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

### HÉCTOR BAHAMONDE, PHD

\*Postdoctoral Fellow  $\bullet$  Center For Inter-American Policy & Research  $\bullet$  Tulane University

e:hector.bahamonde@rutgers.edu

w:www.hectorbahamonde.com

July 3, 2017

#### Abstract

I argue that the income tax was an institution that contributed to develop state institutions. In turn, these institutions fostered long-term economic growth. In Latin America, the landowning class was a hegemonic group protected by norms and institutions inherited from colonial times. However, the emergence of the industrial sector imposed tight constraints on the way politics was run by the agricultural sector, forcing both political elites to make institutional agreements. Following the fiscal sociology paradigm, I identify one such compromise, the income tax. When the tax was implemented under conditions of sectoral contestation, the institution crystallized the incorporation of both elites into the same national projects, fostering long-run political and economic development. While underdeveloped countries also implemented the tax, I find that in these cases the income tax did not reflect this foundational sectoral cleavage. Weak industrial sectors could not transform the post-colonial order, leaving agricultural elites unchallenged. Leveraging the dual sector model of economic growth, I explain that an untransformed elite structure fostered unbalanced economic growth, reinforcing the political and economic advantages of the landed elites. Using time-series methods in a number of Latin American countries, and the Chilean case to illustrate the causal mechanisms at work, I find that in countries with higher levels of sectoral conflicts the income tax reversed the backward institutional order implemented since colonial times.

#### Please consider downloading the last version of the paper here

<sup>\*</sup>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.

#### I. Sectoral Conflicts and Development

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 political and economic development is vast. Without trying to survey all of it, there seems to be an agreement in that strong institutions cause better economic performance. For example North [1990, 3] asserts that the idea that "institutions affect the performance of economies is hardly controversial." However, most explanations focus property rights protection. I find that this is a limitation since regimes that do not respect property rights still grow at levels that sometimes even surpass democratic countries. While I still think that institutions matter for economic growth, this paper seeks to contribute to the literature by emphasizing the role of sectoral conflicts on political and economic development. I build on the fiscal sociology paradigm to argue that fiscal institutions, which are the engine of state-making, are product of a sectoral conflict. Borrowing from the dual sector model, I document how the secular structural transformation (the gradual emergence of the industrial sector) reversed the backward institutional order implemented since colonial times, producing long-term balanced economic growth. More generally, the paper explains how political development is associated with economic growth. I use sectoral outputs from 1900 to 2009 to proxy the emergence of the industrial sector in a number of Latin American countries,<sup>2</sup> vector autoregressive models (VAR), Granger-causality tests, impulse response functions (IRFs) and the Chilean case to illustrate the causal mechanisms. The results suggest that long-term economic development is channeled through sectoral contestation and institutional investments, particularly the expansion of the fiscal system.

The political development literature has traditionally focused on socio-economic cleavages and potential alliances between a homogeneous ruling elite and politically excluded segments of the society, traditionally peasants or other disenfranchised groups such as the bourgeoisie. Moore [1966], Tilly [1992], Boix [2003], Stasavage [2008] and Acemoglu and Robinson [2009] are among the most prominent examples supporting this view.<sup>3</sup> In this paper I focus on political divisions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Johnson and Koyama [2016].

 $<sup>^2</sup>$ The actual data availability might vary by case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>For 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 preferences over democracy of industrialists and agriculturalists. An alternative to the 'bargaining' model is the 'compelling' model proposed by Boucoyannis [2015].

among the elite. The elite-sector approach is hardly new. Just to mention some examples, 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 is associated with inter-elite conflicts, particularly between the landed elite and the industrial elite. While political economists have already recognized the relevance of sectoral conflicts and the structure of the economy, the focus has been on democratic development. Using the same sectoral approach as a starting point, the paper stresses how these structural conflicts are associated with institutional and economic development.

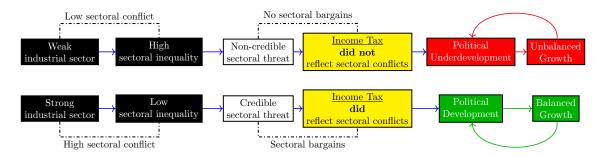


Figure 1: Causal Mechanism

Since taxation affects landowners and industrialists in different ways,<sup>4</sup> economic elites are divided on their preferences towards fiscal policies.<sup>5</sup> Agriculturalists typically resist taxation as land fixity increases the risk premium of their main asset.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, industrialists' preferences toward taxation are more elastic as capital can be reinvested in nontaxable sectors.<sup>7</sup> However, this political-economy cleavage is more likely to resolve in favor of direct taxation when income inequality among the elites is low.<sup>8</sup> Particularly, given the initial advantage of the landowning elites, post-colonial landowners were very effective resisting direct taxation. However, the emergence of a strong industrial class put heavier pressures for centralization and investment in public goods. Beramendi et al. [2016, 18] explain 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 progressive direct taxation." Thus, industrial expansion was favorable to the implementation of the income tax. Additionally, lower levels of inter-elite economic inequality implied similar degrees of military capabilities.<sup>9</sup> In these circumstances war was most likely to exhaust all existent assets

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Acemoglu and Robinson [2009, 289].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See for example Llavador and Oxoby [2005].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Robinson [2006, 512].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Hirschman [1970] and Ronald Rogowski in Drake and McCubbins [1998, ch. 4]. However, see Bates and Lien [1985, 15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Tani [1966, 157] explains that the absence of "wealth groups" makes passing an income tax law easier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Boix [2015].

without producing positive outcomes for either sector, <sup>10</sup> putting then pressures to reach agreements instead of engaging in armed conflicts.

I argue that the income tax was an institution that contributed to develop state institutions. In turn, these institutions fostered long-term economic growth. The emergence of the industrial sector lowered levels of inter-sectoral inequality, rising in turn levels of inter-sectoral contestation, forcing both economic and political elites to reach out institutional agreements fostering long-term economic growth. I identify one such compromise, the implementation of the income tax. Elsewhere I have argued that the rise of the industrial sector accelerated the implementation of the income tax law, 11 causing a long-lasting positive impact on state institutions, 12 In this paper I study how the implementation of the income tax in cases of high high sectoral conflicts set states in a path of political development causing long-term modern (i.e. 'balanced') economic growth (see Figure 1). While balanced growth (end of causal chain) implies the expansion of the industrial sector (beginning of causal chain), the expansion of the industrial sector does not imply balanced growth. Balanced growth implies a much deeper long-run relationship of sectoral economic inter-dependence. In other words the paper presents an argument centered on the long-lasting consequences on economic growth of the implementation of the income tax. The argument emphasizes that the tax fostered economic and political development (in that order) when it was implemented under contexts of sectoral contestation, i.e. when both sectors were similarly developed (i.e. when inter-elite inequality was low). Since the economy alters the balance of political power, this theory is relevant for explaining political development too (circular arrows at the end of the causal chain). The political significance of balanced growth is that when both sectors expand in a balanced fashion, it reinforces the need to sustain levels of political cooperation (backward arrows in Figure 1). The crux of the argument is that the economic structural transformation characterized by "a secular decline of agriculture and substantial expansion of manufacturing" imposed tight constraints on the way politics was run by the incumbent landowning class. In that sense, this paper considers that given that each economic sector has a corresponding political arm, the sectoral conflict was also a political conflict. 14 Consequently, these gradual long-term changes not only altered the structure of the economy but also the institutional-political order.

Adopting the fiscal sociology paradigm, I contend that tax institutions *made* the state, promoting not only bureaucratic development but also expanding the *dominion* of the state.<sup>15</sup> Analytically, this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Richard Salvucci in Uribe-Uran [2001, 48].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Bahamonde [2017a].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Bahamonde [2017b].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Johnston and Mellor [1961, 567].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>See Ansell and Samuels [2014] and Bahamonde [2017a].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Income taxation not only triggered other state capacities helping with the development of more skilled bureaucracies. Via a process of assimilation, it also helped to construct the figure of the *citizen* centered around the concept of the

theory emphasizes the role of inter-elite (in)equality on political and economic (under)development. Empirically, I find that in cases where the income tax was introduced in reaction to the emergence of a strong industrial sector, there was a reversion of the institutional order that permitted an equilibrium of economic backwardness inherited in colonial times. Particularly, in these cases the income tax is associated with long-run balanced economic growth, 'balancing' the relative power of their corresponding political elites. Moreover, the implementation of the income tax law in these cases was product of a sectoral compromise between the two groups. Given the importance for state-making of the income tax, the incorporation of both sectoral interests promoted economic and political development. However, when the elite structure was weak, the income tax did not reflect the sectoral cleavage but other forces. As I explain later, the implementation of the income tax law in Chile responded to endogenous domestic forces, particularly to inter-elite compromises just at the time when there were lower levels of inter-sectoral inequality, securing the inclusion of both groups in the design and implementation of the income tax law. The Chilean internal revenue service is among the finest tax institutions in Latin America. However, 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. 16 While Guatemala did implement the tax, the institution did not reflect the preferences of the both sectors. In fact, the law responded more to other exogenous forces. Particularly, the law was imposed by the US-backed dictator Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia, bypassing the inter-sectoral economic cleavage (because there was no cleavage). In these kinds of scenarios, as industrialists were too weak, landowners were never challenged and there were less pressures to implement an income tax, crystallizing the backwards institutional order inherited in colonial times. Consequently, the income tax is a necessary but not sufficient cause of development as it required the presence of high sectoral conflicts to cause economic development. <sup>17</sup>

Next section explains the dual sector theory, explaining how balanced growth happens and why it is important for political development. Then I provide some historical context presenting the Chilean case to illustrate the theory. Using the fiscal sociology paradigm, I pay especial attention to how the series of inter-elite bargains that surrounded the implementation of the income tax fostered institutional development and state-making. Next, I present econometric evidence, putting especial

taxpayer. Regardless of an individual's race, religion, culture or any other kind of status, the state classifies its subjects according to their incomes and oblige them to pay, punishing whoever refuses to do so. From a sociological standpoint, this "generality makes taxation a crucial element in the development of the 'imagined community' (Anderson [2006]) of the modern nation-state [...] Taxation enmeshes us in the web of generalized reciprocity that constitutes modern society" (Martin et al., in Martin et al. [2009, 3]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Di John [2006, 5].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Similarly, Johnson and Koyama [2017] find that the link between state capacities and economic growth is conditional on several factors (population size, culture, population homo(hetero)geneity, among others). However, in my account, the role of the income tax is conditioned on the degree of intersectoral conflicts, which I measure via the size of the industrial sector.

attention to the relationship between institutional development, particularly, fiscal expansion and long-term balanced economic growth. Lastly, I provide some final comments.

# 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 18 by emphasizing the importance of macro-structural gradual transformations. The theory argues that the economic system is divided into two sectors loosely defined as 'advanced or modern sector' or 'manufacturing sector,' and 'backward or traditional sector,' or 'agriculture.' 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 eventually surpassing the agricultural sector. If the agricultural sector lacks economic efficiency, the industrial sector hardly develops, leading to a stangant economy. This literature is vast. While this section just explains the core, there are many current theoretical and methodological applications and extensions of the dual sector model. Just to name a few examples, 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Gollin et al. [2002, 160].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>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.

accepted and forms part of "a long tradition in development economics." And while dichotomizing the entire economy in just two sectors might sound as too much of an oversimplification, <sup>21</sup> 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." 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." 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.<sup>24</sup>

Economic development depends on the emergence of the industrial sector which in turn depends on the development of a productive agricultural sector.<sup>25</sup> As Kuznets [1961, 59] puts it, "economic growth is *impossible* unless there is a substantial rise in product per worker in the agricultural sector."<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Hayami and Yamada [1969, 105] argue that "[i]ndustrialization and modern economic growth are basically *conditioned* by the level of agricultural productivity."<sup>27</sup> 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." This structural transformation is the key of economic growth. If the expansion of the agricultural sector is compromised, it will necessarily compromise the expansion of the industrial sector as well.<sup>28</sup> The political correlate of the inter-sectoral dependence proposed in this framework is that a weak inter-sectoral structure (weak agricultural sector) will truncate the emergence of a strong political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Kellev et al. [1972, 8].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>This is a stylized theory. Of course, in reality, there are other economic activities such as logging, mining and others. Given its dependence on capital, mining has always been considered industrial. The Chilean case illustrates this.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$ Emphasis is mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Streeten [1959, 169]. Emphasis is mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Galenson [1963, 506-507, 513] and Baer and Herve [1966, 95-96].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Johnston and Mellor [1961, 567] argue that this process "seems to be a necessary condition for cumulative and self-sustaining growth."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Emphasis is mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Emphasis is mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>In 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."

challenger (industrialists) able to contest the landed elites, which had been protected by post-colonial institutions. Inter-elite contestation is key for 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.

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."<sup>29</sup> Technologies such as "crop rotation, pest control, seed breeding [and] fertilizer use [represent] the major potential source of agricultural labor productivity."<sup>30</sup> increasing also "non-agricultural value added per worker." 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.<sup>32</sup> In fact, Serrano and Pinilla [2016] find that in Latin America there has been a declining role of agricultural exports as industrialization levels have increased.

Surplus of labor naturally leads to a reallocation of redundant workers into the industrial sector, which is the crux of economic development.<sup>33</sup> Nurkse [1953] in fact argues that development means to employ the surplus labor.<sup>34</sup> The literature coincides in that the 'natural role' of the agricultural sector is to provide labor to the industrial sector.<sup>35</sup> 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."<sup>36</sup> 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Kelley et al. [1972, 133].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Ranis and Fei [1964, 62].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>McArthur and McCord [2017].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Johnston 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Ranis and Fei [1964, 7] and Leibenstein [1957b, 51].

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$ Similarly, Matsuyama [1991, 621-622] points out that "[i]ndustrialization [consists of] a shift of resources from agriculture to manufacturing."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Ranis 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Emphasis is mine.

'unlimitedness' of labor should *not* be taken literally, as in reality means *redundant labor force*.<sup>37</sup> In fact, Nurske [1961, 225] points out that the concept "is commonly used to denote all types of rural unemployment."<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup> "It is self-evident that without increasing food output, the capitalist sector must remain in a stationary state."<sup>40</sup> 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."

Balanced economic growth is important for political development because it fosters a level 'playing' political field. When the economy is structured in a way where each economic sector is mutually dependent, each sector's corresponding political arm has the same military resources and similar access to other bargaining assets that foster inter-elite cooperation. As the next section explains, the relatively higher dependence the industrial sector has on public infrastructure promoted the implementation of the income tax (a state-making institution according to the fiscal sociology paradigm). This is particularly the case when the preferences of both elites have been incorporated into this important institution for state-building. However, unbalanced economic growth promotes an unleveled 'playing' political field. Following the inertia of post-colonial institutions, unbalanced growth protects the persistence of the advantaged position of the landed elites. The income tax when implemented does not necessarily reflect this foundational sectoral-economic cleavage, and the need of having an efficient income tax are low. Since industrial elites are too weak to pose credible threats to agricultural incumbents, the equilibrium is to rely on import taxes, compromising state expansion in the long-run.

#### 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>See Ranis and Fei [1964, 203] and Jorgenson [1967, 289].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Or 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>See Jorgenson [1961, 312] and Ranis and Fei [1964, 157].

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 40}{\rm Ohkawa}$  [1961, 21]. Emphasis is mine.

advantaged position of the landed elites.<sup>41</sup> Collier and Collier [2002, 106] argue that the "national government was dominated by [...] owners of large agricultural holdings."<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

Historians still debate whether agriculturalists and industrialists comprised two different elites. Some claim that this dualism is incorrect. 44 They argue that since landowners also invested in industry, 45 there was a blurry class division between the mining, banking and agricultural sectors. 46 Perhaps the most cited reference regarding this issue is Veliz [1963, 231-247]. I contend that there are a series of stylized facts that suggest that there was indeed a structural fracture between the two sectors. Particularly, there were certain practices that mask the sectoral dualism that existed. 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."47 In fact, this practice shows how the credit system was oriented to give unfair advantage to the landed elites. Similarly, Zeitlin [1984, 174 finds that while there were some instances where there were mixed investments, 'the combined ownership of capital and landed property was a distinctive quality of certain [elites] actors.'48 There were also other instances where miners invested in banking. However, Segall [1953] argues that Chilean bankers, after the crisis of the mining sector around the 1870s, acquired a number of mineral deposits given as collateral years before, again suggesting that the lack of economic dualism is rather apparent. 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>This idea also applies for Mexico. "The principal source of its wealth was not its mines, Humboldt noted, but agriculture." Amaral and Doringo, in Uribe-Uran [2001, 13].

<sup>42</sup>See also McBride [1936, 15] who argues that "Chile's people live on the soil. Her life is agricultural to the core.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>See 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."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Bauer [2008, 45].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>See for example Mamalakis [1976, 125].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Kirsch [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."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Bauer [2008, 30, 44, 94, 108].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Emphases are mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>Emphasis is mine.

appear entirely correct.'<sup>49</sup> In this paper I find strong evidence, both historical and econometric, in favor of a dual economy. The nature of the main factors of production of agriculturalists and industrialists (land v. capital), in addition to their preferences over fiscal policy produced in Chile a strong economic and political cleavage that could have hardly translated into a strong unified elite with scattered investments, and with differences only towards the role of the state and the catholic church on society, as the conventional wisdom goes.

Moreover, agricultural hegemony promoted biased public investments. For instance, the existent public infrastructure mostly benefited the agricultural sector.<sup>50</sup> 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 elites access to similar military capacities. For instance, 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. For example, there were a number of aborted coups in 1907, 1912, 1915 and 1919.<sup>51</sup> 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."52 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).

Unlike other 'regular' state institutions, taxing incomes *made* the state.<sup>53</sup> It was the very practice of this technology what gave the state the big push to be able to continue the reproduction of its power. Fiscal sociologists have argued for a long time that the capacity the state has of taxing its

 $<sup>^{49}</sup>$ Emphasis is mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>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."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Collier and Collier [2002, 109].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Carmenza Gallo, in Brautigam et al. [2008, 165]. Emphases are mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Indirect taxes are easier to levy (Krasner [1985, 46], Bertola and Ocampo [2012, 132]), and hence this kind of revenue is generally considered "unearned income" (Moore [2004b, 304]) or "easy-to-collect source of revenues" (Coatsworth and Williamson [2002, 10]). Given the relatively lower costs states have to incur to collect them, indirect taxes have a very low impact on state-building (Moore [2004a, 14]). In fact, when early Latin American states depended heavily on trade taxes, the state apparatus tended to be less developed (Campbell [1993, 177]).

subjects diffuses to other state institutions via spillovers. Musgrave [1992, 99] argues that since taxation (especially of incomes) requires such a high degree of state penetration, public finances offer the key for a theory of state-making. In fact, I find elsewhere that the implementation of the income tax law in Chile increased state-capacities overtime. Here I contend that the income tax was an institution that contributed to develop state institutions. In turn, these institutions fostered long-term economic growth. Importantly, the structure of the process of economic expansion followed a balanced pattern, leveling the economic and political power of both elites in the long-run. This argument goes in line with Kurtz [2013, 86], in that state expansion "must be reasonably understood as nonthreatening to the fundamental material interests of nearly all politically relevant fragments of the upper class."

# 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]

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 provided by the post-colonial order, generating economic growth in a way that benefited the agricultural sector. Empirically, we then should see in both advanced and non-advanced countries that before the implementation of the income tax, the mechanics of growth accumulation went from the industrial sector to the agriculture sector, an economic backwardness equilibrium as stated by the dual sector model. In other words, we should see that the agricultural sector grew at expenses of the industrial sector. However, in advanced countries the emergence of the industrial sector required

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Bahamonde [2017b].

the implementation of the income tax law. In these cases the implementation of the tax reflected the underlying sectoral-economic cleavage causing the backwards political order to be replaced by institutions that fostered state expansion (as argued by fiscal sociologists). Thus we should see that after the income tax is implemented there is a reversal of the flow of inputs, generating growth from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector (balanced growth). In these cases 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. $^{55}$ 

I utilize the MOxLAD data, particularly the agriculture value-added and manufacturing value-added variables.<sup>56</sup> The dataset spans from as early as 1900 to as late as 2009.<sup>57</sup> 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).<sup>58</sup> Following Mahoney [2010, 5] I consider two 'advanced' economy countries (Chile and Argentina), two 'intermediate' 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 should have unbalanced economic growth both before and after the implementation of the tax.

In Table 1 I test for Granger-causality, i.e. the direction in which economic growth was produced both prior and after the implementation of the income tax law.<sup>59</sup> The results strongly suggest that the economic structural transformation (the emergence of a strong industrial sector) in Chile, Colombia and Mexico promoted the implementation of the income tax which in turn reversed the initial inter-sectoral growth equilibrium. Before the income tax law, industrial growth Granger-caused agricultural growth. After the income tax law, the agricultural sector Granger-caused

 $<sup>^{55}</sup>$ Lutkepohl [2006, 42] explains that if some variable X forecasts variable Y (and not vise 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>The 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."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>According to Astorga et al. [2005, 790], this dataset provides extended *comparable* sectoral value-added series in constant purchasing power parity prices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Some 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Specifically, the tests were computed after estimating the reduced form VAR specified in Equation 1.

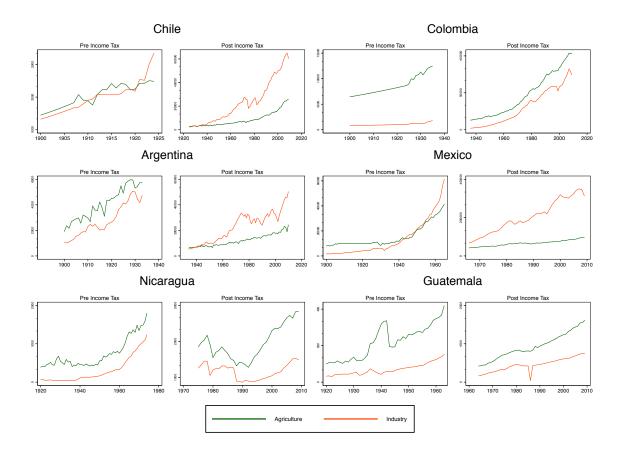


Figure 2: Sectoral Outputs Before and After the Implementation of the Income Tax Law

industrial development (all p-values are significant at the .05 level).<sup>60</sup> 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 the expense 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).<sup>61</sup> In Nicaragua and Guatemala, however, the tests suggest the exact opposite (all p-values are significant at the .05 level).<sup>62</sup> 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 tensions, challenges and compromises 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 is associated with the imposition of the income tax law, 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. Given that the implementation of the tax reflected a number of inter-elite political compromises promoted by higher levels of sectoral threats, I expect this institution to have caused deeper state development, fostering long-run economic growth. However, in non-advanced cases, the tests should show null results.

The study of the sectoral component of economic growth is an endogenous one.<sup>63</sup> 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 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> Following Johansen [1988], Table 2 indicates that all

 $<sup>^{60}</sup>$ Except for the Mexico after the implementation of the income tax (p-value = .06).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>See especially next section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Except for the pre income tax period test of Guatemala, which is significant at the .1 level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>Tiffin and Dawson [2003, 33].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>I 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>I 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Given 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].

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

Table 1: Granger Causality Wald Tests

'developed' and 'semi-developed' countries have cointegrated series, while 'less developed' countries do not have cointegrated series,<sup>67</sup> suggesting that industrialists in 'developed' and 'semi-developed' countries were able to pose enough credible threats to agricultural incumbents to be able to challenge the post-colonial institutional order, 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-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>Since I am interested in the long-run equilibrium, I do not split the sample before and after the implementation of the income tax.

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

autoregressive (VAR) approach specified in Johansen [1988] which is estimated via MLE and does not require the specification of the number of cointegrated vectors as opposed to error correction models.<sup>68</sup> Formally, I will fit the next reduced form VAR equation in differences, one per country, both before and after the income tax law was passed:

$$\Delta M_{t_m} = \alpha_m + \beta_m \Delta M_{t-l} + \beta_m \Delta A_{t-l} + \epsilon_{t_m}$$

$$\Delta A_{t_a} = \alpha_a + \beta_a \Delta M_{t-l} + \beta_a \Delta A_{t-l} + \epsilon_{t_a}$$
(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.<sup>69</sup> .

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>Box-Steffensmeier et al. [2014, 164].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>The 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.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>Lütkepohl and Krätzig [2004, 159].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>The raw VAR regression tables are available upon requests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Stock and Watson [2001, 106]. See also Lütkepohl [2005, 51].



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

of sustained balanced economic growth after having implemented the income tax indicates that this institution was not product of a sectoral conflict nor it altered colonial backwards economic order. 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.<sup>73</sup>

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>That 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]).

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. In each case, the economy was designed to develop the agricultural sector completely at the 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 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. 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 no elite had a clear economic/military/political advantage. Industrial elites accepted to be income taxed in exchange of implementing public goods delivered at the local level. Public infrastructures were key for their further expansion. As others have argued, elites preferred to pay the income tax 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). Balanced economic growth is important for political development. I explain that balanced growth secured egalitarian political conditions between the two elites.

Draft, please don't share wi	ithout permission
Word count	: 10,136

### VI. APPENDIX

Country	Available Data	Year Income Tax	Law	Source	
Chile	1900 - 2009	1924	Ley 3996	Mamalakis [1976, 20] and LeyChile.Cl (official)	
Colombia	1900 - 2009	1935	Ley 78	Figueroa [2008, 9]	
Argentina	1900 - 2010	1933	Ley 11682	Infoleg.Gob.Ar (official)	
Mexico	1900 - 2009	1965	Ley de Impuesto sobre la Renta	Díaz González [2013, 130-133] and Diario Oficial (official)	
Nicaragua	1920 - 2009	1974	Ley 662	Legislacion.Asamblea.Gob.Ni (official)	
Guatemala	1920 - 2009	1963	Decreto 1559	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
	Pre	Agriculture	-1.185 (0.68)	-1.241 (0.66)	$.107^{\dagger}$	I(1)
Chile		Industry	2.310 (0.99)	2.556 (0.99)	$.113^{\dagger}$	I(1)
	Post	Agriculture	4.557 (1.00)	5.40 (1.00)	.289	I(1)
	1 000	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)
	Pre	Agriculture	2.709 (0.99)	2.414 (0.99)	.204	I(1)
Colombia		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)
	Pre	Agriculture	-0.849 (0.80)	-1.201 (0.67)	.0801 <sup>†</sup>	I(1)
Argentina		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)
	1 000	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)
	7111	Industry	1.007 (0.99)	1.237 (0.99)	.183	I(1)
	Pre	Agriculture	4.601 (1.00)	5.552 (1.00)	.288	I(1)
Mexico		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 <sup>†</sup>	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)
	Pre	Agriculture	2.473 (0.99)	2.355 (0.99)	.25	I(1)
Nicaragua	110	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 <sup>†</sup>	I(1)
		Industry	-0.164 (0.94)	-0.090 (0.95)	.123	I(1)
	Pre	Agriculture	-0.393 (0.91)	-0.343 (0.92)	.0639†	I(1)
Guatemala	110	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)
	1 000	Industry	-0.998 (0.75)	-1.352 (0.61)	.0915†	I(1)
	A11	Agriculture	3.349 (1.00)	3.714 (1.00)	.321	I(1)
	All	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	No Jarque-Bera	rmally Tests Skewness	Kurtosis	Stability Condition
Chile	Pre	4	/	✓	/	/	/
	Post	2	1	✓-	✓-	✓-	✓
Colombia	Pre	1	✓-	×	×	×	/
	Post	1	1	✓-	✓-	✓-	✓
Argentina	Pre	2	1	1	1	1	1
	Post	2	1	✓-	✓	✓-	✓
Mexico	Pre	1	/	✓-	✓-	<b>/</b> -	1
	Post	2	1	✓	/	✓	✓
Nicaragua	Pre	2	/	✓-	✓-	<b>/</b> -	1
	Post	1	1	✓-	✓-	✓-	✓
Guatemala	Pre	3	/	×	✓-	<b>/</b> -	1
	Post	1	✓-	<b>/</b> -	✓-	<b>/</b> -	✓

Table A3: Lag Length and Post-Estimation Results

### REFERENCES

- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition. Verso, 2006. ISBN 978-1844670864.
- 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/10.2307/1879592http://qje.oxfordjournals.org/lookup/doi/10.2307/1880581.
- Hector Bahamonde. Sectoral origins of income taxation: Industrial development in latin america and the case of chile (1900-2010). 2017a. URL https://github.com/hbahamonde/IncomeTaxAdoption/raw/master/Bahamonde\_IncomeTaxAdoption.pdf.
- Hector Bahamonde. Income taxation and state capacities in chile: measuring institutional development using historical earthquake data, 2017b. URL https://github.com/hbahamonde/Earthquake\_Paper/raw/master/Bahamonde\_Earthquake\_Paper.pdf.
- 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{&}.
- 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.
- Deborah Boucoyannis. No Taxation of Elites, No Representation: State Capacity and the Origins of Representation. *Politics & Society*, 43(3):303–332, sep 2015. ISSN 0032-3292. doi: 10.1177/0032329215584765. URL http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0032329215584765.
- 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.
- 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{\_}S0022050714000084.
- 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.
- Avinash Dixit. *Models of Dual Economy*. Models of Economic Growth: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the International Economic Assicuation 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.
- 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{\_}\$50022050700039036.
- 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. 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{\_}\$50022216X02006491.

- Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales. Historia de la Tributación 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.
- Noel Johnson and Mark Koyama. States and Economic Growth: Capacity and Constraints. *Explorations in Economic History*, 64(December 2015):1–20, apr 2017. 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. 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.
- 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{%}0Ahttp://about.jstor.org/termshttp://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, Ajay Mehrotra, and Monica Prasad, editors. The New Fiscal Sociology Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective. Cambridge University Press, 2009. ISBN 9780521738392. URL http://www.cambridge.org/gb/knowledge/isbn/item2427351/?site{\_}locale=en{\_}}GB.
- 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.
- Raúl Serrano and Vicente Pinilla. The Declining Role of Latin America in Global Agricultural Trade, 1963-2000. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 48(01):115-146, feb 2016. ISSN 0022-216X. doi: 10.1017/S0022216X15001236. URL http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract{\_}\$S0022216X15001236.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.