Changing the Script? How International Organizations Change Local Media Coverage of Human Rights

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December 13, 2019*

Abstract

How do international institutions change the discussion of human rights violations and how does their message reach the broader public? I show how local media is a key conduit that is affected by international institutions' actions. I use analysis of media coverage from the Philippines to show that the International Criminal Court changed the content of media coverage of the war on drugs. I find that the ICC did *not* significantly increase total coverage of the war on drugs. However, the ICC triggered contestation between pro- and anti-human rights actors, which increased the proportion of media coverage focusing on the human rights aspects of the war on drugs. This helps explain why international institutions have struggled to win public opinion battles. Though their actions amplify the voices of actors who support the institution, media coverage concurrently amplifies the voices of their opponents. This study thus provides systematic evidence of how international institutions reach the mass politics through their effect on local media coverage.

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In 2016, Rodrigo Duterte became the 16th President of the Philippines, winning a free and fair election among a divided field by capturing 39% of the popular vote. He promised a tough stance on drugs, pointing to his intensely anti-crime record as longtime mayor of Davao City. Immediately after his election, he delivered by launching a "war on drugs" characterized by extra-judicial executions of suspected criminals, vigilante killings often funded by police, and the coercion of hundreds of thousands of drug users onto government-held lists and into questionable "rehabilitation" centers. The killings claimed the lives of over 12,000 people in their first year and a half. The war on drugs constitutes a pressing, ongoing human rights disaster.[1]

The swift accumulation of deaths is tragic. Particularly striking is the fact that Duterte's administration has conducted the war on drugs (WOD) publicly and in the shadow of international law. The Philippines ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in 2011, which exposes Duterte and other nationals to prosecution for crimes against humanity. Despite the devastating human consequences of the WOD and clear international legal ramifications, the WOD and Duterte, personally, remain very popular among many segments of the population.[2]

The ICC's struggle to gain traction in the Philippines is not unique. The recent backlash against international institutions in the global North, exemplified by Donald Trump's election and Brexit, is well-documented. Yet, an equally important battle has been waged in the global South over different institutions. Many countries from the developing world have bristled at the perceived imperialism of Western institutions, especially in the case of human rights related institutions, like the ICC. The time period 2016 to the present has seen many setbacks, with ICC cases collapsing after losing public opinion battles in polarized settings, as in Kenya. Gambia and South Africa

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[1]"If you are poor, you are killed." Amnesty International Report. 2017. `https://www.amnestyusa.org/files/philippines_ejk_report_v19_final_0.pdf` Accessed 6-4-19. I omit quotations from the term "war on drugs" from here forward, but note that this is a problematic term since this context does not involve an armed conflict and since this is a value-laden term used to justify violence.

[2]`https://www.bworldonline.com/understanding-president-dutertes-approval-ratings/`. Accessed 6-4-19.

have threatened withdrawal from the ICC; Burundi, Malaysia, and the Philippines have actually withdrawn. Other ICC members have flaunted their obligations to arrest suspects traveling abroad. Prominent academic and policymaker voices from the developed and developing world have cited these events when questioning the value of these institutions, considering instead whether regional or ad hoc bodies might be preferable to existing institutions.

What explains the difficulty facing international organizations (IOs) in these public opinion battles? I argue that understanding how ah IO's actions can amplify competing voices in local media provides part of the answer. Existing research emphasizes the subtle and indirect effects of IOs, which can spur pro-compliance constituencies and transnational actors into action and persuade citizens and elites about the appropriateness of certain policies.[3] Local media are a crucial conduit channel through which the messages of IOs and pro-compliance actors can reach mass audiences. Media coverage and its content represent the main point of contact for citizens and political events surrounding human rights situations like the WOD. The vast majority of citizens will not come in direct contact with a politician or representative from an IO. In many countries, relatively few citizens directly observe or participate in protests or NGO activities surrounding human rights. Yet, these events are discussed in the media, which can affect public opinion and ultimately policymaker choices (Soroka, 2003). The media is thus an important link between IO actions, elite politics, and any subsequent effects on subnational, mass politics. Understanding the effects of IOs on media content helps understand the opportunities and challenges facing IOs in the arena of public opinion.

Here, I provide systematic evidence about how the ICC has affected media coverage of the WOD in the Philippines. The ICC remains almost entirely in the background of the politics of the WOD until February 2018, when it announces a preliminary examination. From a research design perspective, this creates a unique opportunity to observe the media discussion of the WOD from before and after an important, external IO action. The Philippines political and media environments

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[3]Finnemore (1993); Barnett and Finnemore (2005).

also share characteristics with many countries where IOs operate. The Philippines is an imperfect democracy with a partially free media ecology that isn't completely controlled by the state.

Empirically, I examine a corpus of thousands of documents from Philippine online newspapers. I use machine learning to classify articles based on their relevance to the WOD. This allows me to assess whether the ICC increased coverage of the WOD. I then use topic modeling to assess how the ICC changed the content of coverage of the WOD. I find that the Court's actions are *not* associated with increased coverage of the core underlying issue of the WOD in the Philippines. Over time, coverage has faded and the Court's examination has not slowed or reversed that trend. While the Court's actions attract some coverage, this increase is short-lived. Contrary to theoretical arguments in which IOs spotlight and heighten coverage of an issue, the ICC did not place the WOD more prominently on the national radar.

However, I do find evidence of subtle IO effects on the qualitative features of coverage. The Court's actions *are* associated with an increase in the proportion of WOD coverage that is related to human rights. Even though total coverage of the WOD does not increase after the ICC's examination is announced, a greater proportion of the coverage incorporates topics related to human rights. This increase in the proportion of WOD coverage pertaining to human rights is not simply a result of coverage of the ICC itself. This increased human rights content pertains to topics distinct from content about the ICC and its examination.

This effect of the ICC on the content of media coverage is most consistent with a theoretical framework that treats IOs as triggers of contestation.[4] The ICC examination results in greater coverage of pro-human rights voices, but this is accompanied by increased coverage of the retorts and countervailing efforts of actors supporting the WOD. The increased human rights content consists mainly of increased coverage of public spats between human rights advocates and their political opponents. The ICC does not lead to a one-sided shift in the conversation towards voices that espouse human rights and respect for international law. While the Court has amplified certain pro-

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[4]Chaudoin (2016); Terman (2019); Deitelhoff and Zimmermann (2019).

human rights voices, media coverage has focused on the back-and-forth, action-reaction cycle of public statements from those supporting and opposing the WOD. The early framing and discussions about a human rights issue can affect the trajectory of longer-term persuasion and gradual changes induced by IOs and transnational actors, so understanding these shorter term effects is important.

More broadly, this study highlights the role of the local media as an intermediary or conduit through which IO actions can potentially be linked with bottom up action. By bringing systematic evidence to bear on this specific channel, we can better examine the links between IOs and mass politics. It is possible that additional coverage resulting from IO actions can have an effect in the longer run, even if competing voices are amplified. But at least in the shorter term, the countervailing effects of IOs – amplifying the voices of pro- and anti-compliance actors – are an important part of understanding why IOs have had such a difficult time using their platforms and prominence to sway popular opinion. Qualitative and quantitative scholars alike agree that political liberalization creates the conditions for IOs and international activists to be most effective through their effect on mass politics (Simmons, 2013). The media are a pillar of any liberal democratic country. Yet, even in relatively open and democratic societies, like the Philippines, IOs have lost many of the crucial public opinion battles underlying their recent setbacks. Since IOs induce media coverage of contestation over norms and international law, their ultimate effect on mass politics may be nullified or may even be to polarize opinions, rather than sway citizens towards support for the IO's goals.

1   The Subtle Effects of International Institutions

International organizations lack direct power to enforce compliance with their rules by sovereign member states. Yet, IOs can influence member state behavior indirectly, by changing the behavior of subnational actors. Several overlapping types of theories link an IO's action with reactions from

subnational actors.

In one set of theories, an IO provides information about the policies or practices of a government. This information helps subnational actors, like interest groups or voters, better demand that politicians implement their preferred policies. For example, Chaudoin (2016) develops a model of the ICC in which a Court action transmits information about the culpability of a government actor. This induces pro- and anti-compliance actors at the subnational level to increase their efforts to influence government policies, such as whether to remove or retain the accused politician. In a related set of theories, subnational actors use the information provided by an IO to assess whether the quality of their government's policies.[5] IOs help citizens attribute blame or credit to the policies chosen by their leaders or to unforeseen shocks. If bad policies are to blame, this information helps voters hold politicians accountable.

Other, related arguments highlight how IOs alter the social and institutional context in which governments make decisions. In the spiral model of compliance, IOs and transnational advocacy networks empower and legitimate subnational groups supporting human rights.[6] Shaming from international actors and pressure "from below," from domestic actors, pushes policymakers towards greater respect for human rights.[7] International law can shape citizens' interests and identities, casting certain practices into the light of legality and human rights.[8] According to Simmons (2009), "human rights accords will contain highly attractive principles for a quite receptive mass audience segment" (141), enhancing the IO's ability to fuel mobilization. Specific to the ICC, Jo and Simmons (2016) argue that: "When community norms [against crimes and impunity] are challenged in a clear way (signaled, for example, by ICC actions or statements), there is significant potential for a social reaction to law violations" (449). Nouwen (2013) finds that ICC actions stimulated debate over transitional justice in Uganda and Sudan. This, for a time, galvanized anti-

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[5]Dai (2005, 2006); Mansfield, Milner and Rosendorff (2002); Chaudoin (2014*b*).

[6]Risse-Kappen et al. (1999*a*).

[7]Murdie and Davis (2012); Flockhart (2006).

[8]Finnemore (1993); Barnett and Finnemore (2005).

impunity norm entrepreneurs in Uganda, and spurred the Sudanese government to close off space for activists. IOs can also create an institutional climate in which politicians are pre-committed to hearing or honoring the grievances of those supporting compliance with an IO's rules (Simmons, 2009). This pre-commitment, combined with spurred mobilization, helps explain the power of IOs to influence member state policies.

1.1 IOs and Media Coverage

At their cores, each of these theories describe ways in which an IO can affect subnational politics. Subnational actors, be they voters or interest groups or NGOs, play a critical role. Their pressure from below encourages accountability and reform from policymakers.[9] Yet, in many instances of ongoing human rights violations, few citizens come in direct contact with the actors mentioned in these theories of mass politics. Outside of victim communities, litigants, or activists, IOs rarely interact with citizens. Many legal institutions like the ICC intentionally operate at an arms length, for fear of appearing political.

If these theories link IOs and mass politics, what forms this link? The provision of information via the media is a critical intermediate step for theories based on information provision and socialization. Relatively few individuals are directly exposed to information or ideas from NGOs, activists, or IOs.[10] Rather, the vast majority "experience," those events through their coverage in the media.[11]

The media is a complex actor in any political situation. The media is both a conveyor of information and a reflection of the interests of citizens.[12] The media delivers direct, factual information

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[9]To be sure, IOs may also galvanize direct pressure from governments abroad. The two sources of pressure are not mutually exclusive. I focus here on the bottom-up effects of IOs, since the appetite for defending human rights has waned among major powers.

[10]Dutton (2017); Milanovic (2015).

[11]I focus on coverage in the country targeted by the IO's action. For research on media coverage abroad, see Hafner-Burton and Ron (2013); Savelsberg and Nyseth Brehm (2015).

[12]Baum and Potter (2008)

about events. They also convey messages and frames from political actors and elites.[13] Simultaneously, they respond to the demands of citizens. As a result, coverage reflects a marketplace equilibrium between the three actors, the media, the public and politicians. Media members choose among actions and frames supplied by various political actors, keeping in mind how their readers demand and consume different types of coverage. To be sure, a country's level of media freedom moderates the degree to which IOs might affect media coverage. The theoretical arguments here apply best to countries without complete state control of the media or domestic politics. As described in turning to the specifics of the Philippines, these are features common to many – though not all – of the places where IOs like the ICC operate.

Effect on the Extent of Coverage

How, then, might IOs affect media coverage? First, an IO's action is an event that can be thought of as an input into this marketplace equilibrium, possibly increasing coverage of an overarching issue. The IO action itself is potentially newsworthy because of the high profile of the institution. For example, as the International Criminal Court has gained notoriety and a higher profile on the world stage, its decisions have gained greater prominence in the public's eye. Even the ICC's preliminary examinations have been referred to as playing an "atrocity alert" function.[14]

An IO might raise the profile of the underlying issue that the IO action addresses, making it more newsworthy. Many of the worst human rights abuses are hidden and denied by state perpetrators. IOs can bring those issues to the foreground. Some issues related to human rights are long-simmering or ongoing; if they have faded into the background of public consciousness, attention from an IO might rekindle interest in those issues. For example, Nouwen (2013) found that the ICC increased awareness of the severity of the conflict in Darfur among Sudanese citizens.

Therefore, Hypothesis 1 describes how an IO might affect the extensive margin of media cov-

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[13]Entman (2007).
[14]Stahn (2017).

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erage of an issue:

Hypothesis 1. *IO actions increase the amount of media coverage of the issue in question.*

A handful of studies consider the effects of IOs on the amount of media coverage of a particular issue. On human rights specifically, Creamer and Simmons (2019) analyze media reports in Latin America around the years of a country's Committee Against Torture (CmAT) review. They find that a CmAT review year is associated with 8 additional articles mentioning torture, human rights, or the review, compared with an average of less than one article mentioning those topics the year before. Ramos, Ron and Thoms (2007) find that worse rights abuses and attention from Amnesty International can increase the amount of Western media coverage of human rights practices, though they do not analyze local coverage. Chaudoin (2014*a*) finds that WTO disputes increase media coverage of the trade barriers underlying the dispute, in the United States. Pelc (2013) finds that WTO disputes increase the number of US citizens who Google terms related to trade.

Effect on the Content of Coverage

Second, an IO's action could affect qualitative features of the content of media coverage of an issue, even aside from its effect on the extensive margin of coverage. By content, I mean the angles, frames, and voices emphasized in coverage of an issue. For example, the United States' use of practices like waterboarding was framed as "torture" in the media at times and "abuse" or "enhanced interrogation" at other times, which affected public support for the practice.[15] Media coverage of LGBT issues in Eastern Europe alternatively highlighted respect for the rights of LGBT citizens and frames emphasizing the right to defend the nation against hyper-liberal external interference or emphasizing the need to protect children from the alleged danger posed by homosexuality.[16] The discursive framing of human rights norms that takes place in the media can mediate the degree to

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[15]McKeown (2009).

[16]Ayoub (2014).

which those norms take root in the collective conscience of a citzenry.[17]

I argue that IOs can affect media content *indirectly*, through their downstream effects on actors with conflicting views of the underlying issue. IOs create a new battleground of contestation for opposing groups. The media covers this contestation, shifting part of the media discussion towards the countervailing messages of each group.

Consider first the effect of IOs on actors supporting the aims of the IO. Research on transnational politics describes a variety of possible activities for subnational and transnational actors, and IOs are thought to facilitate each. Those actors can provide information in the form of reports or testimonies. They can protest, give awards or incite shame. They can lobby or leverage other governments or international institutions.[18] Norm entrepreneurs work to provide information directly to the media.[19] Simmons (2009: p. 146) argues that treaties can engage previously inactive legal interest groups or "internationalist" groups to "take a new interest in the issues covered by the treaty." Dancy and Montal (2017) describe how ICC actions can spur litigation from reformer coalitions. If the existence of a treaty can have these effects, then distinct actions by an IO, like an ICC examination or investigation, can have similar effects. Each of these triggered actions could elicit media coverage.

IOs may have this effect by spurring attention to previously unrepresented voices who have new and different agendas and perspectives. For example, a high death toll from police operations may be reported on as a crime issue, with law enforcement actors describing operations and their outcomes. But when an organization of local lawyers is emboldened to label government police practices as an unlawful human rights violation, this event itself may receive coverage. And any reporting on that event is likely to highlight the legal and human rights-based aspects of the issue at hand, since those actors will emphasize those frames and angles. These actors can also mold and

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[17]Wiener (2004).

[18]Keck and Sikkink (1998); Risse-Kappen et al. (1999*b*).

[19]Finnemore and Sikkink (1998).

shape the external norm espoused by the IO as they "localize" the norm to domestic contexts.[20] In other words, an IO and subsequent subnational reactions may change the way a particular issue is discussed, even if the overall amount of coverage stays the same.

To see this possibility in practice, consider the following two excerpts from articles about the Philippines' war on drugs:

> The human rights group Karapatan hailed the ICC move, calling it a positive step towards establishing accountability and finding justice for victims of the drug war and their families. (Interaksyon 2-8-18)

> A United Nations human rights expert urged the government to see the preliminary examination the ICC into alleged extra judicial killings in the war on drugs as an opportunity to turn a definite page in the bloody campaign and undertake impartial and independent investigations ... Human Rights Watch said the ICC's announcement should spur efforts by United Nations member countries to push back against Duterte's efforts to legitimize his bloody drug war... (Interaksyon 2-9-18)

In both excerpts, the IO's action gave pro-accountability voices a chance to emphasize their stances in Philippine media coverage. In the former, Karapatan, a domestic human rights NGO, linked the WOD with human rights and accountability. In the latter, Human Rights Watch, an international NGO, emphasized a similar angle. The IO's action created a space for a break from the usual day-to-day coverage of an issue, creating a distinct event around which human rights advocates, both domestic and international, could coalesce. These voices filled this space with their own preferred frame, casting the war on drugs as a human rights issue in need of oversight and accountability.

However, in linking IOs with the content of media coverage, it is important to account for the fact that IOs do not just mobilize one side of an issue. They trigger contestation which can manifest in a variety of ways.[21] Some naming and shaming efforts from IOs or their supporters trigger backlash from those defending "traditional" values (Bob, 2012) or accusing outside actors

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[20]Acharya (2004).
[21]Chaudoin (2016); Terman (2019); Deitelhoff and Zimmermann (2019).

of bias against the target country (Dutton et al., 2017). State actors may openly resist the norms espoused by an IO.[22] Elites can intentionally defy the norms espoused by an IO's action (Terman, 2019). Leaders facing powerful "defiance constituencies" respond to external pressures by openly increasing their non-compliant behavior, gaining legitimacy from their intransigence.

The media often strives to present both sides of a particular argument or debate, so the amplification of pro-accountability voices may go in tandem with equal or greater weight placed on the response of accused politicians. Actors supporting the status quo, as well as norm "anti-preneurs," get the chance to argue in favor of current policies.[23] The inclusion of a new actor, the IO, in the debate also opens up a front where opposing voices can criticize the IO itself. Rather than defending the status quo policy, a government official or norm anti-preneur can instead shift the debate towards the appropriateness or objectivity of an IO's action. Since each of these pro- and anti-IO actions is potentially newsworthy, the media might report on these actions.

To again see these dynamics in practice, consider Duterte's multifaceted response to the ICC. He initially welcomed the examination as a way for him to prove his innocence and demonstrate the legality of the war on drugs. He also argued technicalities, such as claiming that the initial ratification of the Rome Statute was illegal since it had not been published correctly in a public registrar's outlet. He claimed that the complementarity principle meant that the Philippine case was inadmissable, and that the ICC should respect Philippine democracy. He instructed government officials and police to refuse to talk to any international representative.[24]

The following is from the article above mentioning domestic accountability voices, demonstrating how coverage of a pro-human rights voice is often paired with coverage of the opposing view:

> [Then Presidential Spokesperson Harry] Roque also dismissed the view that the thousands of deaths in the war on drugs constituted a crime against humanity, because the

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[22]Zarakol (2014); Adler-Nissen (2014).

[23]Bloomfield (2016).

[24]For another example, see Lugano (2017) on how the Kenyan government's anti-colonial, anti-ICC strategy appeared in the media.

war against drugs is a lawful, legitimate operation and a lawful use of force against a threat to national security and therefore cannot be characterized as an attack against (the) civilian population because they are civilians. (Interaksyon 2-8-18)

Duterte also frequently attacked the institution itself, demeaning or threatening his detractors. The ICC, Chief Prosecutor Bensouda, and UN Special Rappateur, Agnes Callamard, received the bulk of his ire. He stated that Prosecutor Bensouda would "get her comeuppance" if she pursued the examination.

Still unfazed by criticisms hurled against his war on illegal drugs, President Rodrigo Duterte on Wednesday, March 7, told ICC chief prosecutor Fatou Bensouda and United Nations (UN) special rapporteur on extra judicial executions Agnes Callamard not to mess with him. ... Duterte ridiculed Bensouda and Callamard, describing them as "black" and "undernourished," respectively. "Go ahead, you investigate me. But I assure you – I tell them – you will never have jurisdiction over my person. ... if I meet them, especially the black lawyer, (Bensouda) and the slim one, Callamard, who is undernourished and not eating, do not f*** with me, girls," he added. (SunStar 3-8-18)

Both amplifying the voices of pro-human rights actors and also the retort of opposing groups are ways that an IO can shift the media discussion towards human rights topics. Both effects will manifest in an increased presence of coverage pertaining to human rights, positively and negatively. I therefore assess the hypothesis that IO actions increase the degree to which human rights actors and issues receive coverage, and that this coverage emphasizes competing voices.

Hypothesis 2. *For the issue in question, IO actions increase the proportion of the media coverage that focuses on contestation over human rights.*

Some studies assess qualitative features of media coverage of IOs. For example, Brutger and Strezhnev (2017) analyze media coverage of investor-state disputes, showing that the domestic media more heavily covers disputes against the home state, as opposed to disputes initiated by the home state. Using a survey experiment, they show how this negatively slanted coverage can

bias respondents against the dispute settlement mechanism itself. A small body of work describes public coverage of international tribunals like the ICTR in Rwanda or the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL). Feinstein (2009) argues that media coverage of the SCSL was a positive factor, contributing towards the success of the court. She argues that outreach to the local media aided the court's mission by providing publicity for the trials and creating greater accountability for the judiciary. Others make similar arguments about exposure; local, ad hoc tribunals may be more effective because they are more easily seen by citizens. Hakimi (2006) argues that the media fills "significant communicative gaps" when it comes to communicating about international legal processes.

1.2 ICC Preliminary examination of the Philippines

From a research design perspective, the Philippine WOD and subsequent actions by the ICC represent a good place to assess these hypotheses. The Philippines is classified as "partly free" by Freedom House, with political leaders chosen by free and fair elections.[25] Popular opinion and public preferences can affect the government either through direct pressure or through replacement of elected representatives. Citizens are generally free to protest and engage in activism and many human rights NGOs operate relatively freely. While not perfectly open, this means that the Philippines is the type of country where an IO can feasibly mobilize meaningful action by subnational actors. This is in contrast to an autocracy where public preferences are less relevant or a developed democracy where well-established laws and institutions already (hopefully) protect human rights.[26]

The Philippine media environment shares many features of those analyzed in theories of media content production surveyed above. The Philippines hosts a diverse and varied media ecology. Whitten-Woodring and Van Belle (2017) code the Philippines as "imperfectly free" in their Global

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[25]https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/philippines Accessed 6-9-19.
[26]Simmons and Danner (2010).

Media Freedom Dataset. The media environment in the Philippines is similar to that of other countries with ICC examinations or investigations. The Philippines has the same GMFD score as Kenya, Georgia, Colombia, Uganda, Libya, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.[27] Private media companies produce widely read newspapers and have widely followed TV and radio stations that can and do criticize the government. While some outlets are slanted in particular directions, the media environment is not as bifurcated as in other countries. It is not the case that there is one go-to outlet for supporters of Duterte and one for his opponents. The largest broadsheet newspapers, like the Daily Inquirer and Manila Times, also have significant online presences and apps. By web ranking, the top outlets were the Inquirer, Philippine Star, Manila Bulletin, SunStar and Manila Times.[28]

However, media freedom has been marred by the killing of several journalists. Duterte has also publicly campaigned against certain media outlets, tagging them as "fake news" for opposing him and the WOD. An online-only outlet, Rappler, has received most of his ire, with the Philippine Securities and Exchange Commission revoking Rappler's license for violating laws against foreign ownership of media outlets. The ultimate impact of these actions is unclear, since Rappler continues to publish.

The Philippines has also experienced a distinct interaction with the ICC. The Philippine constitution established an independent Human Rights Commission tasked with upholding civil, political, and human rights. Shortly after the WOD began, its chairman, Chito Gascon, testified before the Philippine Senate committee on justice and human rights that the the WOD could constitute a crime against humanity that would fall under ICC jurisdiction.[29] However, after this, the ICC is rarely discussed or mentioned in the Philippines until late 2017, when the lawyer of an alleged hitman submits a brief to the ICC. Following its mandate and practice of not commenting on spe-

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[27]Though it has a better score than Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Afghanistan, Burundi, and CAR, according to the most recent year available (2012).

[28]2016 data. `https://www.4imn.com/ph/`. Accessed 6-12-19.

[29]`http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/808902/chr%2Dicc%2Dmay%2Dexercise%2Djurisdiction%2Dover%2Dph%2Ddrug%2Dkillings%2Dif`. Accessed 6-4-19.

cific countries until a preliminary investigation has begun, the ICC itself does not mention the Philippines and the WOD until February of 2018.

In other words, the Philippine WOD constitutes an example of an ongoing human rights issue that then experiences a distinct action by an IO. This creates an opportunity to study the effects of the "shock" of an IO action.

2   Corpus Construction

I begin with a large corpus of articles collected from the RSS feeds of major Philippine news outlets.[30] The [University Center name removed for anonymity] collects these (and millions other) documents.

As with many electronic article databases, one challenge is to limit attention to sources and a time window where content generation is stable over time. A news outlet's feed sometimes changes which sections of the newspaper are and are not included; feeds sometimes go offline or change location. This can create gaps or changes in the data generating process that might bias comparisons across time periods. To ensure that I examine a stable set of news feeds, I focus on four outlets: The Manila Times, The SunStar, Interaksyon, and the Philippine Daily Inquirer. I also focus on articles published from 9-10-2017 to 4-1-2018. During this window, the feeds for these four outlets produced a steady stream of articles, without any obvious changes to the quantity or content of their coverage.

These four outlets represent a large share of the Philippine broadsheet and online media market, which is dominated by English-language media. The Inquirer is the most popular broadsheet and also the most visited Philippine news website. In terms of web traffic, the Manila Times and Sun Star are among the top five outlets, as well.[31] Interaksyon was the online news portal for TV5, but

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[30]The full pipeline is described in greater detail in the appendix.

[31]Source: https://www.4imn.com/ph/   and   https://www.m2comms.com/blog/the-9-top-broadsheets-in-the-philippines/, accessed 8-30-19.

was absorbed into the PhilStar media group, which is another major news outlet in the Philippines.

There are an average of 168 total articles per day for a total of 33,591 articles. The top pane of Figure 1 shows the number of articles by day, broken down by outlet. The first vertical red line marks the week of Christmas and New Year's, where there is a noticeable decrease in the total number of articles. The second vertical red line marks 2-8-18, when the ICC examination was announced. The Manilla Times makes up a large proportion of the corpus, with an average of 103 articles per day, compared to 40 for the Sun Star, 13 for Interaksyon, and 12 for the Inquirer. The differences in the number of articles per day across outlets stems from the breadth of each RSS feed. The Manilla Times RSS feed covers more regions and has more sections.

Since Hypothesis 2 describes changes in the content of coverage that pertains to a specific issue, I also need to classify articles according to whether they are related to the WOD. While a majority of articles that are about the WOD contain common words, like "drug," using search terms as the only classification criteria risks false positives. For example, a scandal erupted in the Philippines concerning a vaccine for dengue fever, with corresponding articles often containing the word "drug." Similarly, sports scandals related to doping also appeared in the articles returned from a simple term search.

I use a dynamic, supervised machine learning classification approach to determine whether articles are relevant to the WOD. I first divided the window of time covered by the corpus into 10 week intervals. I centered the intervals so that the ICC's announcement of the Philippine examination is in the middle of one of the windows.[32] For each window, I randomly chose 500 articles that contained the word "drug."[33] I used this as the training data and manually coded each article as relevant to the WOD or not. I use this dynamic classification approach, focusing on each window separately, because the events and language used to describe the WOD can change over time and I want to get an accurate classification, within a particular time window. For example, the death of

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[32]The examination was announced on 2-8-2018; one of the windows covers 1-4-2018 to 3-15-18.

[33]Any time I refer to using the term "drug," I also used wildcards to include words like "drugs," "drugged," etc.

a young boy during a police interaction, Kian de los Santos, was a major topic related to the WOD and it was intensely covered after his death. This dynamic approach helps get better accuracy scores, inclusive of ephemeral events whose coverage "spikes" and then fades.

I used a broad rule to determine whether the article was related to the WOD: if the war on drugs was mentioned in the title, the first third of the article, or if there were at least three total references to the WOD, I counted the article as relevant. I used this relatively low threshold for what counts as relevant to the to WOD for two reasons. First, it allows for the possibility that discussions of the WOD could permeate even seemingly "distant" topics in media coverage. For example, an article may be predominantly about foreign investment into the Philippine economy. But if that article mentions how the WOD adversely affects investor perceptions, I potentially want to include that article as relevant to the WOD because that linkage might be a subtle way in which discussion of the WOD is linked to other issues. Second, the broader coding rule makes coding more consistent over time. By decreasing the number of close calls or ambiguous coding decisions, I decrease the severity of measurement error and make it less likely that measurement error changes over time.

I then used the term frequency - inverse document frequency (TF-IDF) scores for each article as predictors of an article's relevance to the WOD and searched for the optimal way to model this relationship. Term frequency refers to the number of times a word occurs in a document divided by the number of words in that document. Inverse document frequency refers to the total number of documents divided by the number of documents that contain a particular word. TF-IDF therefore measures a term's frequency, weighted by how discriminatory that term is among documents. A vector of these scores for each term describes each article. Hand-coded articles are then divided into a training and test set. I use a Support Vector Machine algorithm to search for the relationship between TF-IDF data and a document's hand-coded classification as relevant or irrelevant to the WOD, using the training data. That relationship is then used to predict the relevance classification in the test data. I repeat this process over different permutations of test and training data to search for the most accurate model of those relationships.

To give a concrete example, many articles about the WOD use the term "shabu," which refers to a type of methamphetamine used in the Philippines. Among articles about the WOD, this word appears frequently – it has a high term frequency. The term "shabu" is rarely, if ever, found in articles that are not about the WOD – it has a high inverse document frequency. The document classifier detects this pattern, recognizing that a document's TF-IDF score for "shabu" is a good predictor that an article pertains to the WOD.

To further ensure the classifier's accuracy, I checked the output against another set of 1,995 hand-coded articles, randomly sampled from the corpus, that were not used in the classification training data. To decrease the number of false positives – articles classified as relevant that are not actually related to the WOD – I added an additional criteria: the classifier must classify the article as relevant *and* the article must contain the term "drug." Table 2 reports accuracy scores for the additional hand-coded articles, using these two criteria. This classification process is very accurate, correctly classifying nearly all of the articles.

Table 1: Accuracy Scores

| | **Hand Code** | | |
	Not relevant	Relevant	Total
Classifier			
Not relevant	1,887	15	1,902
Relevant	15	78	93
Total	1,902	93	1,995
Accuracy	0.985		
Precision	0.839		
Recall	0.839		
F1	0.839		

The bottom pane of Figure 1 shows the number of articles by outlet, limited to only the articles that are relevant to the WOD. Here, the corpus is more balanced across the four news outlets. The Sun Star and Manila Times average per day 4.25 and 4.14 WOD-relevant articles per day, respectively, versus 1.48 and 1.24 for Interaksyon and the Inquirer. The decline around Christmas

is more pronounced for WOD articles, when news outlets focused on other (happier) subjects. The number of WOD articles declines over time, generally, with more articles in 2017 than in 2018. The number of WOD articles does not rebound after the ICC announcement, though I examine these trends in greater depth below.

Overall, generates a corpus that is extensive and also accurately classified according to whether articles do or do not pertain to the WOD.

3   Empirical Analysis

To assess the effects of the ICC on coverage of the WOD, I estimate a topic model describing the corpus of articles. Briefly, topic models are descriptive techniques a corpus made up of separate documents – in this case, separate articles. The goal of topic modeling is to infer the prominence of a particular theme or issue in an article, based on the words in that article and how those words tend to co-occur in articles. .

The model first infers or detects a set of topics from the text. Each topic consists of a mixture of word probabilities describing the likelihood of observing that word for a particular topic. For example, a topic related to the WOD may assigned a higher probability that the words "shabu," "bust," or "killing" appear, compared to their likelihood of appearing in an article about sports.[34]

A topic model describes each article as a made up of a mixture of the K topics. The mixture of topics for a particular article describe the proportion of that article that is associated with each topic. For example, a document about Trump's comments on the Philippine WOD may be half

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[34]Topic models treat articles as bags of words, without syntax, and stem words to create tokens, eg "drug," "drugs," and "drugged," are all associated with the token *drug*. To improve the coherence of the topic model output, I combined certain sets of tokens into one single token so that their semantic relationship would not be lost in the stemming process. For example, I replace the string "International Criminal Court" with the string "ICC" so that this would be a distinct token and to ensure that the "court" in "international criminal court" would not be conflated with other courts. I repeated this process for commonly used proper nouns and names so that their tokens would consistently refer to the correct entity, eg "Human Rights Watch" (original) becomes "humanrightswatch" and "Kian Lloyd de los Santos" (original, with variations) becomes "KianLloydDelosSantos." I also combined the term "war on drugs" into a single token "warondrugs."
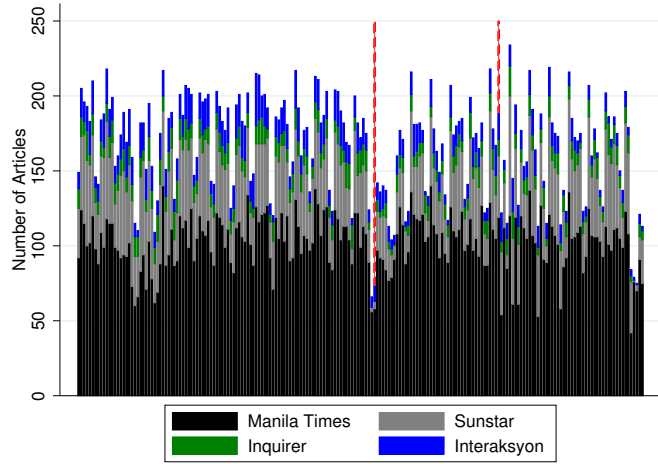
(a) All articles
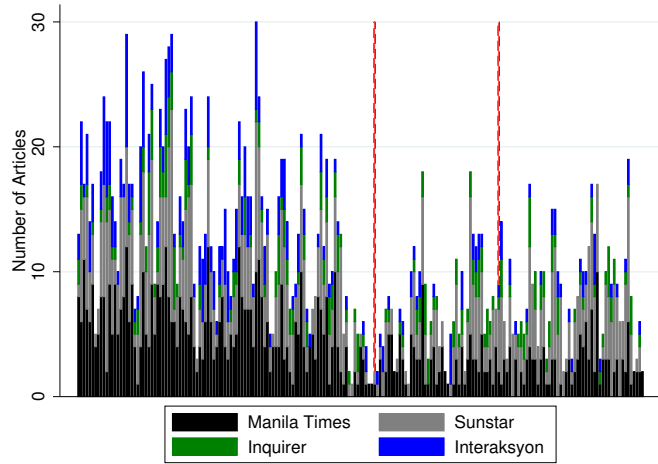
(b) Articles relevant to the war on drugs

Figure 1: Articles Per Day, Four Outlets, 9-10-2017 to 4-1-2018

associated with a topic about the WOD, half associated with a topic about Trump, and not at all associated with a topic about sports. I denote the set of topics as $k \in K$ and the set of articles as $a \in A$.

I am interested in the degree to which particular topics wax and wane over time, so I construct measures of the *prevalence* of a particular topic on a particular day, t. Let $\theta_{a,k} \in [0,1]$ denote the proportion of article a associated with topic k. Let A^t refer to the subset of articles from day t and let N^t denote the number of articles on day t. I define the prevalence of topic k on day t in two ways:

Total prevalence: $\pi_{k,t}^{sum} = \sum_{a \in A^t} \theta_{a,k}$

Average prevalence: $\pi_{k,t}^{av} = \sum_{a \in A^t} \frac{\theta_{a,k}}{N^t}$

The total prevalence of a topic described the proportion of that day's articles associated with a particular topic (or topics). Average prevalence describes the mean proportion of a particular topic, across all articles for a day. Total prevalence is thus (weakly) increasing in the number of articles, while average prevalence is not. For example, if one particular day had two articles, each with a topic proportion of 0.5 about topic 1 and 0.5 about topic 2, then the average prevalence measure for either topic would equal 0.5 and the total prevalence measure would equal 1.0. In practice, topic prevalence trends are similar using both measures.

3.1   Total Coverage of the WOD

To assess Hypothesis 1, I analyze *all* articles, both those related and unrelated to the WOD. I first estimate a topic model where the number of topics is set to 300.[35] I semantically labeled the topics and group them into three categories: Core WOD topics, Non-Core WOD topics, and other topics.

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[35]Below, I show results from a topic model where an algorithm chooses the number of topics.

To categorize topics, I looked at four commonly used metrics that describe the words associated with a topic: (1) words with the highest probability of being associated with a particular topic, (2) FREX (Bischof and Airoldi, 2012), (3) lift (Taddy, 2013) and (4) score (Chang, 2011). The first metric is straightforward; it measures the likelihood that a word appears in a particular topic. The other three metrics up-weight words that are more likely to be associated with a topic *and* up-weight words that are more exclusively associated with a topic. In practice, all four are helpful in labelling topics.

Core WOD topics refers to four topics whose highest scoring words on the various metrics are all, or nearly all, directly about the WOD and are about the war in general, its conduct, or its impacts. For example, topic 19 pertains to content about Oplan Tokhang,[36] the official name for the first phase of the WOD, and general policing operations in the WOD. Topic 122 pertains to reports of specific arrests, often in "buy-bust" operations, where undercover cops buy drugs and arrest the sellers. The words that score highest on the various metrics for topic 19, about Oplan Tokhang, are below. Figure 2 shows abbreviated examples of articles most highly associated with those topics.

- Topic 19 Top Words:

    - Highest Prob: drug, illeg, oper, polic, campaign, pdea, said, agenc, pnp, enforc, anti-drug, tokhang, will, war, suspect, conduct, person, warondrug, anti-illeg, oplan

    - FREX: tokhang, anti-drug, anti-illeg, pdea, drug-fre, oplan, drug, warondrug, pusher, badac, surrender, anti-narcot, illeg, menac, enforc, pnp, allatog, nnpdea, campaign, droga

    - Score: drug, pdea, tokhang, pnp, anti-drug, illeg, polic, anti-illeg, oplan, warondrug, enforc, suspect, drug-fre, pusher, oper, surrender, agenc, badac, war, campaign

    - Lift: doppo, drug-depend, dsppo, nncualop, sukod, allatog, badac, rehabinasyon, -budget, abduction-slay, abejuela-corral, adac, adzhar, badeo, bodycam, cbdrp, cualop, cvppo, dilg-bacolod, drug-affect

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[36]Translates to "Operation Knock and Plead," referring to the idea that the police knock on a suspect's door and the suspect pleads for his life.

Non-Core WOD topics refers to topics that are related to the WOD but that are about specific events or peripheral effects of the WOD. For example, Duterte's persecution of Supreme Court Justice Maria Sereno stems from her vocal push for due process for drug suspects. However, this particular topic is not about the WOD, *per se*, but rather about Justice Sereno. Some articles chronicle various events in her legal saga without mentioning the WOD directly. Other non-core WOD topics correspond to specific events that related to the WOD but that are not about the war in general. For example, a prominent defense attorney for an accused drug lord was assassinated, an event which received significant media coverage for a particular window of time, but was not about the broader WOD.

Oplan Tok.	Buy–bust
WATCH | Malaca ang: PNP returns to warondrugs, backstopping PDEA | December 5, 2017, 11:28 PM Malaca ang has allowed the Philippine National Police (PNP) to get involved in the anti–illegal drug opera	ELEVEN drug suspects were arrested in separate buy–bust operations in Quezon City on Sunday, police said. Eward Serioso, John Aranda alias Juancho, Maribeth Aranda alias Beth, and Darwin Mondido wer
THE Philippine National Police (PNP) is yet to record any casualties since it resumed the implementation of the Oplan Tokhang. PNP spokesperson Chief Superintendent John Bulalacao said the Oplan Tok	QUEZON City Police District (QCPD) operatives arrested 22 drug suspects in separate buy–bust operations on Friday. Juanito Constantino, Joemar Dubria, Jerry Baes, and a 15–year old female were arres
President Rodrigo Duterte has ordered the Philippine National Police (PNP) to return to the government s war on illegal drugs but in a supporting role, with the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDE	AT LEAST 63 drug suspects, including five minors, were arrested in separate buy– bust operations in various cities and towns in Cavite this week. First to fall in the operation by agents of Philippine

Figure 2: Example Docs

To demonstrate the degree of coherence of these topic labels, below, I list the most frequently occurring words for the four Core WOD topics.[37] I compare these to the most frequently occurring words of four other topics, topic 22, which is the Non-Core WOD topic pertaining to Justice Sereno, topic 128 pertaining to the dengue vaccine scandal, topic 89 pertaining to the South China Seas, and topic 35 pertaining to Trump and the Mueller report. The words associated with each topic demonstrate a high level of coherence. While identifying topics is an inherently subjective

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[37]Words are stemmed, eg the stem of "police" and "policing" is "polic."

exercise, the words associated with the most important topics for the present analysis generally correspond to coherent, distinct concepts. Their coherence resembles that of other distinct topics, like the South China Seas disputes or coverage of Trump. Having read thousands of these articles, I am encouraged that the topic models generally reflect features of the corpus.

- Most frequently occurring words

- Core WOD:

  – Topic 19: drug, illeg, oper, polic, campaign, pdea, said

  – Topic 122: drug, arrest, suspect, shabu, oper, illeg, barangay

  – Topic 171: humanright, kill, judici, extra, dutert, icc, govern

  – Topic 190: polic, victim, suspect, kill, said, shot, two

- Non-Core WOD:

  – Topic 22 (Justice Sereno): impeach, justic, sereno, committe, hous, complaint, chief

- Not about WOD:

  – Topic 128 (Dengue): vaccin, dengu, dengvaxia, health, sanofi, children, said

  – Topic 89 (S. China Seas): china, sea, philippin, south, disput, island, claim

  – Topic 35 (Trump): trump, campaign, presid, elect, investig, mueller, said

Figure 3 shows trends in the two measures of topic prevalence for the Core and non-Core WOD topics over time. The dots show a particular measure on a particular day. The solid lines are loess estimates with confidence intervals.[38] The blue dots and lines show Core WOD topics combined; red shows the total WOD coverage, Core plus non-Core. The vertical line marks the date of the ICC's announcement of an examination.

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[38]I chose a narrow bandwidth for the smoother to better show the bursting and fading of particular topics and quantities of coverage.

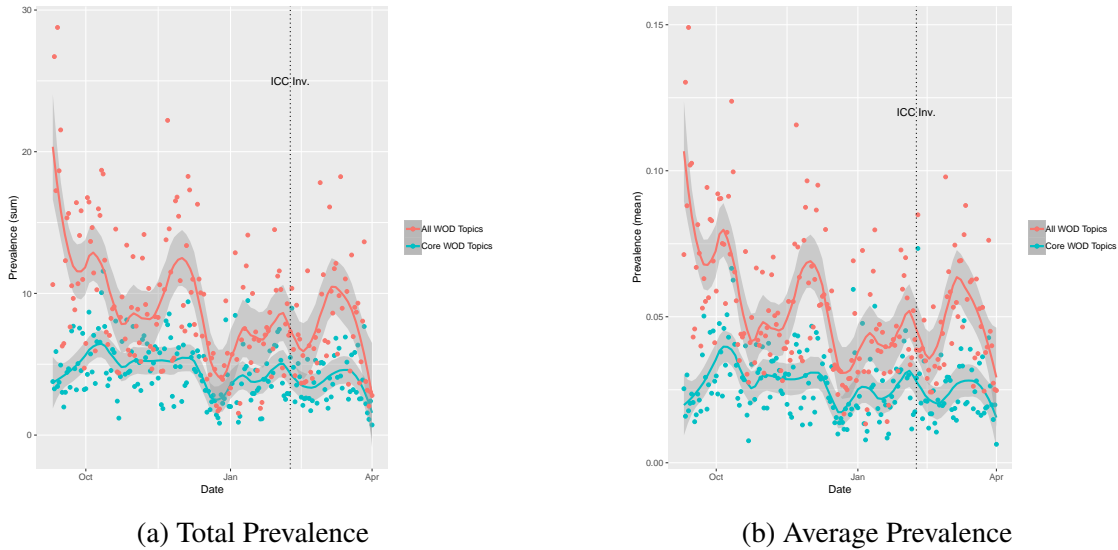(a) Total Prevalence   (b) Average Prevalence

Figure 3: Prevalence Measures, $k = 300$

Hypothesis 1 receives partial support: the ICC examination is not followed by an increase in coverage of Core WOD topics, but it is followed by an increase in some Non-Core topics a little later. Generally, coverage of Core WOD topics is consistent over time, making up approximately 2.5% of all coverage, as in the right pane of Figure 3. If anything, there is a slight decrease in coverage of Core WOD topics (blue line) following the ICC's announcement. This pattern is apparent when looking at the other measure of prevalence, summed over all articles, as in the left pane. It is not the case that the ICC examination triggered greater coverage of the main issue of concern: the conduct of the war or its overall impact.

Looking at the red lines, there is an increase in total coverage of the WOD. But this is driven almost entirely by changes in the prevalence of Non-Core WOD topics, as opposed to Core WOD topics. I turn attention to the content of these topics, in the next section.

It is likely that these results do not conform to expectations, because the WOD, like many prominent human rights issues, are covered in indigenous media outlets at an earlier time than the arrival of scrutiny from an IO. In Kenya, violence in 2010 (which would be the later focus of an ICC investigation) was well-covered before any ICC involvement. In Columbia, the civil war and

subsequent peace efforts were frequent media topics. Since the wheels of international justice turn slowly, it is possible that many human rights situations have already received or continue to receive coverage from local media.

3.2 Qualitative Coverage

Did the ICC change qualitative features of WOD coverage? To assess Hypothesis 2, I analyze the subset of articles that are classified as relevant to the WOD. I focus on a topic model with 75 topics to again allow for fine-grained topics.[39]

I again labelled topics and identified two specific categories of topics, those pertaining to the ICC and those pertaining to human rights. ICC topics pertain to the ICC, its examination, and Duterte's withdrawal. Human rights topics are those with "human rights" among their highest probability, FREX, lift, and score words. In practice, both categories are straightforward to identify. Topics containing the term "human rights" were also more likely to contain words associated with a more human rights-related frame, like "extra-judicial killing" or "crimes against humanity."

ICC	UN/HRO Spats
Harry Roque s former NGO rebuts Malaca ang arguments on ICC | March 15, 2018, 10:28 PM Centerlaw, former humanrights NGO of now Presidential Spokesman Harry Roque. The Center for International Law (Ce	DEFINITELY NOT AGNES | Palace rejects Iceland exec s call for Callamard to probe alleged EJKs in PH Jelly Musico, Philippine News Agency | February 27, 2018, 3:19 PM Reuters file photo of UN Special
The Philippines government has urged the ICC (ICC) not to allow itself to be used by some sectors that are out to destabilize President Rodrigo Duterte s administration. Speaking before the Genera	Malaca ang on Wednesday called United Nations (UN) special rapporteur on extra judicial executions Agnes Callamard incompetent and unfair in assessing the Philippines war on illegal drugs. Palace s
The Philippines may pull out its membership from the ICC (ICC) if it would not observe the principle of complementarity, which states that it will only exercise jurisdiction if a state is unwilling	Malaca ang on Saturday slammed the United Nations humanrights chief for his remarks against President Rodrigo Duterte. Palace spokesman Harry Roque said the UN s High Commissioner for humanrights Ze

Figure 4: Ex. Docs, ICC and HR Topics

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[39]I choose a smaller number of topics, since this is a subset of the broader corpus. As with the preceding section, I allow an algorithm to choose the number of topics and find similar results, described below.

Only one distinct topic covers the ICC (topic 19). Ten of the other topics pertain to human rights.[40] Figure 4 shows abbreviated examples of articles associated with the ICC topic and one of the other prominent Human Rights topics. The example human rights topic (topic 1) pertains to a series of high profile public spats between Duterte and UN Commission on Human Rights officials, namely Zeid al-Hussein and Agnes Caillamard. Here, too, the words with the highest probability of appearing in a topic lend credence to the coherence of the topics and my labels. Below lists the most frequently occurring words for the ICC topic, the UN spats topic, ASEAN and a topic pertaining to human rights reports about the Philippines.

- Most frequently occurring words

  - Topic 19 (ICC): icc, dutert, presid, said, crime, philippin, withdraw

  - Topic 1 (UN Spats): dutert, humanright, rapporteur, philippin, said, callamard, special

  - Topic 36 (ASEAN): humanright, said, dutert, summit, asean, philippin, countri

  - Topic 6 (HR Reports): humanright, philippin, govern, countri, report, intern, law

How did the prevalence of human rights-related topics change as a result of the ICC's examination announcement? The top two panes of Figure 5 show the total and average prevalence of the ICC and human rights topics by day, marked with the blue and red dots and smoothed loess lines, respectively. Looking at the ICC topic, the ICC receives very little coverage until the announcement of the examination. Once the examination is announced, the ICC is a major component of coverage of the WOD, but for a relatively narrow window of time. ICC topics make up over 30% of the coverage of the WOD for about a week after the announcement, which is substantial. But then this topic fades to the background relatively quickly.

Coverage of the ICC also increases substantially a few weeks after the examination announcement. This corresponds with Duterte's decision to withdraw from the Rome Statute and his public

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[40]The full list of human rights topics with associated words is in the appendix.

castigation of the ICC. With the withdrawal announcement, the ICC returns as a focus of media coverage to an even greater than with the examination announcement, with the ICC making up 40-60% of the WOD coverage and fading less quickly.[41]

More importantly, these figures show systematic evidence that actions by IOs can *indirectly* affect the media conversation about violations of international criminal law. Overall, coverage of the WOD pertaining to human rights topics fades over time, as shown by the red dots and lines. In terms of total coverage, human rights topics reach their nadir around Christmas time in 2017, which also corresponds with a general decrease in coverage of the WOD during that time period. In terms of average prevalence, human rights coverage declines steadily and reaches its lowest points in the month before the ICC examination announcement.

However, after the ICC examination announcement, human rights returns to greater prevalence in media coverage, both in terms of average and total terms. In the weeks following the ICC announcement, the proportion of WOD coverage pertaining to human rights topics reaches its highest level, over the whole time window. On average, 15-25% of the WOD coverage after the ICC announcement pertains to human rights, which is a level not sustained since the earliest parts of the analysis window. In terms of total coverage, the post-ICC human rights levels of prevalence are only topped by coverage in November of 2017, which is when ASEAN held a summit in the Philippines, and September 2017, which is when the Philippine Commission on Human Rights was stripped of its operating budget.

Why did coverage of human rights topics increase after the ICC's announcement? The increased coverage is associated with a small subset of the human rights topics, and they are most associated with contestation between human rights advocates and Duterte. The bottom two panes of Figure 5 show smoothed lines for the prevalence of each Human Rights topic over time. The purple topic that spikes after the ICC examination pertains to a highly public spat between Duterte

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[41]From a measurement perspective, the fact that the ICC topics are well-concentrated at a time that lines up with the corresponding events lends credence to the claim that the topic model is performing well at distinguishing and correctly placing topics.
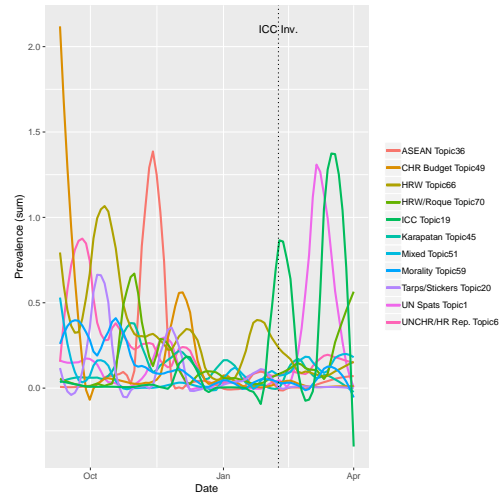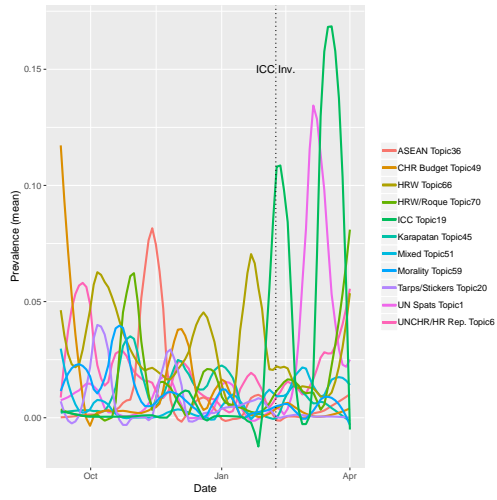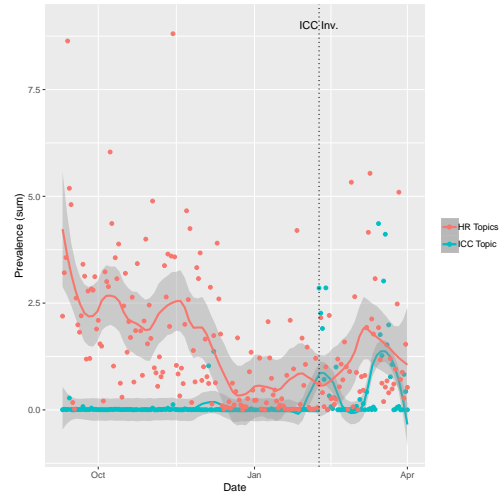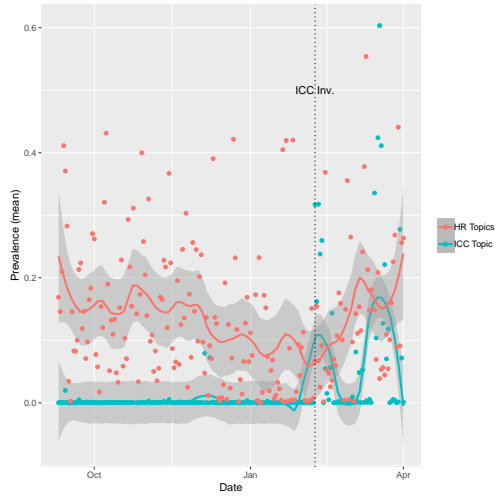
Average Prev.

Total Prev.

Figure 5: Prevalence Measures, $k = 75$

and U.N. officials, notably High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Raad al-Hussein. (This is the same topic with example documents in Figure 4, right side.) On March 1, 2018, Duterte instructed police to ignore the UN Special Rapporteur, Agnes Callemard. Later that week, his spokesman invited her to "swim in the Pasig River"[42] instead of investigating the Philippines. On March 7, 2018, al-Hussein gave a speech before the 37th Session of the Human Rights Council that strongly condemned the Philippines, after mentioning Duterte's initial positive overtures towards ICC cooperation.[43] He later went off-script during a news conference, suggesting that Duterte needed "psychiatric evaluation." Duterte responded by calling al-Hussein an "empty-headed... son of a wh∗ ∗ ∗."[44]

While the trends in topics are apparent with visual inspection, Figure 6 shows a statistical assessment of the prevalence of topics in articles before versus after the ICC's examination announcement.[45] Each point and corresponding 95% confidence interval shows the expected change in topic prevalence for an article after the ICC's announcement compared to before. Appropriately, comparing coverage after the ICC announcement to before, there is a large and statistically significant increase in ICC coverage. The increase in coverage of spats between Duterte and human rights officials is also large and significant. The only other topic with a statistically significant increase after the ICC is the topic labelled "HRW/Roque." This topic focuses detects mentions of Harry Roque, Duterte's spokesperson at the time. He was at the podium making many of the official statements in response to the ICC's examination and in announcing the Philippines' withdrawal from the Rome Statute.[46]

[42]https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/inside-track/197333-harry-roque-agnes-callamard-pasig
[43]https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22772&LangID=E.
[44]https://www.rappler.com/nation/199543-duterte-calls-un-rights-chief-empty-headed.
[45]Roberts et al. (2013).
[46]This topic also spikes a little bit before the ICC examination announcement. This corresponds with Roque's initial appointment, which was met with intense skepticism. Roque was a former human rights attorney; the irony of his new employment was not lost on journalists and activists, so his appointment received coverage that related to human rights.

Figure 6: Topic Prevalence Before/After ICC, $k = 75$
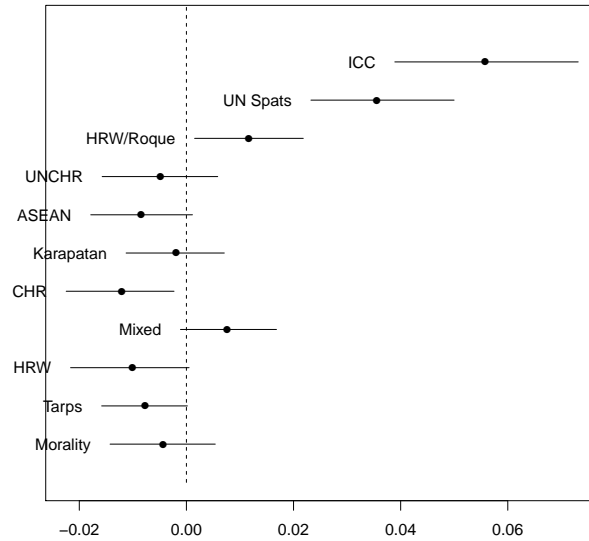
3.3 Threats to Inference

Number of Topics

As with all topic models, the number of topics is a parameter chosen by the researcher prior to the process of detecting the content of a given topic. I chose the number of topics for the models above with a desire to have fine-grained topics that were still recognizable. There is not a statistical quantity that identifies the "correct" number of topics for an STM. The algorithm described in Mimno and Lee (2014) selects the number of anchor words for topics, and therefore the number of topics, from a lower dimensional space, which can improve topic coherence and interpretability. I implementing this algorithm for the full corpus results in a topic model with 76 topics; for the WOD corpus, this results in a model with 99 topics. I again categorized topics in the same manner as above. For the full corpus, there are two Core WOD topics and two Non-Core topics. For the
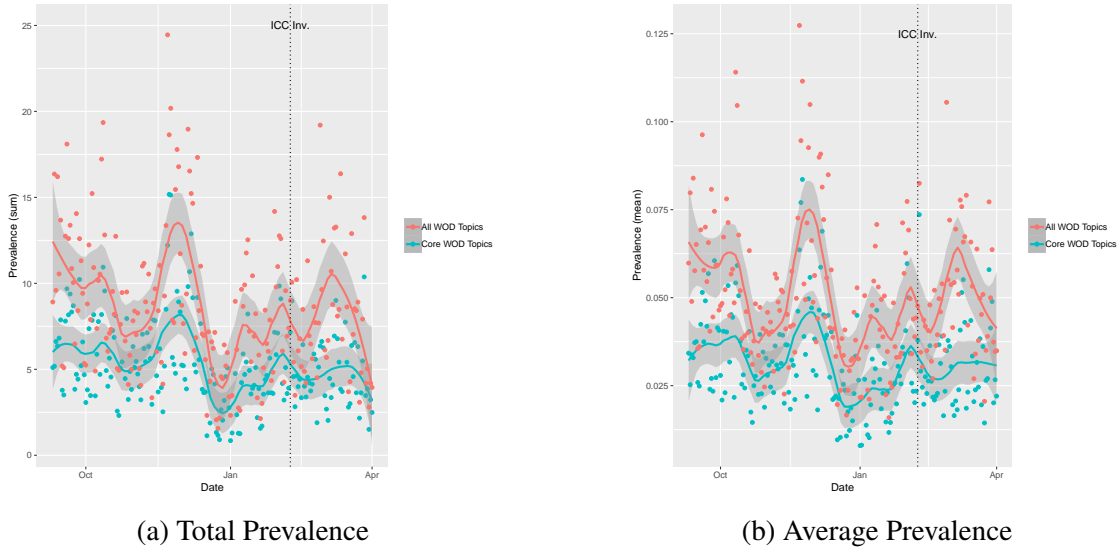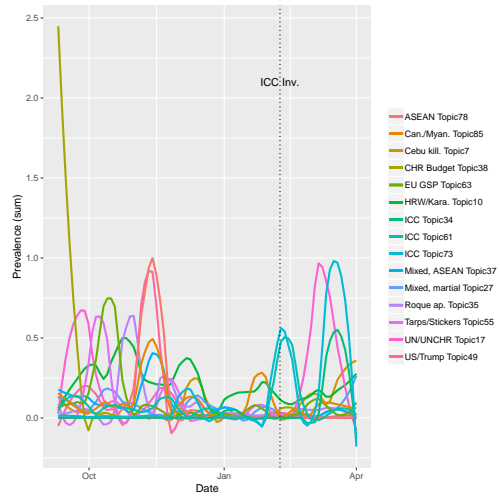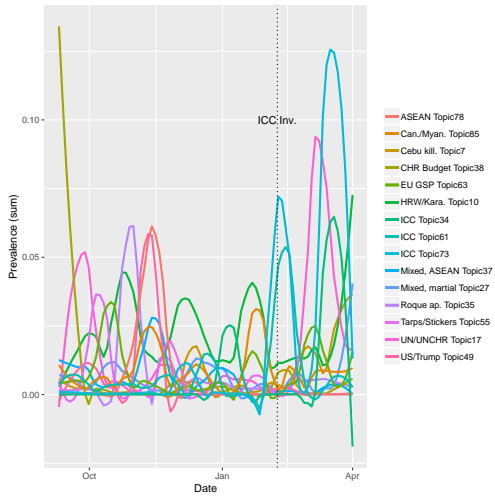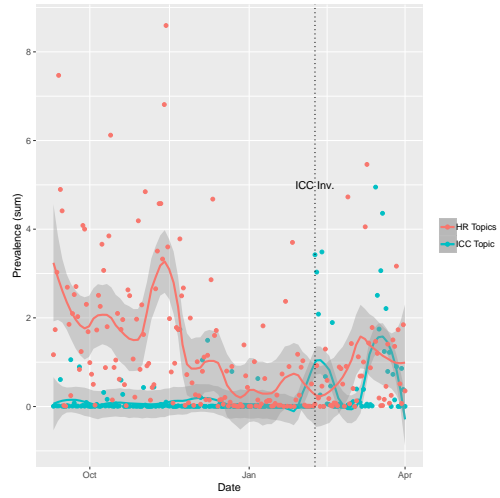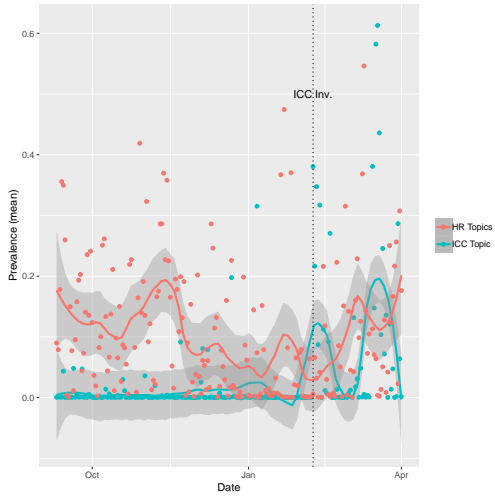
(a) Total Prevalence

(b) Average Prevalence

Figure 7: Prevalence Measures, $k = 76$

WOD corpus, the ICC is covered in three topics and there are twelve human rights topics.[47]

Figure 7 show trends in coverage in the full corpus, in the same manner as previous sections. As before, the ICC examination is associated with an increase in coverage of particular parts of the WOD, but not especially with an increase in coverage of Core WOD topics. The downward trend in coverage of the WOD is again apparent, though with an increase in November of 2017. Non-Core WOD topics do increase in prevalence after the ICC, again corresponding to the increased coverage of particular human rights-related topics.

Figure 8 show trends in coverage of the WOD corpus, as above. Increased coverage of the ICC is again detected, with two spikes at the announcement and withdrawals. Importantly, the increase in human rights coverage is again apparent. Coverage of human rights-related topics makes up 20-55% of coverage after the ICC, levels which are comparable to peaks from before the ICC. These results give comfort that trends in topics are not artifacts of the topic model's sensitivity to the chosen number of topics.

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[47]The ICC is covered in multiple topics because this model has separate topics for the examination and for the withdrawal announcement. The third topic is a less distinct hybrid of those two things.

Figure 8: Prevalence Measures, $k = 99$

Exogeneity

I have treated the ICC examination as an exogenous shock to media coverage. It is possible that coverage of the WOD anticipated the ICC's examination, or vice versa. If the former were the case, media members might have been changing their coverage in some way, knowing that an ICC announcement was coming. If the latter were the case, the ICC might be strategically timing its announcement based on changes in public opinion about the WOD and/or changes in the favorability of media coverage. Some IOs are strategic in their decision-making, just as human rights supporters and detractors are politically strategic.

However, both of these are very unlikely. With respect to whether the media anticipated an ICC announcement, the ICC is a notoriously close-lipped institution. Journalists covering the WOD, even those that focused on the ICC, received little forewarning. One journalist, who had cultivated extensive contacts with the Court, said that [they] had less than two days forewarning. And even still, their outlet held the story until the official announcement.[48] In many other ICC situations, government officials and NGOs have complained about the lack of communication between the Office of the Prosecutor and individuals in the country in question. For example, in qualitative interviews in the Republic of Georgia with 10 individuals from 8 governmental and non-governmental organizations, almost every single person mentioned how the ICC does not communicate much, and certainly not about the timing or content of an examination.[49] The "distance" between the ICC and discussion and realities on the ground has been a focus of recent scholarly work as well.[50] This secrecy is by design. Since the OTP is an investigative body, they do not disclose anything about the timing or content of their actions. It *is* possible that people outside the Court anticipated a preliminary examination of the Philippines at some point, but unlikely that they would be able to predict that actual announcement within any narrow window of time.

With respect to the possibility of strategic anticipation by the ICC, this too is unlikely. President

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[48] Author's interview, 9-9-19.

[49] Author's interviews, May 2019.

[50] Clark (2018).

Duterte and the WOD were, are, and have generally remained very popular among Philippine citizens. Figure 9 shows data from nationally representative, quarterly surveys conducted by Social Weather Stations. The two lines show net satisfaction rates (percent approving minus percent disapproving) for President Duterte and for the WOD.[51] Before the ICC examination, approval for both remained strong, with 60-70% more citizens expressing approve of Duterte and the WOD, compared to those disapproving. Approval for Duterte drops in the third quarter of 2017, but is trending upwards before the ICC examination, with only a slight dip before the examination. Approval for the WOD drops in the first quarter of 2017, but remains strong, with a slight upward trend until the end of the available data, June of 2018.

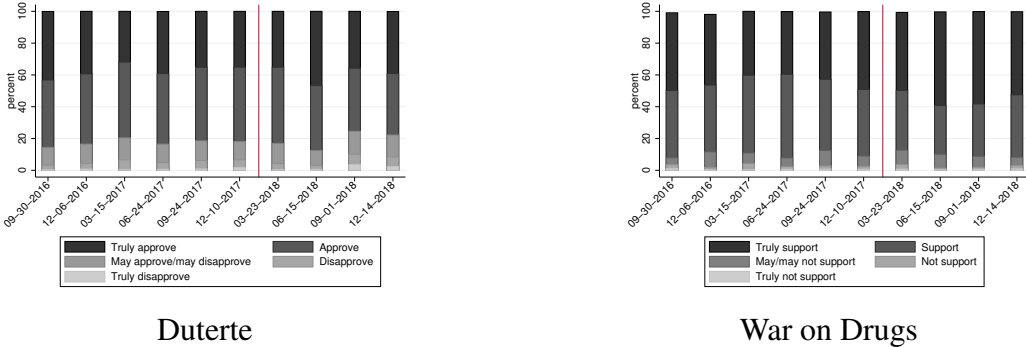Figure 9: Net Satisfaction with Duterte, War on Drugs
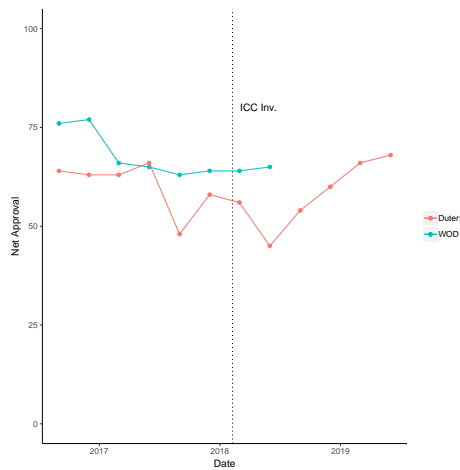
Source: Social Weather Stations. Questions were: "Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are in the performance of Rodrigo Duterte as President of the Philippines" and "Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with the performance of the administration in its campaign against illegal drugs." Net satisfaction equals the proportion answering very or somewhat satisfied minus the proportion answering very or somewhat dissatisfied.

Figure 10 shows similar data from another set of nationally representative quarterly surveys, from Pulse Asia. The top pane shows the distribution of responses to a question about approval of Duterte, and the bottom pane shows the distribution of responses to a question about approval for

[51]www.sws.org.ph. Accessed 8-14-2019.

the WOD. Both Duterte and the WOD remain overwhelmingly popular during this period, without any substantial changes in the run up to the ICC's announcement.

Figure 10: Approval of Duterte, War on Drugs

Duterte   War on Drugs

Given the overall strength of approval for Duterte and the WOD, it is unlikely that the ICC timed their examination based on an underlying political trend. The ICC is an institution that is particular weary of being seen as "playing politics." While international institutions are inherently political, the ICC zealously guards its image as an institution that makes decisions with a focus on the law and not politics. Furthermore, the wheels of justice turn slowly, and the ICC is not an especially nimble institution.

Placebo Testing

How do we know that the spikes in human rights coverage after the ICC's announcement are not coincidental? It is possible that spikes in coverage of an issue simply occur over time, and they might coincidentally occur after the ICC's examination. There are three pieces of evidence that make the above sections' interpretation of results more plausible. First, the particular topics that gain prevalence after the ICC are tied to the Court. The UN officials at the center of the topic related to public barbs between Duterte and the UN explicitly mention the ICC. One of the largest

triggers in the spats between Duterte and international human rights actors were remarks made at the 37th session of the UN Human Rights Council. Among those that figured most prominently, the remarks of High Commissioner al Hussein highlighted the ICC. Earlier in this UN session, Iceland's foreign minister had also provoked the ire of Philippine officials with his remarks on the WOD, which also emphasized cooperation with the ICC.[52]

> In the Philippines, following the International Criminal Court's announcement of plans to open a preliminary examination, the authorities announced their willingness to work with the UN on drug-related challenges. I deplore President Duterte's statement last week to elite police units that they should not cooperate [with international actors].[53]

Second, the other large spike in Human Rights topics that occurs during this time period is also tied to an international institution: ASEAN. In Figure 5, a spike in one Human Rights topic occurs in November of 2017. This topic, labelled "ASEAN" pertained to content covering the ASEAN meetings that took place in Manila during that time. With such a prominent event taking place in the Philippine capital, many international observers took the opportunity to highlight the problematic nature of the WOD. The Prime Minster of Canada, Justin Trudeau, explicitly linked the ASEAN summit with concerns about the WOD and human rights violations. When asked about discussions with Trudeau, Duterte said "I will not answer to any other bulls$* * *$, especially foreigners. Lay off."[54]

Third, spikes of the magnitude of the al-Hussein spat and the ASEAN summit are not especially common. No other topic in the corpus of articles related to the WOD spikes to above 0.125 in mean coverage during this time period. Few spike above 0.100, and they are shown in Figure 11. These

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[52]"Iceland to PHL: Allow human rights review by UN special rapporteur." GMA News Online. February 27, 2018. `https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/644805/iceland-to-phl-allow-human-rights-review-by-un-special-rapporteur/story/`. Accessed 8-14-2019.

[53]"High Commissioner?s global update of human rights concerns," March 7, 2018. `https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22772`. Accessed 8-14-2019.

[54]`https://www.reuters.com/article/us-asean-summit/duterte-berates-canadas-trudeau-at-end` Accessed 6-11-19.

tended to be other specific, concentrated topics, such as the resumption of Oplan Tokhang and Duterte's decision to replace two cabinet members, the chief of the Department of Interior and Local Government and the Dangerous Drugs Board. The only other topic to spike above 0.100 pertained to specific buy-busts, but this spike was largely the artifact of one article written on a day without many articles.

Figure 11: Average Topic Prevalence by Day, non-HR Topic Spikes, $k = 75$
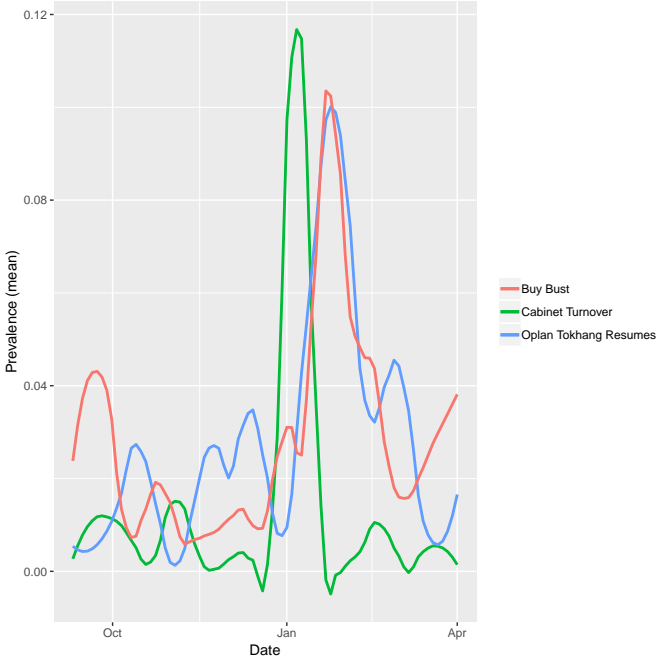
4   Conclusion

Many core arguments describe how international organizations' actions can change public opinion and mass politics. This study provides systematic analysis of how IOs affect local media, which is a crucial interlocutor between IOs and the public. The empirical domain, the war on drugs in the Philippines and the ICC's preliminary examination, share many features with other human rights situations that have attracted the attention of IOs. In this case, the ICC did not substantially

increase media coverage of the overarching issue of the war on drugs. The ICC did, however, increase the proportion of media coverage of the WOD that dealt with human rights content. This mainly resulted from increased coverage of contestation between groups supporting and opposing the WOD.

The results help us better understand the tough sledding faced by IOs in shifting public opinion. The last few years have been discouraging for IOs, especially the ICC. Facing populist, right-wing, and anti-colonial backlashes, many institutions have struggled to add and retain members or garner significant political victories. The competing effects of IO actions on the media debate over controversial issues explains one reason why. An IO might help amplify one side of the debate, but this also amplifies the other side of the debate, too.

The scope of this study suggests two avenues for future research. First, the effects of IOs via persuasion and socialization are longer term, gradual processes. This study focused on the short to medium term effects of IOs on local media discussions. This focus is important because the frames, voices, and narratives that emerge initially after an IO action can shape the future trajectory of media coverage. The framing of an issue, like public opinion, is sticky. Yet, it is possible that initial contestation and its coverage in the media can plant seeds that bear greater fruit in the future. While a pro-human rights voice may react to an IO's action, only to be drowned out on the pages of the newspaper by opposing groups, that voice may gain traction gradually. This study has provided on template and approach to looking for those longer term effects.

Second, the Philippines and the war on drugs are emblematic of many settings where IOs seek to have an impact, imperfectly democratic countries with partially free medias. These settings may be the ones where IO actions are most likely to induce media-covered contestation. IOs effects on media coverage and public opinion may be heterogenous, different in settings that do not share these characteristics. In a more closed political setting, Sudan for example, IO actions may fail to move media coverage at all. Or they may be the necessary spark that opens the door for previously-closed venues to host pro-human rights voices. In more open polities, IOs may only

magnify voices that already occupied a large part of public discourse. These predictions would also need to be systematically analyzed.

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A Corpus Construction

Due to space constraints, the main manuscript gives an abbreviated version of the full corpus construction and classification process. Here, I explain each step of the pipeline in greater detail. The full pipeline is shown in Figure 12 .

I began with a corpus collected by the Cline Center for Advanced Social Research at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.[55] The complete corpus is massive, currently containing over 75 million documents and adding an average of 30,000 new articles per day from approximately 5,000 RSS news feeds. I began with all documents from RSS feeds originating from the Philippines and a broad time window.[56]
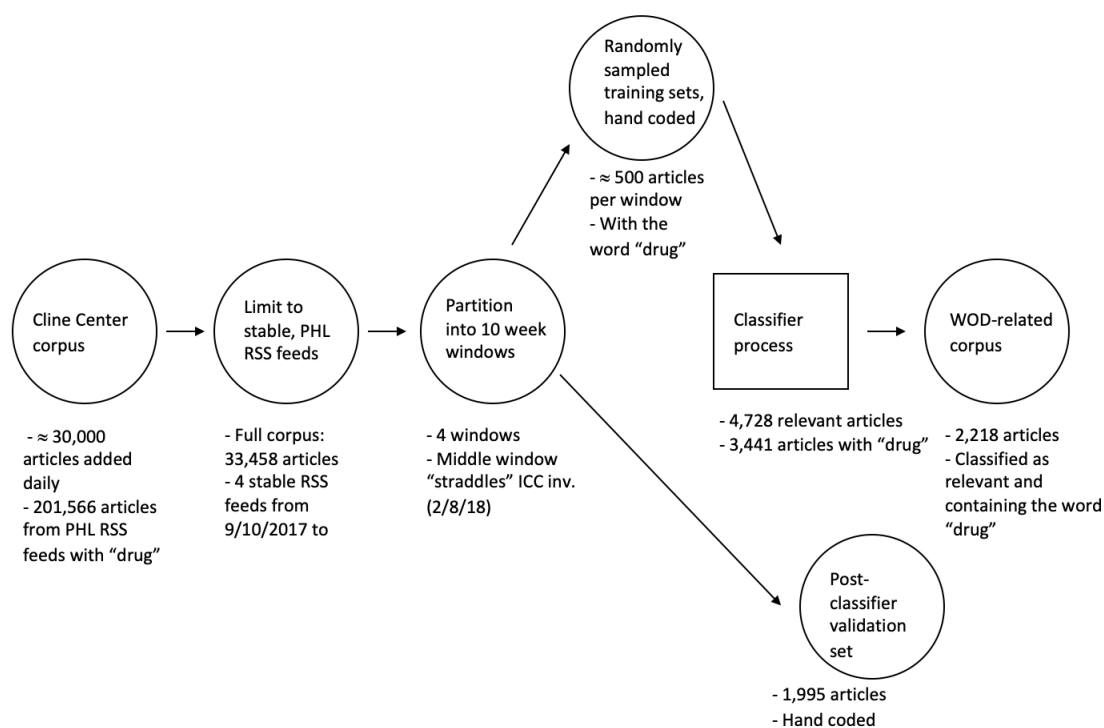

Figure 12: Pipeline for Corpus Construction

As with many electronic article databases, the coverage of RSS feeds can be uneven over time.[57] To ensure that I worked with a stable set of feeds, I focus on four outlets: The Manila Times, The SunStar, Interaksyon, and the Philippine Daily Inquirer. I also focus on articles published from 9-10-2017 to 4-1-2018. During this window of time, the RSS feeds for these four outlets produced a steady stream of articles, without any obvious changes to the quantity or content of the RSS feeds' overall coverage.

A.1   Feed Coverage

Figure 13 shows this coverage for each outlet over time. The vertical black lines show the number of articles contained in that RSS feed for a particular day. In general, these RSS feeds are stable over this time period. There is cyclicality in total over the course of a week, which is why feeds rise and fall every seven days. There is also a lull that is common to all of the feeds that occurs from Christmas to New Years; all four media sources decreased their output over that time period. There is a downward trend in total output for Interaksyon in the last month of this time window.[58] There are some common gaps across the RSS feeds (eg in late October 2017). These are times when the Cline Center's RSS crawler was briefly offline for maintenance. The vertical grey lines in the Inquirer's figure, pane (c), show days where the RSS feed produced zero articles. This was likely from the Inquirer RSS feed being offline.

A.2   Classification

Next, I classify documents according to whether they are likely to be related to the war on drugs or to a different topic. While a majority of articles that are about the war on drugs contain common words, like "drug," using search terms as the only classification criteria risks false positives. For

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[57]For example, the main RSS feed for a newspaper might contain all of the subnational or metro sections for certain months, but then move those articles offline or to another RSS feed.
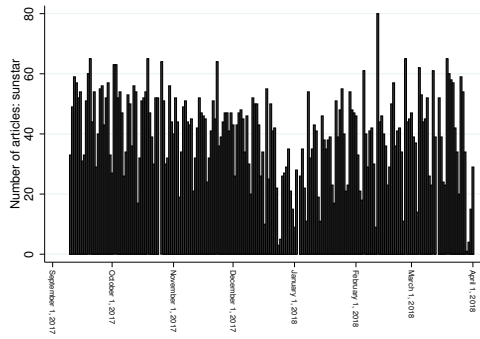
[58]This corresponds with an internal reorganization in the PhilStar Media Group. Interaksyon operations wound down around March of 2018 as the outlet's content was moved under a larger umbrella.
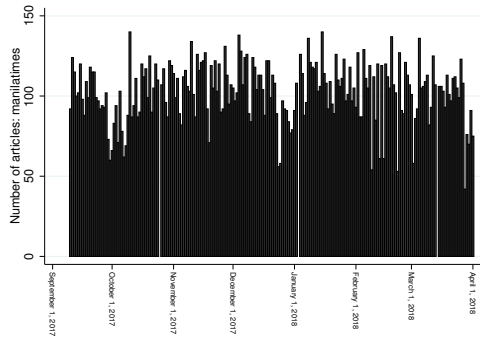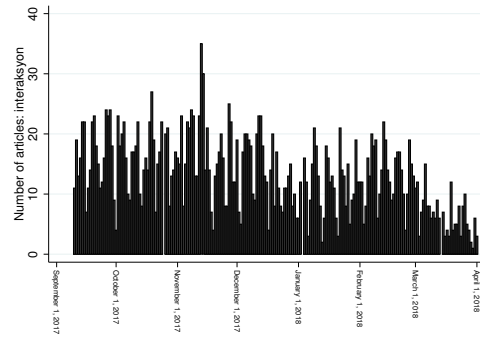
(a) Manila Times
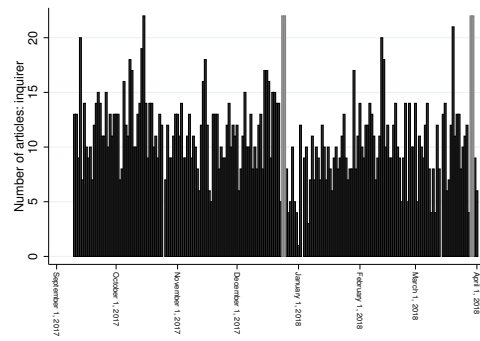
(c) Inquirer

(b) SunStar

(d) Interaksyon

Figure 13: RSS Feed Coverages

example, during this timeframe, a scandal erupted concerning a vaccine for dengue fever, with corresponding articles often containing the word "drug." Similarly, sports scandals related to doping also appeared in the articles returned from a simple search.

I took a dynamic classification approach rather than using one classifier for the entire time window. I first divided the window of time covered by the corpus into 10 week intervals. I centered the intervals so that the ICC's announcement of the Philippine examination is in the middle of one of the windows.[59] For each window, I randomly chose 500 articles that contained the word "drug."[60] I used this as the training data and manually coded each article as relevant to the war on drugs or not.

I used a broad rule to determine whether the article was related to the WOD: if the war on drugs was mentioned in the title, the first third of the article, or if there were at least three total references to the war on drugs, I counted the article as relevant. I used this relatively low threshold for what counts as relevant to the to WOD for two reasons. First, it allows for the possibility that discussions of the WOD could permeate even seemingly "distant" topics in media coverage. For example, an article may be predominantly about foreign investment into the Philippine economy. But if that article mentions how the WOD adversely affects investor perceptions, I potentially want to include that article as relevant to the WOD because that linkage might be a subtle way in which discussion of the WOD is linked to other issues. Second, the broader coding rule makes coding more consistent over time. By decreasing the number of close calls or ambiguous coding decisions, I decrease the severity of measurement error and make it less likely that measurement error changes over time.

I then used supervised machine learning to train a document classifier that was specific to each window.[61] The overall approach was to get as accurate a classification as possible, within a

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[59]The examination was announced on 2-8-2018; one of the windows covers 1-4-2018 to 3-15-18.

[60]I sampled from all news outlets, not just the four with stable coverage over time. Any time I refer to using the term "drug," I also used wildcards to include words like "drugs," "drugged," etc.

[61]I also identified and removed common "junk" text, like an ending to an article that asked readers to sign up for news alerts. Since particular outlets have different strings that are junk text, removing this decreases the likelihood

particular window, since the events and language used to describe the war on drugs can change over time. For example, the death of a young boy during a police interaction, Kian de los Santos, was a major topic related to the war on drugs and it was intensely covered after his death. Training window-specific classifiers helps get better accuracy scores, inclusive of ephemeral events whose coverage "spikes" and then fades.

Each document is first converted to a bag of words. I then calculate term frequency - inverse document frequency (TF-IDF) scores for each word in each document. Term frequency refers to the number of times a word occurs in a document divided by the number of words in that document. Inverse document frequency refers to the total number of documents divided by the number of documents that contain a particular word. TF-IDF measures a term's frequency, weighted by how discriminatory that term is among documents. A vector of these scores for each term describes each document. Hand-coded documents are then divided into a training and test set. I use a Support Vector Machine algorithm to search for the relationship between TF-IDF data and a document's hand-coded classification as relevant or irrelevant to the WOD, using the training data. That relationship is then used to predict the relevance classification in the test data.[62]

For example, many articles about the WOD use the term "shabu," which refers to a type of methamphetamine used in the Philippines. Among articles about the WOD, this word has a relatively high frequency and this word is rarely, if ever, found in articles that are not about the WOD. The document classifier detects this pattern, recognizing that a document's TF-IDF score for "shabu" is a good predictor for whether an article pertains to the WOD. I repeat this process over different permutations of test and training data to search for the most accurate model of those relationships.

To further ensure that the classifiers were doing a good job of classifying documents, I checked the output against another set of hand-coded data, not just the training data. I coded another 1,995

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that outlet-specific idiosyncrasies affect the classifier or later analysis.

[62]I repeated this algorithm in two ways: (1) limiting the corpus to the stable sources *before* classifying and (2) limiting to stable sources *after* classifying. Limiting the corpus before classification yielded higher accuracy scores.

documents, randomly sampled from the corpus, excluding documents used to train the classifier. The left hand side of Table 2 shows accuracy scores for these documents. Overall, the classifier does a good job, correctly classifying over 92% of documents. However, the classifier is prone to false positives, which drive down the precision score[63] and F1 scores.[64] Looking more closely at these documents, the false positives are very frequently articles that do *not* contain the term "drug." This is unsurprising, since there are topics that are sometimes, but not always, related to the war on drugs. For example, an article about the use of police dogs in the WOD might be correctly hand-coded and then classified a relevant; but this might make *all* articles about dogs more likely to be machine-classified as relevant.

Table 2: Accuracy Scores

Original Classifier				With "drug" Criteria			
	Hand Code				Hand Code		
	Not relevant	Relevant	Total		Not relevant	Relevant	Total
Classifier				Classifier			
Not relevant	1,751	5	1,756	Not relevant	1,887	15	1,902
Relevant	151	88	239	Relevant	15	78	93
Total	1,902	93	1,995	Total	1,902	93	1,995
Accuracy	0.922			Accuracy	0.985		
Precision	0.368			Precision	0.839		
Recall	0.946			Recall	0.839		
F1	0.530			F1	0.839		

I therefore added an additional criteria for relevance: the article must be classified as relevant *and* it must contain some form of the word "drug." Accuracy scores are recalculated with this change and shown in the right hand side of Table 2. The number of false positives decreases from 151 to 15; all but 15 of the original false positives lacked the word "drug." This change comes with a cost of a few additional false negatives, increasing from 5 to 15. This additional criteria yields a

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[63]Precision equals: True Pos. \(True Pos. + False Pos.).
[64]F1 scores are weighted averages of the precision and recall scores.

higher accuracy score, 98%, and much higher precision and F1 scores, with a smaller decrease in the recall scores.

B   Human Rights Topics

The manuscript gave examples of human rights-related topics in Section 3.2 on the qualitative features of the WOD coverage. Below, I give the full list of human rights topics: the ICC topic and the ten other human rights topics.

Topic 1 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: dutert, humanright, rapporteur, philippin, said, callamard, special, presid, investig, govern, countri, zeid, nation, agn, unit, high, peopl, commission, war, will

- FREX: callamard, rapporteur, zeid, agn, nnzeid, hussein, special, psychiatr, iceland, expert, nncallamard, insult, languag, commission, imparti, remark, fisher, jordan, high, evalu

- Lift: -say, callamrd, diego, garc, nncolvill, overstep, rupert, tauili-corpuz, unansw, unhcr, colvill, undernourish, uninvit, –certain, carpuz, decades-old, disinterest, estonia, execution-snmanila, foulest

- Score: callamard, rapporteur, zeid, agn, hussein, humanright, iceland, psychiatr, nnzeid, commission, nncallamard, roqu, indigen, colvill, tauli-corpuz, fisher, insult, expert, cayetano, dutert

Topic 6 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: humanright, philippin, govern, countri, report, intern, law, nnthe, nation, said, right, protect, state, kill, violat, concern, unit, statement, dutert, judici

- FREX: humanright, unhrc, upr, oblig, impun, recommend, abella, review, protect, intern, concern, nnabella, adopt, cayetano, assembl, uphold, council, sovereignti, labor, univers

- Lift: android, breadth, hrao, kick-, nations-supervis, siervo, unhrc, upr, download, aip, nnl-lanesca, paraguay, pcoonmanila, nngive, tres, army-n, derecho, humanrights-rel, unwav, joan

- Score: humanright, upr, unhrc, cayetano, abella, nnabella, oblig, sovereignti, impun, geneva, review, adopt, labor, recommend, extra, assembl, judici, humanrightswatch, intern, deleg

Topic 19 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: icc, dutert, presid, said, crime, philippin, withdraw, court, statut, examin, will, preliminari, state, investig, rome, countri, human, case, nation, alleg

- FREX: icc, statut, withdraw, rome, sabio, preliminari, bensouda, examin, jurisdict, treati, fatou, jude, human, hagu, squad, tribun, prosecut, prosecutor, africa, crime

- Lift: congo, cote, gambia, ivoir, kenya, overseen, pangalangan, pillag, sudan, uganda, viotti, complementar, gazett, hague-bas, iccn, nnsabio, asean-australia, colonialist, comeupp, darfur

- Score: icc, statut, rome, withdraw, preliminari, sabio, bensouda, examin, treati, fatou, prosecutor, jude, jurisdict, tribun, roqu, human, africa, unwil, complementar, hagu

Topic 20 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: barangay, said, drug, rupinta, ermita, campaign, captain, offici, will, illeg, villag, drug-fre, hous, citi, tarpaulin, humanright, imok, zafra, den, also

- FREX: ermita, rupinta, nnrupinta, tarpaulin, imok, zafra, captain, tanod, drug-fre, shame, felicisimo, chr-, carbon, den, label, sticker, vendor, barangay, nnzafra, abc

- Lift: abstain, bo-pk, kadtong, nnrupinta, tarp, nnermita, -pundok, daluz, ermitan, ermitan-disclaim, gabuya, guardo, labot, suyopanan, tuyo, well-lov, rizaldi, eastland, nnmiral, ermita

- Score: rupinta, ermita, tarpaulin, nnrupinta, imok, barangay, captain, zafra, drug-fre, chr-, felicisimo, tanod, sticker, vendor, shame, nnzafra, carbon, osm, abc, den

Topic 36 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: humanright, said, dutert, summit, asean, philippin, countri, presid, myanmar, issu, trudeau, kill, leader, nation, rohingya, world, asia, southeast, minist, region

- FREX: rohingya, trudeau, myanmar, canada, summit, kyi, minist, prime, suu, southeast, justin, canadian, asean, asian, asia, host, guterr, nntrudeau, prize, recept

- Lift: rakhin, buddhist, burmes, cambodian, chan-ocha, deforest, delhi, hearten, mistreat, nnsuu, nntrudeau, prayuth, trudeaun, rohingya, ruckus, trudeau, kyi, suu, tillerson, aung

- Score: trudeau, rohingya, myanmar, asean, canada, summit, kyi, minist, humanright, suu, southeast, trump, asia, prime, canadian, nntrudeau, asian, justin, guterr, vietnam

Topic 45 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: humanright, kill, lawyer, peopl, said, group, dutert, right, law, violat, defend, justic, state, philippin, govern, also, presid, karapatan, case, extra

- FREX: nupl, karapatan, palabay, counterinsurg, lawyer, peasant, defend, activist, regim, harass, humanitarian, presumpt, profess, manlaban, diokno, struggl, nnkarapatan, atti, impun, flag

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- Lift: bolinget, cadiz, gubat, iadl, magbubukid, paraleg, acha, ana-yongco, arbet, jubian, lawyersn, manticajon, nupl, tagdumahan, annalisa, ciampi, ephraim, otacan, jona, karap-atann

- Score: nupl, karapatan, humanright, palabay, peasant, counterinsurg, lawyer, pura, activist, nnkarapatan, manlaban, paraleg, forst, atti, olalia, attack, iadl, humanitarian, regim, petit

Topic 49 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: budget, chr, hous, senat, said, commiss, gascon, humanright, propos, will, nnthe, billion, million, constitut, govern, nation, repres, fund, committe, mandat

- FREX: gascon, budget, chr, alloc, propos, bicamer, alvarez, nogral, version, legarda, cut, realign, commiss, pantaleon, dpwh, billion, chito, mandat, p-trillion, slash

- Lift: nnablan, ablan, marcoleta, nnnogral, bicam, chalk, ched, chrs, darn, ill-advis, miscel-lan, mooe, mup, ncip, nha, pro-yellow, right–way, rodant, sagip, settler

- Score: chr, budget, gascon, senat, bicamer, alloc, propos, nogral, dpwh, billion, legarda, constitut, vote, version, p-trillion, alvarez, humanright, congress, chito, ncip

Topic 51 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: kill, said, polic, cebu, humanright, investig, citi, chr, will, case, offic, drug, suspect, can, right, govern, public, person, victim, oper

- FREX: chr-, villarino, acero, tampus, odron, chr, ibp, nnvillarino, umpad, spate, nncebu, assail, olano, chapter, alarm, solv, coalit, feb, unknown, cebu

- Lift: elain, overzeal, bathan, lepiten, betaganzo, bojo, espinosanespenido, ex-albuera, fionah, gonzalez, magdalena, myrfi, nnlepiten, patrimoni, pujan, nnacero, anathema, subangdaku, nalua, overkil

- Score: chr, chr-, cebu, acero, odron, villarino, tampus, umpad, humanright, ibp, nnvillarino, nncebu, olano, bathan, kill, david, assail, arvin, pro-, lapu-lapu

Topic 59 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: govern, can, constitut, one, presid, state, like, right, polit, even, law, power, time, now, revolutionari, humanright, will, without, peopl, just

- FREX: revolutionari, digniti, constitut, concept, nndu, proclaim, rather, absolut, seem, nnnnad-dress, charact, therefor, much, revgov, moral, oust, idea, legitimaci, enemi, sereno

- Lift: fuhrer, innat, sordid, tantrum, coteri, government-mand, hobb, immers, leviathan, pa-tern, preambl, theoret, triumphant, warmest, crept, devil-may-car, udhr, offensen, pervert, civilian-support

- Score: revolutionari, constitut, digniti, marco, nndu, concept, democraci, film, proclaim, polit, udhr, revgov, sereno, nnnnaddress, cabinet, european, charact, oust, europ, legitimaci

Topic 66 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: kill, drug, polic, dutert, said, judici, extra, death, suspect, ejk, peopl, administr, campaign, warondrug, war, govern, philippin, investig, presid, oper

- FREX: ejk, extra, judici, humanrightswatch, kill, vigilant, definit, toll, cayetano, death, poor, warondrug, thousand, resist, dealer, violent, drug-rel, advoc, victim, war

- Lift: -face, airbrush, al-jazeera, denier, hasan, implaus, mehdi, rebuf, rehash, uninvestig, skew, walsh, nnsingh, cover-up, ranoconnmanila, nations-l, nnkine, hypocrisi, caucus, ipa-papatay

- Score: ejk, extra, kill, judici, humanrightswatch, cayetano, death, warondrug, vigilant, toll, victim, nncayetano, dutert, abella, definit, poor, war, filipino, critic, violenc

Topic 70 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: roqu, humanright, presid, said, dutert, harri, drug, statement, spokesman, administr, nnroqu, govern, group, presidenti, lord, critic, spokesperson, palac, right, secretari

- FREX: roqu, harri, nnroqu, spokesman, spokesperson, lagman, humanrightswatch, palac, presidenti, nnpresidenti, unwit, advoc, kabayan, centerlaw, party-list, advisor, tool, destabil, journalist, edcel

- Lift: palawan-bas, refocus, reinterpret, barter, bunganga, chaff, charad, decay, malikot, pembertonnnaddress, pmnnewli, pretens, tokhang-styl, salo, kabayan, hollow, nroqu, gerri, jennif, non-stop

- Score: roqu, harri, nnroqu, humanright, spokesman, lagman, humanrightswatch, palac, unwit, centerlaw, presidenti, destabil, kabayan, nnpresidenti, edcel, spokesperson, malaca, lord, party-list, panelo