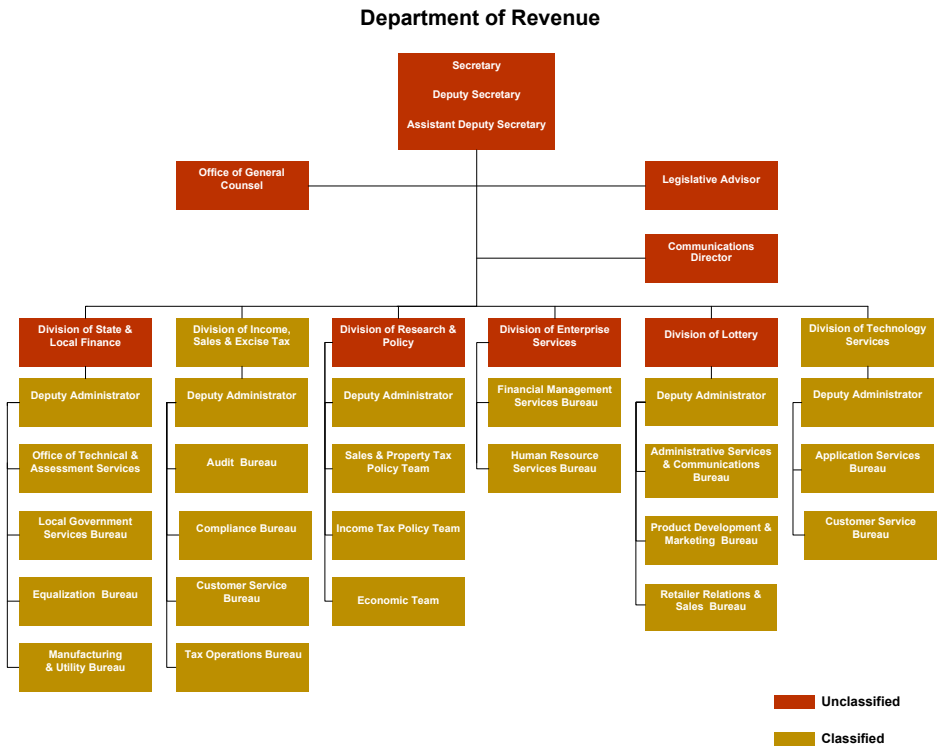
When Individual Politics Become Public: Do Civil Service Protections Insulate Government Workers?

Morgan Foy

Online Appendix

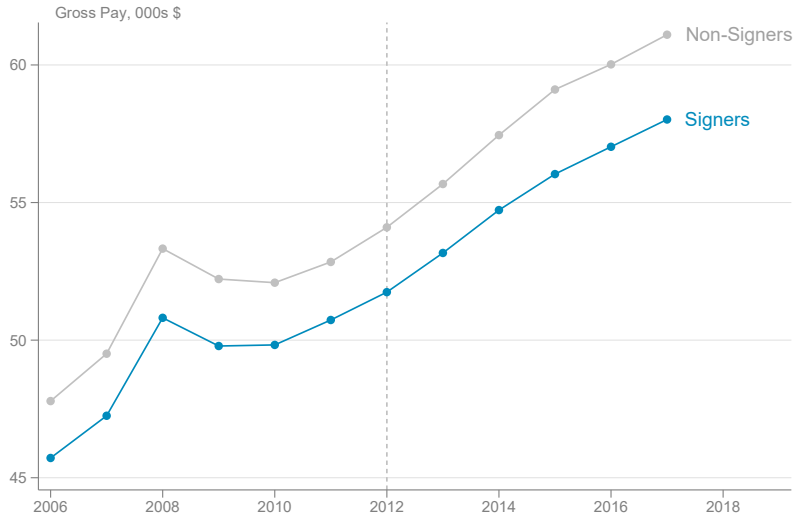
Additional Figures/Tables

Figure A1: Department Organizational Chart

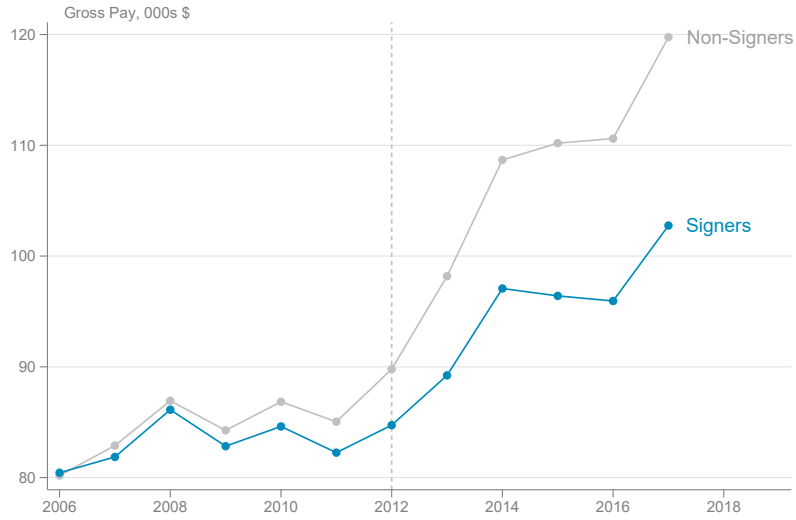


Note: Unclassified positions are shown in red; classified positions in gold. Each box represents one administrative position, except the top box which contains the three appointed secretaries.

Figure A2: Raw Trends in Average Pay by Signing Status



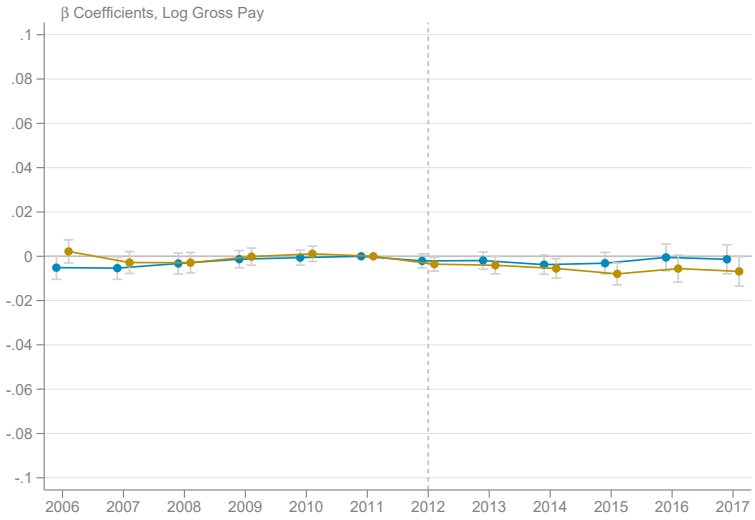
(a) Classified Employees



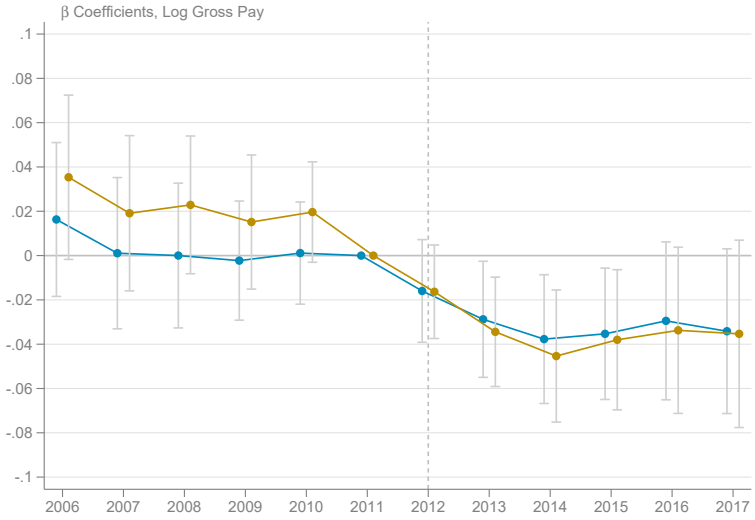
(b) Unclassified Employees

Note: Panel A plots the trends in average *gross pay* for all classified employees in the analysis sample. Panel B displays the corresponding trends for unclassified employees. For both figures, the y-axis is gross pay in thousands of dollars. The dashed line in 2012 corresponds to the year the petition list was disclosed.

Figure A3: Gross Pay Event Studies, No CEM Weights



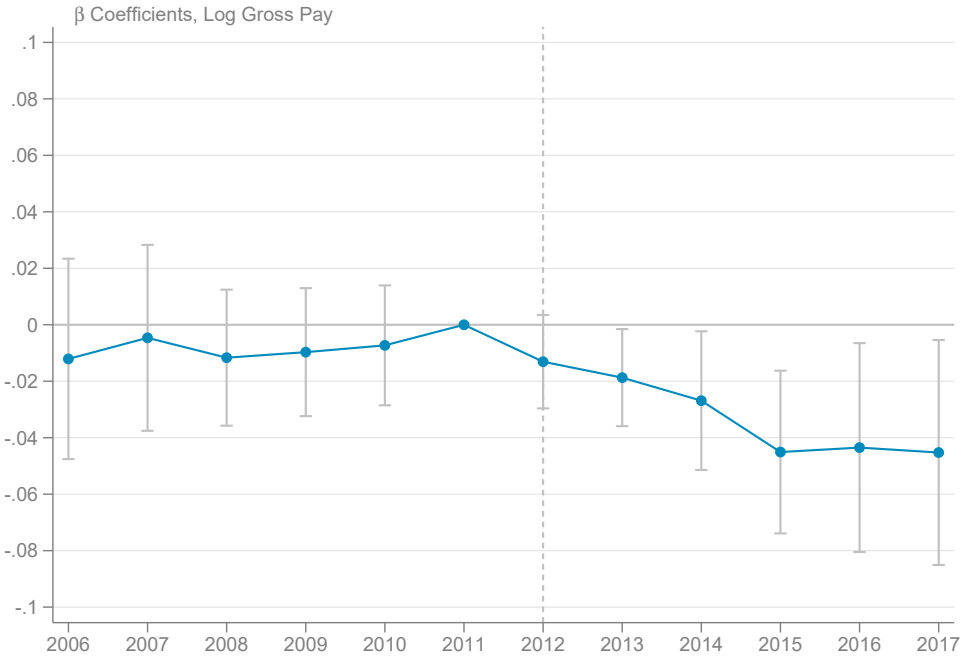
(a) Classified Employees



(b) Unclassified Employees

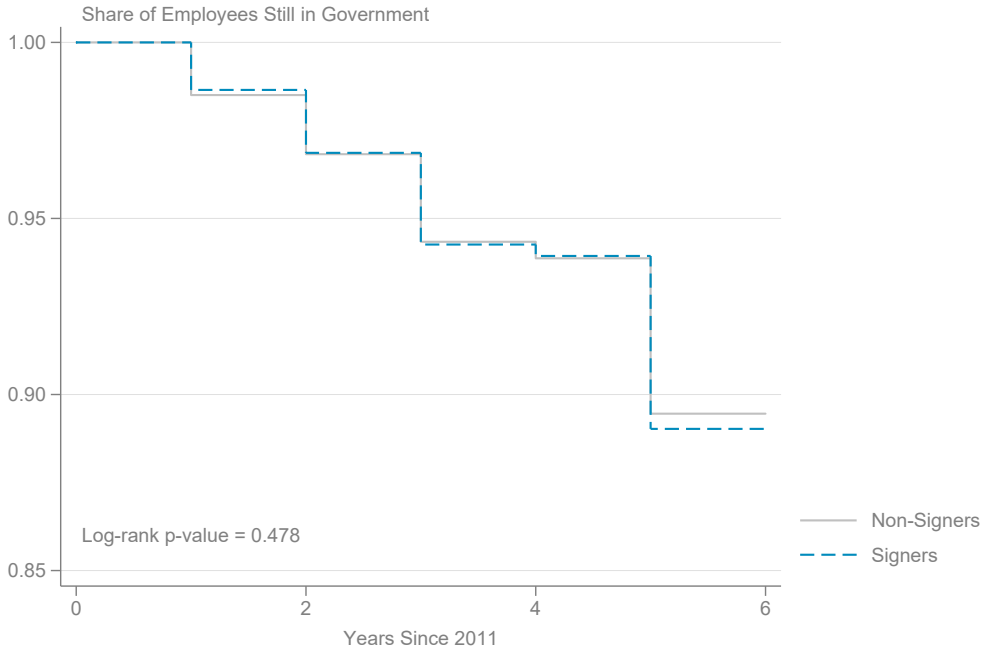
Note: Panel A uses the sample of classified service employees in 2011; Panel B uses the sample of unclassified service employees in 2011. The dependent variable is *log gross pay*. The gold dots are from a specification with individual fixed effects but no baseline controls as in Table 2 column 2. The blue dots are from a specification including individual fixed effects, and baseline controls interacted with year effects as in Table 2 column 3. All coefficients are normalized relative to 2011, the year before the disclosure of the petition list. The dashed line represents the year the petition list was released. The gray bars represent 95 percent confidence intervals based on standard errors that are clustered by individual.

Figure A4: Gross Pay Event Study, Classified Administrators



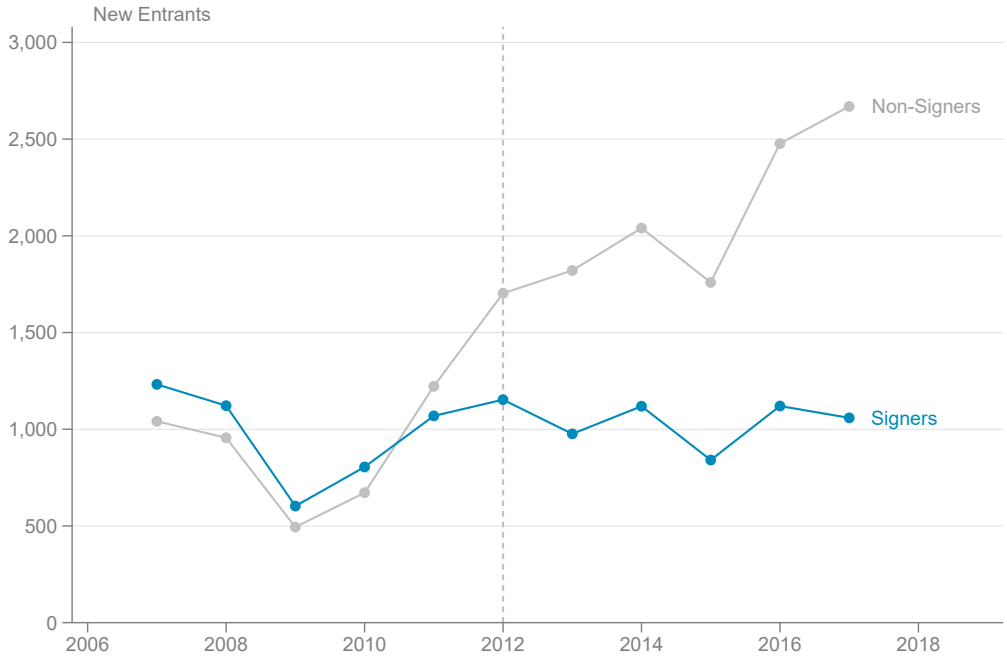
Note: The sample is the set of workers who were in both the classified sector and were administrators in 2011. The dependent variable is *log gross pay*. The specification includes individual fixed effects, baseline job fixed effects and years of experience bins interacted with year fixed effects, and are weighted using the CEM matching procedure as in Table 3 column 4. All coefficients are normalized relative to 2011, the year before the disclosure of the petition list. The dashed line represents the year the petition list was released. The gray bars represent 95 percent confidence intervals based on standard errors that are clustered by individual.

Figure A5: Survival Functions, Classified Non-Administrators



Note: The figure plots Kaplan-Meier survival functions by signing status for the classified non-administrators. The y-axis displays the share of state employees still in the Department of Administration data in year t. The x-axis is the number of years since 2011, the year before the disclosure of the petition list.

Figure A6: Entry into Government Workforce



Note: The figure plots the number of people who are new to the government service by year. The gray line is the number of non-signers; the blue line is the number of signers. The dashed line indicates the year that the petition list was released.

Table A1: Most Common Job Titles by Agency

Agency	Title	Agency	Title
Administration	Is Entrprs Technical Svcs Cns/Admr	Military Affairs	Fire/Crash Rescue Specialist 2
	Attorney		Mil Affairs Security Officer-Obj
	Is Entrprs Technical Svcs Spec		Fire/Crash Rescue Specialist 3
Agriculture, Trade, and Consumer Protection	Meat Safety Inspector-Obj	Natural Resources	Forester-Senior
	Food Safety Inspector-Obj		Conservation Warden
	Food Scientist-Adv		Forestry Technician-Adv
Children and Families	Licensing/Certification Specialist	Public Defender	Asst St Pub Defndr Atty
	Social Worker-Adv		Legal Secretary
	Program And Policy Analyst-Adv		Asst St Pub Defndr Atty Supv
Corrections	Correctional Officer	Public Instruction	Education Consultant
	Correctional Sergeant		Teacher
	Probation & Parole Agent (C)		Education Specialist
District Attorneys	Assistant District Attorney	Public Service Commission	Public Service Engineer-Adv
	Deputy District Attorney Supv		Public Util Auditor-Advanced
	Deputy District Attorney		Attorney
Employee Trust Funds	Trust Funds Specialist-Obj	Revenue	Revenue Field Auditor 5
	Trust Funds Specialist-Adv		Revenue Agent
	Trust Funds Specialist		Revenue Field Agent 4
Health Services	Resident Care Tech 2	Safety And Professional Services	License/Permit Prog Associate
	Psychiatric Care Technician		Petroleum System Specialist-Sen
	Nurse Clinician 2		Hydrogeologist-Senior
Office of Commissioner of Insurance	Insurance Financial Examiner-Jrny	Transportation	State Patrol Trooper
	Insurance Financial Examiner		Civil Engineer-Transpr-Adv
	Insurance Examiner-Journey		Civil Engineer-Transpr-Senior
Investment Board	Inv Board Non-Exec	Veterans Affairs	Nursing Assistant 2
	Inv Board-Exec 19.42 (10) (K)		Licensed Practical Nurse
			Nurse Clinician 2
Justice	Attorney	Workforce Development	Vocational Rehab Counselor (B)
	Dna Analyst-Sen		Employment Security Assistant 3
	Legal Secretary		Employment & Trng Spec (B)

Note: The table lists the three most common job titles for the 20 largest agencies in the state workforce.

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics by Classification Status

	Classified			Unclassified				
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Difference	p-value
Signed	23,648	0.54	0.50	913	0.38	0.49	-0.156	<.01
Gross Pay (000s)	23,648	51.71	19.76	913	83.98	52.40	32.272	<.01
Years Experience	23,648	13.43	9.17	913	12.84	10.39	-0.587	.09
Union Coverage	23,648	0.84	0.36	913	0.60	0.49	-0.243	<.01
Administrator	23,648	0.02	0.15	913	0.19	0.39	0.165	<.01

Note: This table displays differences in average baseline characteristics by classification status using the Department of Administration data in 2011, the year before the petition list disclosure. *Signed* is an indicator variable for the person having signed the petition. *Gross Pay (000s)* is the annual gross salary in thousands of dollars. *Years Experience* is the number of years someone had been employed by the state. *Union Coverage* is an indicator variable for being employed in a job classification that was represented by a union. *Administrator* is an indicator variable for an employee being a member of the officials/administrators job classification code. N, Mean, and SD represent the number of observations, mean, and standard deviation, respectively. The "Difference" column shows the difference in means between the two groups and the "p-value" column shows the associated p-value for the difference in means.

Table A3: Triple Differences Specification

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log Gross Pay			
Signed x Post x Unclassified	-0.070	-0.044	-0.032	-0.031
	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Observations	248,997	248,997	245,310	240,898
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
CEM	No	No	No	Yes

Note: The sample includes both classified and unclassified workers. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 includes year fixed effects, column 2 adds individual employee fixed effects, and column 3 adds controls for 2011 job title and 2011 years of experience bins interacted with year fixed effects. Column 4 includes the baseline controls from column 3 and uses the coarsened exact matching algorithm from Iacus, King, and Porro (2012), exactly matching on union coverage, agency, and EEO job code, and coarsely matching on years of experience. The *Signed x Post x Unclassified* row is the coefficient for the interaction between the *Signed x Post* indicator and an indicator for the person being in the unclassified service in 2011. I do not report other identified coefficients for clarity. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A4: Robustness to Including Fixed Effects for CEM Stratas

	(1) Baseline x Post	(2) Baseline x Year	(3) CEM Strata x Year
	Outcome = Log Gross Pay		
Signed x Post	-0.032	-0.032	-0.036
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Observations	7,427	7,230	7,395
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	No
CEM	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sample is restricted to employees who were in the unclassified service. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 includes 2011 job title and 2011 years of experience bins interacted with the *post* indicator. Column 2 includes 2011 job title and 2011 years of experience bins interacted with year effects. Column 3 interacts the stratas from the CEM algorithm with year effects rather than the baseline controls. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A5: Robustness Checks

	(1) Balanced Panel	(2) Common Names	(3) EC List	(4) Iverify List
	Outcome = Log Gross Pay			
Panel A: Unclassified				
Signed x Post	-0.051	-0.032	-0.036	-0.027
	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Observations	3,625	6,997	6,393	7,230
Panel B: Classified Admin.				
Signed x Post	-0.025	-0.018	-0.021	-0.033
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.013)
Observations	2,632	4,533	4,179	4,800

Note: The dependent variable in all specifications is *log gross pay*. All specifications include individual fixed effects, baseline controls interacted with year effects, and are weighted using the CEM matching procedure as in Table 2 column 4. Panel A reports results for people who were in the unclassified service as of 2011; Panel B reports results for people who worked as classified administrators as of 2011. Column 1 drops people who are not present in each year of the 12 years of data from 2006–2017. Column 2 drops people who have a first and last name that are in the most common 100 names in Wisconsin. Column 3 assigns signing status using only the Elections Commission list. Column 4 assigns signing status using only the iverify list. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A6: Robustness to Different Commuting Cutoffs

	(1) Exact	(2) 10 miles	(3) 40 miles
	Outcome = Log Gross Pay		
Signed x Post	-0.028	-0.036	-0.028
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Observations	7,309	7,243	7,145
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CEM	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sample is restricted to employees who were in the unclassified service. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 uses a matching criteria that matches exactly on work and residential counties. Column 2 allows for matches where the work and residential counties are within 10 miles. Column 3 allows for matches where the work and residential counties are within 40 miles. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A7: Robustness to Fuzzy Matching

	(1) Exact	(2) Fuzzy $\geq$ .98	(3) Fuzzy $\geq$ .95
		Outcome = Log Gross Pay	
Signed x Post	-0.032	-0.032	-0.036
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Observations	7,230	7,292	7,210
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
CEM	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sample is restricted to employees who were in the unclassified service. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 exactly matches on name. Column 2 uses the Stata `reclink` package, denoting a signer if the match score is ≥ 0.98. Column 3 uses the Stata `reclink` package, denoting a signer if the match score is ≥ 0.95. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A8: Varying the Promotion Definition in the Classified Sector

	(1) $\geq 0.5\%$	(2) $\geq 2\%$	(3) $\geq 5\%$	(4) $\geq 10\%$	(5) $\geq 10\%$, same job
Signed x Post	-0.003	-0.004	-0.004	-0.002	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	209,449	209,449	209,449	209,449	209,449
Mean	0.072	0.069	0.065	0.038	0.051
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
CEM	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: The sample is restricted to employees who were in the classified service and not in administrative positions. The dependent variable is various measures of a promotion. Column 1 defines a promotion as a job classification change and a base pay increase greater than 0.5 percent as in Table 4 column 1. Columns 2–4 define a promotion as a job classification change and a base pay increase greater than 2 percent, 5 percent, or 10 percent, respectively. Column 5 defines a promotion as a 10 percent base pay increase without requiring a job classification change. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A9: Attorney Characteristics by Signing Status

	Non-Signers			Signers				
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Difference	p-value
Law School Rank	317	72.25	40.35	269	67.04	41.94	-5.201	0.13
Years Active	317	15.26	10.83	269	16.40	10.75	1.136	0.20
WI. Law School	317	0.69	0.46	269	0.71	0.46	0.019	0.63
Discipline, Pre-2012	317	0.01	0.10	269	0.004	0.06	-0.006	0.38
Discipline, Post-2012	317	0.01	0.08	269	0.01	0.09	0.001	0.87

Note: This table displays differences in individual characteristics by signing status using the sample of attorneys employed as either public defenders or attorneys general. *Law School Rank* is the 2012 US News ranking of the law school the attorney attended. *Years Active* is the number of years since the person graduated law school as of 2011. *WI. Law School* is an indicator variable for the attorney having attended one of the two Wisconsin area law schools: University of Wisconsin or Marquette University. *Discipline, Pre-2012* is an indicator variable for the attorney having faced any public disciplinary proceedings prior to 2012. *Discipline, Post-2012* is an indicator variable for the attorney having faced any public disciplinary proceedings from 2012 onward. N, Mean, and SD represent the number of observations, mean, and standard deviation, respectively. The "Difference" column shows the difference in means between the two groups and the "p-value" column shows the associated p-value for the difference in means.

Table A10: Pay Differences by Signing Status, High-Earning Professionals

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log Gross Pay			
Panel A: Classified Employees				
Signed	-0.015			
	(0.004)			
Signed x Post	-0.012	-0.010	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	119,359	119,359	116,576	114,493
Panel B: Unclassified Employees				
Signed	-0.004			
	(0.029)			
Signed x Post	-0.086	-0.059	-0.026	-0.029
	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Observations	6,417	6,417	6,274	5,959
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
CEM	No	No	No	Yes

Note: This sample includes non-administrators who earned a gross salary above the median in 2011. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 includes year fixed effects, column 2 adds individual employee fixed effects, and column 3 adds controls for 2011 job title and 2011 years of experience bins interacted with year fixed effects. Column 4 includes the baseline controls from column 3 and uses the coarsened exact matching algorithm from Iacus, King, and Porro (2012), exactly matching on union coverage, agency, and EEO job code, and coarsely matching on years of experience. Panel A is restricted to employees who were classified in 2011; panel B is restricted to employees who were unclassified in 2011. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A11: Salary Differences for Campaign Contributors

	(1) Republicans	(2) Democrats	(3) Pooled
	Outcome = Log Gross Pay		
Signed x Post	-0.024	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Signed x Post x Republican			-0.012
			(0.017)
Observations	2,927	8,079	11,006
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes
CEM	No	No	No

Note: The dependent variable in all specifications is *log gross pay*. All specifications include year and individual fixed effects. The samples in columns 1 and 2 are people who donated to either Republican or Democratic campaigns, respectively. Column 3 shows results from a triple differences specification using a pooled sample of Republican and Democratic contributors. The *Signed x Post x Republican* row is the coefficient for the interaction between the *Signed x Post* indicator and an indicator for the person having donated to a Republican campaign. I do not report other identified coefficients for clarity. Campaign contribution data is from 2000–2010 and comes from the Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (Bonica 2016), see data appendix for details. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Table A12: Annual Pay Differences, Department of Public Instruction

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Log Gross Pay			
Signed x Post	-0.004	0.002	0.019	0.020
	(0.022)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Observations	4,654	4,654	4,120	4,001
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual FEs	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
CEM	No	No	No	Yes

Note: The sample includes all employees who worked for the Department of Public Instruction as of 2011. The dependent variable in all regressions is *log gross pay*. Column 1 includes year fixed effects, column 2 adds individual employee fixed effects, and column 3 adds controls for 2011 job title and 2011 years of experience bins interacted with year fixed effects. Column 4 includes the baseline controls from column 3 and uses the coarsened exact matching algorithm from Iacus, King, and Porro (2012), exactly matching on union coverage, agency, and EEO job code, and coarsely matching on years of experience. Standard errors are clustered by individual.

Data Appendix

A. Data Sources

Attorney Characteristics: For the unclassified attorneys, I hand-collected data from the State Bar of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin Court System (State Bar of Wisconsin n.d., Wisconsin Court System n.d.). This data includes directory information such as law school attended, current position (if applicable), and whether the lawyer has faced any disciplinary proceedings. I then matched the law school attended data to the 2012 US News rankings of law schools (U.S. News 2012).

Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections: This data (Bonica 2016) is downloaded from here: https://data.stanford.edu/dime. I only use data from Wisconsin over the period from 2000–2010, tabulating all individual contributions for federal or state campaigns. Specifically, I use the 2000–2010 "contribDB_[year].csv" files where the contributor's residential state is Wisconsin. I keep a subset of people who contributed to either Democratic or Republican campaigns, but not those who donated to campaigns for both parties.

Department of Administration: This data (Wisconsin Department of Administration 2017) includes the universe of Wisconsin state employees from 2006–2017. For each individual job, the data includes a person's gross annual pay, overtime pay, hourly pay rate, start date in the Wisconsin government, start date in current job, job title, and agency.

Elections Commission Petition List: This list (Wisconsin Elections Commission 2012) includes all of the petition signers' names as digitized by the Elections Commission (formerly known as the Government Accountability Board). The Elections Commission did not digitize the individual addresses.

Iverify Petition List: This data (Verify the Recall 2012) is the digitized petition names as they appear on iverifytherecall.com. This dataset includes the geographic information that was included on the petition sheets, such as address, city, and zip code.

B. Data Variables

Administrator: An indicator variable for whether someone was a member of the "officials/administrators" Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) job code.

Bonus Pay: The difference between someone's annual gross pay and their "predicted" salary given their base hourly wage. The predicted salary is (hourly wage * 40 hours * 26 pay periods) + overtime pay + discretionary merit compensation. In 2008, the state counted 27 pay periods and so I follow that formulation as well.

Demotion: An indicator variable for whether someone received a demotion in a given year. I identify demotions as when someone changed job titles relative to the job they worked in the previous year and did not receive a base pay increase relative to the previous year.

DMC: An indicator variable for whether someone received any discretionary merit compensation awards in a given year.

Log Gross Pay: An individual's annual gross pay converted to a logarithmic scale. If a person worked more than one job, I sum up their gross pay across all jobs.

Log Hourly Pay: A person's base hourly wage converted to a logarithmic scale. If a person worked more than one job in a year, I use their highest hourly pay rate for that year.

Promotion: An indicator variable for whether someone received a promotion in a given year. I identify promotions as when someone changed job titles relative to their job in the previous year and received a base pay increase above the general wage increase given to all employees relative to the previous year.

Transfer: An indicator variable for whether someone transferred to a different agency relative to the agency they worked at in the previous year.

Union Coverage: An indicator variable for whether someone was represented by a labor union in a given year. This variable does not vary by job codes — for instance, the assistant district attorneys are all covered by the same union.

Years of Experience: The number of years someone has worked in state government. I construct this variable by subtracting their start date year from the current year.

C. Linking Individuals across Datasets

The primary data merge is between the DOA administrative salary data and the petition lists from iverify and the Elections Commission. This section details the steps involved in matching this data to determine who signed the petition.

First, I match the DOA administrative salary data to the iverify petition list, taking into account the additional geographic information that the iverify data provides. Specifically, for each government employee, I observe their work location. For each petition signer, I know their residential zip code (as well as their individual address) in the iverify data. For those with missing zip codes, I geocode their zip code from their address information

using the Census Geocoder tool (U.S. Census Bureau n.d.).[1] I then tabulate each county that is within 25 miles from the respective residential zip code, using the NBER's Zip Code Distance Database and the Missouri Census Data Center's GEOCORR tool (National Bureau of Economic Research 2010, Missouri Census Data Center 2018). To merge the two datasets, I first match the DOA salary data to the iverify data by first name, last name, and county, using names that are unique in the iverify data. If a respective name and county combination matches, I code that person as a petition signer, unless the associated middle initials do not match. I then repeat the procedure using names that are unique by first name, last name, *and* middle initial. Finally, I repeat these two steps using government employee maiden names in case they signed using a different last name.

Then, I repeat the process using the Wisconsin Elections Commission (WEC) petition list. The set of steps is the same, except this merge does not match on county given that the WEC only digitized individual names.

To designate a singular measure of signing I proceed as follows:

(1) First, I denote a government worker as a signer if they match using the more restrictive iverify procedure as outlined above. I estimate that about 41 percent of government employees signed the petition in this first step.

(2) Next, I use the WEC data to enrich the procedure, as the iverify data has some pages missing and also has some misspellings. Recall that I'm exactly matching on names, so even a minor misspelling of one letter would result in someone being considered a non-signer. Independently, the WEC match estimates that about 60 percent of workers signed the petition. The WEC merge is mechanically larger than the iverify merge given that the former does not incorporate geographic information. In my final measure of signers, I only include positive WEC matches if the respective name does not appear on the iverify list. In other words, I include names that were missing from the iverify list, but which were not already ruled out given the additional geographic information. After this step, I estimate that 50 percent of workers signed the petition.

(3) Lastly, I exclude from the sample any government worker whose name appears more than once in the particular county in which they work. These individuals have such common names that it is very likely that there are other individuals in the county who did not sign the petition, making it difficult to definitively say whether they signed or not. This step drops about 3 percent of the data. After this final cut, my estimated rate of signing is about 49 percent for the full sample and 53 percent for the analysis sample.

[1] In some instances the Census Geocoder did not produce a relevant zip code. I fill in these cases using Google Maps (n.d.).

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