

Structural Transformations and State Institutions in Latin America, 1900-2010

HÉCTOR BAHAMONDE, PHD

*Postdoctoral Fellow • Center For Inter-American Policy & Research • Tulane University

e: hbahamonde@tulane.edu

w: www.hectorbahamonde.com

October 9, 2017

Abstract

I argue that the context in which countries implemented the income tax law, was a critical juncture, promoting (or undermining) long-term economic and political development. Leveraging the dual sector model of economic growth, and the fiscal sociology paradigm, I explain how balanced sectoral growth, and income taxation, promoted economic growth and state-building in the early 20th century Latin America. Since taxation affected landowners and industrialists in different ways, economic elites were divided on their preferences towards fiscal policy—and consequently—state centralization. In cases where the implementation of the income tax reflected this sectoral cleavage, the political incorporation of both sectors was more likely, expanding both state capacities and sustained balanced economic growth. In turn, balanced growth promoted higher levels of sectoral equality, precluding sectoral dominance on both sides. However, where the sectoral conflict was too weak to trigger the political incorporation of industrial political elites, institutions kept reproducing the post-colonial order that benefited the landowning class, compromising both state-building and economic development. My empirical strategy leverages economic history data since the 1900s for a number of Latin American countries, time-series analyses, and the Chilean case during the 1920s to contextualize the causal mechanism.

Please consider downloading the last version of the paper here

*I thank Robert Kaufman, Daniel Kelemen, Douglas Blair, Paul Poast, John Landon-Lane, Mark Pickup, Paul Kellstedt, Henry Thomson, Quintin Beazer and Ira Gang for all the helpful comments. I also thank the participants of the 75th Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, the School of Arts and Sciences and the Political Science Department at Rutgers for granting me a Pre-Dissertation Award (2016) that helped me to continue with this project. All errors are my own.

Practically all governments are engaged in promoting one [group]. There are [...] landlord governments against the peasants and the industrialists

Lewis [1965, 410]

The literature on the relationship between political and economic development is vast. Without surveying all of it, there is an agreement in that strong institutions cause better economic performance. Indeed, North [1990, 3] explains that the fact that “institutions affect the performance of economies is hardly controversial.” Unfortunately, however, most explanations of economic success focus on property rights protection.¹ I find that a limitation. For instance, authoritarian regimes with little (or no) respect for property rights, grow at levels that sometimes even surpass democratic countries.² While I still think that institutions matter for economic growth, this paper seeks to contribute to this literature by emphasizing the positive effects of sectoral conflicts between the industrial and agricultural political elites, on political and economic development.

In addition to that, scholars have traditionally focused on socio-economic cleavages between a *homogeneous* ruling elite, and politically excluded segments of the society, traditionally peasants or the bourgeoisie. Moore [1966], Tilly [1992], Boix [2003], Stasavage [2008] and Acemoglu and Robinson [2009] are among the most prominent examples supporting this view.³ Alas, the study of sectoral divisions—e.g., conflicts *among* the elite—and political and economic development, has been overlooked. There are some important exceptions, however. Ansell and Samuels [2014] and Boix [2015] examine the role of economic inequality/equality among the elite on democratization, Saylor [2014, 8] looks at the “coalitional basis of state building,” and Mares and Queralt [2015] examine how income taxation in Europe was associated with inter-elite conflicts, particularly between the landed and industrial elites. While political economists have already studied the role of sectoral conflicts in the context of political development, most of the times the focus has been on democratic development. Using the same sectoral approach, this paper stresses how sectoral conflicts are also associated with state-building and economic development.

Hirschman [1958, 66] explains that “tensions, disproportions and disequilibria” among the industrial and agricultural sectors promotes development. Building on that, in this paper I underline the conditions under which higher levels of sectoral contestation between the industrial and agricultural political elites, are more likely to foster state development, and long-term economic growth. I

¹Johnson and Koyama [2016].

²For an extended criticism, see Clark [2009].

³For example, Acemoglu and Robinson [2009, 293] explain that “all members of the elite have identical endowments so there is no heterogeneity among the elites.” However, later in the book (p. 289) they briefly consider the preferences of industrialists and agriculturalists towards democratization.

theorize from two bodies of literature. First, I build on the fiscal sociology paradigm to argue that fiscal institutions have been the main *engine* of state-making.⁴ Second, borrowing from the dual sector model of economic growth, I document how the secular structural transformation—e.g., the gradual emergence of the industrial sector—fostered the reversal of the backward institutional order implemented during colonial times, causing long-term economic growth. The paper exploits sectoral outputs from 1900 to 2009 for a number of Latin American countries,⁵ vector autoregressive models, Granger-causality tests, impulse response functions, and the Chilean case to illustrate the causal mechanisms. The results amply suggest that when the implementation of the income tax coincided with lower levels of sectoral inequality—e.g., higher levels of sectoral contestation—both economic and political development were promoted. That is, higher levels of sectoral contestation acted like a scope condition in the foster of economic and political development.

I. STATE-MAKING AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: THE ROLE OF SECTORAL CONTESTATION

I argue that both balanced sectoral growth and income taxation, promoted sustained levels of economic growth, and state-building, since as early as the 20th century in Latin America. Economic expansion does not refer to a higher GDP *per capita*, but to a *long-term* growth equilibrium between the industrial and agricultural sectors. Specifically, balanced growth consists of an inter-sectoral synergy where one sector expands in reaction to the other, and vice versa, over time. And since the economic forces alter the balance of political power of the elites invested in each of these two sectors, the theory of (un)balanced economic growth, offers also a theory of political (under)development. The mechanism advanced in this paper explains that balanced levels of economic growth had positive—and long-lasting—consequences for political development. Particularly, the argument explains how balanced growth promoted higher levels of sectoral equality, not only precluding sectoral dominance on either sector, but also fostering higher levels of tax compliance among the elites, encouraging inter-elite cooperation and state-making—hence the circular arrows in [Figure 1](#).

On the one hand, the implementation of the income tax generated positive spillover effects for state-making, particularly, rising economies of scale of the operational efficiencies of the bureaucracy. That is, the same bureaucracies that were sent to collect and administer the tax, learned to execute other state(*making*) practices. Particularly, the development of the fiscal system required deploying skilled bureaucrats able to keep up with accounting books of every firm, as well as the employment structure of every factory. It also required knowledge on investments, levels of production, exports,

⁴For a review, see [Martin and Prasad \[2014\]](#).

⁵The actual data availability varies by case.

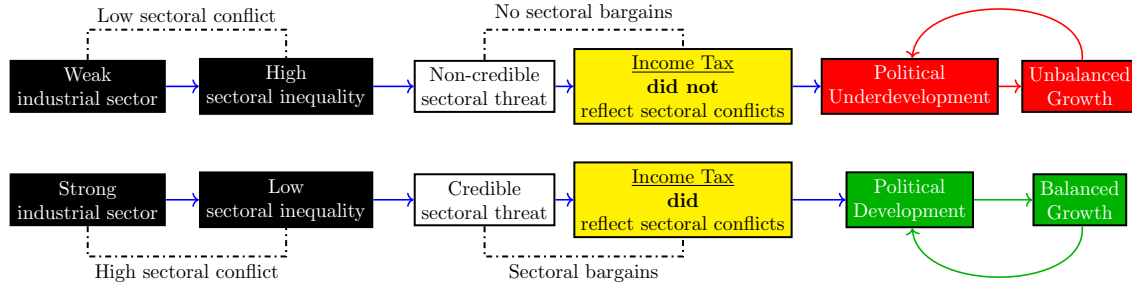


Figure 1: *Causal Mechanism*

among others. All these tasks shared important *technical complementarities* with other state activities, such as solving land disputes, dispensing justice, providing infrastructure, etc. In other words, the acquired expertise in taxing private incomes, was transferred—at lower costs—to other state institutions.⁶ Hence, the crux of this portion of the argument, is that tax collection rose the capacity utilization of the bureaucracy regarding other state tasks.

On the other hand, the mechanism also contends that the context under which countries implemented the income tax law, was an important critical juncture for the foundation of the Latin American states. While virtually all countries in the region imposed the tax, the policy only fostered state development when it was implemented under circumstances of high sectoral conflict. The nature of the conflict had to do with the sectoral losses or gains associated with fiscal expansion. Since taxation has affected landowners and industrialists in different ways,⁷ economic elites have systematically been divided on their preferences towards fiscal policy,⁸ and consequently, state centralization. As land fixity increases the risk premium of their main asset, agriculturalists have typically resisted taxation.⁹ In contrast, industrialists' preferences toward taxation have been more elastic as capital can be reinvested in nontaxable sectors.¹⁰ This sectoral cleavage was more likely to resolve in favor of direct taxation when income inequality among the elites was low.¹¹ In fact, industrial expansion, a sector which is highly dependent on infrastructure, caused industrial elites to be more willing to “pay” for those, by imposing an income tax on themselves. Beramendi et al. [2016, 18] find that as industrialists depended more on infrastructure implemented at the local level such as roads, railroads and bridges, they “[preferred] to shoulder a higher tax burden through

⁶Hirschman [1958, 67] defines it as “a situation where an increase in the output of [a] commodity [...] lowers the marginal costs of producing [other] commodity.”

⁷Acemoglu and Robinson [2009, 289].

⁸See for example Llavador and Oxoby [2005].

⁹Robinson [2006, 512].

¹⁰Hirschman [1970] and Ronald Rogowski in Drake and McCubbins [1998, ch. 4]. However, see Bates and Lien [1985, 15].

¹¹Tani [1966, 157] explains that the absence of “wealth groups” makes passing an income tax law easier.

progressive direct taxation.”

Importantly, where both economic sectors were equally developed, both of their corresponding political elites had the same means—and leverage—to voice their strategic preferences about taxation. Conflict, in particular, was an inefficient strategy, as both elites had access to the same military capacities.¹² Important for this argument is Kurtz [2009, 484]’s assertion in that “the incorporation of upper-class actors into the national political system is crucial to enabling cooperation in state building and public-goods provision activities, despite whatever other cleavages might divide them.”

Consequently, higher levels of inter-sectoral equality fostered the political incorporation of both sectors, under politically egalitarian conditions. And given that the post-colonial legacies had reproduced the advantages of the landowning sector, the political incorporation of both economic elites was fundamental for state-making.

In sum, the economic structural transformation, characterized by the “secular decline of agriculture and substantial expansion of manufacturing,”¹³ imposed tight constraints on the way politics was run by the incumbent landowning class. Since industrialists had less negative attitudes towards taxation, sectoral incorporation played a big factor in state development, crystallizing a series of reforms that replaced the backwards post-colonial institutional order. However, where the sectoral conflict was too weak to trigger the political incorporation of industrial political elites, institutions kept reproducing the post-colonial order that benefited the landowning class. Even when the income tax law was eventually implemented in practically all Latin American countries, it did not necessarily reflect the sectoral fiscal conflict, which I argue was foundational for state-making. In these cases, the post-colonial institutional order was left unaltered, and the political advantages the landowning elites enjoyed since colonial times were preserved.

For instance, the implementation of the income tax law in Chile responded to endogenous sectoral domestic pressures, securing the political inclusion of both elites. The Chilean internal revenue service is among the finest tax institutions in Latin America. In contrast, Guatemala imposed the income tax law in 1963, and by 1967 the national income tax office employed 194 people, and only 9 of whom had graduated from college.¹⁴ While Guatemala did implement the tax, the institution was not product of the inter-sectoral conflict. In fact, the law responded to exogenous factors, being imposed by the US-backed dictator Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia. As industrialists were too weak to pose any credible threats, landowners were never challenged. There were less pressures to implement an income tax, and the backwards post-colonial institutional order was reinforced.

¹²Boix [2015] makes a similar argument. Richard Salvucci (in Uribe-Uran [2001, 48]) explains that, under these circumstances, war was most likely to exhaust all existent assets without producing positive outcomes for either sector.

¹³Johnston and Mellor [1961, 567].

¹⁴Di John [2006, 5].

Next [section](#) explains the dual sector model of economic growth, focusing on how balanced growth happens, and why it is important for political development.

II. STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE DUAL SECTOR ECONOMY MODEL

When by the improvement and cultivation of land [...] the labour of half the society becomes sufficient to provide food for the whole, the other half [...] can be employed [...] in satisfying the other wants and fancies of mankind

Smith [1904, I.11.59]

The “dual sector” or “balanced growth model,” explains the mechanics of modern economic growth,¹⁵ by emphasizing the importance of macro-structural gradual transformations. The theory argues that the economy is divided into two sectors, loosely defined as “advanced or modern sector” or “manufacturing sector,” and “backward or traditional sector,” or “agriculture.”¹⁶ The basic intuition of this paradigm, is that in order for the industrial sector to develop, it needs *first* an efficient and strong agricultural sector. As I explain later, contingent on efficient agricultural productivity, the industrial sector rises its productivity relative to the agricultural sector’s. If the agricultural sector lacks economic efficiency, the industrial sector hardly develops, leading to a stagnant economy. This literature is vast. While this section explains just the core, there are many current theoretical and methodological extensions of the model. Just to name a few, [Thirlwall \[1986\]](#), [Mathur \[1990\]](#), [Hatton and Williamson \[1991\]](#), [Blunch and Verner \[2006\]](#), [Tiffin and Dawson \[2003\]](#), [Kanwar \[2000\]](#) and [McArthur and McCord \[2017\]](#) study sectoral growth, shock persistence, and other related topics using the same theoretical framework and methodology I employ in this paper (or some variation of it). Notably, [Ansell and Samuels \[2014\]](#) use this model in political science to explain democratization.

It was [Lewis \[1965, 151\]](#) who popularized the idea that “[t]he secret of most development problems is to maintain a proper balance between sectors.” The dual nature of the economy has been widely accepted and forms part of “a long tradition in development economics.”¹⁷ And while dichotomizing

¹⁵[Gollin et al. \[2002, 160\]](#).

¹⁶[Jorgenson \[1961, 311\]](#). Importantly, I follow [Kuznets \[1967, 87\]](#) in that “mining is combined with [...] industry because of the large scale of its productive unit, its close connection with manufacturing, and the distinctive trend in its share in product and resources.” Similarly, [Debowicz and Segal \[2014, 237\]](#) includes mining within the industrial sector.

¹⁷[Kelley et al. \[1972, 8\]](#).

the entire economy in just two sectors might sound as too much of an oversimplification, I follow Dixit [1973, 325] in that the dual economy model provides a significantly better description of the economy because “it reflects several vital social *and* economic distinctions.”¹⁸ Johnston and Nielsen [1966, 280] also explain that “[t]he reality found in most underdeveloped countries approximates this dichotomy [...] sufficiently.” In fact, Lindert and Williamson [1985, 354] explain that the dual-sector model is “the dominant paradigm used by Third World observers.” However, “balanced growth is almost axiomatic as a desirable objective, for both developed *and* under-developed countries.”¹⁹ For example, Bergquist [1986, 8] explains that “Colombia’s two traditional political parties crystallized in the 1840’s and reflected in many respects the dual nature of the Colombian economy.” While this is a stylized model, Dixit [1973, 326] is right in that a “major drawback of dualistic theories [...] is the total neglect of the service sector.” However, the literature is consistent in that the third sector necessarily develops *after* the industrial sector is developed.²⁰

Economic development depends on the emergence of the industrial sector, which in turn depends on the development of a productive agricultural sector.²¹ As Kuznets [1961, 59] puts it, “economic growth is *impossible* unless there is a substantial rise in product per worker in the agricultural sector.”²² Similarly, Hayami and Yamada [1969, 105] argue that “[i]ndustrialization and modern economic growth are basically *conditioned* by the level of agricultural productivity.”²³ There are two main reasons for why agricultural development is a prerequisite of industrial development: efficient agricultures are more likely to supply the industrial sector with cheap foodstuff and cheap labor. In Johnston [1951, 498]’s words, “[e]xpanded agricultural productivity releases people from the land for employment in industry [and] provides food for the growing population.” If the expansion of the agricultural sector is compromised, it will necessarily compromise the expansion of the industrial sector as well.²⁴

The political correlate is that a weak inter-sectoral structure—e.g., a lack of structural complementarity—will truncate the emergence of a strong political challenger—the industrial class—able to contest the landed elites. When the economy was structured in a way where both economic sectors were mutually dependent, each sector’s corresponding political arm had the same military resources, and similar access to other bargaining assets, fostering inter-elite cooperation. And in turn, inter-elite

¹⁸Emphasis is mine.

¹⁹Streeten [1959, 169]. Emphasis is mine.

²⁰Galenson [1963, 506-507, 513] and Baer and Herve [1966, 95-96].

²¹Johnston and Mellor [1961, 567] argue that this process “seems to be a necessary condition for cumulative and self-sustaining growth.”

²²Emphasis is mine.

²³Emphasis is mine.

²⁴In fact Landon-Lane and Robertson [2003, 2] find that an important source of growth in developing economies is “derived through the reallocation of resources [particularly] by drawing labour moving out of traditional sector employment into the modern sector.”

contestation promoted political development. As Hechter and Brustein [1980, 1085] explain, “state formation will be more likely to the degree that powerful individual actors form two groups on the basis of divergent economic and political interests.” Here I explain how these sectoral dynamics, helped to form the Latin American state, fostering economic growth as well. In other words, it is argued that political development is more likely to be sustained under sectoral balanced economic growth because it fosters a *level* “playing” political field.

The first reason for why a productive agricultural sector is key to industrial development is that more efficient agricultural techniques, make agricultural production less labor intensive, allowing landowners to free workers, which the industrial sector can rely on. The need for an improvement in agricultural production as a necessary step prior to industrialization “has been termed the ‘prerequisite’ hypothesis.”²⁵ Technologies such as “crop rotation, pest control, seed breeding [and] fertilizer use [represent] the major potential source of agricultural labor productivity,”²⁶ increasing also “non-agricultural value added per worker.”²⁷ Nicholls [1961, 339-340] shows that advanced industrial countries, initially had relatively more developed and productive agricultural sectors. In fact, Gallo [1991, 57] finds that in Bolivia, *a primarily agricultural economy*, “[t]he tools employed in production were few and rudimentary, the use of fertilizers was minimal, and methods for conservation of the soil were practically unknown until the beginning of the 1950s.” However, highly industrialized countries such as Japan, the U.K., the U.S.S.R. and Taiwan, adopted, *prior industrialization*, very efficient *agricultural* technologies such as higher-yielding varieties, fertilizers, and other activities that improved farm practices.²⁸

Surplus of labor naturally leads to a reallocation of redundant workers into the industrial sector, which is the crux of economic development.²⁹ Nurkse [1953] in fact argues that development *means* to employ the surplus labor.³⁰ The literature coincides in that the “natural” role of the agricultural sector, is to provide labor to the industrial sector.³¹ For example, Dixit [1973, 326] argues that the “agricultural sector *must* fulfill [...] its dual role of supplier of labour to industry and of food for the industrial labour force.”³² While Lewis [1954] in his canonical work argued that there existed an “unlimited” supply of agricultural labor, a word of caution is in order. The meaning of the supposedly “unlimitedness” of labor, should *not* be taken literally, as in reality means *redundant*

²⁵Kelley et al. [1972, 133].

²⁶Ranis and Fei [1964, 62].

²⁷McArthur and McCord [2017].

²⁸Johnston and Mellor [1961, 571] and Johnston [1951, 507-508]. Similarly Caselli [2005, 723] explains that poorer economies have inefficient agricultural sectors which at the same time are the mayor source of employment.

²⁹Ranis and Fei [1964, 7] and Leibenstein [1957b, 51].

³⁰Similarly, Matsuyama [1991, 621-622] points out that “[i]ndustrialization [*consists of*] a shift of resources from agriculture to manufacturing.”

³¹Ranis and Fei [1964, 114] argue that “labor reallocation [...] is the *inevitable* and *natural* consequence of the continuous expansion of agricultural labor productivity.” Emphases are mine.

³²Emphasis is mine.

labor force.³³ In fact, Nurske [1961, 225] points out that the concept “is commonly used to denote all types of rural unemployment.”³⁴

The second reason for why a productive agricultural sector is key to industrial development is because efficient techniques in agricultural production are able to supply cheaper foodstuff.³⁵ “It is *self-evident* that without increasing food output, the capitalist sector must remain in a stationary state.”³⁶ Food surplus is a direct consequence of efficiency, and it is just as important as labor reallocation. In sum, as Kuznets [1961, 60] explains it, if “output per worker in agriculture does not rise substantially, economic growth in the first case will be stopped by scarcity of agricultural products, and in the second case by scarcity of labour.”

III. DUALISM IN CHILE: A BRIEF ILLUSTRATIVE CASE

Historically, agriculturalists had been a hegemonic group protected by norms and institutions that originated in colonial times. Those norms had survived due to institutional inertia, perpetuating the advantaged position of the landed elites.³⁷ Collier and Collier [2002, 106] argue that the “national government was dominated by [...] owners of large agricultural holdings.”³⁸ Similarly, while Zeitlin [1984, 13] explains that “landowners controlled both the vote and the labor power of the agrarian tenants [and] peasants [...] and this was the *sine qua non* of their continuing political hegemony,” Baland and Robinson [2008, 1748] explain that “[c]ongressional representation was heavily weighted in favor of rural districts.” In the presidency also, landowners were the single most represented group.³⁹

Historians still debate whether agriculturalists and industrialists comprised two *different* elites. Some claim that this dualism is incorrect.⁴⁰ They argue that since landowners also invested in

³³See Ranis and Fei [1964, 203] and Jorgenson [1967, 289].

³⁴Or as Leibenstein [1957a, 102-103] puts it, “where the existing labor supply could cultivate more land without loss of efficiency.” In any case, Sen [1966] explains that a number of important predictions made by the dual sector model do not need this assumption to hold for the model to work. On a separate note, Ranis and Fei [1964, 99], Skott and Larudee [1998, 280] and Fields [2004, 730] argue that a pool of *redundant* agricultural workers (a “reserve army”) is what prevents a rise in industrial wages.

³⁵See Jorgenson [1961, 312] and Ranis and Fei [1964, 157].

³⁶Ohkawa [1961, 21]. Emphasis is mine.

³⁷This idea also applies for Mexico. “The principal source of [Mexico’s] wealth was not its mines, Humboldt noted, but agriculture.” Amaral and Doringo, in Uribe-Uran [2001, 13].

³⁸See also McBride [1936, 15] who argues that “Chile’s people live on the soil. Her life is agricultural to the core. Her government has always been of farm owners. Her Congress is made up chiefly of rich landlords. Social life is dominated by families whose proudest possession is the ancestral estate.”

³⁹Bauer [2008, 45].

⁴⁰See for example Mamalakis [1976, 125].

industry,⁴¹ there was a blurry class division between the mining, banking and agricultural sectors.⁴² Perhaps the most cited reference regarding this issue is Veliz [1963, 231-247]. I contend that there are a series of stylized facts that strongly suggest that there was indeed a structural economic cleavage which led to the consolidation of two separate sectors. First of all, there were certain practices that mask the existence of a sectoral dualism. For example, it was common that industrialists invested in real state. However, in many instances they did so *just* to obtain credit. Kirsch [1977, 59] explains that “in a *rural society* land offered one of the best guarantees for loans [since] loans could not be secured by equipment, machinery, or inventory. Only real estate was acceptable collateral.”⁴³ In fact, this practice shows how the credit system was oriented to give unfair advantage to the landed elites. Similarly, Zeitlin [1984, 174] finds “the combined ownership of capital and landed property was a distinctive quality of *certain* [elites] actors,”⁴⁴ not something that was generalizable to *the* elites. There were also other instances where miners invested in banking. Yet, Segall [1953] argues that Chilean bankers, after the crisis of the mining sector around the 1870s, had acquired a number of mineral deposits given as collateral years before. Similarly, but for the Argentinean case, Hora [2002, 609] explains that “the image of an entrepreneurial elite with assets *scattered throughout several spheres of investment* does not appear entirely correct.”⁴⁵ In fact, Freeman and Quinn [2012] explains that asset diversification constitutes a later development “in international markets [roughly after 1980].” I contend that the nature of the main factors of production of agriculturalists and industrialists (land v. capital), in addition to their preferences over fiscal policy, produced a strong sectoral cleavage. I find little evidence in this paper in favor of the conventional wisdom, e.g. elites in Chile had one single fracture, particularly, regarding the role of the state versus the catholic church on society.

Agricultural economic hegemony initially promoted political biases, such as biased public investments.⁴⁶ However, lower levels of inter-elite inequality—granted by industrial expansion—posed credible threats to Chilean agricultural elites. Initially, both elites confronted each other in two civil wars. Zeitlin [1984, 23] argues that the civil wars challenged a “large landed property [elite against a] productive capital [elite].” Importantly, lower levels of inequality allowed both

⁴¹Kirsch [1977, 57, 95] who cites Bauer [2008]. See also Coatsworth and Williamson [2002, 23] argue that “[t]he only landowners that mattered in 19th century Latin American politics were those for whom land represented but one asset in a much broader portfolio.” In the same vein, Bauer [2008, 180] argues that “[m]iners and merchants bought haciendas but landowners in turn invested in banks, insurance companies, commercial firms and the incipient industrial sector.”

⁴²Bauer [2008, 30, 44, 94, 108].

⁴³Emphases are mine.

⁴⁴Emphasis is mine.

⁴⁵Emphasis is mine.

⁴⁶For example, Zeitlin [1984, 41] explains that “the Montt regime did invest in the construction of Chile’s railways but only in the Central Valley and south-central zones [b]ut there was no public investment [...] in railroads built in the Norte Chico mining provinces.”

elites access to similar military capacities. While *Balmacedistas* managed to secure the support of the army, *congresistas* (the anti-Balmaceda group) gathered support from the navy. However, war was not sustainable over time. There were a number of *aborted* coups in 1907, 1912, 1915 and 1919,⁴⁷ suggesting an equilibrium where no elite had more capacities than the other elite. The requirement of better public investments for Chilean industrialists forced both the agricultural and industrial elites to reach political compromises. The keystone of these inter-elite compromises was the implementation of the income tax. In 1924, industrial elites accepted to be income taxed by agriculturalist incumbents in exchange of having more *state services* and being included in state politics. As others have explained, the non-agricultural sector “accepted taxation, *while demanding state services and expecting to influence how tax revenues were spent* [...] *Consultation and cooperation were relatively institutionalised between the two sides.*”⁴⁸ This is why the expansion of political rights *among the elite*, and the rise of the industrial sector, share the same timing. As Collier [1977, 683] has pointed out, “the real story of Chilean industrialization belongs to the Parliamentary period” (1891-1925).

The tax was not only important because of the new revenue it collected, however. While Humud (1969, p. 154) explains that the income tax generated considerable resources for the Chilean treasury,⁴⁹ the tax was important because it fostered state-making. Musgrave [1992, 99] argues that since taxation (especially on incomes) requires such a high degree of state penetration, public finances offer the key for a theory of state-building. Indirect taxes are easier to levy, and hence this kind of revenue is generally considered “unearned income”⁵⁰ or “easy-to-collect source of revenues.”⁵¹ Given the relatively lower costs states have to incur to collect them, indirect taxes have a very low impact on state-building.⁵² For example Krasner [1985, 46] explains that “tariffs and export taxes are easier to obtain than direct taxes, which require high levels of bureaucratic skill and voluntary compliance.” In fact, when early Latin American states depended heavily on trade taxes, the state apparatus tended to be less developed.⁵³ Since customs administrations have always been concentrated in a few critical locations, especially ports, tariffs and customs duties did not require an elaborate fiscal structure.⁵⁴

The very implementation of the income tax produced a secular accumulation of know-how, particularly, of better technologies able to monitor individual incomes. Unlike “regular” institutions,

⁴⁷Collier and Collier [2002, 109].

⁴⁸Carmenza Gallo, in Brautigam et al. [2008, 165]. Emphases are mine.

⁴⁹Bowman and Wallerstein [1982, 451-452].

⁵⁰Moore [2004b, 304].

⁵¹Coatsworth and Williamson [2002, 10].

⁵²Moore [2004a, 14].

⁵³Campbell [1993, 177].

⁵⁴Bertola and Ocampo [2012, 132].

income taxation infiltrates the state's coercive sovereignty unto the individual itself. Not only observing individual economies, but transforming them into public property, is what fostered state expansion.⁵⁵ This argument goes in line with [Besley et al. \[2013\]](#), who explain that implementing the income tax law has been “associated with investments in public administrative structures that support tax collection” in a number of countries, including Chile. The expertise the state accumulated was transferred to other state institutions via spillovers. For instance, it was necessary to send official emissaries to check on accounting books of the refinery in the north, the winery in the central valley, and the *hacienda* in the south. Eventually, these delegations became more complex, increasing the density of state presence. For instance, [Strayer \[2005\]](#) explains how official state delegations traveled the territory dispensing judicial decisions, fostering state centralization. Also, [Dincecco \[2015\]](#) explains that states became effective organisms upon centralizing a system of direct taxation. Others find that the *introduction* of the income tax is associated with state expansion too. For instance, [Dincecco and Troiano \[2015, 3\]](#) find “a positive and significant relationship between the introduction of the income tax and (1) per capita total expenditures, (2) per capita education expenditures, and (3) per capita health expenditures.” Analytically, the effectiveness of income taxation on fiscal capacities, increased due to the nature of the implementation of the income tax. [Aghion et al. \[2004, 566\]](#) explain how optimal institutional choices result from political settings where all involved actors “had a voice in the choice of institutions,” essentially contributing to an equilibrium of quasi-voluntary compliance.⁵⁶ The Chilean example suggests that inter-elite agreements, helped to sustain these state-making policies in time.

IV. TIME SERIES ANALYSES: VECTOR AUTOREGRESSIVE MODELS AND GRANGER CAUSALITY TESTS

*what a sector does is not fully attributable
or credited to it but is contingent upon
what happens in the other sectors*

[Kuznets \[1961, 41\]](#)

⁵⁵[Musgrave \[1992, 98\]](#) and [Moore \[2004b, 298\]](#). While [Kurtz \[2009, 2013\]](#), [Soifer \[2015\]](#) situate the relevant state-building critical juncture at the end of the colonial period, before the class compromises I identify in this paper, I argue that the implementation of the income tax was an important building block in this process.

⁵⁶[Levi \[1989\]](#).

Structural change is clearly an endogenous process, driven by a variety of economic forces [...] also in the statistical sense

Temple and Wößmann [2006, 212]

Granger-causality Tests The theory should pass a number of tests. Before the emergence of the industrial economic sector and their corresponding political elites, the landowning elites enjoyed the advantages of the post-colonial order, generating economic growth in a way that mostly benefited the agricultural sector. However, in cases where the industrial sector was strong enough to pose credible threats to the political system controlled by the landed elites, we should see a reversal of the political order. Institutional change is depicted with the implementation of the income tax law, which was particularly important for industrial development. As the Chilean case illustrates, industrial elites were willing to implement an income tax on themselves in exchange of the delivery of local public goods and access to state politics. In this section I show evidence of how the incorporation of the industrial elites changed the institutional order, fostering economic growth of *both* sectors (balanced growth). Empirically, in the first set of cases we should see that the agricultural sector grew *at expenses* of the industrial sector *both before and after* of the implementation of the income tax. However, in the second set of cases we should see that *after* the income tax was implemented there was a *reversal* of the flow of inputs, generating growth *from* the agricultural sector *to* the industrial sector (balanced growth). Importantly, in these countries the industrial sector did not grow *at expenses of* agricultural development but *because of* agricultural development. In econometric terms we should see that the income tax reversed the way in which one sector ‘Granger-caused’ the other.⁵⁷

I utilize the **MOxLAD** data, particularly the *agriculture value-added* and *manufacturing value-added* variables.⁵⁸ The dataset spans from as early as 1900 to as late as 2009.⁵⁹ **Table A1** specifies the country-specific available time spans. Using secondary sources, the table also states *when* the income tax was implemented, what the law was and its corresponding source(s).⁶⁰ Following **Mahoney [2010, 5]** I consider two ‘advanced’ economy countries (Chile and Argentina), two ‘intermediate’

⁵⁷Lutkepohl [2006, 42] explains that if some variable X forecasts variable Y (and not vice versa), X is said to ‘Granger-cause’ Y . According to Granger [1980, 349], this concept of ‘causation’ is based on the idea “that the future cannot cause the past.” See also Durr [1992, 197] for a similar definition. Both Beck [1992, 241] and Angrist and Pischke [2008, 237] Granger-causality is not really *causal*.

⁵⁸The former measures “the output of the sector net of intermediate inputs and includes the cultivation of crops, livestock production, hunting, forestry and fishing.” The later “[r]eports the output of the sector net of intermediate inputs.”

⁵⁹According to Astorga et al. [2005, 790], this dataset provides extended *comparable* sectoral value-added series in constant purchasing power parity prices.

⁶⁰Some countries implemented some kind of income tax before, however these laws lacked enforcement, they were weak or not at all followed. In **Table A1** in the Appendix section I establish the year that the literature seems to agree for when the law was implemented and properly enforced.



Figure 2: Sectoral Outputs Before and After the Implementation of the Income Tax Law

countries (Mexico and Colombia) and two ‘less advanced’ countries (Guatemala and Nicaragua). **Figure 2** shows the sectoral outputs for each country, both before and after the income tax law was implemented. The econometric analyses in this section intend to recover Mahoney’s typology, linking the mechanics of economic development with fiscal expansion. I expect *advanced* countries to have *balanced* economic growth *after* the implementation of the income tax, and *less advanced* countries to have *unbalanced* economic growth *both* before *and* after the implementation of the tax (null results in favor of a reversal in sectoral Granger-causation).

In **Table 1** I test for Granger-causality both prior and after the implementation of the income tax law.⁶¹ The results strongly suggest that in *advanced* countries, particularly Chile, Colombia and Mexico, the implementation of the income tax was associated with the reversal of economic backwardness institutions that promoted unbalanced economic growth. In these cases, before the income tax law, industrial growth Granger-caused agricultural growth, but after the income tax law, the agricultural sector Granger-caused industrial development (all p-values are significant at

⁶¹Specifically, the tests were computed after estimating the reduced form VAR specified in **Equation 1**.

the .05 level).⁶² These results suggest that the implementation of the income tax was associated with the reversal of the economic structure, going from an economic backwardness equilibrium to a balanced growth equilibrium. I interpret this change in the mechanics of economic growth as the overthrowing of the political institutions and practices that permitted agricultural expansion at expenses of the modern sector. Following the fiscal sociology literature, I contend that when the income tax was implemented under contexts of sectoral contestation this institution fostered the expansion of state institutions. In turn, these kinds of institutions set in motion a path of long-term economic development (Figure 1).⁶³ In Nicaragua and Guatemala, however, the tests suggest the exact opposite (all p-values are significant at the .05 level).⁶⁴ The implementation of the income tax in these countries did *not* reverse the initial economic backwardness equilibrium. I contend that when implemented, the tax did not reflect the inter-sectoral economic cleavage proper of contested political economies. The industrial sector never had enough economic leverage to politically confront the landowning elite and hence industrialists never posed credible threats to the status quo, relaxing the endogenous incentives to invest in state institutions. The Argentinian case is different. The Granger tests are inconclusive, and no significant results were found, suggesting a weak inter-sectoral cleavage structure.

Vector Autoregressive Models (VAR) and Impulse Response Analysis (IRF) Once we have determined the directionality of economic growth changes upon the implementation of the income tax law only in countries where the industrial sector was strong enough to challenge the agricultural status quo, it is necessary to establish the inter-sectoral long-run economic equilibrium. This section tests whether the implementation of the income tax is associated with long-run economic development, and how/if this relationship is associated with fiscal expansion. Given that the implementation of the income tax reflected a number of inter-elite political compromises, I expect this institution to have caused deeper state development, fostering long-run economic growth. In non-advanced cases, the tests should show null results.

The study of the sectoral component of economic growth is an endogenous one.⁶⁵ If this endogeneity is not accounted for, the error term and the regressors will be correlated, and so OLS will be inconsistent. Additionally, growth rates are usually integrated. Integrated series are processes whose deviations from the mean tend to persist, cumulating or growing in time. In addition to that, integrated vectors that are mutually endogenous (like industrial and agricultural growth) imply a 'cointegrated' CI(1) relationship, imposing additional statistical restrictions. While the economic

⁶²Except for the Mexico after the implementation of the income tax (p-value = .06).

⁶³See especially next section.

⁶⁴Except for the pre income tax period test of Guatemala, which is significant at the .1 level.

⁶⁵Tiffin and Dawson [2003, 33].

Country	Pre/Post Income Tax	Sample	Directionality	chi2	P-value
Chile	Pre	1905 - 1924	Agriculture → Industry	3.55	0.47
			Industry → Agriculture	12.13	0.02
	Post	1928 - 2009	Agriculture → Industry	11.92	0.00
			Industry → Agriculture	5.37	0.07
Colombia	Pre	1902 - 1935	Agriculture → Industry	4.96	0.03
			Industry → Agriculture	10.44	0.00
	Post	1938 - 2009	Agriculture → Industry	4.32	0.04
			Industry → Agriculture	1.63	0.20
Argentina	Pre	1903 - 1933	Agriculture → Industry	4.19	0.12
			Industry → Agriculture	.42	0.81
	Post	1937 - 2010	Agriculture → Industry	.18	0.91
			Industry → Agriculture	1.37	0.50
Mexico	Pre	1902 - 1965	Agriculture → Industry	.73	0.39
			Industry → Agriculture	11.57	0.00
	Post	1969 - 2009	Agriculture → Industry	5.56	0.06
			Industry → Agriculture	1.32	0.52
Nicaragua	Pre	1923 - 1974	Agriculture → Industry	.48	0.79
			Industry → Agriculture	6.83	0.03
	Post	1977 - 2009	Agriculture → Industry	.014	0.91
			Industry → Agriculture	4.96	0.03
Guatemala	Pre	1924 - 1963	Agriculture → Industry	2.18	0.54
			Industry → Agriculture	6.72	0.08
	Post	1966 - 2009	Agriculture → Industry	.58	0.45
			Industry → Agriculture	6.05	0.01

Table 1: *Granger Causality Wald Tests*

literature generally coincides in that economic growth is an $I(1)$ process and that sectoral development is a $CI(1)$ process, these are assumptions that should be tested. The first step is to find strong evidence of integration in each of the series. [Table A2](#) shows several unit root tests.⁶⁶ The table indicates that all variables, periods, sectors and countries have $I(1)$ processes, satisfying one important assumption of $CI(1)$ vectors. The second step is to find evidence of cointegration.⁶⁷ Substantively, cointegration means that there is a long-lasting mutual inter-sectoral economic *dependence*, allowing *both* sectors to grow in a balanced fashion. Lack of evidence in favor of cointegration implies a relationship of economic backwardness between the two sectors. Consequently, I expect to find evidence of

cointegration only in “developed” cases.⁶⁸ Following [Johansen \[1988\]](#), [Table 2](#) indicates that all “developed” and “semi-developed” countries have cointegrated series, while “less developed” countries do not have cointegrated series,⁶⁹ suggesting that industrialists in “developed” and “semi-developed” countries were able to pose enough credible threats to agricultural incumbents, challenging the post-colonial institutional order and causing long-term economic growth. Less developed countries in turn lacked of an economic/political sectoral-based conflict, and consequently the political order beneficial for the landed elites remained unchallenged, compromising long-term economic growth.

To estimate the relationship of long-run inter-sectoral economic growth I use the vector-autoregressive (VAR) approach specified in [Johansen \[1988\]](#) which is estimated via MLE and not requiring the specification of the number of cointegrated vectors (as opposed to error correction models).⁷⁰ Formally, I fit [Equation 1](#) in differences, one per country, both before and after the income tax law was passed.⁷¹

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta M_{t_m} &= \alpha_m + \beta_m \Delta M_{t-l} + \beta_m \Delta A_{t-l} + \epsilon_{t_m} \\ \Delta A_{t_a} &= \alpha_a + \beta_a \Delta M_{t-l} + \beta_a \Delta A_{t-l} + \epsilon_{t_a}\end{aligned}\tag{1}$$

Notice that in both lines the different dependent variables are expressed as a function of the *same* set of lagged independent variables. Since the number of lags l varies by country *and* time-span (i.e. before/after the income tax law), [Equation 1](#) is in standard form. [Table A3](#) describes the optimal lag structure per each country regression.⁷²

Given that “it is often difficult to draw any conclusions from the large number of coefficient estimates in a VAR system,”⁷³ econometricians usually turn to the analyses of *impulse response functions* (IRFs), which are derived from VAR analyses.⁷⁴ “Impulse responses trace out the response

⁶⁶I show the test statistic and its associated MacKinnon approximate p-value in parenthesis for the ADF and Phillips-Perron tests. Both trend and drift were tested in all tests, when applicable. As I did not find any differences, I show the test statistic with no trend nor drift and one lag. The lags in the KPSS test were selected via an automatic procedure. “†” indicates that the test is barely significant or non-significant.

⁶⁷I use VAR regressions, which do not necessarily need cointegrated vectors (see [Box-Steffensmeier et al. \[2014, 161, 164\]](#)). Cointegration, however, is important from a substantive standpoint in this paper.

⁶⁸Given that the maximum number of cointegrated vectors in bivariate cointegrated series is 1, I only test for the minimum number of cointegrated relationships. See [Box-Steffensmeier et al. \[2014, 165\]](#).

⁶⁹Since I am interested in the long-run equilibrium, I do not split the sample before and after the implementation of the income tax.

⁷⁰[Box-Steffensmeier et al. \[2014, 164\]](#).

⁷¹For simplicity, the VAR equation is in reduced form.

⁷²The next information criteria were used to determine the appropriate lag length: final prediction error, AIC, Schwarz’s Bayesian information criterion, Hannan and Quinn criterion as well as the corresponding likelihood-ratio test statistics. The same criteria are used to compute the optimal lag length in [Table 2](#). The table also shows a summary of different post-estimation tests when the optimum lag length specified in the table was used. A check mark indicates that the tests was passed successfully, a check-minus mark indicates that the test was passed somewhat successfully, and a cross mark denotes failure to reject specification problems. Detailed results are available upon request.

⁷³[Lütkepohl and Krätzig \[2004, 159\]](#).

⁷⁴The raw VAR regression tables are available upon requests.

Country	Number of Cointegrated Vectors (rank)	Restrictions	Lags	Log-Likelihood	Trace
Chile	at least 1	Restricted Constant	5	-1665.9736	0.3799
Argentina	at least 1	Restricted Constant	3	-1802.292	4.7657
Colombia	at least 1	Restricted Trend	2	-1805.6773	10.0076
Mexico	at least 1	Restricted Constant	4	-1978.1322	1.0274
Nicaragua	0	Restricted Constant	2	-1020.221	11.5297
Guatemala	0	Trend	3	-859.2802	16.5493

Table 2: *Johansen Tests for Cointegration: Complete Series*

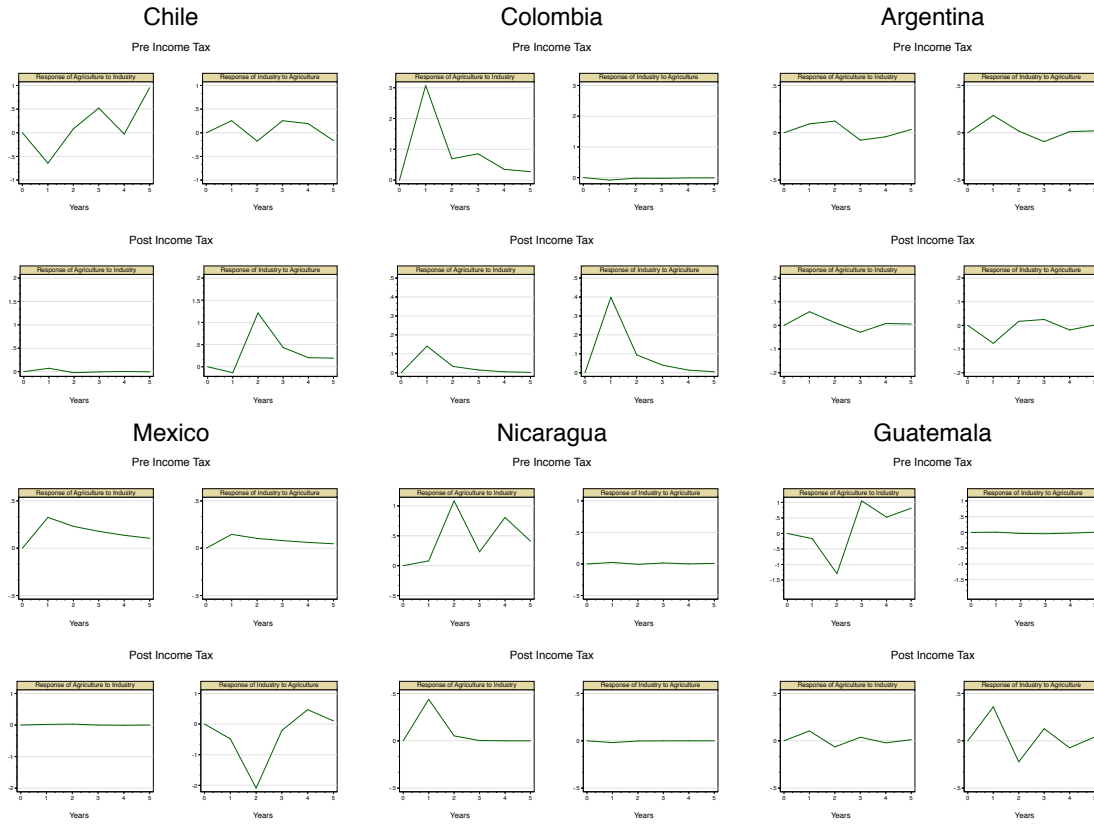


Figure 3: *VAR Impulse Response Functions: Sectoral Responses to Each Other's Growths*

of current and future values of each of the variables to a one-unit increase in the current value of one of the VAR errors.”⁷⁵ Figure 3 shows four panels for each of the six countries, one for the response of agriculture to industrial growth (left column), one for the response of industrial growth to agricultural growth (right column), both before (top row) and after (bottom row) the implementation of the income tax. I expect the income tax to reverse the traditional institutional order and be associated with a path of long-run economic growth only in politically ‘developed’

countries. Lack of sustained balanced economic growth upon the implementation of the income tax indicates that this institution did not emerge out of the sectoral cleavage, leaving the colonial backwards economic order unaltered. The X-axis is expressed in years. The Y-axis is not growth, but response to equilibrium. That is, the reaction of one sector once the other one is shocked.⁷⁶

Figure 3 suggests that all ‘developed’ countries switched from an economic backwardness equilibrium to a modern economic growth strategy after the income tax was implemented, indicating a change in the institutional order. For example, a shock to industrial growth in Chile before the tax has a positive and increasing effect on agriculture. However, after the income tax is adopted, a shock on industry has a negligible effect on agricultural output. This suggests that the political institutions before the tax were oriented to channel all economic resources in a way that advantaged the agricultural sector and the landed elites. This equilibrium is reversed after the income tax law, one that of long-term balanced economic growth. Colombia and Mexico show similar patterns. While the analyses on the Argentinean case suggest that there is a long-term inter-sectoral relationship (Table 2), according to Figure 3 and Table 1 this relationship is weak, indicating weak inter-sectoral complementarity. Nicaragua and Guatemala are the prototypical backward cases. Their economies were designed to develop the agricultural sector completely at expenses of the industrial sector. This goes in line with the null findings of cointegration in Table 2 and Granger-causality tests in Table 1. In these cases the effect of a shock to agricultural output on industrial output is zero both before and after the implementation of the income tax law, suggesting a situation of unbalanced economic growth, unbalancing also the development of agricultural political elites relative to the development of industrial elites. In both cases the implementation of the income tax did not reverse the initial economic backwardness equilibrium because when implemented, it did not reflect the inter-sectoral cleavage (because there was no cleavage). The lack of sectoral challenges and compromises left the traditional institutional order unaltered, preserving the political advantages the landowning elites enjoyed since colonial times.

V. DISCUSSION

Since colonial times agriculturalists had been a hegemonic group protected by the persistence of backwards institutions. This institutional unbalance promoted unbalanced economic growth. However, the emergence of the industrial sector imposed tight constraints on the way politics was run by the incumbent landowning class. The emergence of the industrial sector lowered the

⁷⁵Stock and Watson [2001, 106]. See also Lütkepohl [2005, 51].

⁷⁶That is why the “shape of the [IRFs] indicate [...] the dynamic responses of the variables [and since the variables] are I(0) the impulse responses [...] should converge to zero” (Enders [2014, 364]).

levels of inter-sectoral inequality making possible higher levels of inter-sectoral contestation, forcing industrial and agricultural political elites to make institutional agreements. I identify one such compromise, the implementation of the income tax. Leveraging the Chilean case I explain how and why the tax was relevant for industrial expansion. The crux of the argument explains how the context in which countries implemented the income tax law was a critical juncture, promoting or undermining long-term economic and political development. When the implementation of the income tax reflected the foundational sectoral economic cleavage, the tax expanded the overall state capacities, crystallizing a series of reforms that replaced the backwards institutional order, fostering long-term balanced/modern economic growth. In turn, balanced growth reinforced sectoral inter-dependence, precluding sectoral dominance of either political elite.

The Chilean case suggests that these compromises took place during the formative years of the state and during a period of structural indetermination, where neither elites had a clear economic, military, and political advantage. Industrial elites accepted to be income taxed in exchange of implementing public goods delivered at the local level. Public infrastructure was key for their continuous expansion. As others have argued, industrial elites preferred to impose the income tax on themselves rather than imposing trade taxes. In turn, and according to fiscal sociologists, the implementation of this institution was key for political development. Using time-series econometric methods I find that when the sectoral cleavage was strong (cointegration), the income tax law promoted long-term economic growth (VAR models and IRF analyses). Balanced economic growth was important for political development. I explain how balanced growth secured egalitarian political conditions between the two elites.

..... **Word count:** 10,378

VI. APPENDIX

Country	Available Data	Year Income Tax	Law	Source
Chile	1900 - 2009	1924	<i>Ley 3996</i>	Mamalakís [1976, 20] and LeyChile.Cl (official)
Colombia	1900 - 2009	1935	<i>Ley 78</i>	Figueroa [2008, 9]
Argentina	1900 - 2010	1933	<i>Ley 11682</i>	Infoleg.Gob.Ar (official)
Mexico	1900 - 2009	1965	<i>Ley de Impuesto sobre la Renta</i>	Díaz González [2013, 130-133] and Diario Oficial (official)
Nicaragua	1920 - 2009	1974	<i>Ley 662</i>	Legislacion.Asamblea.Gob.Ni (official)
Guatemala	1920 - 2009	1963	<i>Decreto 1559</i>	Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales [2007, 165]

Table A1: *Sample, Data Available and Year the Income Tax was Implemented*

Country	Time Frame	Sector	Augmented Dickey-Fuller	Phillips-Perron	KPSS	Conclusion
Chile	Pre	Agriculture	-1.185 (0.68)	-1.241 (0.66)	.107 [†]	I(1)
		Industry	2.310 (0.99)	2.556 (0.99)	.113 [†]	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	4.557 (1.00)	5.40 (1.00)	.289	I(1)
		Industry	0.908 (0.99)	1.458 (0.99)	.249	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	5.521 (1.00)	6.722 (1.00)	.31	I(1)
		Industry	1.582 (0.99)	2.305 (0.99)	.314	I(1)
Colombia	Pre	Agriculture	2.709 (0.99)	2.414 (0.99)	.204	I(1)
		Industry	2.103 (0.99)	3.257 (1.00)	.183	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	2.392 (0.99)	3.156 (1.00)	.282	I(1)
		Industry	0.520 (0.98)	1.044 (0.99)	.241	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	4.256 (1.00)	5.893 (1.00)	.372	I(1)
		Industry	1.674 (0.99)	2.707 (0.99)	.374	I(1)
Argentina	Pre	Agriculture	-0.849 (0.80)	-1.201 (0.67)	.0801 [†]	I(1)
		Industry	-0.495 (0.89)	-0.378 (0.91)	.115 [†]	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	1.197 (0.99)	1.093 (0.99)	.277	I(1)
		Industry	0.228 (0.97)	0.381 (0.98)	.0901 [†]	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	1.484 (0.99)	1.401 (0.99)	.332	I(1)
		Industry	1.007 (0.99)	1.237 (0.99)	.183	I(1)
Mexico	Pre	Agriculture	4.601 (1.00)	5.552 (1.00)	.288	I(1)
		Industry	5.803 (1.00)	10.776 (1.00)	.29	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	0.599 (0.9876)	0.497 (0.99)	.109 [†]	I(1)
		Industry	-1.255 (0.65)	-0.982 (0.76)	.113 [†]	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	3.431 (1.00)	3.607 (1.00)	.341	I(1)
		Industry	0.672 (0.99)	2.020 (0.99)	.367	I(1)
Nicaragua	Pre	Agriculture	2.473 (0.99)	2.355 (0.99)	.25	I(1)
		Industry	4.958 (1.00)	9.100 (1.00)	.244	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	-0.154 (0.94)	0.154 (0.97)	.2	I(1)
		Industry	-1.237 (0.6577)	-1.176 (0.68)	.189	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	0.636 (0.99)	0.759 (0.99)	.116 [†]	I(1)
		Industry	-0.164 (0.94)	-0.090 (0.95)	.123	I(1)
Guatemala	Pre	Agriculture	-0.393 (0.91)	-0.343 (0.92)	.0639 [†]	I(1)
		Industry	1.358 (0.99)	1.704 (0.99)	.199	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	1.786 (0.99)	1.965 (0.99)	.162	I(1)
		Industry	-0.998 (0.75)	-1.352 (0.61)	.0915 [†]	I(1)
	All	Agriculture	3.349 (1.00)	3.714 (1.00)	.321	I(1)
		Industry	0.413 (0.98)	0.017 (0.96)	.288	I(1)

Table A2: *Unit Root Tests for Agricultural and Industrial Growth*

Country	Time Frame	Number of Lags	LM	Normally Tests			Stability Condition
				Jarque-Bera	Skewness	Kurtosis	
Chile	Pre	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Post	2	✓	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
Colombia	Pre	1	✓ ⁻	✗	✗	✗	✓
	Post	1	✓	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
Argentina	Pre	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Post	2	✓	✓ ⁻	✓	✓ ⁻	✓
Mexico	Pre	1	✓	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
	Post	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nicaragua	Pre	2	✓	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
	Post	1	✓	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
Guatemala	Pre	3	✓	✗	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓
	Post	1	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓ ⁻	✓

Table A3: *Lag Length and Post-Estimation Results*

REFERENCES

- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Philippe Aghion, Alberto Alesina, and Francesco Trebbi. Endogenous Political Institutions. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(2):565–611, may 2004. ISSN 0033-5533. doi: 10.1162/0033553041382148. URL <https://academic.oup.com/qje/article-lookup/doi/10.1162/0033553041382148>.
- Joshua Angrist and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion*. Princeton University Press, 1st. edition, 2008.
- Ben Ansell and David Samuels. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Pablo Astorga, Ame Berges, and Valpy Fitzgerald. The Standard of Living in Latin America During the Twentieth Century. *Economic History Review*, 58(4):765–796, nov 2005. ISSN 0013-0117. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0289.2005.00321.x. URL <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1468-0289.2005.00321.x>.
- Werner Baer and Michael Herve. Employment and Industrialization in Developing Countries. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 80(1):88–107, feb 1966. ISSN 00335533. doi: 10.2307/1880581. URL <http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/lookup/doi/10.2307/1879592><http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/lookup/doi/10.2307/1880581>.
- Jean Marie Baland and James Robinson. Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile. *American Economic Review*, 98(5):1737–1765, 2008. ISSN 00028282. doi: 10.1257/aer.98.5.1737.
- Robert Bates and Donald Lien. A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government. *Politics & Society*, 14(1):53–70, jan 1985. ISSN 0032-3292. doi: 10.1177/003232928501400102. URL <http://pas.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/003232928501400102>.
- Arnold Bauer. *Chilean Rural Society: From the Spanish Conquest to 1930*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Nathaniel Beck. The Methodology of Cointegration. *Political Analysis*, 4:237–247, 1992. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23321238>.

- Pablo Beramendi, Mark Dincecco, and Melissa Rogers. Intra-Elite Competition and Long-Run Fiscal Development. 2016.
- Charles Bergquist. *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886-1910*. Duke University Press, 1986.
- Luis Bertola and Jose Antonio Ocampo. *The Economic Development of Latin America since Independence*. Oxford University Press, 2012. URL [https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-economic-development-of-latin-america-since-independence-9780199662142?cc=us{%&}lang=en{%&}](https://global.oup.com/academic/product/the-economic-development-of-latin-america-since-independence-9780199662142?cc=us{%&}lang=en{%&}.).
- Timothy Besley, Ethan Ilzetki, and Torsten Persson. Weak States and Steady States: The Dynamics of Fiscal Capacity. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 5(4):205–235, oct 2013. ISSN 1945-7707. doi: 10.1257/mac.5.4.205. URL <http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/10.1257/mac.5.4.205>.
- Niels-Hugh Blunch and Dorte Verner. Shared Sectoral Growth Versus the Dual Economy Model: Evidence from Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Zimbabwe. *African Development Review*, 18(3):283–308, dec 2006. ISSN 1017-6772. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8268.2006.00150.x. URL <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1467-8268.2006.00150.x>.
- Carles Boix. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Carles Boix. *Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and their Consequences for Human Welfare*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, 2015.
- John Bowman and Michael Wallerstein. The Fall of Balmaceda and Public Finance in Chile: New Data for an Old Debate. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 24(4):421–460, 1982.
- Janet Box-Steffensmeier, John Freeman, Matthew Hitt, and Jon Pevehouse. *Time Series Analysis for the Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Deborah Brautigam, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and Mick Moore. *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries: Capacity and Consent*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. ISBN 9781139469258. URL <http://books.google.be/books?id=yKqioeqwsTkC>.
- John Campbell. The State and Fiscal Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19(1):163–185, aug 1993. ISSN 0360-0572. doi: 10.1146/annurev.so.19.080193.001115. URL <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.so.19.080193.001115>.

- Francesco Caselli. Accounting for Cross-Country Income Differences. In *Handbook of Economic Growth*, volume 1, chapter 9, pages 679–741. 2005. ISBN 9780444520418. doi: 10.1016/S1574-0684(05)01009-9.
- Gregory Clark. *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World*. Princeton University Press, 2009.
- John Coatsworth and Jeffrey Williamson. The Roots of Latin American Protectionism: Looking Before the Great Depression. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA, jun 2002. URL <http://www.nber.org/papers/w8999.pdf>.
- Ruth Collier and David Collier. *Shaping The Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.
- Simon Collier. The Historiography of the "Portalian" Period (1830-1891) in Chile. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 57(4):660–690, 1977. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2513483>.
- Dario Debowicz and Paul Segal. Structural Change in Argentina, 1935-1960: The Role of Import Substitution and Factor Endowments. *The Journal of Economic History*, 74(01):230–258, mar 2014. ISSN 0022-0507. doi: 10.1017/S0022050714000084. URL http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract/_jS0022050714000084.
- Jonathan Di John. The Political Economy of Taxation and Tax Reform in Developing Countries. 2006.
- Eliseo Díaz González. La Reforma Del Impuesto Sobre La Renta Aplicado a Salarios. *Argumentos*, 26(71):127–148, 2013.
- Mark Dincecco. The Rise of Effective States in Europe. *The Journal of Economic History*, 75(03):901–918, sep 2015. ISSN 0022-0507. doi: 10.1017/S002205071500114X. URL <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy2.library.arizona.edu/stable/41678585>http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract/_jS002205071500114X.
- Mark Dincecco and Ugo Troiano. Broadening the State: Policy Responses to the Introduction of the Income Tax. *NBER Working Paper*, (21373):1–25, 2015. doi: 10.3386/w21373. URL <http://www.nber.org/papers/w21373>.
- Avinash Dixit. *Models of Dual Economy*. Models of Economic Growth: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the International Economic Association at Jerusalem. 1973.

- Paul Drake and Mathew McCubbins, editors. *The Origins of Liberty: Political and Economic Liberalization in the Modern World*. Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Robert Durr. An Essay on Cointegration and Error Correction Models. *Political Analysis*, 4:185–228, 1992. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23321236>.
- Walter Enders. *Applied Econometric Time Series*. Wiley, 4th. edition, 2014. ISBN 8126515643. doi: 10.1198/tech.2004.s813.
- Gary Fields. Dualism in the Labor Market: A Perspective on the Lewis Model After Half a Century. *The Manchester School*, 72(6):724–735, 2004. ISSN 1463-6786. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9957.2004.00432.x. URL <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1467-9957.2004.00432.x>.
- Alfredo Lewin Figueroa. Historia de las Reformas Tributarias en Colombia. In *Fundamentos de la Tributación*, page 371. Universidad de los Andes Editorial Temis, Bogotá, 2008. ISBN 9789583507069.
- John Freeman and Dennis Quinn. The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered. *American Political Science Review*, 106(01):58–80, feb 2012. ISSN 0003-0554. doi: 10.1017/S0003055411000505. URL http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract/_jS0003055411000505.
- Walter Galenson. Economic Development and the Sectoral Expansion of Employment. *International Labour Review*, 87(6):505–519, 1963.
- Carmenza Gallo. *Taxes and state power: Political instability in Bolivia, 1900-1950*. Temple University Press, 1991.
- Douglas Gollin, Stephen Parente, and Richard Rogerson. The Role of Agriculture in Development. *The American Economic Review*, 92(2):160–164, 2002. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3083394>.
- Clive Granger. Testing for Causality: A Personal Viewpoint. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 2:329–352, 1980. doi: 10.1016/0165-1889(80)90069-X.
- Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson. Integrated and Segmented Labor Markets: Thinking in Two Sectors. *The Journal of Economic History*, 51(02):413, jun 1991. ISSN 0022-0507. doi: 10.1017/S0022050700039036. URL http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract/_jS0022050700039036.

- Yujiro Hayami and Saburo Yamada. Agricultural Productivity at the Beginning of Industrialization. In Kazushi Ohkawa, Bruce Johnston, and Hiromitsu Kaneda, editors, *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience*, pages 105–144. Princeton University Press and Tokyo University Press, Princeton, NJ and Tokyo, 1969.
- Michael Hechter and William Brustein. Regional Modes of Production and Patterns of State Formation in Western Europe. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(5):1061–1094, mar 1980. ISSN 0002-9602. doi: 10.1086/227125. URL <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/227125>.
- Albert Hirschman. *The Strategy of Economic Development*. Yale University Press, 1958.
- Albert Hirschman. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Roy Hora. Landowning Bourgeoisie or Business Bourgeoisie? On the Peculiarities of the Argentine Economic Elite, 1880-1945. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34(03):587–623, 2002. ISSN 0022-216X. doi: 10.1017/S0022216X02006491. URL http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract/_S0022216X02006491.
- Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales. Historia de la Tributacion en Guatemala. Technical report, Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales, 2007.
- Soren Johansen. Statistical Analysis of Cointegration Vectors. *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 12(2-3):231–254, 1988. ISSN 01651889. doi: 10.1016/0165-1889(88)90041-3.
- Noel Johnson and Mark Koyama. States and Economic Growth: Capacity and Constraints. *Explorations in Economic History*, dec 2016. ISSN 00144983. doi: 10.1016/j.eeh.2016.11.002. URL <http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0014498316301966>.
- Bruce Johnston. Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in Japan. *Journal of Political Economy*, 59(6):498–513, 1951. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1830239>.
- Bruce Johnston and John Mellor. The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development. *The American Economic Review*, 51(4):566–593, 1961. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1812786>.
- Bruce Johnston and Soren Nielsen. Agricultural and Structural Transformation in a Developing Economy. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 14(3):279–301, 1966. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1152435>.

- Dale Jorgenson. The Development of a Dual Economy. *The Economic Journal*, 71(282):309–334, 1961. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2228770>.
- Dale Jorgenson. Surplus Agricultural Labour and the Development of a Dual Economy. *Oxford Economic Papers, New Series*, 19(3):288–312, 1967. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2662328>.
- Sunil Kanwar. Does the Dog Wag the Tail or the Tail the Dog? Cointegration of Indian Agriculture with Nonagriculture. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 22(5):533–556, sep 2000. ISSN 01618938. doi: 10.1016/S0161-8938(97)00161-0. URL <http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0161893897001610>.
- Allen Kelley, Jeffrey Williamson, and Russell Cheetham. *Dualistic Economic Development: Theory and History*. University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Henry Kirsch. *Industrial Development in a Traditional Society: The Conflict of Entrepreneurship and Modernization in Chile*. The University Presses of Florida, 1977.
- Stephen Krasner. *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism*. University of California Press, 1985.
- Marcus Kurtz. The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: Reconsidering War and the "Resource Curse" in Third World State Building. *Politics & Society*, 37(4):479–520, 2009. ISSN 0032-3292. doi: 10.1177/0032329209349223. URL <http://pas.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0032329209349223>.
- Marcus Kurtz. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Simon Kuznets. Economic Growth and the Contribution of Agriculture: Notes on Measurement. *1961 Conference, August 19-30, 1961, Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico*, 1961. URL <http://ideas.repec.org/p/ags/iaae61/209625.html>.
- Simon Kuznets. *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure and Spread*. Yale University Press, 1967.
- John Landon-Lane and Peter Robertson. Accumulation and Productivity Growth in Industrializing Economies. 2003. URL <http://econpapers.repec.org/RePEc:rut:rutres:200305>.
- Harvey Leibenstein. The Theory of Underemployment in Backward Economies. *Journal of Political Economy*, 65(2):91–103, 1957a. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1827366>.

- Harvey Leibenstein. *Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth*. John Wiley and Sons, 1st. edition, 1957b.
- Margaret Levi. *Of Rule and Revenue*. University of California Press, 1989.
- Arthur Lewis. Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *The Manchester School*, 22(2):139–191, may 1954. ISSN 1463-6786. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9957.1954.tb00021.x. URL <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1467-9957.1954.tb00021.x>.
- Arthur Lewis. *The Theory of Economic Growth*. Harper and Row, 1965.
- Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson. Growth, Equality, and History. *Explorations in Economic History*, 22(4):341–377, 1985. ISSN 00144983. doi: 10.1016/0014-4983(85)90001-4.
- Humberto Llavador and Robert Oxoby. Partisan Competition, Growth, and the Franchise. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3):1155–1189, aug 2005. ISSN 0033-5533. doi: 10.1093/qje/120.3.1155. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25098765><http://about.jstor.org/terms><http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/doi/10.1093/qje/120.3.1155>.
- Helmut Lütkepohl. *New Introduction to Multiple Time Series Analysis*. Springer, Berlin, 2005. ISBN 3540262393.
- Helmut Lutkepohl. *New Introduction to Multiple Time Series Analysis*. Springer, 2006. ISBN 9783540262398.
- Helmut Lütkepohl and Markus Krätzig. *Applied Time Series Econometrics*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. ISBN 9780521839198. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511606885. URL http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=xe7NDY8leWwC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Applied+Time+series+Econometrics&ots={_}88dV4qX5p&sig=N2ZBeAsV0i25ThJjVf7b2QSRXCA.
- James Mahoney. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Markos Mamalakis. *Growth and Structure of the Chilean Economy: From Independence to Allende*. Yale University Press, 1976.
- Isabela Mares and Didac Queralt. The Non-Democratic Origins of Income Taxation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(14):1974–2009, dec 2015. ISSN 0010-4140. doi: 10.1177/0010414015592646. URL <http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0010414015592646>.

- Isaac Martin and Monica Prasad. Taxes and Fiscal Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40(1):331–345, jul 2014. ISSN 0360-0572. doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043229. URL <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043229>.
- Ashok Mathur. The Interface of Agricultural and Industrial Growth in the Development Process: Some Facets of the Indian Experience. *Development and Change*, 21(2):247–280, apr 1990. ISSN 0012155X. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.1990.tb00377.x. URL <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.ubc.ca/docview/1500798747?accountid=14656http://gw2jh3xr2c.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx{ }ver=Z39.88-2004{ }ctx{ }enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8{ }rfr{ }id=info:sid/ProQ:envabstractsmodule{ }rft{ }val{ }fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:jou>.
- Kiminori Matsuyama. Increasing Returns, Industrialization, and Indeterminacy of Equilibrium. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 106(2):617–650, 1991. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2937949>.
- John McArthur and Gordon McCord. Fertilizing Growth: Agricultural inputs and their effects in economic development. *Journal of Development Economics*, (77), mar 2017. ISSN 03043878. doi: 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2017.02.007. URL <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2017.02.007http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0304387817300172>.
- George McCutchen McBride. *Chile: Land and Society*. Octagon Books, 1936.
- Barrington Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Beacon Press, September 1966.
- Mick Moore. Taxation and the Political Agenda, North and South. *Forum for Development Studies*, 1:7–32, 2004a. ISSN 0803-9410. doi: 10.1080/08039410.2004.9666262.
- Mick Moore. Revenues, State Formation, and The Quality of Governance in Developing Countries. *International Political Science Review*, 25(3):297–319, 2004b. ISSN 01925121. doi: 10.1177/0192512104043018.
- Richard Musgrave. Schumpeter's Crisis of The Tax State: An Essay in Fiscal Sociology. *Journal of Evolutionary Economics*, 2(2):89–113, jun 1992. ISSN 0936-9937. doi: 10.1007/BF01193535. URL <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/BF01193535>.
- William Nicholls. Industrialization, Factor Markets, and Agricultural Development. *Journal of Political Economy*, 69(4):319–340, 1961. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1828643>.

- Douglass North. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Ragnar Nurkse. *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*. Basil Blackwell, 2nd. edition, 1953.
- Ragnar Nurske. *Equilibrium and growth in the world economy: Economic essays*. Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Kazushi Ohkawa. Balanced Growth and the Problem of Agriculture - With Special Reference to Asian Peasant Economy. *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, 2(1):13–25, 1961. URL <http://doi.org/10.15057/8120>.
- Gustav Ranis and John Fei. *Development of the Labor Surplus Economy*. The Economic Growth Center, Yale University. Richard D.Irwin, Inc, 1964.
- James Robinson. Economic Development and Democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(1):503–527, jun 2006. ISSN 1094-2939. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.092704.171256. URL <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.092704.171256>.
- Ryan Saylor. *State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and Coalitions in Latin America and Africa*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Marcelo Segall. *Desarrollo del Capitalismo en Chile: Cinco Ensayos Dialécticos*. Santiago, Chile, del pacífi edition, 1953.
- Amartya Sen. Peasants and Dualism with or without Surplus Labor. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 74(5):425–450, 1966.
- Peter Skott and Mehrene Larudee. Uneven Development and the Liberalisation of Trade and Capital Flows: The Case of Mexico. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 22(3):277–295, 1998. ISSN 0309166X.
- Adam Smith. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Methuen & Co., Ltd., 5th. edition, 1904.
- Hillel Soifer. *State Building in Latin America*. 2015. ISBN 9781316257289.
- David Stasavage. *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain 1688-1789*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- James Stock and Mark Watson. Vector Autoregressions. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 15 (4):101–115, 2001. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2696519>.
- Joseph Strayer. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Paul Streeten. Unbalanced Growth. *Oxford Economic Papers, New Series*, 11(2):167–190, 1959. URL <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2662122>.
- Vito Tani. Personal Income Taxation in Latin America: Obstacles and Possibilities. *National Tax Journal*, 19(2):156–162, 1966.
- Jonathan Temple and Ludger Wößmann. Dualism and Cross-Country Growth Regressions. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 11(3):187–228, nov 2006. ISSN 1381-4338. doi: 10.1007/s10887-006-9003-x. URL <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s10887-006-9003-x>.
- Anthony Thirlwall. A General Model of Growth and Development on Kaldorian Lines. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 38(2):199–219, 1986.
- Richard Tiffin and P.J. Dawson. Shock Persistence in a Dual Economy Model of India. *Journal of Development Studies*, 40(1):32–47, oct 2003. ISSN 0022-0388. doi: 10.1080/00220380412331293657. URL <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220380412331293657>.
- Charles Tilly. *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990 - 1992*. Wiley-Blackwell, 1992.
- Victor Uribe-Uran. *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.
- Claudio Veliz. La Mesa de Tres Patas. *Desarrollo Economico*, 3(1/2 America Latina 1):231–247, 1963.
- Maurice Zeitlin. *The Civil Wars in Chile: (or The Bourgeois Revolutions that Never Were)*. Maurice Zeitlin, 1984.