

Supplementary Online Appendix for “Personnel Politics:
Elections, Clientelistic Competition, and Teacher Hiring in
Indonesia”

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Contents

1	The Phasing-in of Local Direct Elections	2
2	Summary Statistics	3
3	Balance Statistics	4
4	Full Tables for Main Models	5
5	All Districts	7
6	Negative Binomial Count Models	9
7	Number of Schools	11
8	Teacher Certification	13
9	Job Changes	17
10	Heterogeneous Effects	18
11	Student Test Scores	23
12	Main Model without the services provision index	28
13	Civil Service Promotions	29
14	Controlling for District-Level Expenditures	31

1 The Phasing-in of Local Direct Elections

Table 1: Exogenous Phasing-In of Direct Elections

Year	% First Round of Direct Elections	Total Number of Districts
2005	38.25	434
2006	16.59	434
2007	11.76	459
2008	23.69	477
2009	8.96	491
2010	35.85	491

2 Summary Statistics

Table 2: Summary statistics

	count	mean	sd	min	max
Civil Service Teachers Teachers	1028.00	4049.13	3055.16	5.00	24908.00
Non-Civil Service Teachers Teachers	1028.00	2851.96	2491.73	2.00	17793.00
School-hired Teachers	1028.00	1820.57	2235.66	2.00	17635.00
Contract Teachers, Other	1028.00	1031.23	1720.99	0.00	10463.00
Pre-Election Year	1031.00	0.13	0.34	0.00	1.00
Election Year	1044.00	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Post-Election	1018.00	0.20	0.40	0.00	1.00
Elected District Head	1018.00	0.66	0.47	0.00	1.00
Incumbent	1044.00	0.14	0.34	0.00	1.00
Golkar Share	1029.00	0.22	0.11	0.00	0.62
PDI-P Share	1029.00	0.16	0.11	0.00	0.66
Services Provision	1021.00	0.83	3.34	-12.27	8.04
Natural Resource Rev pc	883.00	284541.12	932392.79	11.85	9694205.00
Inequality	998.00	27.45	4.62	16.20	60.20
Total Revenue pc	866.00	1774801.00	1342855.76	197358.12	12055029.00
Log Population	1018.00	12.84	0.91	10.28	15.22
Poverty Share	1012.00	0.17	0.11	0.01	1.68
Log GDP pc	1018.00	1.72	0.69	-0.01	5.37

3 Balance Statistics

Table 3: Balance Statistics for Elections 2005

Variable	Mean Treatment	Mean Control	T-test p-value	KS Bootstrap p-value
Golkar Share	0.24	0.25	0.72	0.65
PDI-P Share	0.18	0.19	0.56	0.078
Services Provision	0.11	-0.06	0.05	0.05
Natural Resource Revenue pc	110411	226971	0.14	0.002
Inequality	25.5	25.6	0.87	0.66
Total Revenue pc	1612342	1920283	0.07	0.21
log Population	13	12.81	0.14	0.09
Poverty Share	0.18	0.17	0.44	0.24
log GDP pc	1.58	1.61	0.71	0.37
ELF	0.39	0.44	0.26	0.28

4 Full Tables for Main Models

Table 4: Teacher Hiring, Non-Splitting Districts, FE-OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	log(Civil Service Teachers)	log(Contract Teachers)	Civil Service Share	log(School)	log(Other)
Pre-Election Year	0.0480 (0.116)	0.252* (0.122)	-0.0452+ (0.0274)	0.192 (0.128)	0.190 (0.232)
Election Year	0.0419 (0.157)	0.397* (0.168)	-0.0777* (0.0388)	0.363* (0.169)	0.161 (0.334)
Post-Election	0.0296 (0.104)	-0.209+ (0.120)	0.0551* (0.0273)	-0.136 (0.122)	-0.352 (0.225)
Direct Elections	0.00747 (0.289)	0.648* (0.320)	-0.146+ (0.0769)	0.387 (0.325)	0.802 (0.629)
Incumbent	0.00266 (0.0480)	-0.0657 (0.0538)	0.0124 (0.0164)	-0.148* (0.0705)	0.0775 (0.110)
Golkar Share	0.214 (0.495)	0.664 (0.531)	-0.0977 (0.0680)	0.706 (0.519)	0.603 (0.587)
PDI-P Share	-0.290 (0.318)	-0.211 (0.374)	-0.0239 (0.121)	-0.849+ (0.474)	0.175 (0.665)
Services Provision	-0.0562* (0.0258)	0.0660* (0.0260)	-0.0275** (0.00834)	0.0457 (0.0289)	0.113+ (0.0623)
Natural Resource Rev pc	4.35e-08 (6.43e-08)	-0.000000258* (0.000000119)	7.17e-08* (3.26e-08)	4.41e-08 (9.55e-08)	-0.000000617 (0.000000374)
Inequality	0.00288 (0.00468)	0.00609 (0.00608)	-0.000801 (0.00185)	0.00382 (0.00545)	0.0218* (0.0107)
Total Revenue pc	0.000000121+ (6.92e-08)	-0.000000140** (4.72e-08)	5.21e-08** (1.91e-08)	-0.000000409*** (7.79e-08)	0.000000192+ (0.000000116)
Log Population	-0.343 (1.063)	5.097*** (1.261)	-1.247*** (0.370)	-0.668 (1.419)	6.288* (2.996)
Poverty Share	-0.865+ (0.517)	-0.0356 (0.625)	-0.166 (0.164)	3.795*** (0.857)	-6.082*** (1.333)
Log GDP pc	0.176 (0.272)	-0.0357 (0.368)	0.0429 (0.0913)	-0.218 (0.350)	-1.233 (0.802)
Constant	12.00 (13.95)	-58.07*** (16.59)	16.57*** (4.818)	14.66 (18.49)	-71.47+ (38.94)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	813	813	813	813	811

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

5 All Districts

Table 5: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS, All Districts

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	log(Civil Service Teachers)	log(Contract Teachers)	Civil Service Share	log(School)	log(Other)
Pre-Election Year	0.0591 (0.113)	0.174 (0.120)	-0.0277 (0.0272)	0.102 (0.131)	0.149 (0.223)
Election Year	0.0432 (0.152)	0.305 ⁺ (0.161)	-0.0590 (0.0374)	0.265 (0.172)	0.0970 (0.307)
Post-Election	0.0127 (0.104)	-0.206 ⁺ (0.114)	0.0507 ⁺ (0.0266)	-0.104 (0.122)	-0.335 (0.206)
Direct Elections	0.0312 (0.285)	0.496 (0.307)	-0.111 (0.0746)	0.210 (0.327)	0.659 (0.579)
Incumbent	0.0180 (0.0421)	-0.0661 (0.0486)	0.0155 (0.0147)	-0.152* (0.0669)	0.0843 (0.0987)
Golkar Share	0.112 (0.430)	0.841 ⁺ (0.471)	-0.156* (0.0640)	0.754 ⁺ (0.453)	0.994 ⁺ (0.556)
PDI-P Share	0.172 (0.315)	0.0830 (0.299)	0.0165 (0.103)	-0.596 (0.372)	0.467 (0.580)
Services Provision	-0.0426 ⁺ (0.0235)	0.0499* (0.0231)	-0.0207** (0.00735)	0.0398 (0.0269)	0.0721 (0.0547)
Natural Resource Rev pc	3.28e-09 (6.37e-08)	-0.000000208** (7.68e-08)	4.77e-08* (2.36e-08)	-0.000000105 ⁺ (5.63e-08)	-0.000000311 (0.000000202)
Inequality	0.00397 (0.00438)	0.00408 (0.00543)	-0.000101 (0.00165)	0.000362 (0.00537)	0.0221* (0.0101)
Total Revenue pc	3.00e-08* (1.41e-08)	-1.21e-08 (1.16e-08)	9.01e-09 ⁺ (4.80e-09)	-6.18e-08 ⁺ (3.16e-08)	1.70e-08 (1.96e-08)
Log Population	0.679 (1.123)	4.769*** (1.108)	-0.974** (0.336)	-1.131 (1.224)	6.893** (2.554)
Poverty Share	-1.225* (0.477)	-0.475 (0.631)	-0.147 (0.152)	3.336*** (0.760)	-6.287*** (1.292)
Log GDP pc	0.193 (0.243)	-0.165 (0.338)	0.0741 (0.0846)	-0.299 (0.310)	-1.265 ⁺ (0.739)
Constant	-1.192 (14.41)	-52.82*** (14.39)	12.80** (4.307)	20.07 (15.71)	-77.78* (32.80)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	993	993	993	993	983

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

6 Negative Binomial Count Models

Table 6: Teacher Hiring, Negative Binomial, Non-Splitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Civil Service Teachers	Contract Teachers	School	Other
main				
Pre-Election Year	-0.00157 (0.0953)	0.183 ⁺ (0.0974)	0.141 (0.118)	0.238 (0.210)
Election Year	-0.0131 (0.136)	0.325* (0.137)	0.323* (0.157)	0.229 (0.296)
Post-Election	0.0465 (0.0985)	-0.192 ⁺ (0.104)	-0.128 (0.119)	-0.373 ⁺ (0.202)
Direct Elections	-0.0902 (0.256)	0.537* (0.269)	0.330 (0.302)	0.865 (0.567)
Incumbent	0.00237 (0.0474)	-0.0619 (0.0536)	-0.145* (0.0715)	0.0197 (0.101)
Golkar Share	-0.110 (0.282)	0.317 (0.328)	0.531 (0.367)	0.619 (0.530)
PDI-P Share	-0.344 (0.325)	-0.158 (0.369)	-0.820 ⁺ (0.478)	0.231 (0.568)
Services Provision	-0.0518* (0.0254)	0.0710** (0.0233)	0.0486 ⁺ (0.0292)	0.0884 (0.0587)
Natural Resource Rev pc	5.34e-08 (6.11e-08)	-0.000000249* (0.000000126)	4.50e-08 (9.46e-08)	-0.000000512 (0.000000445)
Inequality	0.00171 (0.00457)	0.00556 (0.00562)	0.00250 (0.00529)	0.0199* (0.00990)
Total Revenue pc	0.000000130 ⁺ (6.94e-08)	-0.000000127** (4.50e-08)	-0.000000407*** (7.55e-08)	0.000000241* (0.000000103)
Log Population	-0.476 (1.016)	4.796*** (1.196)	-1.259 (1.377)	6.356* (2.828)
Poverty Share	-0.920 ⁺ (0.493)	0.00355 (0.575)	3.664*** (0.848)	-5.700*** (1.278)
Log GDP pc	0.106 (0.230)	-0.0628 (0.351)	-0.300 (0.346)	-1.150 (0.774)
Constant	11.56 (11.54)	-47.25*** (13.63)	18.98 (15.61)	-61.91 ⁺ (32.04)
Over-Dispersion	-2.814*** (0.143)	-2.557*** (0.121)	-2.397*** (0.117)	-1.246*** (0.0759)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	813	813	813	813

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

7 Number of Schools

Table 7: Number of Schools, FE-OLS

	(1)	(2)
	log(Schools)	log(Schools)
Pre-Election Year	0.151 (0.111)	0.151 (0.111)
Election Year	0.210 (0.153)	0.210 (0.153)
Post-Election	-0.114 (0.0990)	-0.114 (0.0990)
Direct Elections	0.382 (0.275)	0.382 (0.275)
Incumbent	-0.00919 (0.0488)	-0.00919 (0.0488)
Golkar Share	0.475 (0.529)	0.475 (0.529)
PDI-P Share	-0.261 (0.229)	-0.261 (0.229)
Services Provision	-0.0230 (0.0221)	-0.0230 (0.0221)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000132* (5.42e-08)	-0.000000132* (5.42e-08)
Inequality	0.00413 (0.00332)	0.00413 (0.00332)
Total Revenue pc	6.73e-08 (8.09e-08)	6.73e-08 (8.09e-08)
Log Population	1.661* (0.839)	1.661* (0.839)
Poverty Share	-0.370 (0.491)	-0.370 (0.491)
Log GDP pc	0.262 (0.255)	0.262 (0.255)
Constant	-16.23 (11.22)	-16.23 (11.22)
District FE	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓
Observations	813	813

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

8 Teacher Certification

Table 8: Teacher Certification, FE-OLS, Non-Splitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	log(Certified+1)	log(Certified)	est3
Direct Elections	1.040 (0.746)	3.563* (1.486)	0.0601+ (0.0357)
Pre-Election Year	0.470 (0.285)	1.300* (0.624)	0.0180 (0.0141)
Election Year	0.649+ (0.381)	1.816* (0.782)	0.0361+ (0.0187)
Post-Election	-0.382 (0.324)	-1.469* (0.602)	-0.0290* (0.0140)
Incumbent	-0.327+ (0.171)	-0.607** (0.229)	-0.0225** (0.00825)
Golkar Share	-1.090 (1.038)	-0.815 (0.891)	-0.0808* (0.0398)
PDI-P Share	5.044** (1.792)	4.992* (2.107)	0.181* (0.0702)
Services Provision	0.122+ (0.0695)	0.114 (0.124)	-0.00435 (0.00325)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000237+ (0.000000132)	-0.000000506+ (0.000000265)	-5.92e-09 (9.65e-09)
Inequality	-0.0244+ (0.0133)	0.0176 (0.0239)	-0.00124+ (0.000741)
Total Revenue pc	-0.000000504*** (7.65e-08)	-5.00e-08 (0.000000243)	-1.41e-08** (4.48e-09)
Log Population	2.289 (2.720)	15.49** (5.182)	0.117 (0.137)
Poverty Share	2.997+ (1.758)	0.745 (2.283)	0.275** (0.0966)
Log GDP pc	3.429*** (0.972)	1.838* (0.837)	0.197*** (0.0531)
Log(Total Teachers)	0.406** (0.150)	0.431 (0.326)	
District FE	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓
Observations	813	547	813

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 9: Teacher Certification, FE-OLS, Splitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	log(Certified+1)	log(Certified)	est3
Direct Elections	0.978 (0.706)	3.306* (1.278)	0.0569+ (0.0333)
Pre-Election Year	0.465+ (0.277)	1.235* (0.554)	0.0204 (0.0135)
Election Year	0.636+ (0.359)	1.678* (0.672)	0.0357* (0.0175)
Post-Election	-0.308 (0.304)	-1.331* (0.532)	-0.0226+ (0.0130)
Incumbent	-0.277* (0.139)	-0.325+ (0.174)	-0.0170* (0.00692)
Golkar Share	-0.789 (0.883)	-0.208 (0.708)	-0.0650+ (0.0341)
PDI-P Share	4.133** (1.442)	4.379** (1.623)	0.154** (0.0584)
Services Provision	0.125* (0.0587)	0.127 (0.0961)	-0.00239 (0.00282)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000389*** (0.000000105)	-0.000000387** (0.000000135)	-1.46e-08* (6.33e-09)
Inequality	-0.0249* (0.0123)	0.0107 (0.0204)	-0.00128+ (0.000691)
Total Revenue pc	-8.02e-08 (5.41e-08)	-4.71e-08 (6.77e-08)	-1.70e-09 (2.05e-09)
Log Population	0.460 (2.502)	12.60** (3.900)	0.0341 (0.119)
Poverty Share	2.900+ (1.548)	-0.591 (1.835)	0.254** (0.0860)
Log GDP pc	3.106*** (0.855)	1.737* (0.751)	0.186*** (0.0475)
Log(Total Teachers)	0.199 (0.166)	0.340 (0.336)	
District FE	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓
Observations	993	693	993

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 10: Teacher Certification, FE-OLS, Provincial Quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	log(Certified+1)	log(Certified)	est3
Direct Elections	0.697 (1.393)	1.789 (1.297)	0.0268 (0.0671)
Pre-Election Year	0.224 (0.582)	0.631 (0.558)	0.000651 (0.0281)
Election Year	0.540 (0.729)	1.052 (0.700)	0.0204 (0.0358)
Post-Election	-0.543 (0.544)	-0.926 ⁺ (0.524)	-0.0316 (0.0287)
Incumbent	-0.165 (0.238)	-0.375 ⁺ (0.204)	-0.0121 (0.0106)
Golkar Share	-2.261 ⁺ (1.192)	-1.580 (0.987)	-0.118* (0.0473)
PDI-P Share	2.813 (1.758)	3.197 ⁺ (1.838)	0.120 (0.0734)
Services Provision	0.0324 (0.117)	0.0174 (0.121)	-0.0000426 (0.00541)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000339 (0.000000261)	-0.000000370 (0.000000258)	-1.91e-08 (1.36e-08)
Inequality	0.0151 (0.0227)	0.0209 (0.0218)	0.00103 (0.00113)
Total Revenue pc	-0.000000267 (0.000000241)	-0.000000148 (0.000000239)	-6.73e-09 (1.15e-08)
Log Population	21.53*** (4.923)	20.39*** (4.729)	1.147*** (0.259)
Poverty Share	1.418 (2.245)	1.970 (2.301)	0.0475 (0.106)
Log GDP pc	0.678 (0.602)	0.510 (0.592)	0.0338 (0.0326)
Quota	0.000354*** (0.0000632)	0.000314*** (0.0000574)	0.0000170*** (0.00000280)
Log(Total Teachers)	0.972*** (0.265)	0.895** (0.271)	
District FE	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓
Observations	541	539	541

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

9 Job Changes

Table 11: Elections and Job Changes

	Job Changes	Job Changes Teachers
	(1)	(2)
Pre-Election Year	0.01** (0.005)	0.01** (0.01)
Election Year	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Post-Election Year	0.004 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.005)
Direct Elections	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Incumbency	0.002 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
ENP	-0.01 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.005)
Golkar Share	0.06 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)
PDI-P Share	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
Services Provision	0.01** (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
Natural Resource Rev pc	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Gini Index	0.0001 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)
Total Revenue pc	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
log(Population)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)
Poverty pc	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)
log(GDP pc)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
District FE	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes
N	2,083	2,083
R ²	0.56	0.67
Adjusted R ²	0.47	0.60
Residual Std. Error (df = 1704)	0.06	0.06

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

Clustered standard errors in parentheses.

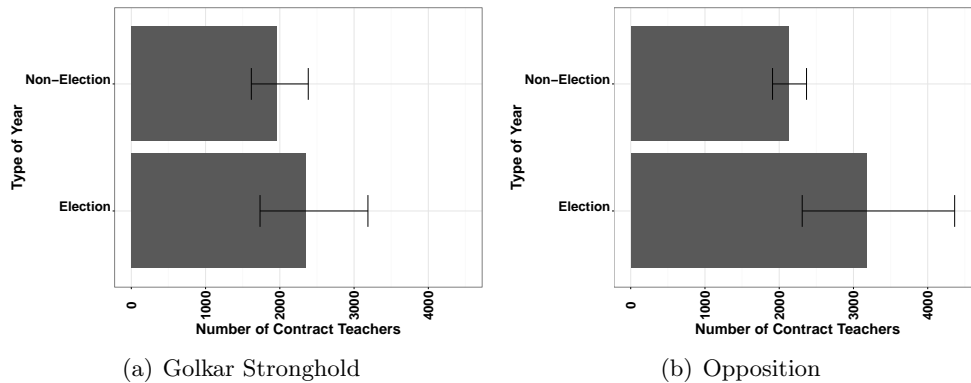


Figure 1: Election Year Effect by Type of District

10 Heterogeneous Effects

In order to determine if the effect varies with the level of competitiveness, we can exploit differences across districts in the level of support for the Golkar party, which traditionally controlled the bureaucracy. Other parties lack a comparable personnel infrastructure and in general have much less influence over local bureaucrats and, by extension, teachers. This leads to the expectation that the effects of election years should be more pronounced in areas in which non-Golkar parties are stronger, if patronage politics is driven by electoral competition. Districts in which the dominance of the former ruling party is most likely to be challenged via the electoral process ought to experience the largest increase in patronage hiring. We use data on the local vote share for Golkar and the PDI-P, the most important former opposition party, in the 1999 legislative elections to proxy for the political influence of different types of parties at the beginning of democratization. We use data from 1999 because party vote shares from later elections might be endogenous to electoral competition and patronage.¹ We interact our vote share measures with the election year dummy to discern whether the effect varies by party type. Table 12 below reports estimated coefficients. Figure 1 presents the estimated effects.

Panel (a) of Figure 1 shows the effect of an election year on the number of contract teachers in a district at the 90th percentile of the Golkar vote share in 1999. While, on average, the number of contract teachers is higher in election years (by about 400), there is no statistically significant difference to non-election years. On the other hand, for districts at the 10th percentile of Golkar support, i.e., areas in which the former ruling party faced immediate and strong competition after democratization, the difference between election and non-election years is roughly 1000 contract teachers and is statistically significant below the 5%. Results are even more precise when looking at the share of civil servants as the dependent variable—we even find evidence that the overall transition to direct elections has increased the number of contract teachers on payroll, but largely in districts not dominated by the former autocratic ruling party (see Column 2 in Table 12). We find the reverse pattern for an interaction model that uses the PDI-P vote share, proxying for the strength of the former opposition (see Columns 3 and 4 in Table 12). We also estimate models with interactions between the election year variable and the absolute differences between the Golkar and PDI-P vote shares (Table 13). This approach more closely captures the scenario of an effective threat against Golkar. For this specification we again find a statistically significant increase in contract teacher hiring when Golkar has little to no absolute vote share advantage over PDI-P but the effect approaches zero as Golkar is more electorally secure.

Table 12: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS, Heterogeneous Effects by Golkar Stronghold

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	log(Non PNS)	PNS Share	log(Non PNS)	PNS Share
Election Year	0.446* (0.204)	-0.123** (0.0437)	0.137 (0.185)	-0.0356 (0.0422)
Election Year × Golkar Share 1999	-0.432* (0.183)	0.191*** (0.0442)		
Pre-Election Year	0.193 (0.179)	-0.0177 (0.0422)	0.292 (0.202)	-0.0837+ (0.0430)
Pre-Election Year × Golkar Share 1999	-0.0884 (0.387)	-0.0416 (0.0853)		
Post-Election	-0.113 (0.141)	0.0937* (0.0364)	-0.303+ (0.177)	0.0464 (0.0446)
Post-Election × Golkar Share 1999	-0.0545 (0.290)	-0.196* (0.0800)		
Elected District Head	0.491 (0.371)	-0.165* (0.0834)	0.495 (0.347)	-0.135 (0.0865)
Elected District Head × Golkar Share 1999	-0.195 (0.268)	0.188** (0.0711)		
Election Year × PDI-P Share 1999			0.636* (0.297)	-0.0915 (0.0685)
Pre-Election Year × PDI-P Share 1999			-0.325 (0.425)	0.171 (0.126)
Post-Election × PDI-P Share 1999			0.581 (0.423)	-0.0335 (0.119)
Elected District Head × PDI-P Share 1999			-0.164 (0.283)	0.132 (0.0895)
Incumbent	-0.0548 (0.0547)	0.00494 (0.0158)	-0.0675 (0.0537)	0.0137 (0.0156)
Services Provision	0.0571* (0.0246)	-0.0268** (0.00841)	0.0568* (0.0245)	-0.0254** (0.00845)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000250* (0.000000120)	3.91e-08 (3.14e-08)	-0.000000245+ (0.000000125)	3.55e-08 (3.07e-08)
Inequality	0.00185 (0.00651)	-0.000454 (0.00191)	0.00234 (0.00635)	-0.000562 (0.00202)
Total Revenue pc	-0.000000141*** (4.07e-08)	4.48e-08* (1.88e-08)	-0.000000146*** (4.27e-08)	5.48e-08** (2.05e-08)
Log Population	4.307** (1.388)	-1.294** (0.433)	3.946** (1.308)	-0.937* (0.433)
Poverty Share	-0.0999 (0.804)	-0.135 (0.204)	0.0767 (0.822)	-0.212 (0.217)
Log GDP pc	-0.0873 (0.341)	0.0499 (0.0798)	-0.132 (0.333)	0.0940 (0.0800)
Constant	-47.77** (18.24)	17.25** (5.666)	-43.06* (17.18)	12.54* (5.653)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	727	727	727	727

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 13: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS, Heterogeneous Effects

	(1)	(2)
	log(Non PNS)	PNS Share
Election Year	0.457* (0.177)	-0.0850* (0.0401)
Golkar Absolute Diff	0.613 (0.431)	-0.0901 (0.0852)
Election Year × Golkar Absolute Diff	-0.606* (0.243)	0.193** (0.0638)
Pre-Election Year	0.291* (0.128)	-0.0456 (0.0292)
Pre-Election Year × Golkar Absolute Diff	0 (.)	0 (.)
Pre-Election Year × Golkar Absolute Diff	-0.250 (0.366)	0.0000201 (0.0886)
Post-Election	-0.197 (0.120)	0.0562* (0.0279)
Post-Election × Golkar Absolute Diff	-0.507 (0.358)	-0.0412 (0.112)
Incumbent	-0.0613 (0.0541)	0.00852 (0.0160)
Elected District Head	0.699* (0.329)	-0.148+ (0.0787)
Elected District Head × Golkar Absolute Diff	0.350 (0.280)	0.00787 (0.0850)
Services Provision	0.0701** (0.0257)	-0.0288*** (0.00842)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.00000239* (0.00000113)	7.01e-08* (3.12e-08)
Inequality	0.00571 (0.00589)	-0.000542 (0.00188)
Total Revenue pc	-0.000000140** (4.83e-08)	4.93e-08** (1.84e-08)
Log Population	4.883*** (1.258)	-1.282*** (0.363)
Poverty Share	0.0622 (0.620)	-0.173 (0.162)
Log GDP pc	-0.0998 (0.355)	0.0614 (0.0903)
Observations	813	813

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 14: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS, Heterogeneous Effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	log(Non-PNS)	PNS Share	log(Non-PNS)	PNS Share	log(Non-PNS)	PNS Share	log(Non-PNS)	PNS Share	log(Non-PNS)	PNS Share
Pre-Election Year	0.258* (0.127)	-0.0439 (0.0280)	0.301* (0.168)	-0.0491 (0.0460)	0.299* (0.133)	-0.0445 (0.0284)	0.194 (0.127)	-0.0265 (0.0279)	0.336* (0.161)	-0.0790* (0.0346)
Election Year	0.393* (0.167)	-0.0793* (0.0394)	0.294 (0.186)	-0.0365 (0.0487)	0.452* (0.175)	-0.0742* (0.0384)	0.366* (0.175)	-0.0248 (0.0367)	0.373* (0.173)	-0.100* (0.0416)
Post-Election	-0.208* (0.121)	0.0569* (0.0281)	-0.173 (0.156)	0.0247 (0.0382)	-0.144 (0.116)	0.0351 (0.0289)	-0.238* (0.133)	0.0244 (0.0290)	-0.0967 (0.128)	0.0576 (0.0358)
Elected District Head	0.648* (0.320)	-0.148* (0.0782)	0.630* (0.333)	-0.130 (0.0908)	0.671* (0.324)	-0.134* (0.0770)	0.668* (0.342)	-0.0790 (0.0752)	0.582* (0.316)	-0.167* (0.0803)
Incumbent	-0.105 (0.106)	-0.00189 (0.0309)	-0.0576 (0.0517)	0.0102 (0.0163)	-0.0699 (0.0549)	0.0114 (0.0165)	-0.0655 (0.0542)	0.00657 (0.0159)	-0.0700 (0.0545)	0.0129 (0.0165)
Incumbent × Pre-Election	0 (.)	0 (.)								
Incumbent × Election Year	0.0421 (0.120)	0.00938 (0.0376)								
Incumbent × Post-Election	0 (.)	0 (.)								
Incumbent × Elected District Head	0.0119 (0.105)	0.0145 (0.0312)								
Poverty Share	-0.0414 (0.622)	-0.167 (0.165)	0.031 (0.758)	-0.017 (0.209)	-0.137 (0.718)	-0.00561 (0.195)	0.0663 (0.628)	-0.0800 (0.154)	-0.143 (0.634)	-0.154 (0.162)
Pre-Election Year × Poverty Share			-0.251 (0.656)	-0.00422 (0.194)						
Election Year × Poverty Share			0.743 (0.527)	-0.307* (0.166)						
Post-Election × Poverty Share			-0.319 (0.657)	0.232 (0.199)						
Elected District Head × Poverty Share			0.270 (0.664)	-0.175 (0.210)						
Urban × Pre-Election Year					-0.143 (0.108)	-0.00504 (0.0304)				
Urban × Election Year					-0.148* (0.0850)	-0.00650 (0.0259)				
Urban × Post-Election					-0.283* (0.117)	0.0767* (0.0360)				
Urban × Elected District Head					-0.00606 (0.124)	-0.0341 (0.0380)				
Java × Pre-Election Year							0.168 (0.116)	-0.0293 (0.0259)		
Java × Election Year							0.106 (0.0783)	-0.113*** (0.0216)		
Java × Post-Election							0.0779 (0.137)	0.0779* (0.0314)		
Java × Elected District Head							-0.0235 (0.110)	-0.130*** (0.0284)		
GDP Growth									-1.0575 (1.548)	-0.3928 (0.416)
Pre-Election Year × GDP Growth									-1.657 (1.828)	0.667 (0.475)
Election Year × GDP Growth									0.408 (1.409)	0.449 (0.363)
Post-Election × GDP Growth									-1.843 (1.149)	-0.0694 (0.356)
Elected District Head × GDP Growth									0.899 (1.424)	0.483 (0.374)
Golkar Share	0.659 (0.531)	-0.0986 (0.0683)	0.734 (0.548)	-0.129* (0.0693)	0.630 (0.523)	-0.0917 (0.0682)	0.670 (0.547)	-0.0387 (0.0680)	0.666 (0.531)	-0.102 (0.0676)
PDI-P Share	-0.206 (0.372)	-0.0196 (0.121)	-0.178 (0.398)	-0.0417 (0.129)	-0.231 (0.371)	-0.0229 (0.115)	-0.149 (0.378)	-0.149 (0.112)	-0.192 (0.374)	-0.0307 (0.122)
Services Provision	0.0653* (0.0259)	-0.0274** (0.00839)	0.0587* (0.0274)	-0.0234** (0.00839)	0.0717** (0.0264)	-0.0314*** (0.00824)	0.0678** (0.0260)	-0.0241** (0.00798)	0.0666** (0.0255)	-0.0277** (0.00834)
Natural Resource Rev pc	-0.000000257* (0.000000119)	7.27e-08* (3.28e-08)	-0.000000251* (0.000000120)	7.07e-08* (3.26e-08)	-0.000000252* (0.000000120)	6.94e-08* (3.33e-08)	-0.000000255* (0.000000118)	7.76e-08* (3.35e-08)	-0.000000237* (0.000000122)	6.28e-08* (3.20e-08)
Inequality	0.00608 (0.00608)	-0.000811 (0.00185)	0.00555 (0.00622)	-0.000468 (0.00191)	0.00746 (0.00503)	-0.00137 (0.00177)	0.00571 (0.00601)	-0.000915 (0.00159)	0.00592 (0.00611)	-0.000755 (0.00186)
Total Revenue pc	-0.000000140** (4.73e-08)	5.18e-08** (1.91e-08)	-0.000000137** (4.99e-08)	5.25e-08** (1.82e-08)	-0.000000142** (4.78e-08)	5.27e-08** (1.92e-08)	-0.000000142** (4.68e-08)	3.62e-08* (1.75e-08)	-0.000000145** (4.58e-08)	5.21e-08** (1.85e-08)
Log Population	5.083*** (1.262)	-1.249*** (0.369)	5.138*** (1.259)	-1.315*** (0.375)	5.125*** (1.315)	-1.127** (0.385)	5.139*** (1.285)	-1.742*** (0.375)	4.620*** (1.302)	-1.290*** (0.385)
Log GDP pc	-0.0342 (0.369)	0.0436 (0.0920)	0.0223 (0.385)	0.0140 (0.0941)	-0.0786 (0.367)	0.0668 (0.0947)	-0.0432 (0.363)	0.0555 (0.0933)	-0.450 (0.528)	0.00848 (0.142)
Constant	-57.88*** (16.60)	16.60*** (4.813)	-58.71*** (16.57)	17.50*** (4.881)	-58.37*** (17.31)	14.98** (5.024)	-58.61*** (16.83)	22.93*** (4.884)	-51.15** (17.30)	17.21*** (5.084)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	813	813	813	813	813	813	813	813	813	813

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
 * p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

11 Student Test Scores

Table 15: Student Test Scores, OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Log(Contract Teachers)	-0.392 ⁺ (0.201)	-0.549* (0.226)	-0.416 (0.314)	-0.314 ⁺ (0.167)
Female	0.0888*** (0.0174)	0.0676*** (0.00930)	0.300*** (0.0158)	0.165*** (0.0104)
Education Parents	-0.000297 (0.00706)	-0.00511 (0.00756)	-0.00813 (0.00520)	0.0212 ⁺ (0.0124)
Assets	0.636*** (0.0927)	0.661*** (0.0583)	0.714*** (0.0624)	0.610*** (0.133)
Primary School	0.119** (0.0394)	0.119** (0.0413)	0.108** (0.0404)	0 (.)
Incumbency	-0.317* (0.140)	-0.580*** (0.135)	-0.506** (0.182)	-0.550*** (0.116)
Golkar Share	0.559 (0.509)	0.209 (0.497)	0.181 (0.682)	0.389 (0.340)
PDI-P Share	2.023** (0.754)	2.629*** (0.778)	2.077* (1.046)	2.975*** (0.647)
Service Provision	0.128*** (0.0160)	0.121*** (0.0145)	0.0787*** (0.0193)	0.143*** (0.0110)
Natural Resource Rev pc	0.00000188*** (0.000000511)	0.00000269*** (0.000000500)	0.00000252*** (0.000000667)	0.00000309*** (0.000000476)
Gini Index	0.0557*** (0.0112)	0.0685*** (0.0101)	0.0546*** (0.0135)	0.0897*** (0.00889)
Total Revenue pc	0.000000345 (0.000000294)	0.000000264 (0.000000302)	0.000000564 (0.000000406)	0.000000263 (0.000000261)
log(Population)	0.582*** (0.161)	0.755*** (0.166)	0.900*** (0.217)	0.539*** (0.115)
Poverty pc	4.147*** (0.582)	4.385*** (0.537)	3.727*** (0.733)	4.128*** (0.393)
log(GDP pc)	-0.110 (0.144)	-0.230 (0.143)	-0.117 (0.191)	-0.135 (0.124)
Constant	-8.172*** (2.206)	-9.346*** (1.959)	-12.40*** (2.462)	-9.248*** (1.440)
Observations	91086	91027	91086	56387

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 16: Student Test Scores, OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	0.00431 (0.0389)	-0.0102 (0.0406)	-0.0214 (0.0245)	-0.0343 (0.0320)
Constant	0.00197 (0.0120)	0.00675 (0.0174)	0.0101 (0.0114)	0.0143 (0.0132)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	164618	164417	164618	83592

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 17: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Bengkulu

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	0.110** (0.0303)	-0.0448 (0.0255)	0.0272 (0.0233)	0.00693 (0.0310)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	82467	82404	82467	49880

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 18: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Gowa

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	-0.194*** (0.0310)	-0.0938** (0.0259)	-0.0882** (0.0236)	-0.102** (0.0322)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	83147	83064	83147	50859

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 19: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Lamongan

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year=1	-0.0852* (0.0308)	0.222*** (0.0251)	0.0551* (0.0237)	0.0302 (0.0319)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	84926	84857	84926	53721

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 20: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Maluku

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	-0.0516 (0.0295)	0.143*** (0.0251)	0.0728** (0.0233)	-0.151*** (0.0319)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	81281	81203	81281	49435

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 21: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Ogan Ilir

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	0.0469 (0.0303)	0.00845 (0.0254)	-0.0220 (0.0234)	0.0818* (0.0317)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	82437	82380	82437	50095

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 22: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Semarang

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	0.194*** (0.0309)	0.0856** (0.0253)	0.0180 (0.0237)	-0.118** (0.0319)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	89119	89025	89119	56053

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 23: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Toli-Toli

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	-0.0210 (0.0312)	0.000471 (0.0253)	-0.0162 (0.0238)	0.0817* (0.0320)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	82562	82508	82562	49631

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 24: Student Test Scores, OLS, District Tuban

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Math Score	Science Score	Bahasa Score	English Score
Election Year	-0.0299 (0.0312)	-0.161*** (0.0252)	-0.153*** (0.0239)	0.0145 (0.0320)
Student FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	84346	84278	84346	51946

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

12 Main Model without the services provision index

Table 25: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	log(PNS)	log(Non PNS)	PNS Share	log(School)	log(Other)
Pre-Election Year	0.0663 (0.118)	0.272* (0.124)	-0.0452 (0.0281)	0.206 (0.128)	0.212 (0.234)
Election Year	0.0943 (0.162)	0.422* (0.173)	-0.0712+ (0.0391)	0.383* (0.172)	0.175 (0.332)
Post-Election	0.0163 (0.104)	-0.211+ (0.120)	0.0523+ (0.0274)	-0.138 (0.123)	-0.347 (0.223)
Elected District Head	0.0500 (0.292)	0.679* (0.323)	-0.143+ (0.0778)	0.408 (0.326)	0.831 (0.624)
Incumbent	-0.0267 (0.0511)	-0.0729 (0.0583)	0.00721 (0.0168)	-0.156* (0.0719)	0.0827 (0.112)
Golkar Share	0.230 (0.493)	0.639 (0.527)	-0.0882 (0.0672)	0.697 (0.520)	0.553 (0.571)
PDI-P Share	-0.317 (0.323)	-0.217 (0.352)	-0.0297 (0.116)	-0.876+ (0.454)	0.213 (0.668)
Natural Resource Rev pc	4.97e-08 (6.40e-08)	-0.000000267* (0.000000120)	7.50e-08* (3.23e-08)	4.00e-08 (9.57e-08)	-0.000000635+ (0.000000374)
Inequality	0.00446 (0.00487)	0.00754 (0.00628)	-0.000761 (0.00186)	0.00471 (0.00557)	0.0236* (0.0109)
Total Revenue pc	0.000000169+ (9.08e-08)	-0.000000109+ (6.43e-08)	5.62e-08** (2.02e-08)	-0.000000388*** (8.30e-08)	0.000000220+ (0.000000114)
Log Population	-0.101 (1.077)	5.154*** (1.299)	-1.203** (0.382)	-0.619 (1.436)	6.284* (3.002)
Poverty Share	-0.777 (0.526)	-0.135 (0.641)	-0.123 (0.174)	3.741*** (0.825)	-6.278*** (1.378)
Log GDP pc	0.216 (0.281)	-0.0419 (0.375)	0.0531 (0.0949)	-0.232 (0.357)	-1.235 (0.794)
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	829	829	829	829	826

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

13 Civil Service Promotions

In this section we present evidence from a separate and new dataset, introduced in AU-THORS (2018). The data cover the career histories of all current (as of 2016) civil servants in Indonesia. The data consist of a panel of civil-servant-year observations from 2001 (or their date of entry) until 2012. For each year we identified promotion events and coded a binary dependent variable. We estimate a model of promotion probabilities of civil servants nested in district governments:

$$y_{idpgt} = \alpha_i + \gamma_d + \eta_p + \rho_g + \tau_t + \kappa \cdot \mathbf{m}_{dt} + \beta \cdot \mathbf{x}_{it} + \eta \cdot \text{Local Elections}_{dt} + \delta \cdot \text{Election Year}_{dt} + \theta \cdot \mathbf{z}_{dt} + \epsilon_{idpgt}$$

This model includes a varying set of fixed effects, ranging from district government fixed effects γ_d , civil servant province of birth effects η_p , *golongan* fixed effects ρ_g (this is a form of non-hierarchical civil service rank), year effects τ_t , and individual-level fixed effects α_i . The model also includes basic individual-level controls \mathbf{x}_{it} that include educational attainment, age, religious affiliation, and work experience, and additional, time-varying district-level control variables \mathbf{z}_{dt} from our district-level regressions. Our interest is the effect of the dummy variable for the introduction of direct elections η and the separate effect of election years δ . First, we estimate a model with individual-level controls, excluding individual-level fixed effects. Models (2) and (3) add individual-level and *golongan* fixed effects. Models (4)–(6) estimate the same type of models on the population of pre-1999 hires only, in case the population of individuals entering the civil service after democratization in 1999 is systematically different on unobservable characteristics.

Across all six models we find consistent evidence that promotion probabilities are higher in election years for district-level employees. The probability of promotion increases by 0.03 percentage points, which substantively meaningful given the unconditional probability of promotion of 1.5%. The effect of the introduction of direct elections is inconsistent across models. The effect is positive and significant in Models (1) and (4), negative and significant in Models (2) and (3), and positive and non-significant in Models (5) and (6).

Table 26: Promotion Analysis: District Elections

	Promotion (1)	Promotion (2)	Promotion (3)	Promotion (4)	Promotion (5)	Promotion (6)
Elected Leader	0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.001*** (0.0001)	0.004*** (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.0002)
Election Year	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0001)	0.003*** (0.0001)
Female	-0.01*** (0.0001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age	0.001*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.002*** (0.0000)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Junior High	0.004*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0005)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Senior High	0.02*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.02*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma I/II/III	0.01*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.01*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Diploma IV/S1	0.03*** (0.0002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.03*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Education: Post-Graduate	0.10*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	0.10*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Protestant	-0.004*** (0.0003)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.004*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Catholic	-0.01*** (0.0004)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.005*** (0.0005)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Buddhist	-0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.01*** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Hindu	-0.004*** (0.001)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.003** (0.002)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Confucian	-0.05*** (0.02)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.04** (0.02)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Other	-0.01* (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	-0.01** (0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Years in Civil Service	-0.001*** (0.0000)	0.002*** (0.0001)	0.002*** (0.0001)	-0.002*** (0.0000)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0001)
Incumbency	0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0002)	0.0005*** (0.0002)	0.0005*** (0.0002)
ENP	-0.0003*** (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0004*** (0.0001)	0.0004*** (0.0001)
Golkar Share	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.001* (0.001)	-0.001* (0.001)	-0.01*** (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.001)
PDI-P Share	0.01*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	-0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Services Provision	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0002*** (0.0001)	0.0002*** (0.0001)	0.001*** (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0001)
Natural Resource Revenue pc	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Gini Index	-0.0002*** (0.0000)	-0.0002*** (0.0000)	-0.0002*** (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)	-0.0001*** (0.0000)
Total Revenue pc	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Log(Population)	0.01*** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Poverty pc	-0.01*** (0.001)	-0.01*** (0.002)	-0.01*** (0.002)	-0.02*** (0.002)	-0.01*** (0.002)	-0.01*** (0.002)
Log(GDP pc)	0.01*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	0.02*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Pre-1999	Pre-1999	Pre-1999
Department FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Province of Birth FE	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Individual FE	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Golongan FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	10,485,948	10,485,948	10,485,948	5,971,194	5,971,194	5,971,194
R ²	0.03	0.26	0.12	0.04	0.25	0.25
Adjusted R ²	0.03	0.12	0.12	0.04	0.15	0.15
Residual Std. Error	0.13 (df = 10485476)	0.12 (df = 8799044)	0.12 (df = 8799028)	0.12 (df = 5970722)	0.11 (df = 5267360)	0.11 (df = 5267344)

Notes:

***Significant at the 1 percent level.

**Significant at the 5 percent level.

*Significant at the 10 percent level.

Standard errors are clustered at the individual level.

14 Controlling for District-Level Expenditures

Table 27: Teacher Hiring, FE-OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	log(PNS)	log(Non PNS)	PNS Share	log(School)	log(Other)
Pre-Election Year	0.0574 (0.124)	0.256* (0.129)	-0.0439 (0.0286)	0.191 (0.135)	0.210 (0.238)
Election Year	0.0648 (0.166)	0.403* (0.177)	-0.0737+ (0.0405)	0.375* (0.180)	0.133 (0.355)
Post-Election	0.0125 (0.106)	-0.173 (0.122)	0.0432 (0.0278)	-0.128 (0.125)	-0.309 (0.230)
Elected District Head	0.0589 (0.300)	0.589+ (0.333)	-0.121 (0.0792)	0.398 (0.341)	0.660 (0.657)
log(Total Expenditures pc)	-0.199* (0.0917)	0.127 (0.110)	-0.0709* (0.0317)	0.0807 (0.118)	-0.0521 (0.246)
Incumbent	0.00442 (0.0508)	-0.0765 (0.0577)	0.0150 (0.0173)	-0.145+ (0.0770)	0.0574 (0.117)
Golkar Share	0.220 (0.518)	0.764 (0.557)	-0.119 (0.0745)	0.788 (0.541)	0.708 (0.629)
PDI-P Share	-0.350 (0.327)	-0.0960 (0.384)	-0.0623 (0.120)	-0.893+ (0.495)	0.474 (0.721)
Services Provision	-0.0555* (0.0270)	0.0728** (0.0272)	-0.0288** (0.00873)	0.0472 (0.0300)	0.130* (0.0659)
Natural Resource Rev pc	7.23e-08 (8.77e-08)	-0.000000327** (0.000000100)	9.43e-08** (3.27e-08)	0.000000124 (0.000000104)	-0.000000977** (0.000000300)
Inequality	0.00249 (0.00524)	0.00570 (0.00673)	-0.000820 (0.00207)	0.00611 (0.00605)	0.0169 (0.0115)
Total Revenue pc	0.000000163* (6.61e-08)	-0.000000129* (5.70e-08)	5.85e-08** (1.84e-08)	-0.000000425*** (9.84e-08)	0.000000251* (0.000000108)
Log Population	-0.337 (1.087)	4.884*** (1.289)	-1.196** (0.374)	-0.590 (1.448)	5.143+ (2.907)
Poverty Share	-0.663 (0.539)	0.0877 (0.659)	-0.149 (0.174)	3.826*** (0.909)	-5.698*** (1.468)
Log GDP pc	0.0971 (0.274)	0.0934 (0.376)	-0.00562 (0.0914)	-0.184 (0.358)	-1.212 (0.798)
Constant	14.79 (14.24)	-57.39*** (17.09)	17.00*** (4.820)	12.36 (18.87)	-56.01 (38.43)
Observations	773	773	773	773	771
District FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$