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APPENDIX

Legislative Votes Included in the Presidential Conformity Index

Law on the 1997 Federal Budget, fourth reading, January 24, 1997
Law on the 1999 Federal Budget, December 24, 1998
Law on the 1999 Federal Budget, February 4, 1999
Law on the 2000 Federal Budget, third reading, December 3, 1999
Law on the 2000 Federal Budget, fourth reading, December 3, 1999
Law on changes in the Local Governance Law as amended by the president, first reading, February 23, 1996
Law on Constitutional Amendments, as amended by the President, February 12, 1997
Law on Constitutional Amendments, Amendment III of the president, February 12, 1997
Law on Constitutional Amendments, Amendment VI of the president, February 12, 1997
Law on Changes in the Federal Road Fund Legislation, Amendment I of the president, April 18, 1997
Law on Changes in the Federal Road Fund Legislation, Amendment II of the president, April 18, 1997
Law on Changes in the Federal Road Fund Legislation, Amendment III of the president, April 18, 1997
Law on Changes in the State Secret Legislation, as amended by the president, September 19, 1997
Law on the International Relations of the Subjects of the Russian Federation, as amended by the president, October 30, 1997
Law on State Enterprises, as amended by the president, June 24, 1998
Law on Budget Development, as amended by the president, November 5, 1998
Law on the Bankruptcy of Credit Organizations, January 15, 1999
Amendment of the president to the 1999 Law on the Federal Budget, third reading, January 29, 1999
Law on Investment, as amended by the president, February 12, 1999
Law on foreign investment in the Russian Federation, as amended by the president, April 16, 1999
Law on Changes to Social Security Legislation, as amended by the president, June 25, 1999
Resolution on the Decree on the Realization of the Constitutional Rights on Land, March 13, 1996
Land Code, second reading, April 17, 1996
Land Code, July 12, 1996
Land Code, third reading, May 22, 1996
Land Code, June 17, 1997
Land Code, September 24, 1997
Land Code, April 22, 1998
Land Code, July 16, 1998
Land Code, Amendment 8 of the president, December 23, 1998
Land Code, Amendment 8 of the president, December 23, 1998
Kyrienko’s confirmation, April 17, 1998
Chernomyrdin’s confirmation, August 28, 1998
Chernomyrdin’s confirmation, September 7, 1998
Program of Legislative Activity during 1997 Autumn Session, September 3, 1997
Program of Legislative Activity during 1997 Autumn Session, September 3 II, 1997
Resolution on Government Corruption in St-Petersburg, October 10, 1997
Federal Law on Changes to Tax Legislation, November 13, 1997
Federal Law, ‘Moratorium on Social Security Reform, first reading, March 17, 1999
Confirmatory Estimation of the Ideal Point Space

To determine the qualitative nature of the second dimension, I conduct a confirmatory estimation of the ideal point space by applying informative priors on particular proposal parameters in order to test my conjectures about the nature of the second dimension. I examine the slope parameters (“discrimination parameters” in the item-response literature) to identify roll calls with insignificant discrimination parameters. In the one-dimensional model, 51 of the 1000 randomly selected roll calls used in the confirmatory estimation have discrimination parameters indistinguishable from zero (i.e., the 5th and 95th percentiles of the posterior lie on the same side of zero). A significant number of the roll calls with discriminatory parameters indistinguishable from zero are roll calls related to national defense, the army and the military, relations with neighboring and other countries, relations with minorities, and internal crises such as the war in Chechnya. I apply informative priors to two of these proposals to test the conjecture that the second dimension is related to issues of nationalism and relations with the West. I use the following priors:

\[
\pi(\beta_{1444}) = \mathcal{N}\left(\begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ -2 \\ 0.01 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix}\right) \\
\pi(\beta_{4107}) = \mathcal{N}\left(\begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 1 \\ 0.01 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix}\right)
\]

To ensure that these two roll calls discriminate exclusively on the second dimension, I use a tight prior around zero for the first dimension. The choice of the informative prior means for the second dimension are typical values for the parameters. The prior variances are chosen so that the prior means are two standard deviations away from zero. All other discrimination parameters and all the intercept parameters are assigned a vague \(\mathcal{N}(0, 100)\) prior. In moving to the two-dimensional model, additional roll calls have nonzero discriminatory parameters on one or two of the dimensions. There are 37 roll calls whose discriminatory parameters on both dimensions are indistinguishable from zero in the two-dimensional model. The improvement in model fit is rather modest, suggesting that little has been gained from adding a second dimension. To examine the alternative hypothesis that support for the president is the second dimension, I instead apply informative priors to two other bills: one supported and one opposed by the president. The use of these priors does not lead to further improvement in model fit, suggesting that it is unlikely that the second dimension captures presidential support.