 1973
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403. Thailand 1998
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