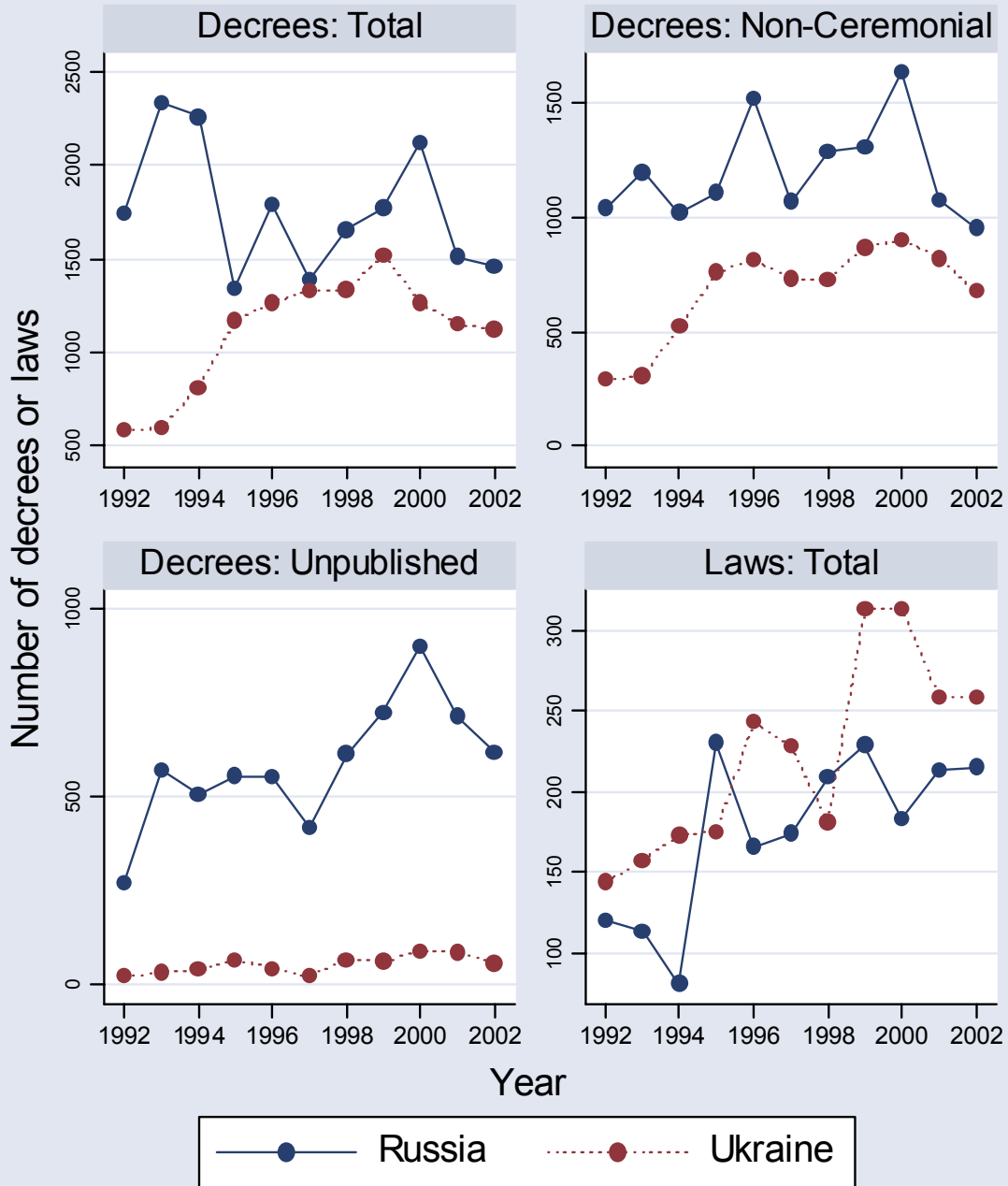


Figure 1. Presidential Decrees and Parliamentary Laws in Russia and Ukraine, 1992-2002



Source: Author's calculations; data from databases 'Sistema' /Center of Legal Information, Federal Agency of Government Communications, Russia/ and 'Zakonodavstvo' /Office of Computer Systems, Apparatus of Parliament of Ukraine/

Figure 2a. Policy-Related Decrees in Russia and Ukraine, 1992-2002

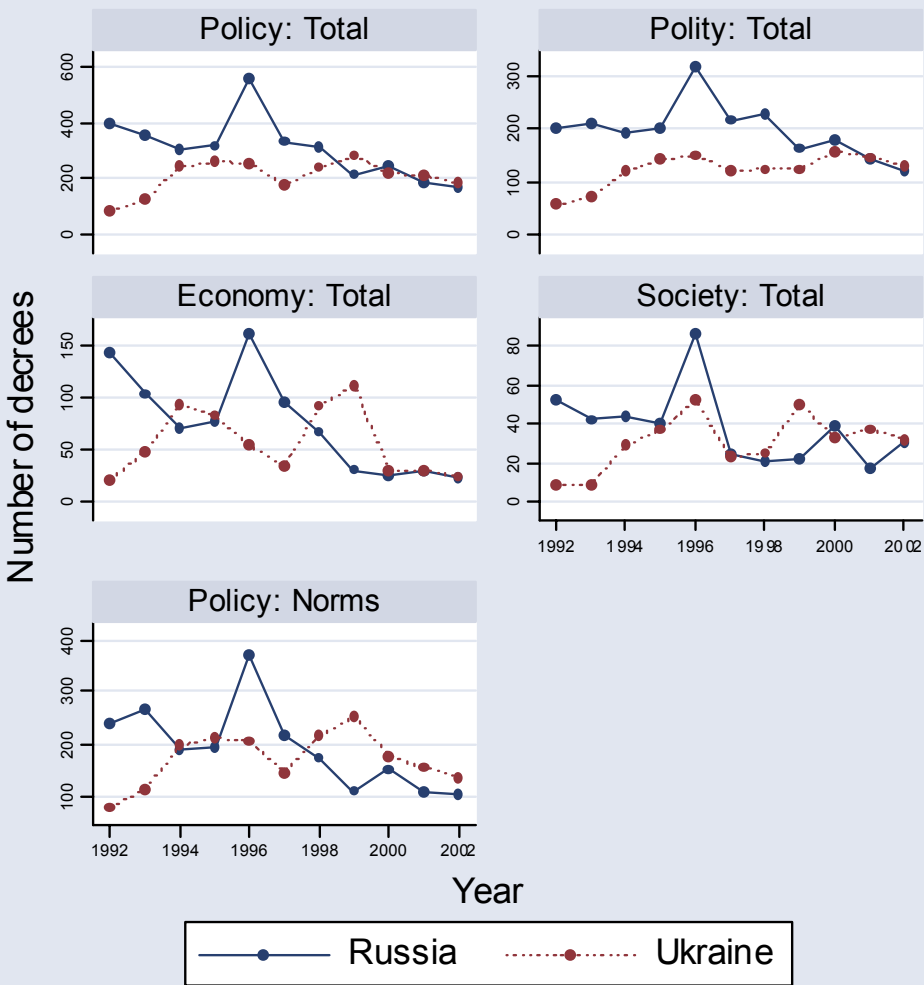


Figure 2b. Distribution of Policy-Related Decrees

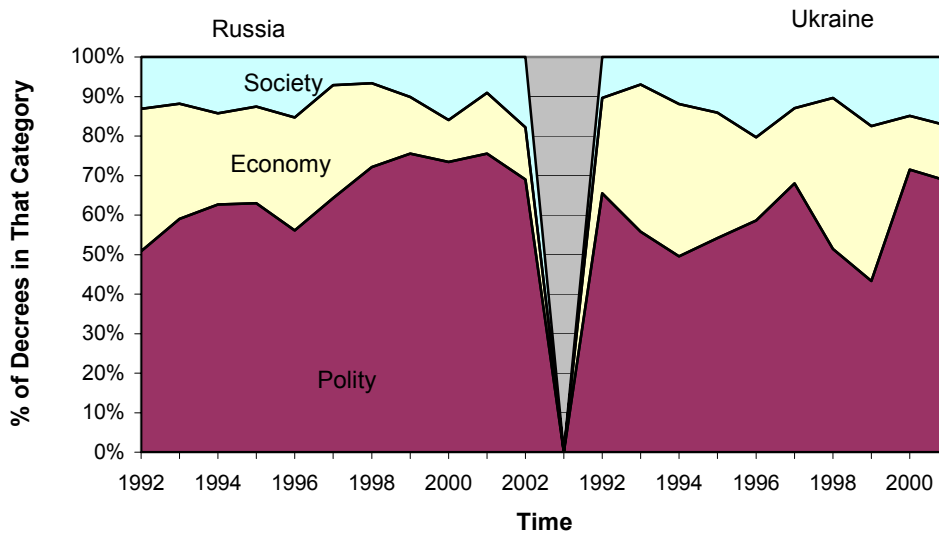


Figure 3a. Appointment Decrees in Russia and Ukraine, 1992-2002

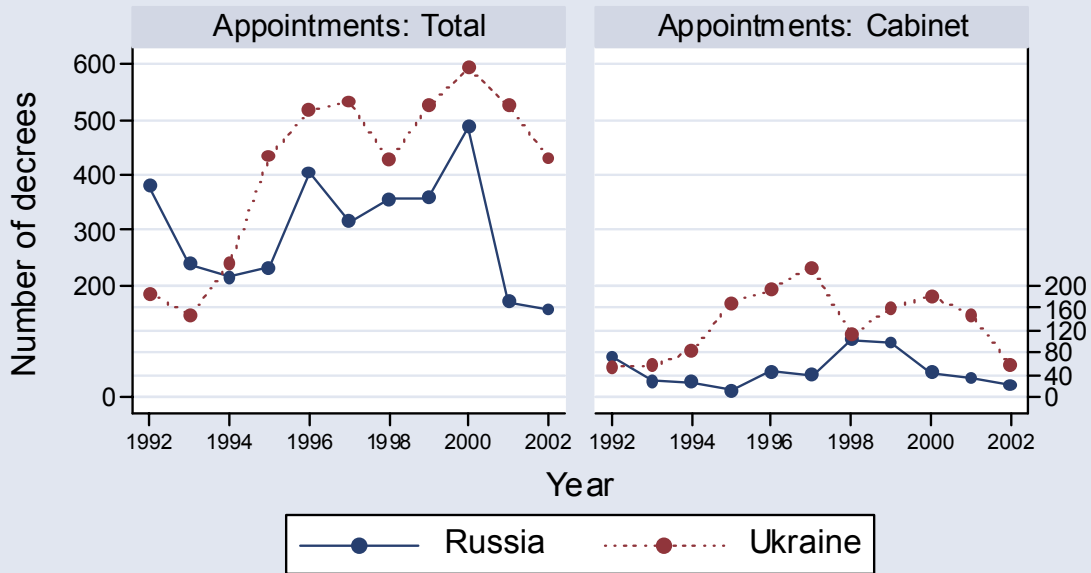
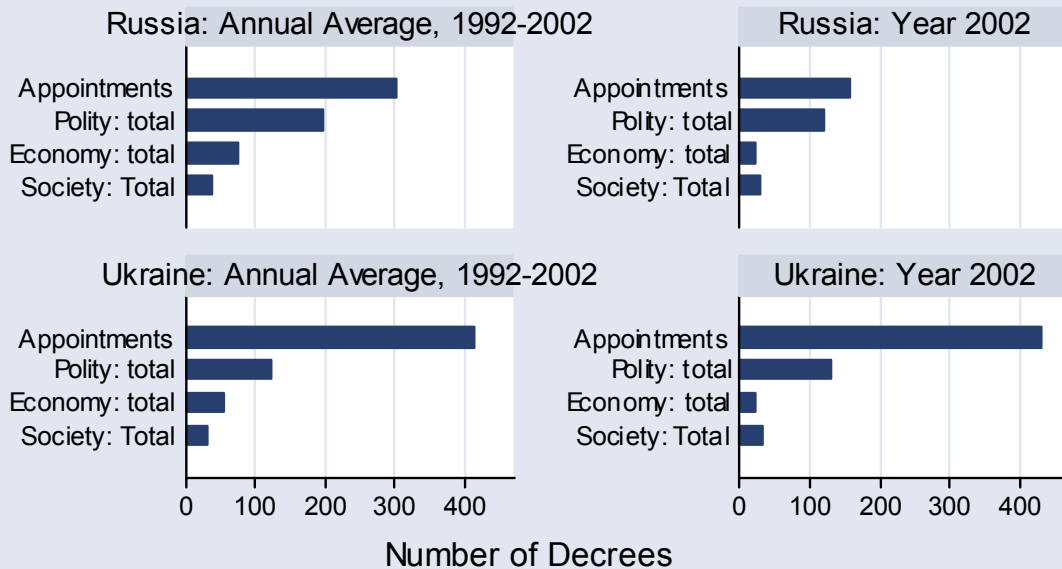


Figure 3b. Distribution of Decrees according to Decree Type



Source: Author's calculations; data from databases 'Sistema' /Center of Legal Information, Federal Agency of Government Communications, Russia/ and 'Zakonodavstvo' /Office of Computer Systems, Apparatus of Parliament of Ukraine/

Appendix I. Presidential Decrees: Sample Coding Sheet

Month	Year												total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
<u>Appointments</u>													
Cabinet ministers	2	0	2	6	35	2	4	36	3	3	2	2	97
Central government agencies	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	11
Military and police	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
Judges	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Presidential representatives in regions	0	1	7	1	2	5	3	0	3	2	4	3	31
State enterprise managers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	5
Others	4	11	11	15	17	8	8	19	16	16	6	8	139
<u>Ceremonial</u>	35	12	55	38	26	45	29	30	61	39	44	53	467
<u>Policy</u>													
<i>Polity</i>													
Government and administration	7	3	9	4	6	10	3	10	13	6	8	11	90
Military and police	1	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	5	2	0	0	14
Non Governmental Organizations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Citizenship and democratic norms	1	0	12	11	7	4	3	4	5	0	3	5	55
<i>Economy</i>													
Economic issues	3	0	2	3	1	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	14
Natural resources	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	4
Budget and finance	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	7
State enterprises	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	6
<i>Society</i>													
Social services	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Demographics and Nationalities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social problems	1	0	3	0	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	19
Arts and Sciences		0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	5
<u>Unpublished</u>	107	41	35	58	44	73	33	67	65	57	47	87	741
Total													

Appendix II. Distribution of Presidential Decrees, as Percentage of Total, 1992-2002

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>
Russia												
Appointments	17.45%	21.31%	10.32%	9.63%	17.55%	22.79%	22.95%	21.77%	20.44%	23.06%	11.38%	10.74%
Ceremonial	32.00%	42.96%	57.27%	57.65%	17.85%	15.34%	23.46%	22.69%	26.65%	22.96%	29.14%	36.05%
Policy	18.09%	22.27%	15.31%	13.73%	23.93%	31.75%	24.33%	19.33%	12.36%	11.62%	12.51%	11.90%
Unpublished	32.45%	13.46%	17.50%	19.71%	41.56%	31.19%	30.05%	37.55%	42.20%	42.79%	47.50%	42.13%
Ukraine												
Appointments	36.65%	31.74%	24.58%	29.59%	37.00%	40.74%	39.91%	31.91%	34.47%	46.91%	45.53%	40.76%
Ceremonial	39.40%	50.00%	49.00%	35.64%	35.29%	35.93%	45.24%	45.39%	42.89%	28.80%	28.79%	36.40%
Policy	19.36%	14.85%	21.57%	30.09%	22.34%	20.17%	13.35%	18.05%	18.82%	17.48%	18.47%	17.73%
Unpublished	4.60%	3.41%	4.85%	4.69%	5.37%	3.15%	1.50%	4.64%	3.82%	6.80%	7.20%	5.12%

Source: As in Figure 1

N. = 19,303 (Russia)

N. = 12,097 (Ukraine)

Appendix III. Presidential Decrees: Monthly Frequencies, 1992-2002



Note: Source as in Figure 1.
 (1996m6 and 2003m3 - presidential elections in Russia;
 1994m7 and 1999m10 - presidential elections in Ukraine)

Appendix IV . Policy Norms: Types of presidential decrees included/excluded into the count

Polity	Included	Decrees that: established the various types of central government agencies; determined the structure of military; regulated the activity of non-government organizations; specified the norms of behavior for the civil service, police, and military; dealt in general ways with democratic norms and citizenship rights. Example: N. 42 “On Establishing the Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation” (24.01.1992)
	Excluded	Decrees that dealt with organizational issues surrounding the establishment and functioning of the presidential administration and temporal commissions and committees established under the auspices of the president. Example: N. 27 “On Protocol Services Department of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation” (20.01.1992)
Economy	Included	Decrees that: established norms of economic activity, addressed issues of budget and finance; regulated the use of natural resources; provided various types of benefits for territorial constituencies
	Excluded	Decrees that addressed the problems of functioning, restructuring, or ownership of individual state enterprises
Society	Included	Decrees that: established social services; raised salaries and pensions; provided material assistance to different categories of citizens; addressed problems of nationalities and demographics; dealt with the issues of arts and sciences.
	Excluded	Decrees that provided benefits to the staff of individual government departments, individual citizens and individual families

Note: From the count in all three spheres (polity, economy, society) decrees were also excluded that: cancelled previous presidential decrees when the stated reason for the cancellation was the passage of a law in the sphere that was previously regulated by the presidential decree; regularly issued decrees that were the product of established procedure and did not imply initiative on the part of the president, such as decrees about the regular military draft and dismissal; a very small number of presidential decrees giving specific instructions regarding the implementation of statues and norms, a domain that is primarily reserved both in Russia and Ukraine for presidential executive orders.