Online Appendix:
The Political Business Cycle of Tax Reforms

A Data description

Table 7: Summary of reforms across sample

Country	Total Nº Reforms	CIT	CIT /%	PIT	PIT /%	VAT	VAT %	CIT inc	CIT inc%	CIT dec	CIT dec%	PIT inc	PIT inc%	PIT dec	PIT dec%	VAT inc	VAT inc%	VAT decreasing	VAT dec%
Australia	129	47	36,43	68	52,71	14	10,85	18	38,30	29	61,70	19	36,04	49	72,06	7	50,00	7	50,00
Austria	60	26	43,33	30	50,00	4	6,67	16	61,54	10	38,46	11	22,00	19	63,33	2	50,00	2	50,00
Brazil	32	13	40,63	8	25,00	11	34,38	1	7,69	12	92,31	1	4,00	7	87,50	4	36,36	7	63,64
Canada	139	49	35,25	74	53,24	16	11,51	20	40,82	29	59,18	19	35,69	55	74,32	8	50,00	8	50,00
Czechia	46	17	36,96	19	41,30	10	21,74	6	35,29	11	64,71	5	12,11	14	73,68	7	70,00	3	30,00
Germany	143	55	38,46	72	50,35	16	11,19	22	40,00	33	60,00	23	45,68	49	68,06	14	87,50	2	12,50
Denmark	103	41	39,81	54	52,43	8	7,77	17	41,46	24	58,54	19	36,24	35	64,81	7	87,50	1	12,50
Spain	126	32	25,40	81	64,29	13	10,32	7	21,88	25	78,13	28	43,56	53	65,43	6	46,15	7	53,85
France	132	64	48,48	47	35,61	21	15,91	17	26,56	47	73,44	12	33,70	35	74,47	5	23,81	16	76,19
Great Britain	152	65	42,76	70	46,05	17	11,18	18	27,69	47	72,31	8	17,37	62	88,57	10	58,82	7	41,18
Greece	89	32	35,96	45	50,56	12	13,48	17	53,13	15	46,88	20	39,56	25	55,56	9	75,00	3	25,00
India	104	51	49,04	36	34,62	17	16,35	14	27,45	37	72,55	13	37,56	23	63,89	9	52,94	8	47,06
Ireland	104	28	26,92	64	61,54	12	11,54	9	32,14	19	67,86	22	35,75	42	65,63	6	50,00	6	50,00
Italy	159	66	41,51	73	45,91	20	12,58	21	31,82	45	68,18	29	63,16	44	60,27	18	90,00	2	10,00
Japan	74	31	41,89	36	48,65	7	9,46	8	25,81	23	74,19	12	24,67	24	66,67	5	71,43	2	28,57
Korea	60	27	45,00	24	40,00	9	15,00	8	29,63	19	70,37	7	17,50	17	70,83	3	33,33	6	66,67
Luxembourg	54	21	38,89	29	53,70	4	7,41	3	14,29	18	85,71	7	13,03	22	75,86	3	75,00	1	25,00
Mexico	70	28	40,00	35	50,00	7	10,00	9	32,14	19	67,86	14	28,00	21	60,00	2	28,57	5	71,43
Poland	72	25	34,72	23	31,94	24	33,33	7	28,00	18	72,00	11	34,43	12	52,17	18	75,00	6	25,00
Portugal	88	32	36,36	43	48,86	13	14,77	13	40,63	19	59,38	22	45,02	21	48,84	9	69,23	4	30,77
Turkey	58	15	25,86	23	39,66	20	34,48	8	53,33	7	46,67	11	27,74	12	52,17	14	70,00	6	30,00
USA	119	50	42,02	69	57,98	0	0	19	38	31	62	16	27,59	53	76,81	0		0	
Total Reforms	2187	860		1028		299		286		574		330		698		173		126	

B Electoral cycle

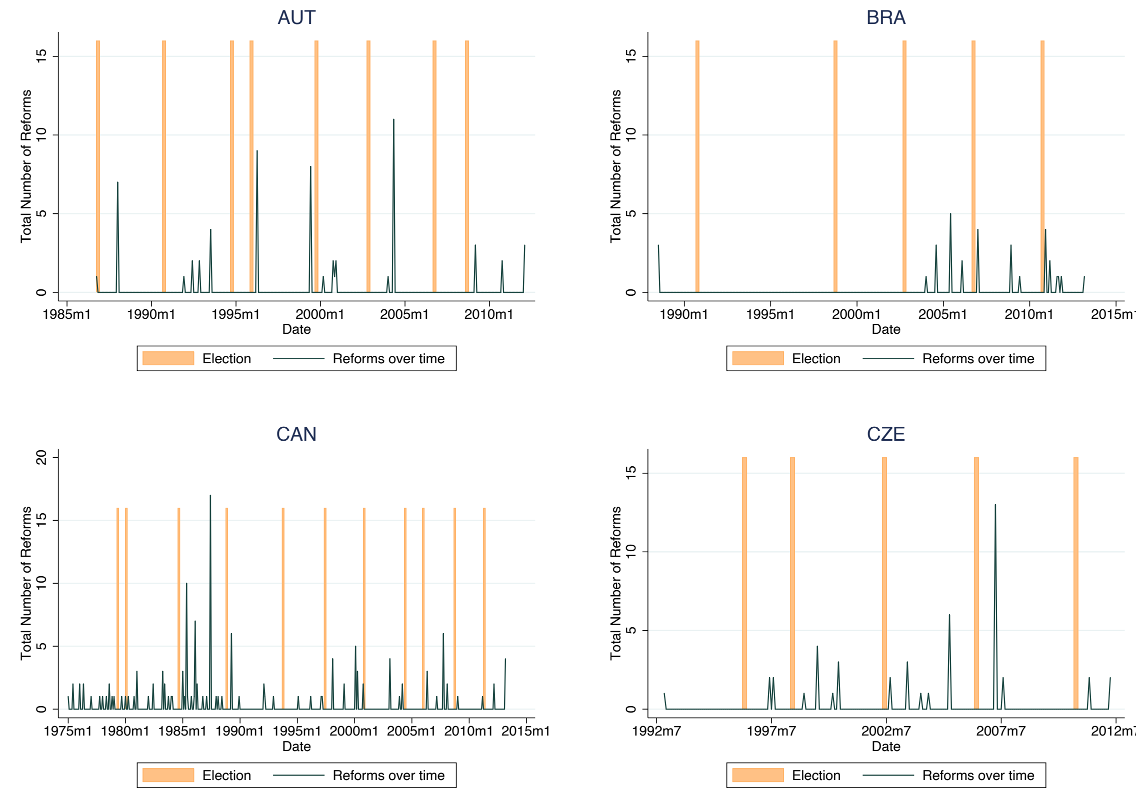

Figure 8: Total number of reforms and the electoral cycle for selected countries. A

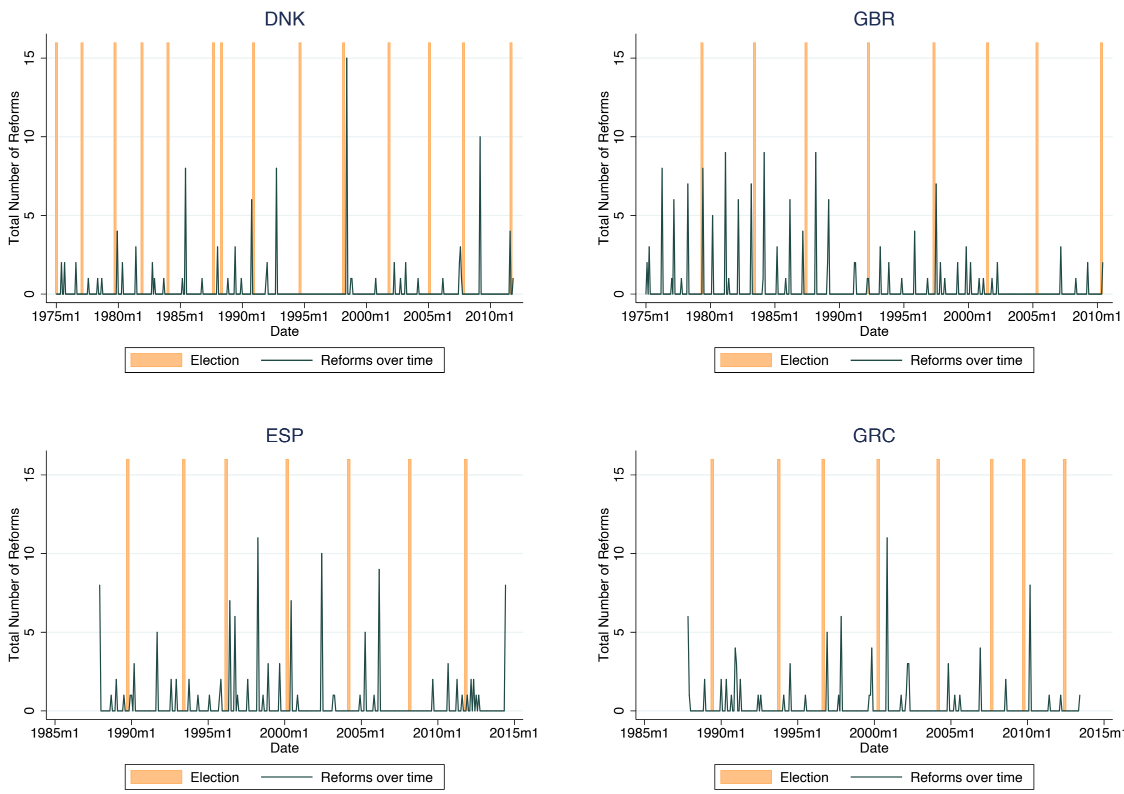

Figure 9: Total number of reforms and the electoral cycle for selected countries. B

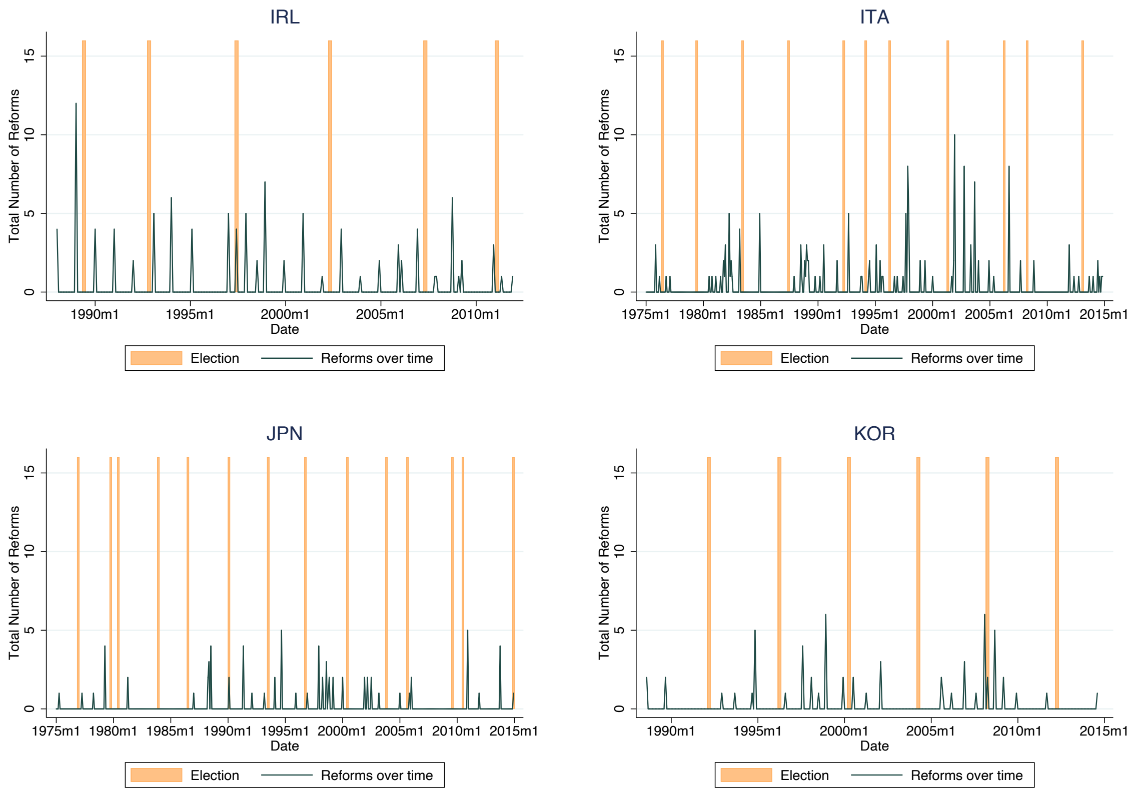

Figure 10: Total number of reforms and the electoral cycle for selected countries. C

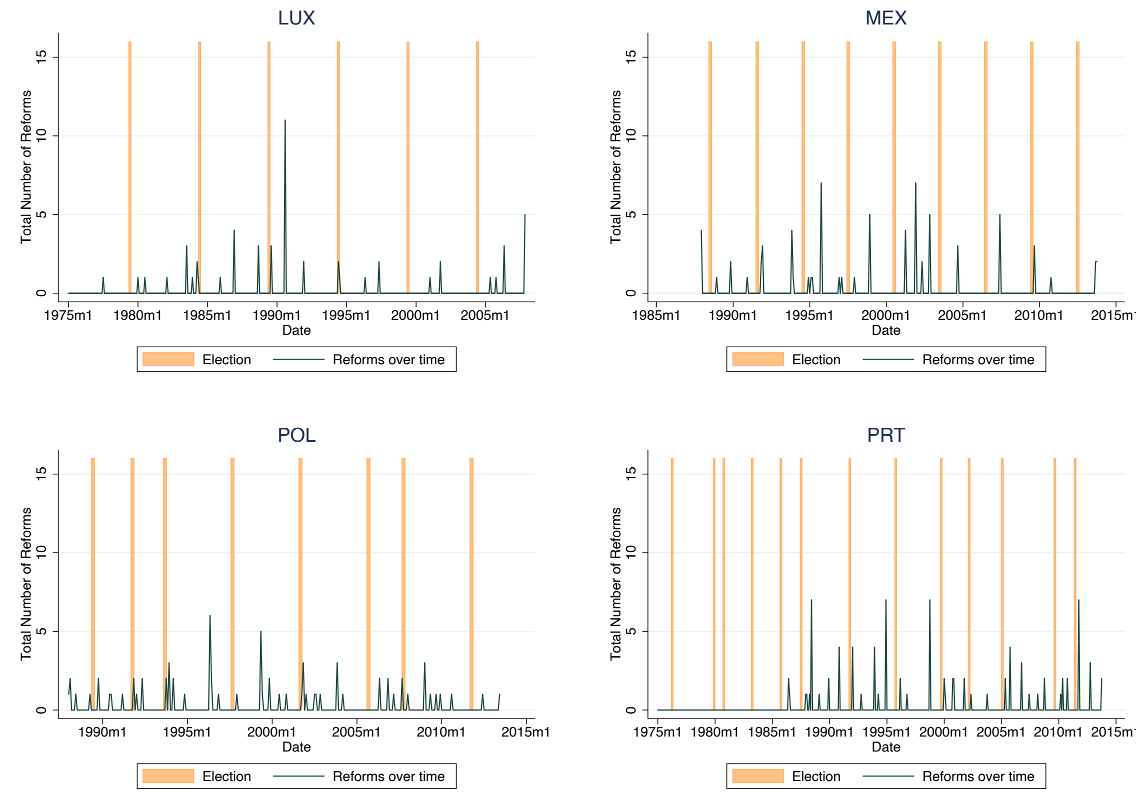

Figure 11: Total number of reforms and the electoral cycle for selected countries. D

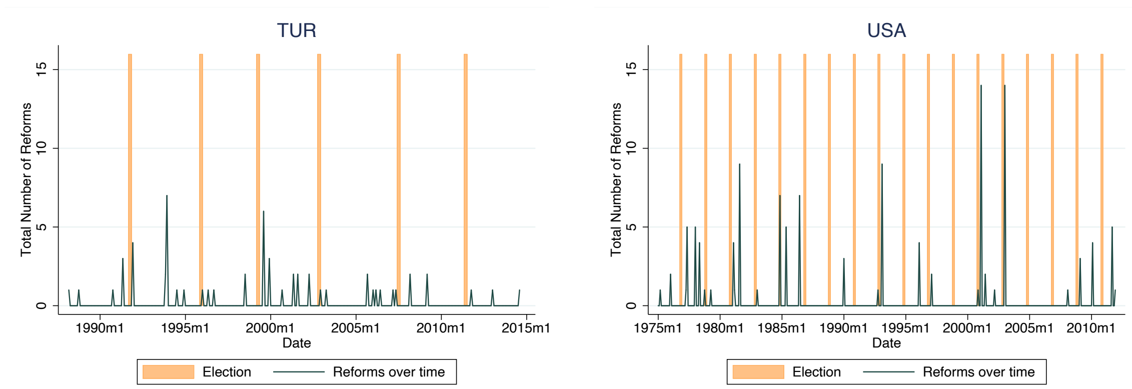

Figure 12: Total number of reforms and the electoral cycle for selected countries. E

C Complete regression output

Table 8: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.354***	-0.386***	-0.445***	-0.450***
	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.131)	(0.132)
after_elec6	0.283**	0.233**	0.231*	0.228*
	(0.118)	(0.116)	(0.121)	(0.121)
rightex		-0.0730	-0.0403	-0.0286
		(0.0950)	(0.0960)	(0.0952)
allhouse		-0.189	-0.271*	-0.250
		(0.150)	(0.159)	(0.158)
herfgov		-0.126	-0.119	-0.0550
		(0.275)	(0.278)	(0.279)
maj		0.830	0.803	0.843
		(0.547)	(0.565)	(0.560)
partychange		-0.00759	0.115	0.121
		(0.362)	(0.371)	(0.375)
laginflation_gdp			-0.00275	-0.00307
			(0.00201)	(0.00231)
laggdp_gr			0.00873	0.0202
			(0.0150)	(0.0153)
lagtaxrev_gdp			0.0172	0.0119
			(0.0161)	(0.0159)
lagdebt_gdp			0.000803	0.000162
			(0.00231)	(0.00240)
lagbankcrisis				0.275**
				(0.110)
Observations	7,407	6,984	6,691	6,691
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 9: Likelihood of tax reform 12 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec12	-0.307***	-0.331***	-0.354***	-0.357***
	(0.0900)	(0.0932)	(0.0977)	(0.0980)
after_elec12	0.160*	0.119	0.123	0.121
	(0.0887)	(0.0891)	(0.0932)	(0.0938)
rightex		-0.0744	-0.0421	-0.0305
		(0.0949)	(0.0959)	(0.0952)
allhouse		-0.193	-0.272*	-0.251
		(0.150)	(0.158)	(0.157)
herfgov		-0.137	-0.132	-0.0674
		(0.276)	(0.279)	(0.280)
maj		0.880	0.846	0.887
		(0.550)	(0.569)	(0.564)
partychange		0.0561	0.159	0.163
		(0.369)	(0.377)	(0.383)
laginflation_gdp			-0.00274	-0.00305
			(0.00196)	(0.00224)
laggdp_gr			0.00778	0.0192
			(0.0151)	(0.0154)
lagtaxrev_gdp			0.0170	0.0117
			(0.0161)	(0.0159)
lagdebt_gdp			0.000765	0.000116
			(0.00232)	(0.00241)
lagbankcrisis				0.274**
				(0.109)
Observations	7,407	6,984	6,691	6,691
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 10: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 & 12 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-0.991***	-0.278**		
	(0.233)	(0.133)		
after_elec6	0.412***	0.181		
	(0.142)	(0.140)		
rightex	0.0245	-0.0782	0.0168	-0.0800
	(0.127)	(0.111)	(0.129)	(0.111)
allhouse	-0.424**	-0.192	-0.413**	-0.199
	(0.204)	(0.174)	(0.202)	(0.173)
herfgov	-0.442	0.0401	-0.474	0.0283
	(0.399)	(0.292)	(0.395)	(0.294)
maj	1.537**	0.610	1.653**	0.622
	(0.771)	(0.631)	(0.785)	(0.632)
partychange	-0.342	0.425	-0.315	0.534
	(0.539)	(0.406)	(0.543)	(0.416)
laginflation_gdp	-0.00109	-0.00747	-0.00111	-0.00724
	(0.000687)	(0.00571)	(0.000681)	(0.00547)
laggdp_gr	0.0414*	0.0213	0.0391*	0.0213
	(0.0219)	(0.0180)	(0.0222)	(0.0180)
lagtaxrev_gdp	-0.0118	0.0286*	-0.0128	0.0287*
	(0.0210)	(0.0167)	(0.0210)	(0.0168)
lagdebt_gdp	0.00211	0.000518	0.00194	0.000554
	(0.00333)	(0.00236)	(0.00331)	(0.00236)
lagbankcrisis	0.184	0.304**	0.180	0.305**
	(0.146)	(0.120)	(0.144)	(0.119)
lead_elec12			-0.821***	-0.245**
			(0.152)	(0.108)
after_elec12			0.265**	-0.000958
			(0.112)	(0.113)
Observations	5,253	5,984	5,253	5,984
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* and direction

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.698***	-1.101***	-0.000594	-0.800***	-0.0338	-1.543***
	(0.197)	(0.323)	(0.159)	(0.277)	(0.347)	(0.492)
after_elec6	0.158	0.343*	0.216	0.383**	0.242	0.761***
	(0.169)	(0.193)	(0.166)	(0.176)	(0.288)	(0.243)
rightex	-0.114	0.0426	-0.0210	-0.0535	-0.0431	0.187
	(0.149)	(0.168)	(0.143)	(0.163)	(0.298)	(0.220)
allhouse	-0.125	-0.226	-0.241	-0.589*	-0.463	-0.480
	(0.224)	(0.263)	(0.207)	(0.304)	(0.370)	(0.326)
herfgov	0.176	-0.415	-0.372	-0.535	0.105	0.163
	(0.365)	(0.517)	(0.409)	(0.486)	(0.785)	(0.656)
maj	-0.740	1.463	0.116	2.483***	1.798	1.591
	(0.857)	(1.128)	(0.836)	(0.902)	(1.479)	(1.256)
partychange	-0.221	0.159	0.855**	-1.150	-12.19***	-0.159
	(0.706)	(0.755)	(0.422)	(0.979)	(0.403)	(0.809)
laginflation_gdp	-0.0148*	-0.000955	-0.00183	-0.000509	-0.0169	-0.00103
	(0.00826)	(0.00130)	(0.00118)	(0.000834)	(0.0109)	(0.000723)
laggdp_gr	0.00961	0.0780**	0.0316	0.0128	0.0485	0.0421
	(0.0233)	(0.0318)	(0.0251)	(0.0307)	(0.0506)	(0.0413)
lagtaxrev_gdp	0.0335*	0.0261	0.0317	0.0296	-0.0111	-0.0274
	(0.0201)	(0.0287)	(0.0195)	(0.0236)	(0.0494)	(0.0343)
lagdebt_gdp	0.00364	-0.00199	-0.000437	0.00658*	0.000901	-0.00576
	(0.00254)	(0.00402)	(0.00316)	(0.00380)	(0.00622)	(0.00664)
lagbankcrisis	0.0953	0.331*	0.255*	0.0286	0.331	0.370
	(0.169)	(0.197)	(0.140)	(0.196)	(0.272)	(0.250)
Observations	4,810	3,529	4,676	3,522	1,833	2,489
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D Robustness Checks

D.1 Cycle lengths

Table 12: Baseline model with different lengths before and after elections

VARIABLES	(1) 1-3 m	(2) 4-6 m	(3) 7-9 m	(4) 10-12 m	(5) 13-15 mo	(6) 16-18 m
before_elec3	-0.639***					
	(0.202)					
after_elec3	0.216					
	(0.161)					
before_elec6		-0.276*				
		(0.150)				
after_elec6		0.244				
		(0.151)				
before_elec9			-0.351**			
			(0.168)			
after_elec9			0.170			
			(0.137)			
before_elec12				-0.121		
				(0.163)		
after_elec12				0.0665		
				(0.156)		
before_elec15					-0.0905	
					(0.164)	
after_elec15					0.115	
					(0.155)	
before_elec18						0.0422
						(0.156)
after_elec18						-0.0928
						(0.170)
Observations	6,691	6,691	6,691	6,691	6,691	6,691
Country-time FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13: Baseline model without Australia and Mexico - 6 months

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.416***	-0.452***	-0.529***	-0.534***
	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.145)	(0.145)
after_elec6	0.345***	0.290**	0.297**	0.300**
	(0.123)	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.126)
Observations	6,701	6,304	6,004	6,004
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 14: Baseline model without Australia and Mexico - 12 months

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.416***	-0.452***	-0.529***	-0.534***
	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.145)	(0.145)
after_elec6	0.345***	0.290**	0.297**	0.300**
	(0.123)	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.126)
Observations	6,701	6,304	6,004	6,004
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 15: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 12 months before and after an election - without Australia and Mexico

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-1.117***	-0.307**		
	(0.271)	(0.145)		
after_elec6	0.460***	0.300**		
	(0.144)	(0.146)		
before_elec12			-0.893***	-0.292**
			(0.166)	(0.114)
after_elec12			0.219*	0.0438
			(0.118)	(0.118)
Observations	4,752	5,363	4,752	5,363
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 16: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* and direction - without Australia and Mexico

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.712***	-1.187***	0.0185	-0.870***	-0.152	-1.992***
	(0.207)	(0.352)	(0.175)	(0.322)	(0.387)	(0.619)
after_elec6	0.277	0.399**	0.372**	0.438**	0.194	0.747***
	(0.173)	(0.196)	(0.164)	(0.184)	(0.333)	(0.250)
Observations	4,344	3,197	4,257	3,153	1,628	2,282
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.2 "Snap" elections

Table 17: Likelihood of tax reform 6 & 12 months before and after an election controlling for snap elections

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)
before_elec6	-0.591***	
	(0.154)	
after_elec6	0.207*	
	(0.124)	
before_elec12		-0.393***
		(0.105)
after_elec12		0.0960
		(0.0981)
Observations	5,949	5,949
Country-month FE	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 18: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 & 12 months before and after an election controlling for snap elections

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-1.295***	-0.433***		
	(0.307)	(0.163)		
after_elec6	0.353**	0.200		
	(0.145)	(0.142)		
before_elec12			-0.901***	-0.309***
			(0.169)	(0.116)
after_elec12			0.232**	-0.0164
			(0.117)	(0.117)
Observations	4,648	5,413	4,648	5,413
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 19: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type and direction of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* controlling for snap elections

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.727***	-1.157***	-0.203	-0.890***	-0.137	-2.848***
	(0.250)	(0.403)	(0.198)	(0.333)	(0.400)	(1.024)
after_elec6	0.187	0.380*	0.226	0.314*	0.195	0.659**
	(0.174)	(0.200)	(0.170)	(0.189)	(0.310)	(0.258)
Observations	4,381	3,105	4,106	3,091	1,598	2,062
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.3 Legislative elections

Table 20: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election - legislative elections

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before6	-0.352***	-0.382***	-0.438***	-0.442***
	(0.127)	(0.128)	(0.133)	(0.133)
after6	0.267**	0.224*	0.212*	0.212*
	(0.122)	(0.119)	(0.123)	(0.124)
Observations	7,407	6,984	6,691	6,691
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 21: Likelihood of tax reform 12 months before and after an election - legislative elections

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before12	-0.305***	-0.325***	-0.356***	-0.355***
	(0.0887)	(0.0918)	(0.0958)	(0.0962)
after12	0.152*	0.117	0.109	0.112
	(0.0906)	(0.0909)	(0.0942)	(0.0948)
Observations	7,407	6,984	6,691	6,691
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 22: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 & 12 months before and after an election - legislative elections

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
VARIABLES	Tax Increase 6	Tax Decrease 6	Tax Increase 12	Tax Decrease 12
before6	-1.014***	-0.270**		
	(0.239)	(0.135)		
after6	0.398***	0.161		
	(0.145)	(0.143)		
before12			-0.813***	-0.259**
			(0.154)	(0.108)
after12			0.249**	-0.0125
			(0.114)	(0.113)
Observations	5,253	5,984	5,253	5,984
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 23: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* and direction - legislative elections

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before6	-0.747***	-1.286***	0.0305	-0.750***	0.0812	-1.449***
	(0.205)	(0.353)	(0.161)	(0.276)	(0.354)	(0.489)
after6	0.0923	0.296	0.205	0.364**	0.292	0.781***
	(0.174)	(0.198)	(0.168)	(0.176)	(0.289)	(0.244)
Observations	4,810	3,529	4,676	3,522	1,833	2,489
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.4 Executive elections

Table 24: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election - executive elections

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.283**	-0.312**	-0.390***	-0.394***
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.136)	(0.136)
after_elec6	0.257*	0.202	0.192	0.194
	(0.132)	(0.130)	(0.137)	(0.137)
Observations	7,019	6,621	6,328	6,328
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 25: Likelihood of tax reform 12 months before and after an election - executive elections

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec12	-0.259***	-0.280***	-0.321***	-0.324***
	(0.0912)	(0.0955)	(0.101)	(0.101)
after_elec12	0.170*	0.133	0.129	0.129
	(0.0966)	(0.0978)	(0.101)	(0.102)
Observations	7,019	6,621	6,328	6,328
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 26: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 12 months before and after an election - executive elections

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-0.931***	-0.223		
	(0.239)	(0.141)		
after_elec6	0.301*	0.247		
	(0.155)	(0.157)		
before_elec12			-0.752***	-0.245**
			(0.162)	(0.114)
after_elec12			0.268**	0.0412
			(0.117)	(0.124)
Observations	4,964	5,731	4,964	5,731
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 27: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* and direction - executive elections

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.678***	-1.113***	0.0280	-0.809***	-0.174	-1.380***
	(0.215)	(0.361)	(0.165)	(0.296)	(0.385)	(0.493)
after_elec6	0.324*	0.446**	0.265	0.247	-0.0851	0.457*
	(0.175)	(0.202)	(0.187)	(0.203)	(0.379)	(0.274)
Observations	4,593	3,313	4,460	3,269	1,724	2,309
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.5 Total number of reforms

Table 28: Negative binomial on total number of tax reform 6 and 12 months before and after an election

	(1)	(2)
VARIABLES		
before_elec6	-0.411***	
	(0.119)	
after_elec6	0.246***	
	(0.0943)	
before_elec12		-0.363***
		(0.0910)
after_elec12		0.0758
		(0.0821)
Constant	-3.343***	-3.263***
	(0.372)	(0.375)
Observations	7,710	7,710
Number of ISO	22	22
Country-month FE	YES	YES
Political	YES	YES
Economic	YES	YES
Crisis	YES	YES

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.6 Major reforms

Table 29: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election - major reforms only

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.419***	-0.447***	-0.497***	-0.501***
	(0.129)	(0.131)	(0.138)	(0.139)
after_elec6	0.267**	0.207*	0.198	0.197
	(0.125)	(0.124)	(0.129)	(0.130)
Observations	7,133	6,752	6,460	6,460
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 30: Likelihood of tax reform 12 months before and after an election - major reforms only

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec12	-0.307***	-0.326***	-0.347***	-0.349***
	(0.0941)	(0.0983)	(0.103)	(0.103)
after_elec12	0.194**	0.144	0.149	0.148
	(0.0914)	(0.0916)	(0.0958)	(0.0962)
Observations	7,133	6,752	6,460	6,460
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 31: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 12 months before and after an election - major reforms only

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-1.030***	-0.331**		
	(0.230)	(0.143)		
after_elec6	0.373**	0.166		
	(0.148)	(0.148)		
before_elec12			-0.843***	-0.238**
			(0.154)	(0.110)
after_elec12			0.289**	0.0154
			(0.115)	(0.117)
Observations	5,083	5,788	5,083	5,788
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 32: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 12 months before and after an election - major reforms only

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.721***	-1.196***	-0.0943	-0.812***	0.0681	-1.596***
	(0.213)	(0.355)	(0.176)	(0.293)	(0.338)	(0.538)
after_elec6	0.0833	0.237	0.293*	0.349*	0.117	0.789***
	(0.181)	(0.217)	(0.174)	(0.179)	(0.306)	(0.248)
Observations	4,546	3,190	4,355	3,456	1,755	2,300
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.7 IMF reforms in Ireland, Greece and Portugal

Table 33: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election controlling for IMF policy

VARIABLES	(1) 6 months	(2) 12 months
before_elec6	-0.434***	
	(0.140)	
after_elec6	0.245*	
	(0.130)	
imf	0.377	0.378
	(0.515)	(0.514)
before_elec12		-0.372***
		(0.106)
after_elec12		0.140
		(0.101)
Observations	6,142	6,142
Country-time FE	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes
Year FE	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 34: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 12 months before and after an election controlling for IMF policy

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-0.951***	-0.255*		
	(0.242)	(0.143)		
after_elec6	0.405***	0.213		
	(0.152)	(0.151)		
imf	0.688	-0.870	0.676	-0.848
	(0.599)	(0.661)	(0.610)	(0.660)
before_elec12			-0.858***	-0.245**
			(0.165)	(0.114)
after_elec12			0.262**	0.0212
			(0.121)	(0.122)
Observations	4,935	5,499	4,935	5,499
Country-time FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes
Year FE	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 35: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 12 months before and after an election controlling for IMF policy

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.672***	-1.067***	0.00421	-0.760***	0.362	-1.528***
	(0.215)	(0.326)	(0.170)	(0.282)	(0.352)	(0.507)
after_elec6	0.221	0.333	0.237	0.316*	0.295	0.780***
	(0.184)	(0.211)	(0.173)	(0.188)	(0.326)	(0.250)
imf	-0.433	1.303*	-1.274	0.657	-15.17***	0.532
	(0.729)	(0.712)	(1.113)	(0.680)	(0.944)	(0.826)
Observations	4,418	3,400	4,293	3,327	1,667	2,301
Country-time FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Year FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

D.8 Coalition Governments

Table 36: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election controlling for coalition governments

VARIABLES	(1) 6 months	(2) 12 months
before_elec6	-0.449***	
	(0.132)	
after_elec6	0.228*	
	(0.121)	
coalition	0.0137	-0.0149
	(0.181)	(0.179)
before_elec12		-0.358***
		(0.0983)
after_elec12		0.121
		(0.0938)
Observations	6,691	6,691
Country-time FE	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes

)

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 37: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 12 months before and after an election controlling for coalition governments

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
VARIABLES	Tax Increase 6	Tax Decrease 6	Tax Increase 12	Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-0.987***	-0.280**		
	(0.234)	(0.134)		
after_elec6	0.413***	0.181		
	(0.142)	(0.140)		
coalition	0.139	-0.106	0.0593	-0.125
	(0.189)	(0.231)	(0.191)	(0.231)
before_elec12			-0.818***	-0.250**
			(0.154)	(0.108)
after_elec12			0.266**	-0.00140
			(0.112)	(0.113)
Observations	5,253	5,984	5,253	5,984
Country-time FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 38: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 12 months before and after an election controlling for coalition governments

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	CIT-	CIT+	PIT-	PIT+	VAT-	VAT+
before_elec6	-0.700***	-1.103***	0.00152	-0.806***	-0.0340	-1.537***
	(0.196)	(0.324)	(0.160)	(0.278)	(0.347)	(0.494)
after_elec6	0.158	0.342*	0.217	0.383**	0.241	0.767***
	(0.169)	(0.193)	(0.166)	(0.176)	(0.287)	(0.243)
coalition	-0.107	-0.0626	0.0683	-0.129	-0.0615	0.396
	(0.279)	(0.281)	(0.305)	(0.256)	(0.423)	(0.371)
Observations	4,810	3,529	4,676	3,522	1,833	2,489
Country-time FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

D.9 Expenditure

Just like tax reforms, expenditure reforms are likely to be driven by the electoral cycle. Hence controlling for expenditure may introduce endogeneity bias due to simultaneity when regressing tax reforms on the electoral cycle. Nonetheless, the regressions in this subsection show robustness of our results when including the variable *expense_gdp*, which measures expenditure as a percentage of GDP (data from the World Bank).

Table 39: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec6	-0.354***	-0.386***	-0.381***	-0.384***
	(0.123)	(0.123)	(0.136)	(0.136)
after_elec6	0.283**	0.233**	0.233*	0.232*
	(0.118)	(0.116)	(0.132)	(0.132)
expense_gdp			0.0169	0.0157
			(0.0138)	(0.0137)
Observations	7,407	6,984	5,935	5,935
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 40: Likelihood of tax reform 12 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
before_elec12	-0.307***	-0.331***	-0.293***	-0.295***
	(0.0900)	(0.0932)	(0.102)	(0.102)
after_elec12	0.160*	0.119	0.172*	0.170*
	(0.0887)	(0.0891)	(0.0985)	(0.0989)
expense_gdp			0.0166	0.0154
			(0.0138)	(0.0137)
Observations	7,407	6,984	5,935	5,935
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	no	yes	yes	yes
Economic	no	no	yes	yes
Crises	no	no	no	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 41: Likelihood of increasing and decreasing tax reform 6 & 12 months before and after an election

VARIABLES	(1) Tax Increase 6	(2) Tax Decrease 6	(3) Tax Increase 12	(4) Tax Decrease 12
before_elec6	-0.922***	-0.201		
	(0.235)	(0.138)		
after_elec6	0.366**	0.196		
	(0.157)	(0.152)		
expense_gdp	0.0481***	-0.0162	0.0490***	-0.0159
	(0.0153)	(0.0172)	(0.0150)	(0.0173)
lead_elec12			-0.731***	-0.183
			(0.153)	(0.114)
lag_elec12			0.261**	0.0579
			(0.117)	(0.120)
Observations	4,691	5,250	4,691	5,250
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 42: Likelihood of tax reform 6 months before and after an election by type of election *CIT, PIT & VAT* and direction

VARIABLES	(1) CIT-	(2) CIT+	(3) PIT-	(4) PIT+	(5) VAT-	(6) VAT+
before_elec6	-0.629***	-1.017***	0.0470	-0.736***	0.157	-1.454***
	(0.206)	(0.326)	(0.166)	(0.275)	(0.355)	(0.507)
after_elec6	0.233	0.317	0.198	0.240	0.239	0.828***
	(0.178)	(0.200)	(0.183)	(0.198)	(0.338)	(0.262)
expense_gdp	-0.00101	0.0571***	-0.00947	0.0745***	-0.0689	0.0168
	(0.0210)	(0.0204)	(0.0199)	(0.0211)	(0.0435)	(0.0257)
Observations	4,211	3,229	4,096	3,091	1,501	2,136
Country-month FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Political	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Economic	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Crises	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1