

## **Appendix Sections**

**Appendix A:** Corpus Construction (pp. 2-9)

**Appendix B:** Extent of WOD Coverage (pp. 10-12)

**Appendix C:** Alternate Measure of Topic Prevalence (pp. 13-17)

**Appendix D:** Human Rights Topics (pp. 18-28)

**Appendix E:** Endogeneity of ICC/Coverage Data (pp. 29-30)

**Appendix F:** Placebo Testing (pp. 31-35)

**Appendix G:** Alternate Topic Number, Alternate Preprocessing Results (pp. 36-41)

**Appendix H:** Results Including/Excluding Manila Times (pp. 42-44)

**Appendix I:** Survey Experimental Results (pp. 45-61)

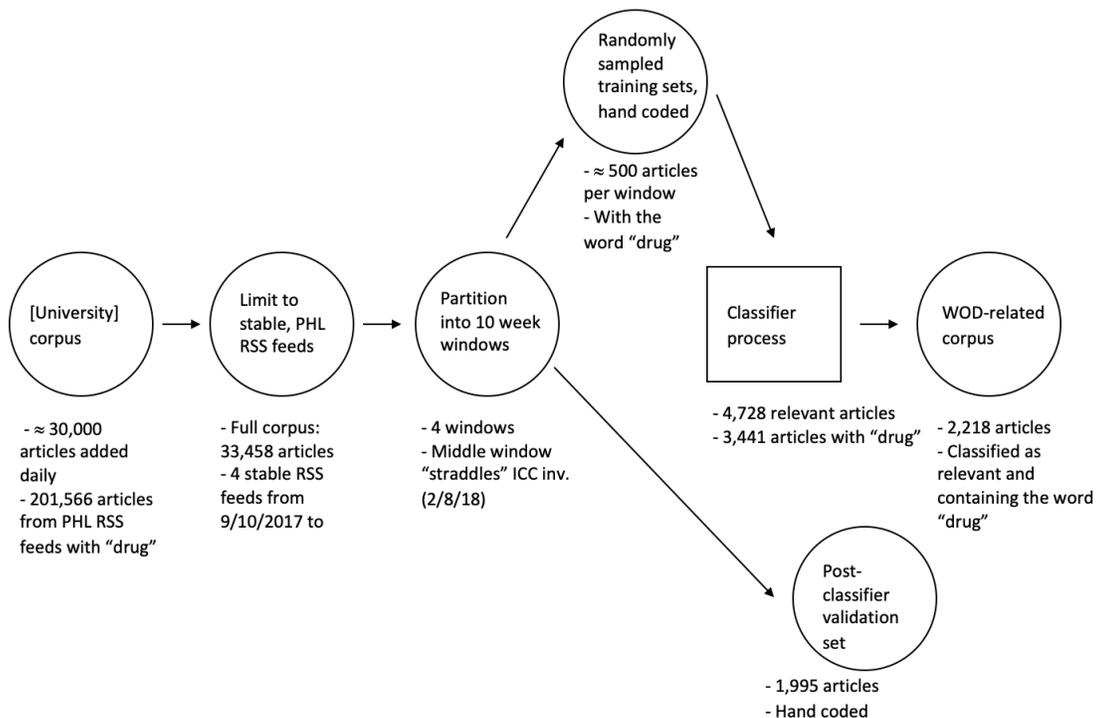
**Appendix References:** (p. 62)

# 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 A.1.

I began with a corpus collected by the [University Center]. The complete corpus is massive, 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. The full list of RSS feeds was: Manila Standard, Philippine Inquirer, Manila Times, SunStar, ABS-CBN news.com, Interaksyon, GMA Network and The Philippine Star. The initial search covered the dates 1-1-2016 to 12-20-2018.

Figure A.1: Pipeline for Corpus Construction



As with many electronic article databases, the coverage of RSS feeds can be uneven over time.

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. 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.

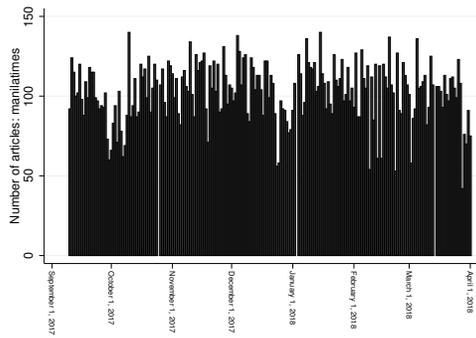
## **A.1 Feed Coverage**

Figure A.2 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. 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. There are some common gaps across the RSS feeds (eg in late October 2017). These are times when the [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 for a short period of time.

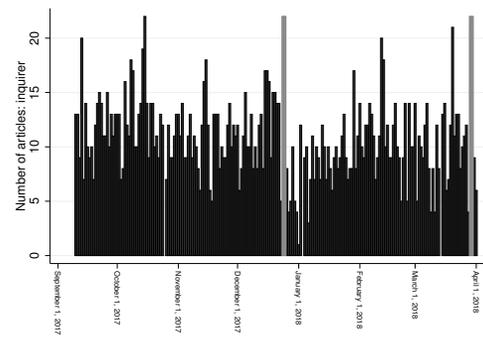
## **A.2 Classification Process for Identifying WOD-Relevant Articles**

Next, I classify documents according to whether they are likely to be related to the war on drugs or to a different topic. Since I am interested in how coverage pertaining to the WOD changes

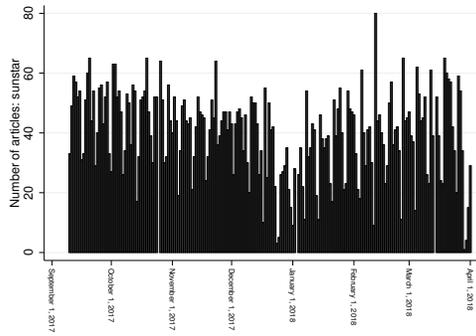
Figure A.2: RSS Feed Coverages



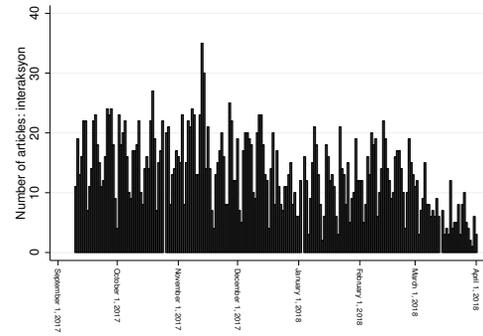
(a) Manila Times



(c) Inquirer



(b) SunStar



(d) Interaksyon

over time, I need to focus on that subset of the corpus. The whole set of articles averages 168 total articles per day for a total of 33,458 articles. This makes hand-coding the entire corpus impractical. Relying solely on keywords for classification also risks misclassification. 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 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.<sup>56</sup> For each window, I randomly chose 500 articles that contained the word “drug.”<sup>57</sup> I used this as the training data and manually coded each article as relevant to the war on drugs or not.

I used this dynamic approach, by windows, because the events and language used to describe the WOD can change over time and I want an accurate classification, within a particular time window. For example, the police killing of young boy, Kian de los Santos, was a major topic around the time of his death. This dynamic approach helps get more accurate classifications by accounting for events whose coverage “spikes” and then fades.

I then manually coded a binary measure of relevance to the WOD for each of these articles. I used a broad rule to determine relevance to the WOD: if the WOD 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 relevance for two reasons. First, it allows for the possibility that discussions of the WOD could permeate even seemingly “distant” topics in

---

<sup>56</sup>The examination was announced on 2-8-2018; one of the windows covers 1-4-2018 to 3-15-18.

<sup>57</sup>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.

media coverage. For example, an article may be predominantly about foreign investment. But if that article mentions how the WOD affects investor perceptions, I want to include it as relevant because that linkage might be a subtle way in which the WOD is tied to other issues. Second, the broader coding rule makes coding more consistent over time. By decreasing the number of ambiguous decisions, I decrease the severity of measurement error and make it less likely to change over time.

I then used supervised machine learning to train a document classifier that was specific to each window. 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.

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. I used approach (1) in the main manuscript. The case for approach (2) is that media outlets that weren't included in the stable corpus may contribute information that helps in the classification process. In practice, both approaches yield very similar results. Limiting the corpus before classification - as used in the main manuscript - yielded higher accuracy scores.

Topic models treat articles as bags of words, without syntax, and stem words to create tokens, eg "drugs" and "drugged," are 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. For example, I replace “International Criminal Court” with “ICC” to create a distinct token and to avoid ambiguity in the token “court.” I repeated this process for other commonly used proper nouns and the term “war on drugs.” I also combined “Human Rights Watch” (original) into “humanrightswatch” and “Kian Lloyd de los Santos” (original, with variations) into “KianLloydDelosSantos.” I also combined the term “war on drugs” into a single token “warondrugs.” 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 that outlet-specific idiosyncrasies affect the classifier or later analysis.

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 documents, randomly sampled from the corpus, excluding documents used to train the classifier. The left hand side of Table A.1 shows accuracy scores for these documents. Overall, the classifier does a good job, correctly classifying over 92% of documents.

However, the classifier was initially prone to false positives, which drive down the precision score<sup>58</sup> and F1 scores.<sup>59</sup> 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 as relevant. But the trained classifier may then think *all* articles about dogs are WOD-relevant.

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 A.1. The number of false positives decreases from 151 to 15; all but 15 of the original false positives lacked the word “drug.” This change

---

<sup>58</sup>Precision equals:  $\text{True Pos.} / (\text{True Pos.} + \text{False Pos.})$ .

<sup>59</sup>F1 scores are weighted averages of the precision and recall scores.

Table A.1: Accuracy Scores

Original Classifier				With “drug” Criteria			
Classifier	Hand Code		Total	Classifier	Hand Code		Total
	Not relevant	Relevant			Not relevant	Relevant	
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		

comes with a cost of a few additional false negatives, increasing from 5 to 15. This additional criteria yields a higher accuracy score, 98%, and much higher precision and F1 scores, with a smaller decrease in the recall scores.

There are 2,218 total articles classified as relevant to the WOD. 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 differences in the number of articles per day across outlets stems from the breadth of each RSS feed. The Manila Times and Sun Star RSS feeds cover more regions and have more sections.

To more succinctly summarize the empirical approach, Table A.2 describes the corpus used for each hypothesis and the types of categories I look for within each corpus.

Table A.2: Corpus and Topics Used for Each Hypothesis

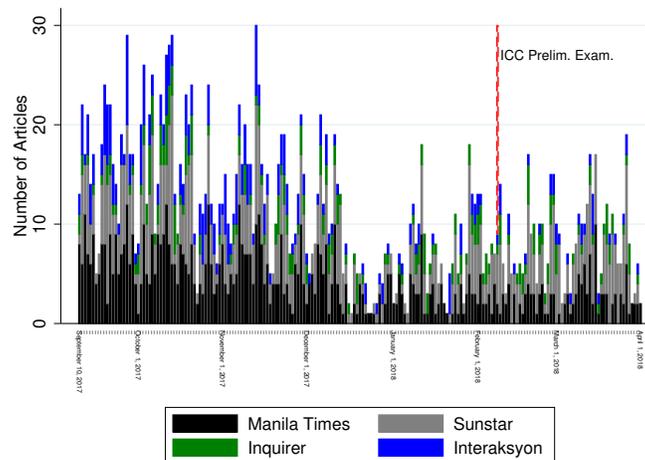
<b><u>Hypothesis</u></b>	<b><u>Corpus</u></b>	<b><u>Categories of Topics</u></b>
The ICC increased coverage of the WOD (Covered in Appendix)	All articles (33,458)	Core WOD topics (4), Non-core WOD topics (8), other topics not about the WOD (288)
The ICC increased human rights coverage within articles about the WOD (Covered in main manuscript)	Articles classified as relevant to the WOD (2,218)	ICC topic (1), Human rights topics (10), other topics not about the ICC or human rights (64)

## B Changes in the Extent of War on Drugs Coverage

While the main manuscript focuses on qualitative features of the WOD relevant articles, it is also worth asking whether the *extent* of coverage of the WOD changed after the ICC’s announcement? Many theories of IO effects emphasize spotlighting, where the IO brings to light a previously hidden violation of human rights or international law. They may also drive additional coverage of issues once an IO enters the media discourse. In the case of the ICC in the Philippines, this would imply greater coverage of the WOD in general after the preliminary investigation was announced.

The data give generally weak support for this conjecture. As a simple first cut, I look at trends in the number of WOD-relevant articles by day, shown in Figure B.1. There is an overall secular decline in WOD-relevant articles, reaching its nadir around New Year’s Day. The ICC’s announcement does not reverse this trend.

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

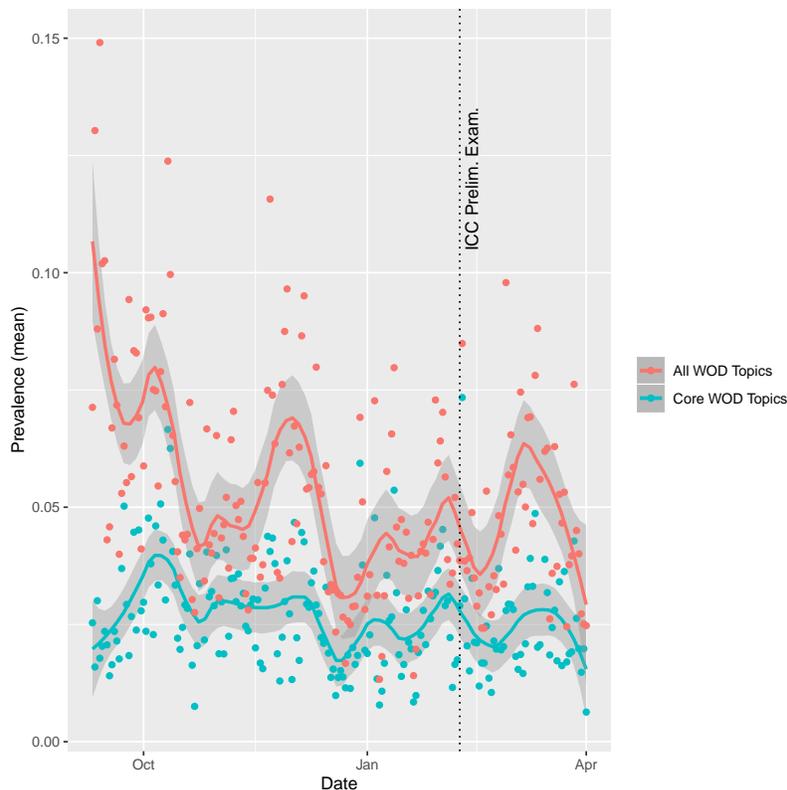


I then estimated a topic model with 300 topics on the full corpus. I labelled topics that pertained to the WOD based on the words with the highest probability of being associated with a particular topic and several other similar measures. Within that set of topics, I also labelled four *Core WOD* topics, which are topics predominantly focused on the general, day-to-day aspects of the WOD, such as arrests or assessments of the death toll. For example, one *Core WOD* topic pertains to

Oplan Tokhang, the official name for the first phase of the WOD, and general policing operations in the WOD. Another pertains to reports of specific arrests, often in “buy-bust” operations. In practice, the topics were fairly distinct and straightforward to identify.

Figure B.2 shows the prevalence of WOD topics in the entire corpus over time. It shows a modest increase in coverage of the WOD after the ICC’s announcement (red line), though there is an initial dip. The increase in WOD coverage comes approximately two weeks after the ICC’s announcement. This increase is not from coverage of Core WOD topics, either. The ICC does not seem to have put a brighter spotlight on the day-to-day operations and reporting of the WOD. The increase in total WOD coverage comes mainly from specific, more ephemeral topics pertaining to the WOD. The next section analyzes these in much greater detail.

Figure B.2: Average Prevalence of War on Drugs Topics, Sep. 2017 - Apr. 2018



This null result is worth emphasis because it shows a key difference between theory and reality

in many contexts. Many theories argue that an IO can increase awareness of and attention to a previously hidden issue policy. These theories have in mind low-salience or technocratic issues. While this is often appropriate, many prominent issues, like the WOD receive extensive coverage *before* any IO scrutiny. Incumbent politicians may have already deliberately placed the issue on the public political stage. This is not unique to the Philippines. 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 and remain frequent topics of media coverage. 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. Media outlets also allocate finite space to a particular issue. So if one aspect of the WOD gains in prominence, it likely displaces another WOD article that might have been published at that same time.

## C Alternate Measure of Topic Prevalence

The main manuscript focuses on the average prevalence of a particular topic across a day's articles:

$\pi_{k,t}^{av} = \sum_{a \in A^t} \frac{\theta_{a,k}}{N^t}$ . An alternate measure takes into account the number of articles pertaining to the WOD from a particular day:  $\pi_{k,t}^{sum} = \sum_{a \in A^t} \theta_{a,k}$ . I called the former *average prevalence* and the latter *total prevalence*. Total prevalence is (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, trends for both are similar. Based on the context studied here, this is not surprising. The WOD is an important topic that receives near daily coverage from each major news outlet over this time period. Here, I show how the trends described in the main manuscript are similar when using the *Total Prevalence* measure.

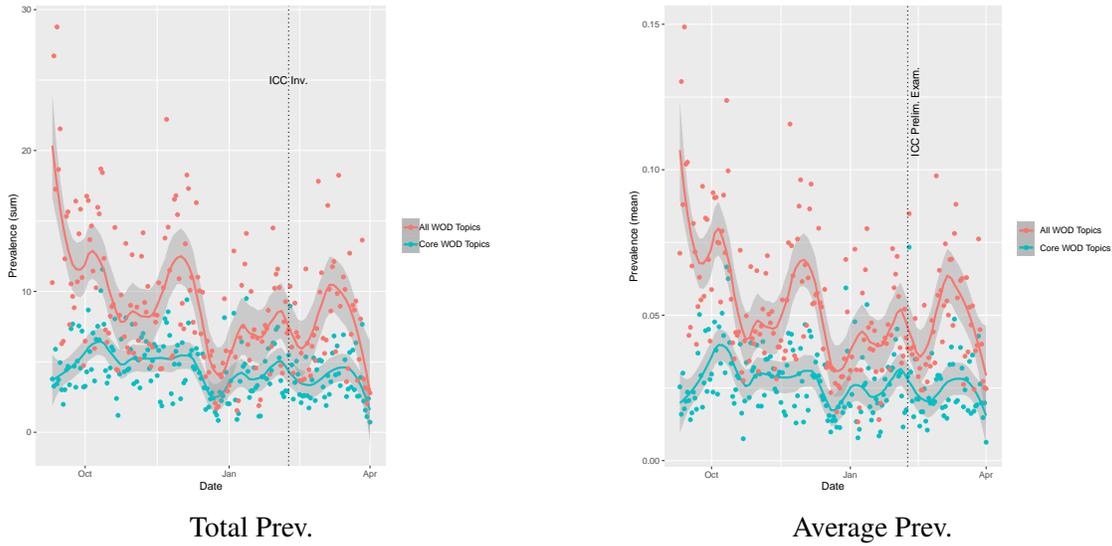
### C.1 Alternate Measure: Extent of Coverage

Figure C.1 shows this measure over time in the left pane, with the main manuscript's figure using the Average Prevalence measure in the right pane for direct comparison. As in Appendix B, the conjecture that the ICC increased coverage of the WOD receives only partial support using the Total Prevalence measure. The preliminary examination precedes a modest increase in the total coverage of the WOD (red line), but does not precede a substantial increase in coverage of Core WOD topics (blue line).

### C.2 Alternate Measure: Content of Coverage

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the ICC examination would increase coverage of human rights topics, even apart from direct coverage of the ICC itself. This prediction received support using the average prevalence measure. Here, and shown in Figure C.2, I repeat the analysis from that part

Figure C.1: Prevalence of War on Drugs Topics, Both Measures,  $k = 300$



of the main manuscript, using the total prevalence measure (left panes). I again include the figures using the average prevalence measure (right panes), for comparison.

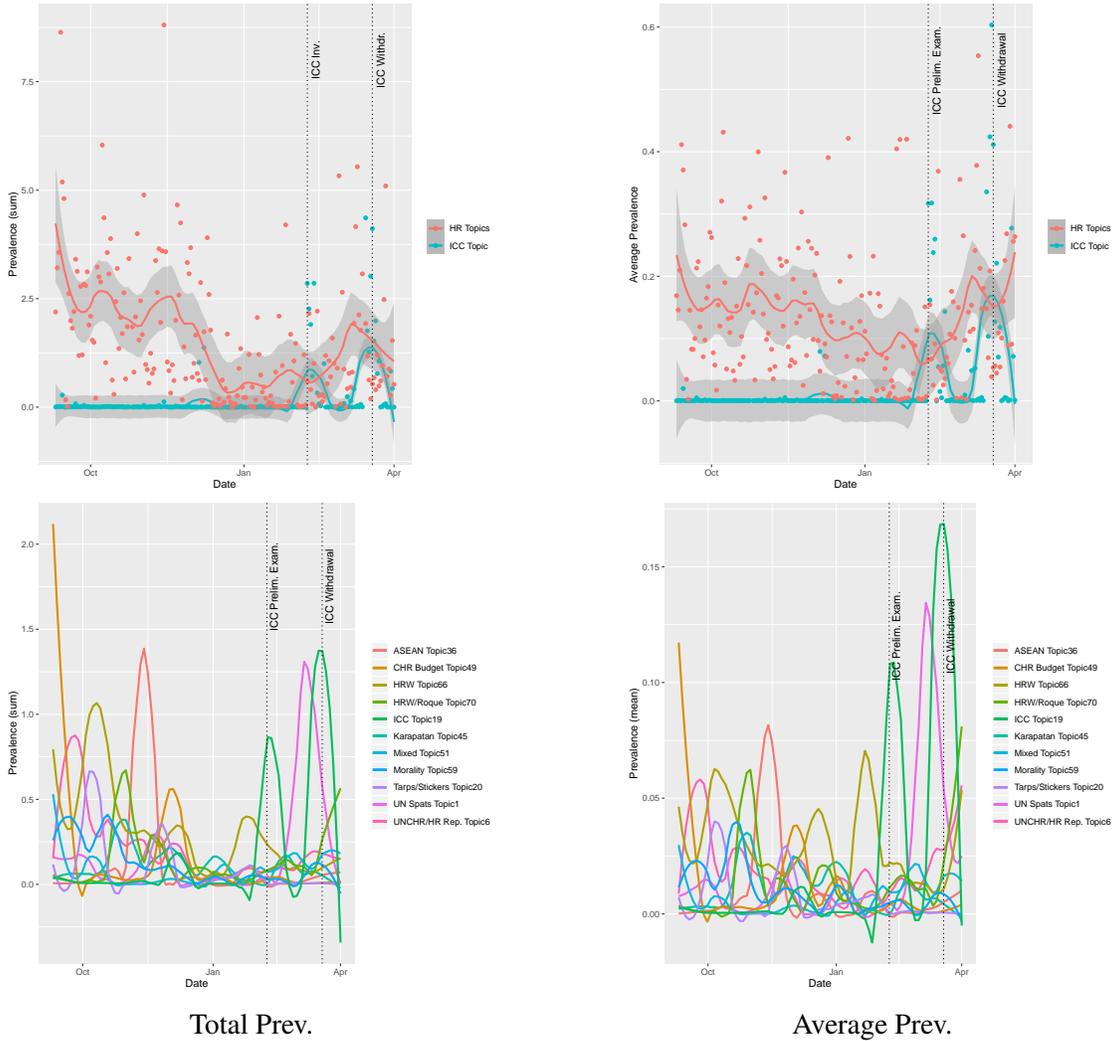
In the main manuscript, I presented fewer topics to make these figures easier to read. In Figure C.2, I also include the complete set of all ten human rights topics. Of note, Topic 36 pertains to the ASEAN summit, showing one of the other spikes in coverage associated with an IO.

As in the main manuscript, coverage of human rights topics generally declines in the months leading up to the ICC’s examination announcement. The decline is especially pronounced in the total prevalence measure, potentially because few articles about the WOD were published during the Christmas and New Year’s holidays, both of which are of major significance in the Philippines. The spike in the UN Spats topic is less pronounced using the total prevalence measure, though similar in relative magnitude to the other major increases, like that surrounding the ASEAN summit.

### C.3 Total Prevalence Measure, Algorithm-chosen Number of Topics

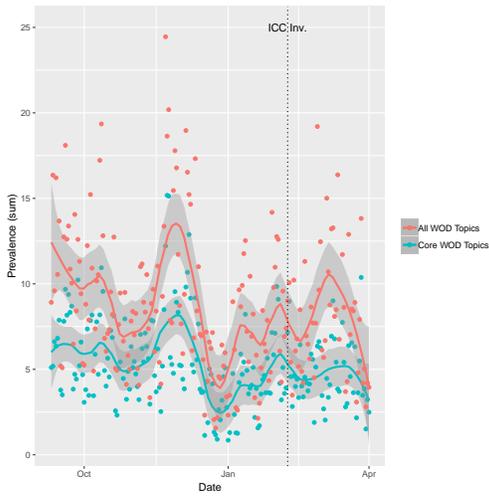
In Appendix G, I present robustness checks where I let an algorithm choose the number of topics in the topic model. I repeat that analysis here, showing the trends in total prevalence along with

Figure C.2: Prevalence Measures,  $k = 75$

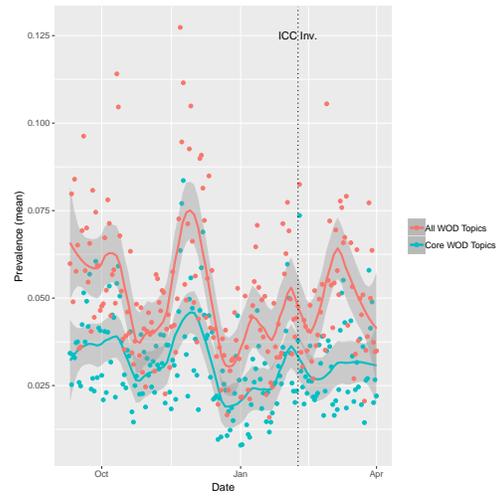


average prevalence. Again, the results are similar. Figure C.3 shows the analysis of whether the extent of coverage of the WOD increased (as covered in Appendix B), using a topic model with 76 topics. The left pane shows total prevalence and the right pane shows average prevalence. Trends are very similar using both measures. Figure C.4 repeats the main manuscript’s figure showing trends in coverage of the WOD corpus, corresponding to Hypothesis 1. Here, the algorithm chose a topic model with 99 topics. Again, trends are similar using both measures of prevalence.

Figure C.3: Prevalence Measures,  $k = 76$

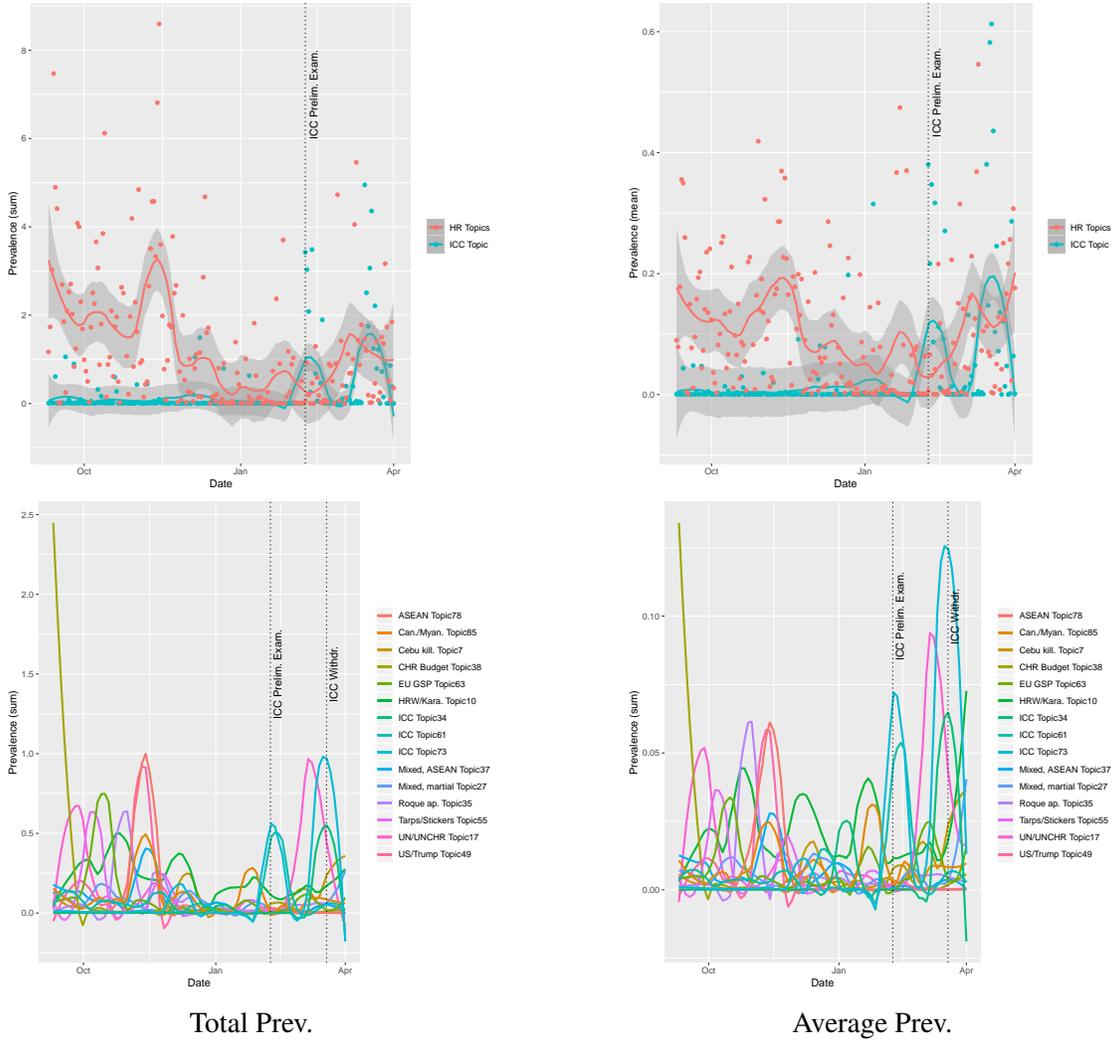


(a) Total Prevalence



(b) Average Prevalence

Figure C.4: Prevalence Measures,  $k = 99$



Total Prev.

Average Prev.

## D Human Rights Topic Content

### D.1 Human Rights Topics

This section gives greater detail about the content of each of the human rights topics. I focus first on the ICC topic and then the four topics highlighted in the main manuscript, in the right pane of Figure 2. I then describe the other human rights topics. For each of the human rights topics, I give a description, textual examples, and then the words most associated with the topic based on commonly reported metrics. The metrics are: (1) words with the highest probability of being associated with a particular topic, (2) FREX , (3) lift and (4) score.<sup>60</sup> 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.

#### D.1.1 ICC and Four Human Rights Topics Emphasized in Main Manuscript

**ICC Topic:** This topic covers the ICC and is straightforward. It covers the ICC's initial announcement of a preliminary examination and then the subsequent announcement that the Philippines was withdrawing from the Rome Statute.

Topic 19 (ICC) 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, mnsabio, 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

**UN Spats:** This topic covers the back and forth between various international human rights actors, Duterte, and his representatives after the ICC's announcement. Agnes Callamard (then special UN

---

<sup>60</sup>Bischof and Airoidi (2012); Taddy (2013); Chang (2011).

Rappateur) and Zeid al-Hussein (the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights made comments about the war on drugs, sometimes linked with the ICC. Duterte's advocates responded forcefully. For example:

- **DEFINITELY NOT AGNES** Palace rejects Iceland exec's call for Callamard to probe alleged EJKs in PH... (Interaksyon Feb 27, 2018, <https://interaksyon.philstar.com/breaking-news/2018/02/27/121284/definitely-not-agnes-palace-rejects>)
- Malacañang on Saturday slammed the United Nations human rights chief for his remarks against President Rodrigo Duterte. (Manila Times Mar 11, 2018, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/03/11/news/top-stories/malacanang-slams-un-commissioner/385430>).

Topic 1 (UN spats) 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, impart, 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

**HRW/Roque:** This topic covers the back and forth between Harry Roque (then Presidential Spokesman) and Human Rights Watch, especially his comments about various human rights NGOs. One of the quotes that frequently appears involves Roque calling NGOs "unwitting tools" of the drug lords. Human Rights Watch and other organizations fired back. For example:

- PH law enforcement agencies have no proof yet on rights groups' links with drug lords, but Palace stands by remark (Interaksyon Mar 27, 2018, <https://interaksyon.philstar.com/breaking-news/2018/03/27/123250/ph-law-enforcement-agencies-have-no>)

Topic 70 (HRW/Roque) 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, pembedonaddress, pmnewli, pretens, tokhang-styl, salo, kabayan, hollow, nroqu, gerri, jennifer, non-stop
- Score: roqu, harri, nroqu, humanright, spokesman, lagman, humanrightswatch, palac, unwit, centerlaw, presidenti, destabil, kabayan, nnpresidenti, edcel, spokesperson, malaca, lord, party-list, panelo

**Mixed Human Rights:** This topic covers a couple of different things and tends to focus on events in Cebu, a province in the southern part of the Philippines. Before the ICC announcement, this topic tends to overlap with other topics. After the ICC, this topic tends to pick up on the Cebu City (the largest city in Cebu) mayor’s criticism of the Philippine Commission on Human Rights. For example:

- “In Cebu, criminals have human rights. The victims have no human rights.” (Cebu Daily News (via the Inquirer) Mar 27, 2018, <https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/168872/osmena-sees-cebu-city-no-longer-safe-place>.)

Topic 51 (Mixed human rights) 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

**UNCHR/HR Report:** Before the ICC announcement, this topic tends to cover the Philippines’ acceptance of their Universal Periodic Review (UPR) report. After the ICC, this topic tends to focus on back and forth over an Amnesty International Philippines (AIP) report criticizing the war on drugs. This AIP report and other actions by HRW were part of the impetus for Roque’s remarks that human rights groups were tools of the drug lords, as in Topic 70. For example:

- Palace welcomes UNHRC adoption of PH human rights report in Geneva Cebu Daily News (via the Inquirer) Sept 23, 2017, <https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/148095/palace-welcomes-unhrc-adoption-ph-human-rights-report-geneva>.
- Group cites cops’ “poor” human rights record in the Visayas SunStart Mar 9, 2018, <https://www.sunstar.com.ph/article/422884/Business/Group-cites-cops-poor-huma>

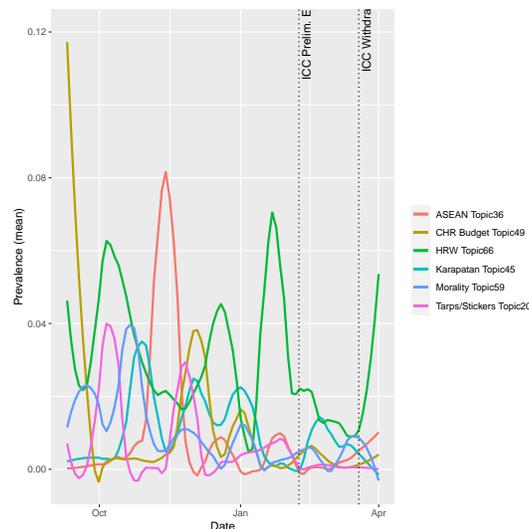
### Topic 6 (UNCHR) Top Words:

- 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

### D.1.2 Remaining Six Human Rights Topics Not Emphasized in Main Manuscript

Here, I describe the topics that did not see noticeable increases in their prevalence after the ICC. Figure D.1 shows the prevalence of these topics over time, in the same way as the main manuscript, in the right pane of Figure 2. The only topic that increases after the ICC (Topic 66, HRW/EJK debates) is one of the non-emphasized topics that is most associated with contestation.

Figure D.1: Prevalence of Additional Human Rights Topics



**Tarps:** This topic covers a barangay (barangays are local level administrative units) captain who used stickers to mark houses as “drug free” and large banners (tarps) to label other houses as drug dens. There is not a lot of contestation in the articles most associated with this topic. It gets linked to human rights because there is a relatively calm back and forth between the barangay captain and the local Philippine CHR representative over making sure not to overstep with the tarps. For example:

- “The Association of Barangay Council (ABC) in Cebu City is pushing for a dialog with the Commission on human rights in Central Visayas (CHR-7) to convince the latter to allow Barangay Ermita as well as other interested barangays to continue the (tarp) campaign. ... The gesture was welcomed by CHR-7 Director Arvin Odrón.” Cebu Daily News (via the Inquirer) Oct 8, 2017, <https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/149859/brgys-want-drug-free-drive>.

#### 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

**Morality:** This topic tends to pick up a series of editorials that were relatively high altitude takes about the country, its past and present. They will connect the war on drugs with broader concepts like human rights, democracy, and morality. For example:

- “DIGNITY is a concept uttered a lot in light of recent events in our country. Let us help [drug abuse victims] solve their drug abuse problems by recognizing that they are humans with dignity, too, Commission on human rights Chairman Chito Gascon said, reacting to the tragedy that befell Kian de los Santos. But what is dignity? It is one of the most powerful concepts modernity has produced.” Manila Times Sept 26, 2017, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2017/09/26/opinion/analysis/on-dignity/352845>.

#### 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, nnnaddress, charact, therefor, much, revgov, moral, oust, idea, legitimaci, enemi, sereno
- Lift: fuhrer, innat, sordid, tantrum, coteri, government-mand, hobb, immers, leviathan, pattern, 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, nnnaddress, cabinet, european, charact, oust, europ, legitimaci

**Karapatan:** This is a little less coherent of a topic, but it tends to directly report on the actions of domestic human rights NGOs, like Karapatan. Some parts of this topic cover the war on drugs and will include some contestation. Other parts will focus more on conflicts between the government and peasants/farmers over land and land ownership. Some of the organizations mentioned will act in both the drugs and land issue areas. For example:

- “A human rights organization accused the Duterte government of carrying out ‘not only the massacre of urban poor communities,’ referring to the killings in the course of the war on drugs, but also ‘the systematic killing of farmers in the countryside.’ Karapatan said...” Interaksyon Oct 21, 2017 <https://interaksyon.philstar.com/breaking-news/2017/10/21/104653/with-91-peasants-slain-in-14-months-monthly-kill-rate>

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
- Lift: bolinget, cadiz, gubat, iadl, magbubukid, paraleg, acha, ana-yongco, arbet, jubian, lawyersn, manticajon, nupl, tagdumahan, annalisa, ciampi, ephraim, otacan, jona, karapatann
- Score: nupl, karapatan, humanright, palabay, peasant, counterinsurg, lawyer, pura, activist, nnkarapatan, manlaban, paraleg, forst, atti, olalia, attack, iadl, humanitarian, regim, petit

**ASEAN:** This topic covers the ASEAN summit hosted in the Philippines. In terms of contestation, it begins relatively calmly with coverage of the UN Chief’s remarks that gestured towards human rights. Though, the media also later covers contestation over Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s remarks about having discussed human rights with Duterte. For example:

- “President Rodrigo Duterte... [welcomed] U.N. secretary general Antonio Guterres to the opening ceremony of the 31st ASEAN summit Monday... The UN chief expressed readiness to provide technical support to ASEAN member-countries in the fight against terrorism and violent extremism, as well as transnational organized crime, including drug trafficking and people trafficking. But he stressed these efforts should be pursued through policies designed to protect their citizens with effective law enforcement and respect for human rights.” Interaksyon Nov 14, 2017, <https://interaksyon.philstar.com/breaking-news/2017/11/14/108826/heartened-by-marawi-liberation-un-chief>
- “When Trump did not oblige requests to badger DU30 about human rights, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada tried to grab attention for himself by claiming that he discussed human rights with Duterte...” Manila Times Nov 16, 2017, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2017/11/16/opinion/columnists/topanalysis/playing-trivialities-miss-363051>

#### 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, nnt Trudeau, prize, receipt
- Lift: rakhin, buddhist, burmes, cambodian, chan-ocha, deforest, delhi, hearten, mistreat, nnsuu, nnt Trudeau, 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, nnt Trudeau, asian, justin, guterr, vietnam

**CHR Budget:** This topic covers a politically contested move by the Philippine legislative chambers to gut the budget of the Philippine Commission on Human Rights. The Commission is a constitutionally mandated independent body. The move to cut their funding was tied to the CHR's stance on the war on drugs. For example:

- “CROSSING party lines, senators on Wednesday vowed to restore the P678-million proposed budget of the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) for 2018, which the House of Representatives reduced to merely P1,000 for its criticisms of rampant killings of drug suspects in the government's drug war.” Manila Times Sept 14, 2017 [https://www.manilatimes.net/2017/09/14/news/top-stories/senators-vow-restore-chr-bu-350537](https://www.manilatimes.net/2017/09/14/news/top-stories/senators-vow-restore-chr-budget-350537).

#### Topic 49 Top Words:

- Highest Prob: budget, chr, hous, senat, said, commiss, gascon, humanright, propos, will, nnt he, 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, miscellan, 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

**HRW/EJK Debate:** This topic tends to cover a debate over whether the war on drugs included extrajudicial killings. Among the topics that does not increase much after the ICC's announcement, this was the one most characterized by contestation. It sometimes includes mentions of one of the earlier Human Rights Watch reports. For example:

- “MALACANANG maintained that there were no cases of extra judicial killings during the Duterte administration despite the 3,800 suspects reported killed in its campaign against illegal drugs.” Manila Times Oct 8, 2017, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2017/10/08/latest-stories/breakingnews/malacanang-firm-pnp-claim-zero-extra-judicial-killings-355254>.

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, denial, hasan, implaus, mehdi, rebuf, rehash, uninvestig, skew, walsh, nnsingh, cover-up, ranocnnmanila, 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

## D.2 War on Drugs Topics

In Appendix B, I described how I labelled topics from the full corpus, identifying core and non-core WOD topics. Here, I give greater detail about those topics and categories to show their content and coherence.

To start, the words that score highest on the various metrics for a core WOD topic (topic 19, about Oplan Tokhang) are below.<sup>61</sup> Figure D.2 then shows abbreviated examples of articles most highly associated with those topics.

- “Oplan Tokhang,” A Core WOD Topic (#19): Top Words

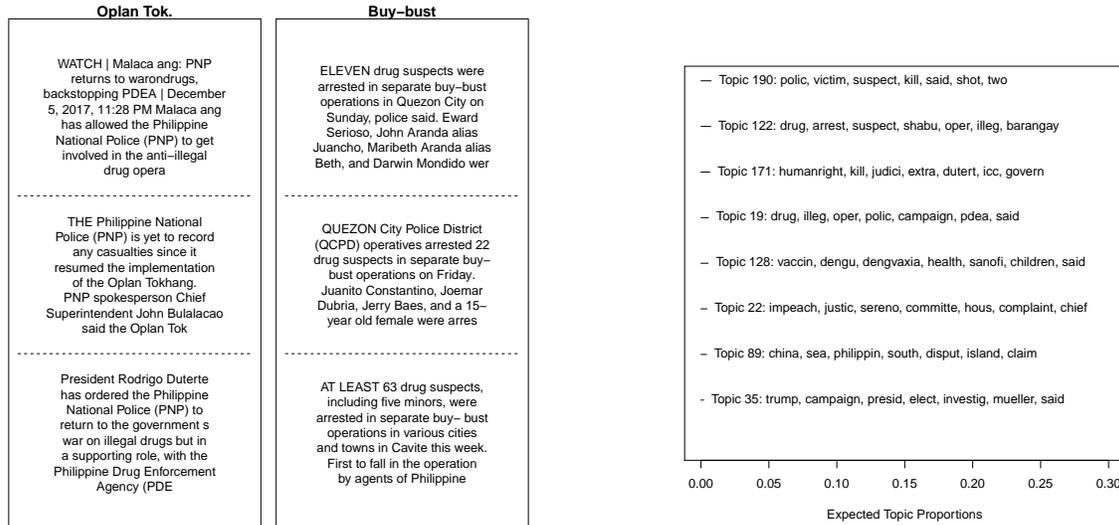
- Highest Prob: drug, illeg, oper, polic, campaign, pdea, said, agenc, pnp, enforc, anti-drug, tokhang, will, war, suspect, conduct, person, warondrug, anti-illeg, oplan
- FREX: tokhang, anti-drug, anti-illeg, pdea, drug-fre, oplan, drug, warondrug, pusher, badac, surrender, anti-narcot, illeg, menac, 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-corrall, adac, adzhar, badeo, bodycam, cbdrp, cualop, cvppo, dilg-bacolod, drug-affect

*Non-Core* WOD topics refers to the 8 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.

---

<sup>61</sup>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.

Figure D.3: Highest Prob Words



To demonstrate the degree of coherence of these topic labels, below, I list the most frequently occurring words for the four Core WOD topics. Recall that words are stemmed, eg the stem of “police” and “policing” is “polic.” 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 a 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 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.

- **Examples of most frequently occurring words**

- **Core WOD Topics:**

- 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 Topics:**

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

- **Topics not about WOD:**

- Topic 128 (Dengue): vaccin, dengue, 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

## **E Possible Endogeneity of Coverage and ICC Announcement**

### **E.1 Did coverage anticipate the ICC announcement?**

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.<sup>62</sup> 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. The 2020 External Report by experts on the ICC lambasted the Court for its poor communication and outreach.<sup>63</sup> The “distance” between the ICC and discussion and realities on the ground has been a focus of recent scholarly work as well.<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup> 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.

### **E.2 Did the ICC announcement anticipate public opinion?**

It is theoretically possible that the timing of the ICC announcement was deliberate and that it potentially coincided with changes in public opinion - which then might have been correlated with changes in media coverage. This, too, is unlikely. Figure E.1 summarizes responses from nationally representative, quarterly surveys about Duterte’s approval rating (left pane) and approval of the WOD (right pane).<sup>66</sup> Both remain very popular, without any substantial changes in the run up to the ICC’s announcement. It is therefore unlikely that the ICC timed their examination based on an underlying trend in political support for Duterte or the WOD.

Figure E.2 shows data from nationally representative, quarterly surveys conducted by Social Weather Stations (SWS). SWS is another national, well-known polling company that conducts regular surveys of citizens in the Philippines. They use slightly different questions from the Pulse Asia surveys presented in the main manuscript, but trends are similar. The two lines show net satisfaction rates (percent approving minus percent disapproving) for President Duterte and for the WOD.<sup>67</sup> 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

---

<sup>62</sup> Author’s interview, 9-9-19.

<sup>63</sup> Independent Expert Review of the International Criminal Court and the Rome Statute System Final Report. 2020.

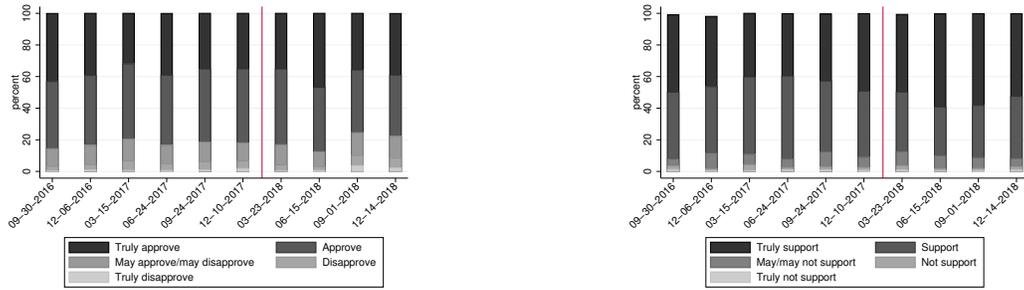
<sup>64</sup> Clark (2018).

<sup>65</sup> Author’s interviews, May 2019.

<sup>66</sup> Ulat Ng Bayan (translated roughly, “Report on the Nation”), from Pulse Asia.

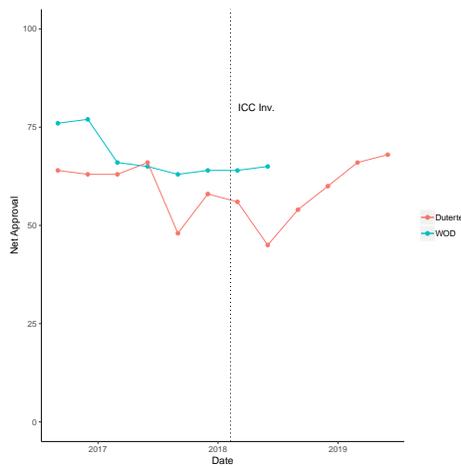
<sup>67</sup> [www.sws.org.ph](http://www.sws.org.ph). Accessed 8-14-2019.

Source: Pulse Asia Ulat Ng Bayan Surveys. Questions were: “Do you support the campaign against illegal drugs?” and “Do you approve of the performance of Rodrigo Duterte?”



2017, but remains strong, with a slight upward trend until the end of the available data, June of 2018.

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.



## F Placebo Testing for Topic Spikes

The main manuscript highlights how certain types of topics increased in prevalence after the ICC's announcement. There are several pieces of evidence that are more consistent with my interpretation - that the ICC announcement induced this change - rather than this being coincidental or spurious.

First, the topics that gain prevalence after the ICC are indirectly 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 - al Hussein's remarks at the UN Human Rights Council - directly referenced the ICC. Earlier in that same UN session, Iceland's foreign minister had also provoked the ire of Philippine officials with his remarks about the ICC and the WOD.<sup>68</sup>

Following the ICC'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].<sup>69</sup>

Second, the other large spike in Human Rights topics that occurred was also tied to an international institution: ASEAN. In November of 2017, the prevalence of a topic related to the ASEAN meetings in Manila increases. Many international observers took this opportunity to criticize the WOD. The Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, explicitly linked the summit with concerns about the WOD and human rights violations. When asked about Trudeau, Duterte said "I will not answer to any other bulls\*\*\*, especially foreigners. Lay off."<sup>70</sup>

Third, spikes of the magnitude of the al-Hussein spat and the ASEAN summit are not especially common. No other topic in the WOD-relevant corpus spikes to above 0.125 in mean coverage. Few topics even spike above 0.100 at any point in time. I show these three other spiking topics in Figure F.1. These topics tended to be specific, concentrated coverage of a very important event, such as the resumption of Oplan Tokhang and Duterte's decision to replace two prominent cabinet members. The only other topic to spike above 0.100 pertained to specific buy-busts. This makes it more plausible that the spikes highlighted in the analysis of human rights topics are meaningful, not merely coincidences.

### F.1 Human Rights content in non-WOD Articles

Looking at the content of non-WOD articles provides another piece of evidence that suggests that increasing human rights content after the ICC is not coincidental.<sup>71</sup> It would potentially be worry-

---

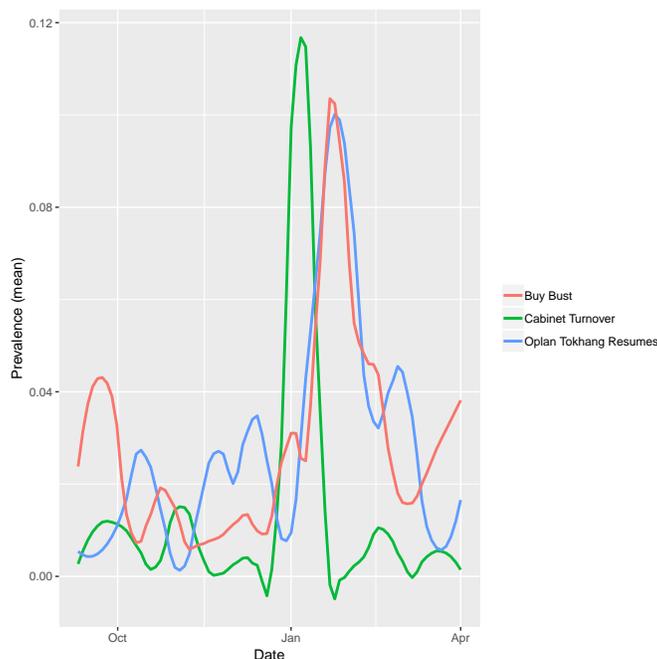
<sup>68</sup>"Iceland to PHL: Allow human rights review by UN special rapporteur." GMA News Online. February 27, 2018. <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/644805/iceland-to-phl-allow-human-rights-review-by-un-special-rapporteur/story/>. Accessed 8-14-2019.

<sup>69</sup>"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.

<sup>70</sup><https://www.reuters.com/article/us-asean-summit/duterte-berates-canadas-trudeau-at-end>. Accessed 6-11-19.

<sup>71</sup>I thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

Figure F.1: Average Topic Prevalence by Day, non-HR Topic Spikes



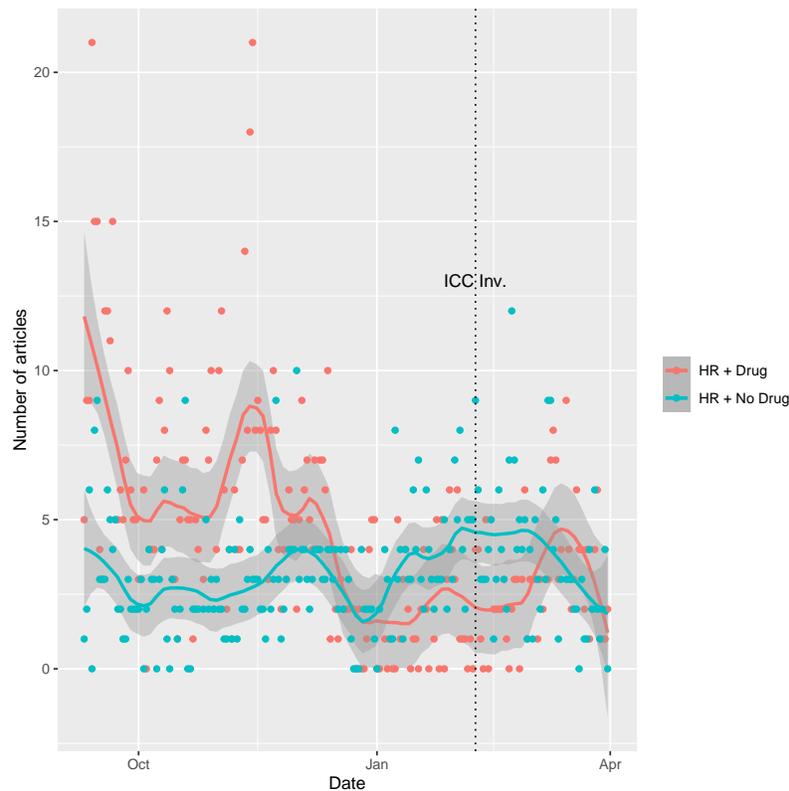
ing if human rights content of articles *not* about the WOD increased after the ICC’s announcement. This would suggest that something other than the ICC was driving an overall emphasis on human rights.

To assess this, I first took the full corpus and identified articles that did and did not contain the token “human rights.” I then looked at which of those articles were and were not classified as relevant to the WOD, and plotted the number of each type of article over time.

Figure F.2 shows the results. The red line shows the number of articles containing the term human rights that are also WOD-relevant. The blue line shows articles containing the term human rights that are not classified as WOD-relevant. It would be worrying if the blue line was increasing after the ICC’s actions.

The blue line is actually relatively flat. (Recall that the number of articles about all negative or violent topics decreases around Christmas and the New Year as outlets tend to adjust their coverage.) We don’t see the same type of increase after the ICC announcement with non-WOD articles as we do with those classified as relevant to the WOD. There is a slight increase in February of 2018. This tended to pertain to articles about a helicopter deal with Canada. Canadian human rights advocates flagged that the helicopter sales to the Philippines would potentially be used to commit human rights abuses against Maoist rebels (something Duterte was happy to admit to). So Duterte unilaterally cancelled the deal, triggering articles that had content about human rights violations in regions with Maoist rebels.

Figure F.2: Non-WOD Human Rights Articles



## F.2 Catholic Church Actions

Are the actions of other actors, apart from the ICC, also associated with changes in media coverage? Here, I look at whether actions by the Catholic Church were followed by similar changes.<sup>72</sup> The Church is a good actor to focus on because more than 80% of Philippine citizens are Catholic. The Church has spoken out, to varying degrees, about issues concerning democracy and human rights for a long time in the Philippines.

Looking at the effect of the Church poses a challenge - while the ICC had one major announcement during the time frame of my analysis, the Church took multiple actions. It's therefore harder to compare coverage before and after an event, because there is not one, discrete event. This also means that I need to look at content within articles about the Church's actions, rather than all articles around that time period. It would be difficult to associate any Church event with changes in content, say, a week later, as I did in the main manuscript.

In general, I do not find that coverage of Church events was as likely to emphasize contestation, compared to the ICC. The rhetoric between the Administration and Church was surprisingly civil - at least during this time period. This lends additional evidence that international organizations are particularly prone to triggering contestation. I give the specific details behind this claim below.

<sup>72</sup>I again thank an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

To collect the set of events pertaining to the Church, I started with all of the articles that are (a) related to the war on drugs and (b) make some reference to the Church. I used simple search terms to identify articles mentioning the Church (“catholic”, “bishop”, and “archbishop”). This resulted in 137 articles. Since this is a manageable number, I read them all and hand coded them, rather than relying on topic models. I identified the action the Church took and then looked at whether the article emphasized contestation.

Coding: I coded each article for whether it contained some form of contestation between an actor supporting and opposing the war on drugs. The key coding rules for classifying an article as containing contestation were that the article had to contain (1) some argumentation or rhetoric or statements from both sides, pro- and anti-WOD and (2) something more than a factual statement. I chose these rules to match the way I described contestation in the theory and main manuscript. In practice, (1) means that a one-sided article was not labelled contestation. Eg an article about a bishop who criticized the war on drugs would not be labelled contestation without some response or rebutting argument from an actor supporting the war on drugs. In practice, (2) means that an article reporting events without argumentation or rhetoric was not labelled contestation. Eg an article that says “The Catholic Bishops Council of the Philippines organized a march to protest the renewal of Oplan Tokhang... The Philippines National Police welcomed the renewal...” would not be labelled as contestation.

Events/Church Actions: As I read the articles, I noted each distinct action taken by the Church. With the ICC and the main manuscript, it is clear what distinct IO action to focus on, the ICC’s announcement of a preliminary examination. This is less clear with the Church, since it is comprised of different actors who do different things. I made note of any specific statement by a Church official or a specific organized event. This allows me to see whether discussions of these events are characterized by contestation.

Figure F.3: Coding of Articles about the Church

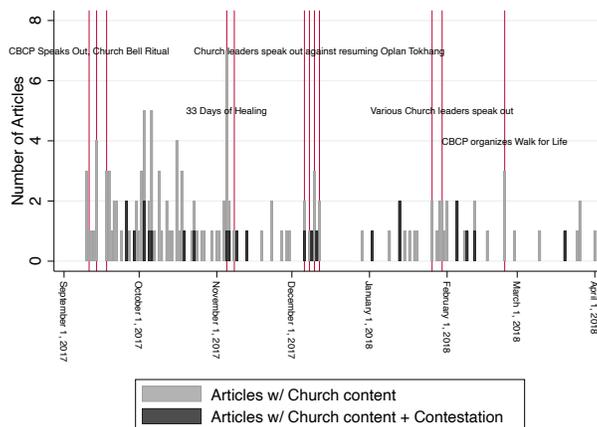


Figure F.3 shows the results. The horizontal axis shows the dates of each article or event. The most important Church events are marked with vertical red lines and are annotated to describe the

event. The grey bars show the total number of articles, by day, which had content about drugs and the Church. The dark bars show the number of those articles which contained contestation.

In general, coverage of Church actions does not often contain the same contestation found in ICC and human rights articles. Most Church actions receive some coverage, but few trigger the same back and forth found in ICC articles. The rhetoric was surprisingly civil, with Duterte (at least publicly) taking a very conciliatory tone towards the Church. For example, after the Church declared their “33 Days of Healing” actions in response to the war on drugs, Presidential Spokesman Harry Roque was quoted in some articles saying “‘wish to build better rapport with the Catholic Church and seek the cooperation of its leaders, even as we call on our Catholic brethren to pro-actively help government in our anti-illegal drug campaign, particularly in the rehabilitation and treatment of drug dependents.,’ he added.”<sup>73</sup>

For another example, after Church leaders spoke out against the resumption of Oplan Tokhang, one article highlighted the change in Duterte’s approach to the Church: *President Duterte earlier lashed out against Catholic Church leaders and human rights advocates for criticizing his war on drugs. But early this month, Presidential spokesperson Harry Roque said the administration is open to a dialog with the Church especially following the assumption of Valles as the new president of the CBCP in December 2017.*<sup>74</sup>

When the Church organized the Walk for Life, an article covering the event said: *Roque said President Rodrigo Duterte welcomed "constructive criticism[s]" over his implemented policies and programs. ‘As we all know, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte is open to constructive criticism. He allows everyone, including the protesters, to fully exercise their right to express their grievances within the bounds of the law,’ he said.*<sup>75</sup>

I am speculating, but I think that Duterte didn’t flame contestation during this time period because the Church focused its actions on some very high profile, near-universally condemned events, like the killing of Kian de los Santos and other teenagers. Police were caught on camera killing 17 year old de los Santos despite claiming self-defense. A few days later, two other teenagers were killed in similarly suspicious circumstances; one of the victims was only 14 years old. Those killings were virtually impossible to defend and by linking their actions to those tragedies, the Church could insulate itself a bit from Duterte’s usual contestation.

---

<sup>73</sup><https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/631965/palace-we-wish-to-build-better-relationship-story/>. Accessed 11-12-21.

<sup>74</sup><https://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/161673/bishop-cops-avoid-bloodshed-implementing-oplan-tokhang>. Accessed 11-12-21.

<sup>75</sup><https://mb.com.ph/2018/02/25/walk-for-life-shows-lively-ph-democracy-palace/>. Accessed 11-12-21.

## **G Results Using Different Number of Topics**

In the main manuscript, I chose the number of topics for the topic model. Here, I use the algorithm from Mimno and Lee (2014), which can be implemented within the STM package from Roberts, Stewart and Tingley (2019), to choose the number of topics and their contents. The algorithm suggested a model with 76 topics for the full corpus and 99 topics for the WOD corpus. For the full corpus, there are two topics that are about the core, day to day operations of the WOD and there are two other WOD topics. For analysis limited to the corpus of WOD-relevant articles, the ICC is covered in three topics and there are twelve human rights topics.<sup>76</sup>

### **G.1 Trends in the Extent of WOD Coverage**

Figure G.1 show trends in coverage in the full corpus, as analyzed in Appendix B. As before, the ICC examination is not associated with a substantial increase in overall coverage of the WOD or coverage of core WOD topics. There is again an increase in coverage of particular parts of the WOD, occurring a few weeks after the ICC announcement. The downward trend in coverage of the WOD is again apparent, though with an increase in November of 2017.

### **G.2 Trends in the Content of WOD Coverage**

The increase in in WOD coverage occurring a few weeks after the ICC announcement again consists mainly of human rights-related content. Figure G.2 shows this more precisely, focusing on trends in topics with the WOD-relevant corpus, as above. The left pane shows trends in the ICC and aggregated human rights topics. The right pane shows trends for each of the ICC and human rights topics individually. Increased coverage of the ICC is again apparent, 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, on several days, levels which are comparable to peaks from before the ICC. These results give comfort that trends in human rights content are not artifacts of the topic model's sensitivity to the chosen number of topics.

---

<sup>76</sup>This model has separate topics for the ICC examination and the Philippines' withdrawal. The third topic is a less distinct hybrid of those two.

Figure G.1: Average Prevalence of WOD Topics, Number of Topics Chosen by Algorithm ( $k = 76$ )

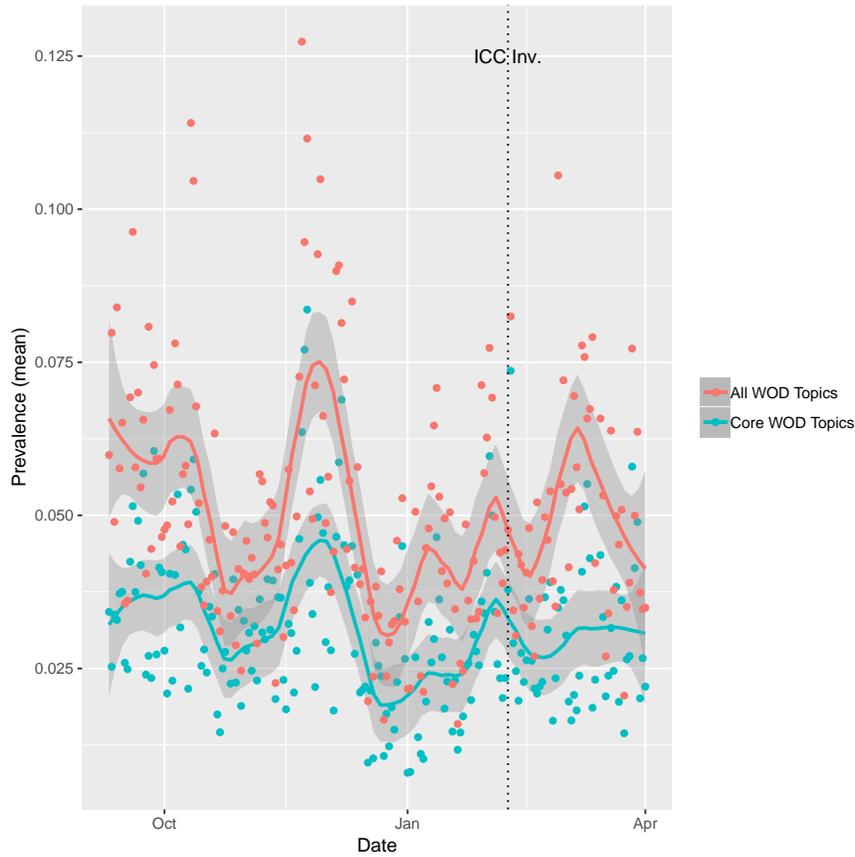
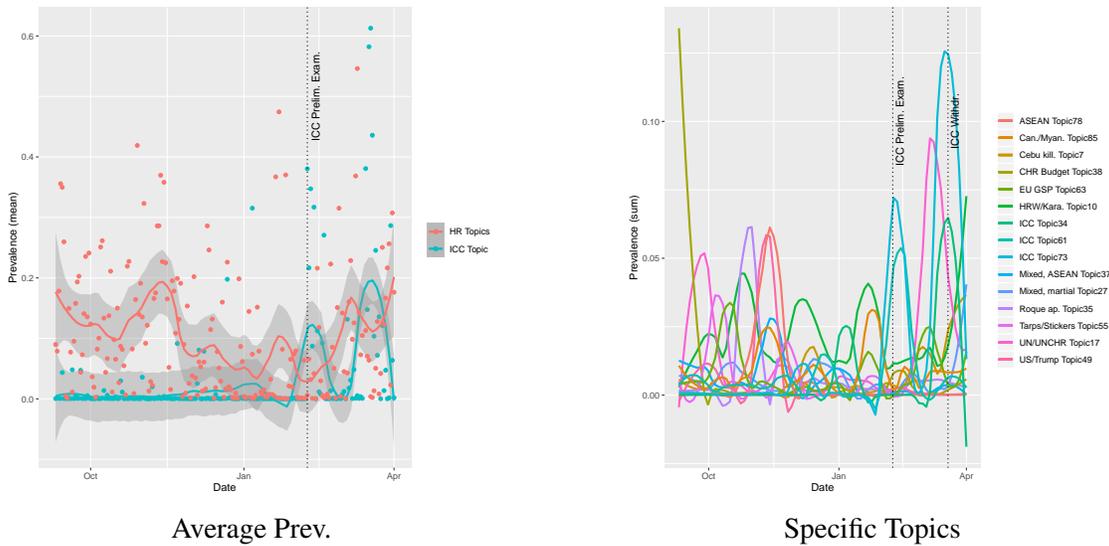


Figure G.2: Prevalence Measures for ICC and Human Rights Topics, Number of Topics Chosen by Algorithm ( $k = 99$ )





effect of pre-processing choices. A minimal amount of pre-processing, LS, generated a corpus with the least amount of dissimilarity across documents by pipeline specification. Though it is worth noting that the absolute change in the preText score, going from PNLSSW (my pipeline) to LS is about 0.03. The preText scores here were generally more tightly clustered than in the authors' vignette examples, where scores ranged from 0.07 - 0.17.<sup>77</sup> That gives initial evidence that pre-processing pipeline decisions may not have a large impact for the present analysis.

However, it's important to check further. I therefore re-ran my analysis of the drug corpus using an LS pre-processing pipeline. This meant that I re-estimated the topic model, only I left in punctuation, numbers, and stopwords (and still converted to (L)owercase and still (S)temmed words). I kept everything else about my analysis the same though I removed some additional text at the end of some documents.<sup>78</sup> I estimated a topic model with 75 topics. I then semantically labelled the topics, looking for those that were about the ICC and those that had "human rights" in their highest probability words. The topic model returned fewer distinct human rights topics, though their interpretation and trends were (to my great relief) similar.

Figure G.4: Effect of ICC on Human Rights Topics and ICC Topics, LS Pre-processing pipeline

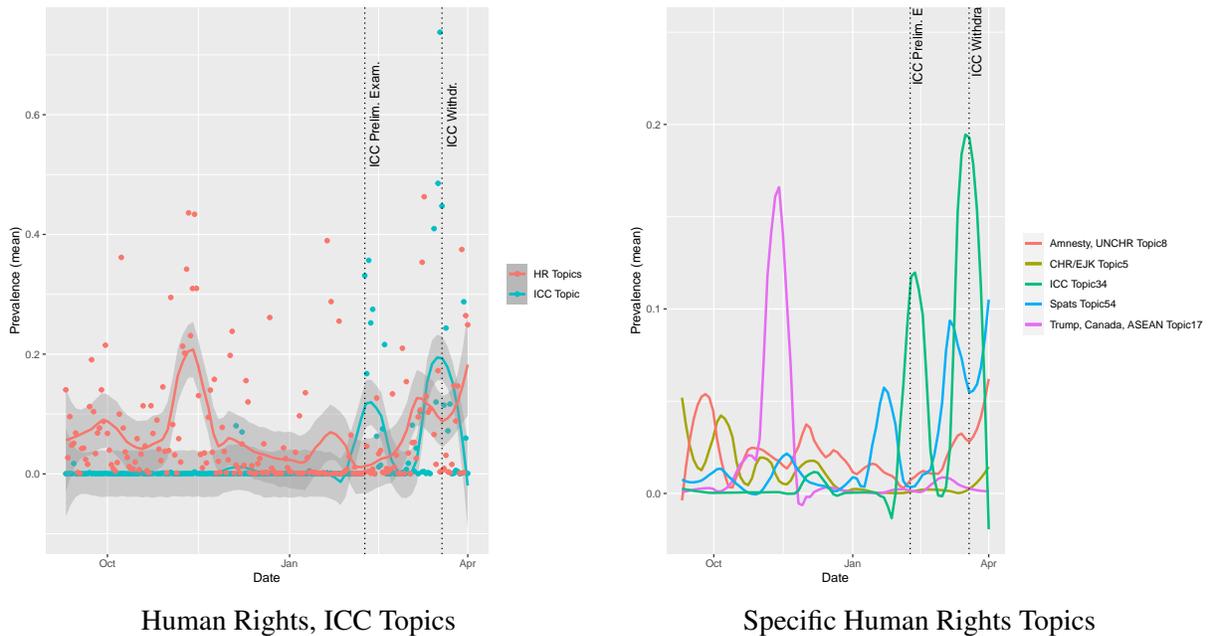
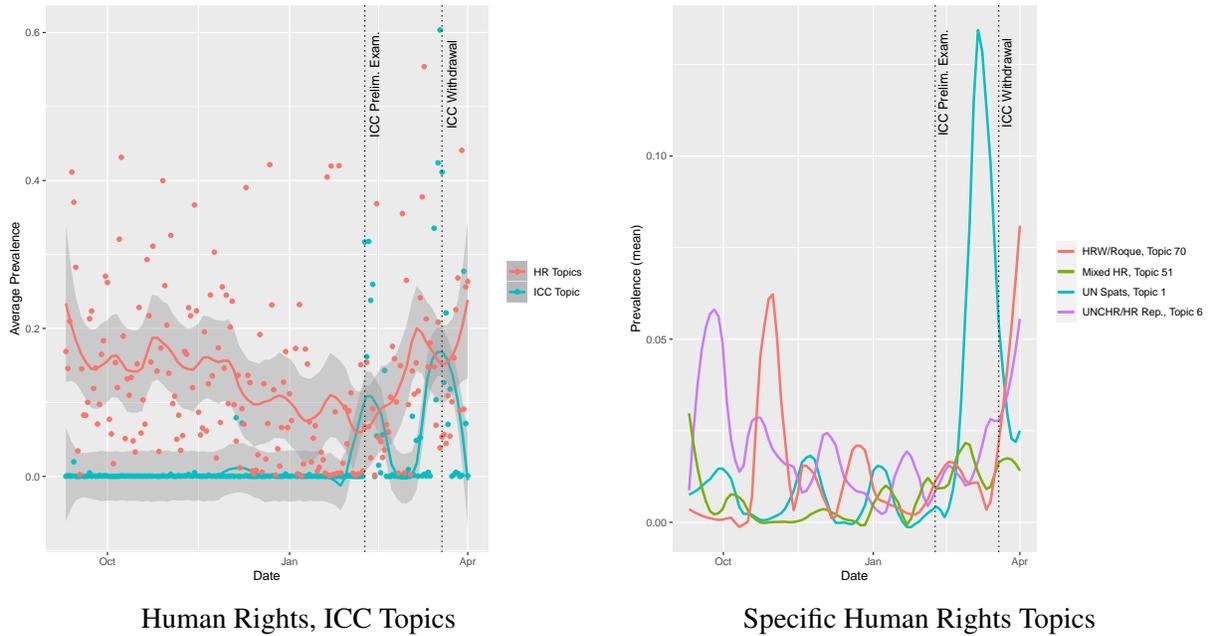


Figure G.4 shows the analogue of the most important figure from the main manuscript, using the LS pre-processing pipeline. I reproduced Figure 2 here from the main manuscript to make comparison easier (Figure G.5). The left pane shows the prevalence of human rights topics and the ICC topic over time. The right pane shows the specific topics from each category. The results are largely similar. The almost identical trends for the ICC topic is initial encouragement. Even

<sup>77</sup>See [http://www.mjdenny.com/getting\\_started\\_with\\_preText.html](http://www.mjdenny.com/getting_started_with_preText.html).

<sup>78</sup>Manila Times articles listed a phone number for their main offices. Since the pipeline now retains phone numbers, this skewed the topic model results.

Figure G.5: Effect of ICC on Human Rights Topics and ICC Topics, Original PNSLW Pre-processing pipeline

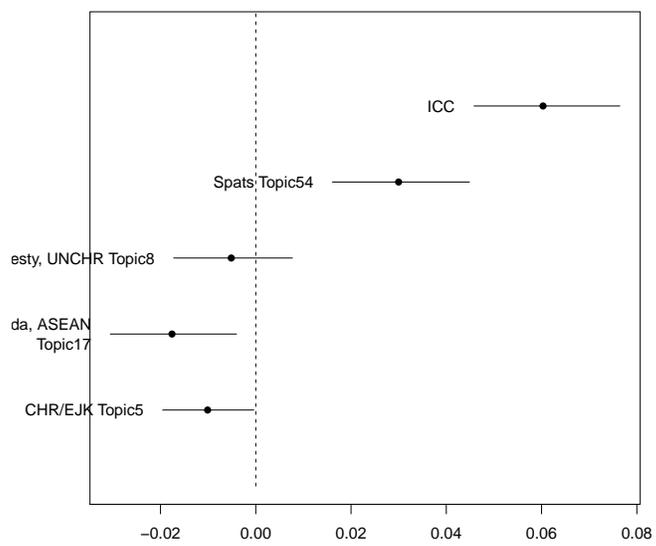


the numbers for the measures of prevalence are similar. On days around the ICC announcement, approximately 10% and 18% of the corpus of articles consisted of content related to the ICC. Those numbers are virtually identical across the two pre-processing pipelines.

More importantly though, human rights topic prevalence again increases after the ICC’s announcement. And it is predominantly driven by coverage of spats between defenders of the WOD and international officials. The exact topics, and of course their arbitrary topic numberings, change. But the prevalence of topics pertain to contestation and back-and-forth is similar across both specifications and rising after the ICC’s announcement. Figure G.6 shows the analogous regression results from the original manuscript. They are again similar.

There were two main differences worth noting. First, the LS pipeline and subsequent topic model picked up a more distinct ASEAN topic and included human rights among that topic’s most identifying words. This is not surprising. As mentioned in the original robustness checks about spikes in human rights topics, the ASEAN conference increased discussion of human rights. Second, the nice, relatively smooth decline in human rights topics before the ICC announcement in the original manuscript is not quite as smooth in the LS pipeline results. There is a bump in human rights content a little before the ICC announcement, though the overall downward trend is still present. The topic model after the LS pipeline picked up this content a little more distinctly.

Figure G.6: Topic Prevalence Before/After ICC, Structural topic model estimates, LS pipeline



## H Results Including/Excluding Manila Times

The owner of the Manila Times, Dante Arevalo Ang, has close ties with the Duterte administration. In May 2017, Duterte appointed Ang to the position of “special envoy for international public relations.”<sup>79</sup> It is possible that the Manila Times plays an outsized role in magnifying contestation over the ICC and human rights, regarding the WOD. Here’s I replicate the previous analyses, excluding The Manila Times, and find similar results.

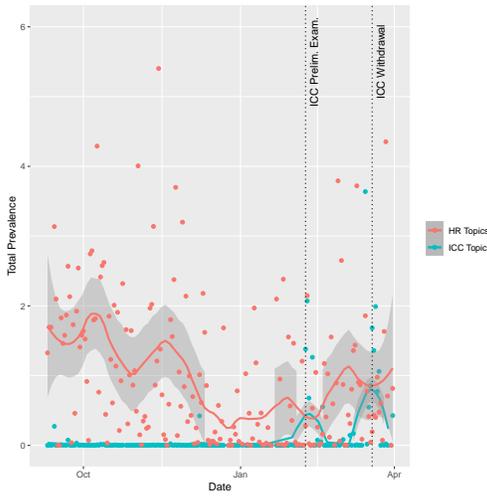
Figure H.1 replicates the first part of the main analysis of Hypothesis 2, about the prevalence of the ICC and Human Rights topics over time. The left side uses the total prevalence measure, and the right side uses the average prevalence measure. The top panes exclude the Manila Times. The bottom panes use only articles from the Manila Times. The trends are all similar to those in the main manuscript’s analysis. Coverage of Human Rights topics increases after the ICC’s preliminary examination. In some cases, this is less pronounced in the Manila Times, compared to other outlets, as in the total prevalence figure (bottom left). In other cases, this is more pronounced in the Manila Times, as in the bottom right figure of average prevalence.

Figure H.2 replicates the second part of the main analysis of Hypothesis 2, showing trends in specific topics. Here, too, the trends are similar. Both the Manila Times and the other outlets display similar increases in coverage of spats and related topics after the ICC’s preliminary examination announcement.

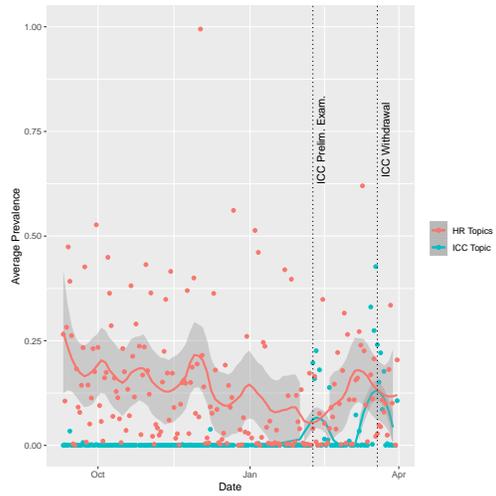
---

<sup>79</sup><https://www.rappler.com/nation/170038-manila-times-dante-ang-appointed-envoy-public-re>

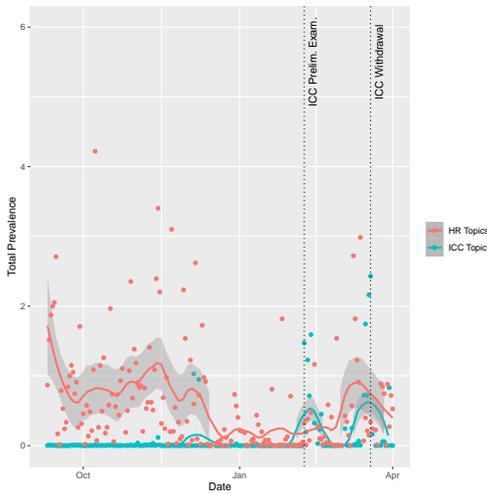
Figure H.1: Prevalence Measures,  $k = 75$



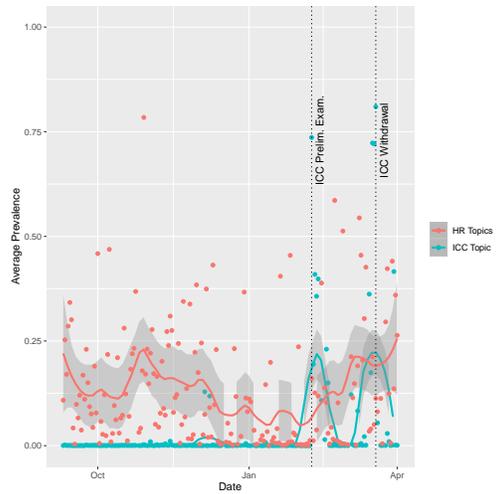
Total Prev., No Manila Times



Average Prev., No Manila Times

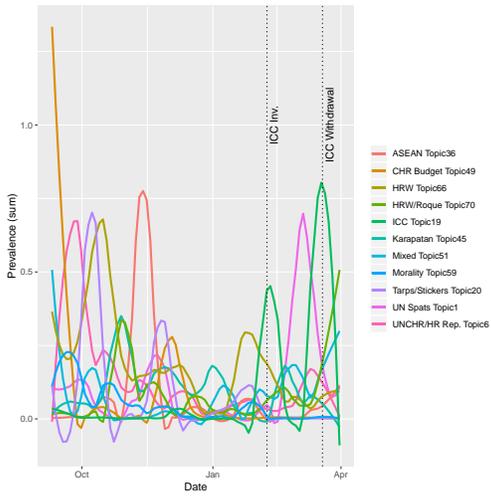


Total Prev., Manila Times Only

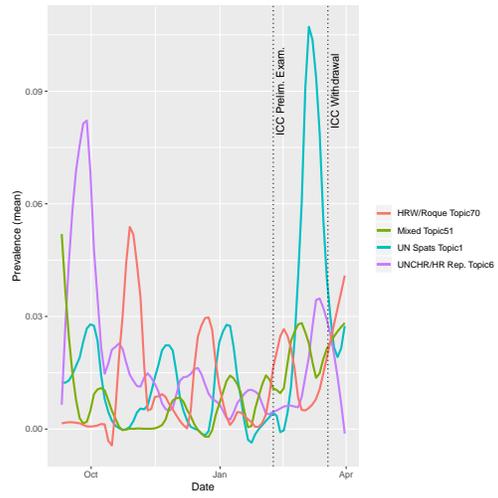


Average Prev., Manila Times Only

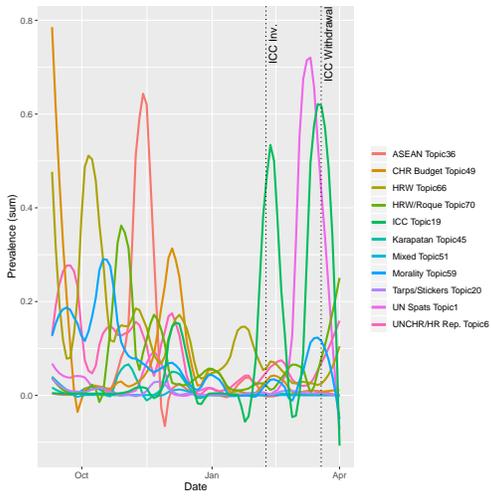
Figure H.2: Prevalence Measures,  $k = 75$



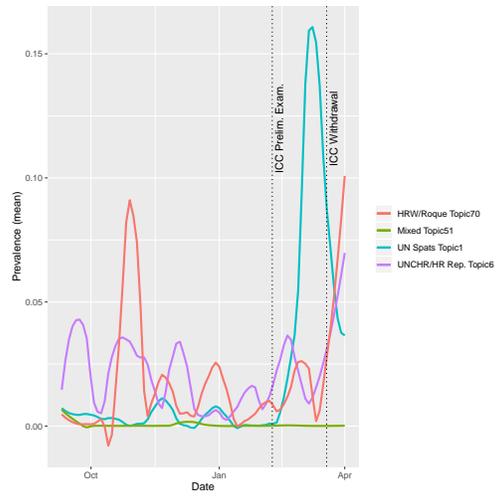
Total Prev., No Manila Times



Average Prev., No Manila Times



Total Prev., Manila Times Only



Average Prev., Manila Times Only

# I Survey Experimental Evidence

I thank the reviewers and editors for pushing me to look for direct evidence about the effects of shifting media coverage on attitudes about the WOD and ICC. The description in the text was necessarily brief, so this section gives much greater detail about the survey and analysis.

## I.1 Treatments

I constructed three articles that matched the types of articles described in the main manuscript. The main manuscript focuses on “core” WOD articles, articles about contestation, and articles about the ICC’s action itself. I found recent, real-world articles that had features commonly found in these types of articles and used excerpts from each to construct an article of each type. The bolded title and text for each treatment are below. I very lightly edited a few words so that the parts of each article fit together cleanly. I did not change any meaningful content in the articles. I also assigned some respondents to a pure control condition, where they did not read an article. For treatment assignment, I blocked based on party. Specifically, I randomly assigned treatment within three blocks: respondents who said they supported the Liberal Party (the main opposition party), PDP-Laban (Duterte’s party), and all other respondents.

### Core WOD Article

Core WOD articles focus on the everyday operations of the drug war and the overall statistics regarding its impact. These types of articles have been common throughout the Duterte administration. This particular article described “nanlaban,” an often-used term meaning situations where the police killed a suspect in (alleged) self defense. The second part of the article contains summary information about the number of people killed in the WOD, another common feature of coverage. I conclude this article with a sentence about the ICC, because every respondent answers questions about the WOD and about the ICC. Adding this sentence helps that outcome question make more sense.

This article was constructed with material from the following three real world articles and its exact text is below:

- ‘Nanlaban’ in Cavite: 3 drug suspects killed in buy-bust operations by Delfin T. Mallari Jr. Philippine Daily Inquirer, March 27, 2021. Available online at: <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1412048/nanlaban-in-cavite-3-drug-suspects-killed-in-buy-bust-operations>
- PNP calls Ateneo study ‘unfair’, says cops have no new powers in ‘drug war’ by Franco Luna. PhilStar Global, July 20, 2021. Available online at: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2021/07/20/2113849/pnp-calls-ateneo-study-unfair-says-cops-have-no-new-powers-in-drug-war>
- ICC sees crimes against humanity in Philippines drug war by Helen Flores. PhilStar Global, December 16, 2020. Available online at: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2020/12/16/2064113/icc-sees-crimes-against-humanity-philippines-drug-war>

## **Drug suspects killed in police operation as part of broader war on drugs**

Three drug suspects were killed in separate buy-bust operations that ended in gunfights in Cavite province, according to police on Saturday.

Col. Marlon Santos, Cavite police chief, said in a report that the three slain suspects resisted arrest and fired at policemen during the operations.

Santos' report had no other details on the operations that led to the killing of the three suspects. Police also arrested 202 other drug suspects—176 alleged pushers and 26 users—in 140 operations, 110 of them buy-busts.

Authorities seized 464 packets of shabu (crystal meth), 52 packets of dried marijuana leaves, tools for drug use and cash believed to be from the sale of drugs. The volume and estimated street value of the confiscated drugs were not mentioned in the report.

Recently, the PNP chief, Police Gen. Guillermo Eleazar, cited government data from the Real Numbers PH campaign saying that the drug war has resulted in the arrest of 293,841 drug suspects, including 12,356 high-value targets, in 203,715 anti-illegal drug operations nationwide.

Figures from Real Numbers PH—which collates data from the PNP, Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency, and Dangerous Drugs Board—also note that 6,089 suspects have died in official operations since July 2016, though Eleazar left this number out in his statement.

Previous PNP chiefs said the number was around 8,000 deaths, but this was later lowered to the current figure. But rights groups say the actual death toll may be as high as 30,000 as of this post.

In June, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) sought authorization from The Hague tribunal to open a full investigation into the war on drugs.

## **ICC No Contestation Article**

The ICC article without contestation reported directly on the ICC's actions. Shortly before the survey was fielded, the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber authorized an investigation, formally moving beyond the preliminary investigation stage. I used excerpts from an article that was about a similar event, when the Office of the Prosecutor initially decided to request a full investigation. These types of articles about the ICC generally describe what the ICC did, its process, and the basis for the ICC's actions.

This article was constructed with excerpts from the following real world article:

- ICC sees crimes against humanity in Philippines drug war by Helen Flores. PhilStar Global, December 16, 2020. Available online at: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2020/12/16/2064113/icc-sees-crimes-against-humanity-philippines-drug-wa>

## **ICC Prosecutor sees crimes against humanity in Philippines drug war**

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has found “reasonable basis” to believe that crimes against humanity were committed in President Duterte's war on drugs, which has reportedly killed over 20,000 people since 2016.

“The Office is satisfied that information available provides a reasonable basis to believe that crimes against humanity were committed in connection to the (war on drugs) campaign launched throughout the country,” ICC Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda said in a recent report.

The ICC’s Chief Prosecutor, Fatou Bensouda, launched in February 2018 a preliminary examination of the alleged summary killings in the Philippines since July 1, 2016 in connection with Duterte’s anti-drug campaign.

The preliminary probe focused on allegations that Duterte and senior members of law enforcement agencies including the Philippine National Police (PNP) and other government bodies “actively promoted” and “encouraged” the killing of suspected drug offenders and users.

The ICC’s conduct of preliminary examination stemmed from a complaint filed by lawyer Jude Sabio in April 2017, accusing Duterte of committing crimes against humanity for thousands of alleged extrajudicial killings in the conduct of Duterte’s anti-drug campaign.

Citing data from the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency, the Human Rights Watch (HRW) said a total of 4,948 suspected drug users and dealers died during police operations from July 1, 2016 to Sept. 30, 2018. The figure does not include the thousands of others killed by unidentified gunmen and classified by the PNP only as “homicides under investigation.” There are 22,983 such cases, according to a 2019 HRW report, citing PNP data.

Sought for reaction, a PNP spokesman said, “We refrain from making any comments if need be at this point until we obtain the ICC findings in detail.”

### **ICC Contestation Article**

Some articles report on the ICC’s actions and then emphasize contestation, meaning the back-and-forth exchanges between supporters and opponents of the WOD. These can be between human rights groups, opposition politicians, and representatives of international organizations - on the one side - and Duterte and his supporters - on the other. In the main manuscript, I focus on contestation articles that do and do not include substantial content about the ICC. Here, since I want to focus on the specific effect of contestation, as opposed to the effect of including/excluding information about the ICC, I made the article about contestation directly in the context of the ICC’s announcement of an investigation.

This article was constructed with excerpts from the following real world articles:

- ICC sees crimes against humanity in Philippines drug war by Helen Flores. PhilStar Global, December 16, 2020. Available online at: <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2020/12/16/20641113/icc-sees-crimes-against-humanity-philippines-drug-war>
- Senators weigh in on ICC finding ‘basis to believe’ crimes in Duterte drug war by JC Gotinga. Rappler December 15, 2020. Available online at: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/senators-statements-international-criminal-court-finding-basis-to-believe-crimes-in-duterte-drug-war>
- Roque: Duterte ‘shrugged off’ latest ICC step toward probe by Krixia Subingsubing and Leila B. Salaverria. Inquirer.net June 18, 2021. Available online at: <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1214447/roque-duterte-shrugged-off-latest-icc-step-toward-probe>

[inquirer.net/1447726/roque-duterte-shrugged-off-latest-icc-step-toward-ixzz721HenKJA](https://www.inquirer.net/1447726/roque-duterte-shrugged-off-latest-icc-step-toward-ixzz721HenKJA)

- Human rights groups hail ICC prosecutor's move vs Duterte's drug war by Jodesz Gavilan. Rappler June 15, 2021. Available online at: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/human-rights-groups-statements-icc-prosecutor-move-duterte-drug-war>
- Duterte bad-mouths 'bullshit' ICC by Pia Ranada. Rappler June 22, 2021. Available online at: <https://www.rappler.com/nation/duterte-lashes-out-international-crimi>

## **ICC Prosecutor sees crimes against humanity in Philippines drug war**

In June, the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) sought authorization from The Hague tribunal to open a full investigation into Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte's ongoing war on drugs.

Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda said there is a reasonable basis to believe that crimes against humanity were committed during the war on drugs.

"It doesn't come as a surprise... Perhaps if they acted sooner, thousands of lives could have been saved," said opposition senator Francis Pangilinan, who is the president of the Liberal Party.

"[The ICC] report offers new hope for justice and humanity, as we continue to commemorate all those felled by bloody 'tokhang,'" said Senator Risa Hontiveros, who is also a member of the opposition.

Karapatan, a human rights group based in the Philippines, calls the latest development a "long-awaited step towards justice and accountability" amid a human rights crisis in the country.

"[The ICC move] is yet another damning indictment of the Duterte government's murderous policies that have killed – and continue to kill – thousands of Filipinos with impunity," said a Karapatan representative.

In an open letter on behalf of Amnesty International, which is an international rights organization based in London, secretary general, Agnes Callamard said the ICC investigations in the Philippines is "last resort" since the drug war has "remained in the blind spot of international justice."

President Duterte responded by calling the International Criminal Court "bullshit" and declared he wanted to "slap" its judges.

"Why would I defend or face an accusation before white people? You must be crazy," said Duterte during a televised public address. Malacañang had earlier slammed the ICC as "politically-motivated."

## **Outcome Measures**

My two primary outcomes measured support for the WOD and the ICC. Immediately after treatment, I asked: "Do you support or not support the campaign against illegal drugs?" Respondents could choose from this response list: "Truly support, Support, May support and may not support,

Not support, Truly not support.” This wording matches that used in the public opinion surveys conducted by major Philippine polling firms.

I then asked “To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I support the ICC investigation into the war on drugs.” Respondents could again choose from five options, “Strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree.”

For each of these primary outcome measures, I use a binary version and an ordered version. For the binary version, I code the measure as 1 if the respondent chooses “truly support” or “support” for the WOD and “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” for the ICC. For the ordered version, I code the response from 0-4, with 0 referring to “Truly not support” / “Strongly disagree.”

## **Other Measures**

**Party:** Most importantly - pre-treatment - I asked “Which party comes closest to your political beliefs?” Respondents could choose from options including the main parties (PDP-Laban, Nacionalista, NPC, NUP, Liberal, Lakas). They could also select “Other” and type in their answer. I use this to code two variables. One is an indicator that equals one for respondents who chose the Liberal party. This is the measure used in the main manuscript’s analysis.

For the second measure, note that parties in the Philippines are more numerous and less clearly left/right than those in the United States. So I manually coded which parties tended to be aligned with Duterte. I used this to construct an indicator that I call “Not Right Party,” which equals one for respondents who choose or wrote a party that doesn’t tend to be aligned with or supportive of Duterte. There are pros and cons of both measures. On the one hand, the Liberal party is the mostly clear opposition to Duterte and the WOD. However, some parties other than the Liberal party are opposed to Duterte on some issues, including the WOD. The Liberal party indicator thus codes some parties as a zero even though they may oppose the WOD or Duterte. The Not Right Party indicator codes some parties as a one even if they may not have a stance on the WOD. In practice, results are very similar using both measures.

**Demographics** I also asked a variety of demographic questions about the respondents’ ethnicity, religion, income, education, employment status, marital status, region of residence, and media consumption. When the analysis below refers to regressions with controls, that references variables constructed from these measures. I generally coded these into binary indicator variables (eg married/unmarried). For income, I coded indicators based on whether the respondent’s reported income fell in the 0-25, 26-75, or 76+ percentiles of the sample distribution. For ethnicity, I coded indicators for two major groups, those identifying as Tagalog and Cebuano. For region, I coded an indicator for those in Metro Manila/NCR.

**Manipulation Checks** At the end, I asked respondents “You read an article that was about: A drug operation in Cavite, The ICC, I didn’t read an article.” In general, respondents did well on the manipulation checks. 84% of respondents who read either of the ICC articles chose the correct answer. 85% of respondents who read the WOD article chose the correct answer. These are higher numbers than those from similar survey experiments I have conducted with US respondents on

Lucid or Mturk.

I also coded a variable that is used in some analyses below, for whether the respondent took the survey exceptionally quickly or slowly. This variable equals 1 for respondents who took less than three minutes for the whole survey (261 respondents) or took greater than ten minutes for the whole survey (139 respondents). Results are generally similar when I include or exclude these respondents; they are generally stronger when I exclude them. The main manuscript included these respondents.

## **Balance and Demographics**

Randomization of treatment assignment succeeded. Table I.1 shows summary statistics of each of the demographic variables across treatment conditions. Each section of the table compares those statistics between the Control condition and one of the Articles. I use the approach in Bowers, Fredrickson and Hansen (2010) to statistically assess any differences. There are a few, very small differences (eg there were more married people in the WOD Article treatment condition than in the Control group), but none that should interfere with inference. (I also control for all of these characteristics in subsequent analysis.) Bowers, Fredrickson and Hansen (2010) also show how to calculate an omnibus  $\chi^2$  statistic for differences in characteristics across treatment groups. The p values associated with those tests indicate no significant differences (0.22, 0.959, and 0.302, for the WOD Article, the ICC Contestation Article, and the ICC No Contestation Article, respectively).

Table I.1: Demographics Across Treatment Conditions

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Control</u>	<u>WOD Article</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Z score</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Liberal Party	0.27	0.26	-0.01	-0.33	
Not Right Party	0.46	0.45	-0.01	-0.43	
Female	0.52	0.52	0.00	-0.17	
Cebuano	0.18	0.19	0.01	0.48	
Tagalog	0.50	0.50	0.00	-0.10	
Catholic	0.72	0.74	0.02	0.85	
Post Sec. Educ.	0.68	0.68	0.00	0.03	
Inc. Lower 25th	0.27	0.24	-0.04	-1.74	.
Inc. Lower 26th-75th	0.54	0.54	0.00	0.12	
News > 5 hrs	0.43	0.46	0.03	1.02	
Married	0.32	0.26	-0.06	-2.38	*
Metro Man./NCR	0.21	0.20	-0.01	-0.44	

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Control</u>	<u>ICC Con. Article</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Z score</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Liberal Party	0.27	0.26	0.00	-0.21	
Not Right Party	0.46	0.45	-0.01	-0.41	
Female	0.52	0.51	-0.01	-0.41	
Cebuano	0.18	0.20	0.02	0.76	
Tagalog	0.50	0.46	-0.03	-1.34	
Catholic	0.72	0.74	0.02	0.84	
Post Sec. Educ.	0.68	0.66	-0.02	-0.68	
Inc. Lower 25th	0.27	0.27	-0.01	-0.26	
Inc. Lower 26th-75th	0.54	0.55	0.01	0.46	
News > 5 hrs	0.43	0.41	-0.02	-0.83	
Married	0.32	0.31	-0.01	-0.42	
Metro Man./NCR	0.21	0.19	-0.02	-0.93	

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Control</u>	<u>ICC No Con. Article</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Z score</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Liberal Party	0.27	0.26	-0.01	-0.34	
Not Right Party	0.46	0.42	-0.04	-1.47	
Female	0.52	0.53	0.00	0.12	
Cebuano	0.18	0.21	0.02	1.07	
Tagalog	0.50	0.48	-0.02	-0.85	
Catholic	0.72	0.75	0.03	1.33	
Post Sec. Educ.	0.68	0.71	0.03	1.28	
Inc. Lower 25th	0.27	0.23	-0.04	-1.88	.
Inc. Lower 26th-75th	0.54	0.55	0.01	0.43	
News > 5 hrs	0.43	0.43	0.00	-0.02	
Married	0.32	0.30	-0.02	-0.89	
Metro Man./NCR	0.21	0.22	0.01	0.34	

## **Incomplete Disclosure/Deception**

This experiment used very mild incomplete disclosure/deception. I told respondents they would be reading “an article” but I did not tell respondents that they were reading something that was constructed with excerpts from real articles. This was necessary since it is not possible to find three articles whose sole difference is in content. They would vary in length, source, tone, and the events being covered. It would be impossible to discern whether the changes to content that I was interested in affected answers to the outcome questions or whether these other differences caused the changes.

That said, this is a very minimal use of incomplete disclosure/deception. None of the treatment articles contained content that could not also be found in many mainstream outlets. By combining parts of articles, I did not change any of the authors’ arguments or intent. In other words, the modified treatment articles have no additional adverse effects compared to what a citizen experiences when reading the news. The incomplete disclosure also causes no harm to the respondent.

I also included the possibility of incomplete disclosure in the informed consent document. This allows respondents to judge whether they were willing to participate, despite that possibility. I also de-briefed respondents with detailed information about what I manipulated. The de-brief text is below:

Thank you for your participation in this study. This study is concerned with how different types of media articles affect readers’ views on political issues and various political actors.

Some information was withheld from you during this survey. First, we did not inform respondents that we randomly assigned them to read different articles about the war on drugs and some people did not read any article. Second, we did not inform respondents that the media articles were not from one single article. The news articles were written using excerpts from articles in commonly read media outlets in the Philippines. We did not alter the articles to add any misinformation or to change their content. We combined the excerpts and very lightly edited them so that they read clearly when combined.

The article you read used excerpts from the following sources: [I then gave them the citations and URLs for the articles used in their particular treatment.]

## **I.2 Analysis**

The main manuscript highlights two things, (1) the shift in media coverage from “regular” or “core” WOD articles to coverage of contestation around the ICC and (2) the fact that this coverage emphasizes contestation, as opposed to more benign coverage of the ICC or human rights. My experimental design, with the three article types, allows me to ask: how does the shift in coverage affect attitudes towards the WOD and ICC and what role does contestation, in particular, play? I look at whether support for the WOD/ICC increases or decreases (and for whom) and also for polarization — whether attitudes between people supporting different parties widen.

## I.2.1 Effect of Coverage Shift on Attitudes Towards the WOD

I first look at whether the shift in coverage from regular WOD articles to contestation over the ICC affects attitudes towards the WOD. I do this by comparing the outcome measures between respondents assigned to the WOD article and the ICC Contestation article. To ensure that results are not artifacts of one particular specification, I present the effect of treatment from 18 different specifications. The specifications use OLS for the binary and ordered version of the outcome measure, plus logit for the binary version (3), exclude demographic controls/include them with the Liberal Party variable/include them with the Not Right Party variable (x3), and include/exclude respondents who took the survey very quickly or very slowly (x2). This results in  $3 \times 3 \times 2 = 18$  specifications.

Table I.2 shows the results in table form. Since there are so many specifications and variables in the table, Figure I.1 concisely shows the coefficient estimates, with 90% confidence intervals.<sup>80</sup> The ICC Contestation article generally lowers support for the WOD, compared to the WOD article. This effect is relatively modest in substantive terms. The ICC Contestation article generally lowers the percentage of people supporting the WOD by 4-5%. The effect is very consistent across specifications. We can reject the null of zero effect at the 0.05 level in 5 specifications, at the 0.1 level in 9 specifications, and we fail to reject the null in each of the three specifications with no control variables.

Table I.2: Effect of ICC Cont. on Support for WOD

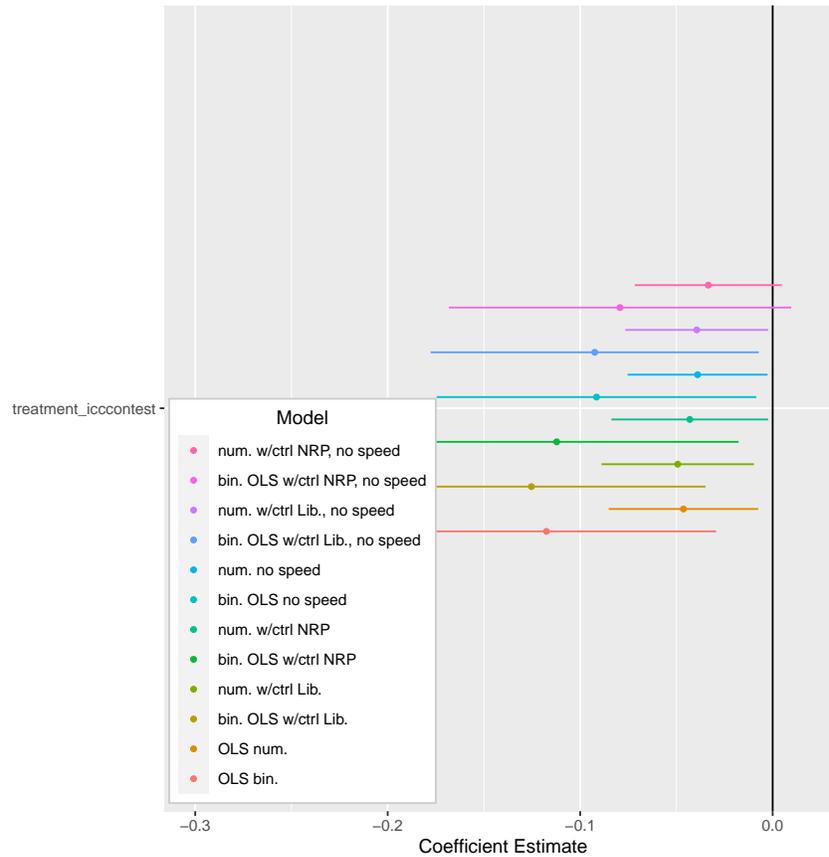
	Dependent variable:																	
	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (1)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (2)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (3)	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (4)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (5)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (6)	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (7)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (8)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (9)	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (10)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (11)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (12)	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (13)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (14)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (15)	Support WOD (bin.) OLS (16)	Support WOD (bin.) logistic (17)	Support WOD (num.) OLS (18)
ICC Contestation Art.	-0.033 (0.023)	-0.163 (0.113)	-0.079 (0.054)	-0.039* (0.023)	-0.206* (0.119)	-0.092* (0.052)	-0.039* (0.022)	-0.207* (0.121)	-0.092* (0.050)	-0.043* (0.025)	-0.211* (0.122)	-0.112* (0.057)	-0.049** (0.024)	-0.265** (0.127)	-0.125** (0.055)	-0.046** (0.024)	-0.253* (0.130)	-0.118** (0.054)
Liberal Party				-0.187*** (0.026)	-0.879*** (0.127)	-0.553*** (0.060)							-0.156*** (0.028)	-0.743*** (0.138)	-0.510*** (0.064)			
Not Right Party							-0.245*** (0.023)	-1.252*** (0.124)	-0.678*** (0.052)							-0.224*** (0.024)	-1.149*** (0.132)	-0.645*** (0.055)
Female				-0.058** (0.023)	-0.308*** (0.119)	-0.137*** (0.052)	-0.047*** (0.022)	-0.254** (0.122)	-0.109** (0.051)				-0.063*** (0.024)	-0.336*** (0.128)	-0.167*** (0.055)	-0.051** (0.024)	-0.277*** (0.130)	-0.136** (0.054)
Cebuano				0.117*** (0.032)	0.727*** (0.191)	0.308*** (0.075)	0.090*** (0.032)	0.612*** (0.195)	0.239*** (0.073)				0.139*** (0.035)	0.896*** (0.213)	0.357*** (0.079)	0.110*** (0.034)	0.771*** (0.217)	0.284*** (0.078)
Tagalog				-0.015 (0.026)	-0.078 (0.133)	-0.044 (0.060)	-0.019 (0.026)	-0.105 (0.135)	-0.052 (0.059)				-0.024 (0.028)	-0.125 (0.141)	-0.048 (0.064)	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.172 (0.144)	-0.064 (0.062)
Catholic				-0.001 (0.026)	0.001 (0.137)	0.026 (0.059)	-0.013 (0.025)	-0.139 (0.139)	-0.009 (0.058)				0.009 (0.027)	0.055 (0.144)	-0.001 (0.062)	0.004 (0.027)	0.004 (0.147)	0.007 (0.061)
Post Sec. Educ.				0.045* (0.025)	0.232* (0.130)	0.017 (0.058)	0.042* (0.025)	0.231* (0.133)	0.007 (0.056)				0.039 (0.027)	0.201 (0.140)	-0.001 (0.061)	0.037 (0.026)	0.203 (0.142)	-0.012 (0.060)
Inc. Lower 25th				0.041 (0.036)	0.204 (0.192)	0.081 (0.082)	0.034 (0.035)	0.168 (0.196)	0.064 (0.080)				0.033 (0.039)	0.163 (0.209)	0.026 (0.089)	0.130 (0.038)	0.016 (0.213)	0.016 (0.086)
Inc. Lower 26th-75th				-0.024 (0.030)	-0.138 (0.156)	-0.062 (0.068)	-0.033 (0.029)	-0.196 (0.160)	-0.086 (0.067)				-0.033 (0.032)	-0.186 (0.170)	-0.090 (0.074)	-0.039 (0.032)	-0.232 (0.173)	-0.107 (0.072)
News > 5 hrs				-0.010 (0.023)	-0.061 (0.130)	-0.003 (0.053)	-0.009 (0.022)	-0.050 (0.123)	-0.003 (0.051)				-0.030 (0.025)	-0.167 (0.129)	-0.045 (0.056)	-0.024 (0.024)	-0.135 (0.132)	-0.028 (0.055)
Married				0.086*** (0.026)	0.476*** (0.140)	0.172*** (0.059)	0.079*** (0.025)	0.452*** (0.143)	0.155*** (0.057)				0.088*** (0.027)	0.483*** (0.149)	0.174*** (0.062)	0.081*** (0.027)	0.461*** (0.152)	0.159*** (0.061)
Metro Man/NCR				-0.025 (0.030)	-0.125 (0.151)	-0.092 (0.069)	-0.013 (0.030)	-0.065 (0.153)	-0.063 (0.068)				-0.040 (0.032)	-0.195 (0.159)	-0.120 (0.074)	-0.027 (0.032)	-0.137 (0.162)	-0.092 (0.072)
Constant	0.729*** (0.016)	0.989*** (0.081)	3.010*** (0.038)	0.754*** (0.045)	1.156*** (0.238)	3.146*** (0.104)	0.832*** (0.045)	1.621*** (0.251)	3.355*** (0.103)	0.736*** (0.018)	1.026*** (0.088)	3.035*** (0.041)	0.769*** (0.048)	1.253*** (0.256)	3.219*** (0.110)	0.839*** (0.048)	1.670*** (0.268)	3.408*** (0.109)
Observations	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334	1,334
R <sup>2</sup>	0.001		0.001	0.074		0.099	0.110	0.110	0.145	0.002		0.003	0.073		0.102	0.108	0.147	0.147
Log Likelihood		-912.391				-856.062		-825.784					-786.445		-746.801		-711.638	
Akaike Inf. Crt.		1,828.783				1,738.123		1,677.567					1,596.889		1,519.602		1,469.275	

Note:

\*p<0.1, \*\*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.01

<sup>80</sup>I omit the logit regression coefficients from the figure, since they're on a different scale than the OLS coefficients.

Figure I.1: Effect of ICC Contestation Treatment on Support for WOD (Base: WOD Article)



Note: Estimated coefficients for the ICC Contestation article effect, with the sample restricted to respondents who read the ICC Contestation or War on Drugs article. Whiskers show 90% confidence intervals.

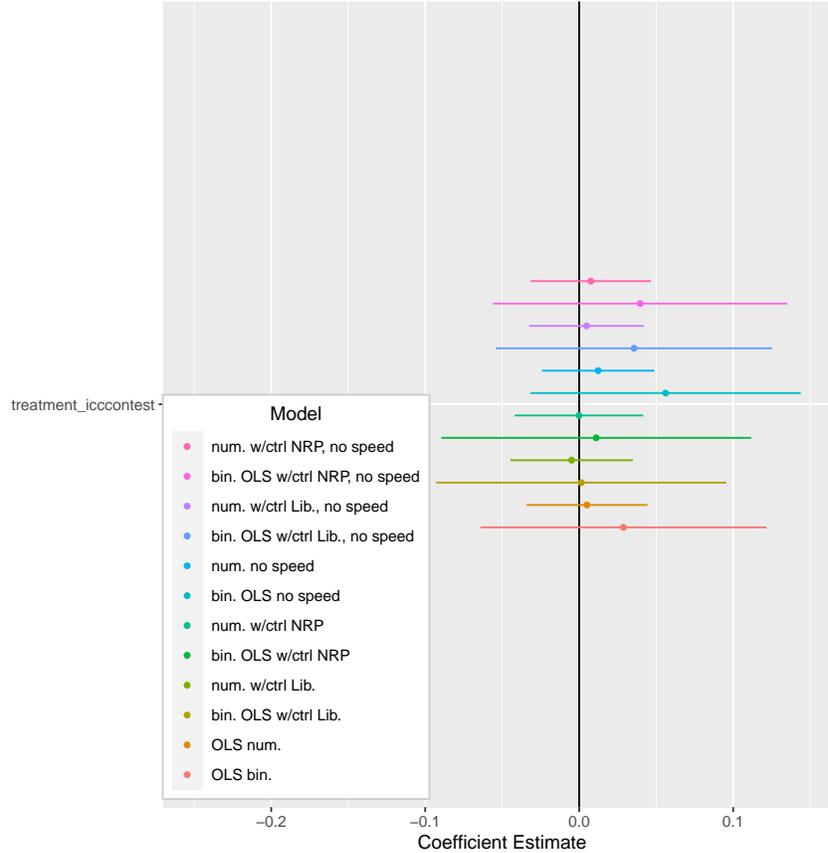
### I.2.2 Effect of Contestation on Attitudes Towards the WOD

How does the presence of contestation, as opposed to more factual, event-based reporting about the ICC, affect attitudes towards the WOD? Figure I.2 shows the effect of the ICC Contestation article with the ICC No Contestation article as the base category, using the same series of model specifications as above.<sup>81</sup> In the aggregate, there is no significant effect of adding contestation on support for the WOD, relative to an article on the ICC without contestation.

However, this aggregate effect masks significant heterogeneity across respondents based on their preferred party. Duterte’s strategy of injecting intense contestation into coverage of the ICC’s actions is very successful in blunting the effect of the ICC on support for the WOD - interestingly - among Liberal Party supporters. This is most easily seen in Figure I.3 (reproduced from the main text). This Figure shows the predicted probability that a respondent supports the WOD,

<sup>81</sup>I omit the full regression table. Results are similar including logit specifications.

Figure I.2: Effect of ICC Cont. on Support for WOD (Base: ICC No Contest)



Note: Estimated coefficients for the ICC Contestation article effect, with the sample restricted to respondents who read one of the ICC articles. Whiskers show 90% confidence intervals.

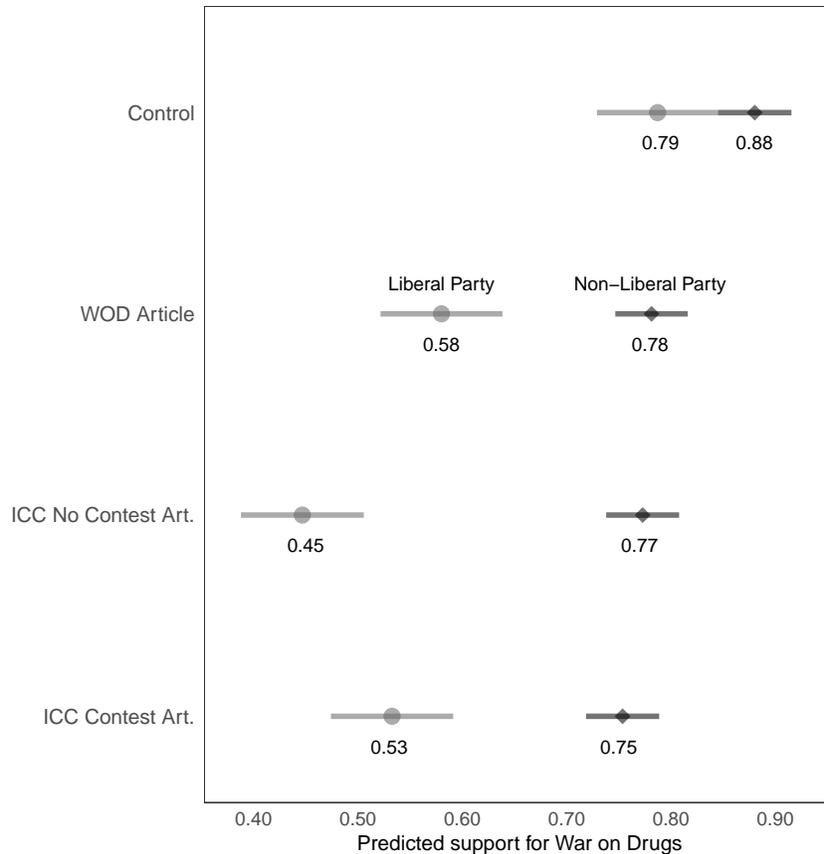
broken down by party identification and treatment condition.<sup>82</sup> Unsurprisingly, there are party splits, with respondents who support the Liberal Party being less supportive of the WOD. Moving from the WOD Article treatment to the ICC No Contestation treatment significantly lowers support for the WOD among Liberal Party supporters, and has a negligible effect on other respondents. However, moving from the ICC No Contestation treatment to the ICC Contestation treatment re-raises support for the WOD among Liberals.

Each of these differences across parties is statistically significant. Table I.3 shows results from regressions of support for the WOD on the ICC Contestation treatment indicator variable, including interaction terms with the Liberal Party indicator, across various specifications. The sample is limited to respondents receiving one of the ICC treatments, ie the base category in these regressions is the ICC No Contestation treatment. The positive and always significant interaction terms show how exposure to the ICC Contestation article re-raises support for the WOD among Liberals.

<sup>82</sup>This figure uses the binary version of the outcome measure, OLS regression, omits controls, and includes the full sample of respondents. Results are very similar using alternate variations of that specification.

In other words, Duterte’s strategy “works.” As the main manuscript shows, after ICC actions, coverage shifts more towards contestation articles, as opposed to articles that look like the no contestation treatment. This likely crowds out space for media content that would have further depressed Liberal support for the WOD. Had Liberals read articles like the ICC No Contestation treatment, their support for the WOD would have been even lower. But since coverage shifts more towards Contestation articles, this dip is not as low as it otherwise could have been.<sup>83</sup>

Figure I.3: Predicted Support for the War on Drugs, by Treatment and Party ID



Note: Predicted probabilities are from regressing (OLS) the binary version of the WOD support outcome measure on the indicators for each of the three article treatments, interacted with the Liberal Party indicator, without additional controls.

<sup>83</sup>An alternative explanation for this finding is that Liberal Party supporters are persuaded by Duterte’s retorts in contestation-style arguments. This experiment’s research design cannot distinguish between “crowding out” and “persuasion.” An alternative design would have a treatment that combined both types of ICC articles. That is beyond the scope of this note, though. I suspect that crowding out is the more likely mechanism, based on the antipathy from lots of Liberal Party supporters towards Duterte.

Table I.3: Effect of ICC Cont. on Support for WOD, Party Interactions (Base: ICC No Contest)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Support WOD (bin.)	Support WOD (num.)	Support WOD (bin.)	Support WOD (num.)	Support WOD (bin.)	Support WOD (num.)	Support WOD (bin.)	Support WOD (num.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ICC Contestation Art.	-0.019 (0.027)	-0.026 (0.064)	-0.019 (0.026)	-0.023 (0.064)	-0.045 (0.028)	-0.091 (0.067)	-0.045 (0.028)	-0.088 (0.066)
ICC Contestation Art. X Liberal Party	0.105** (0.052)	0.260** (0.126)	0.092* (0.051)	0.221* (0.124)	0.169*** (0.055)	0.385*** (0.132)	0.152*** (0.055)	0.342*** (0.130)
Liberal Party	-0.326*** (0.037)	-0.897*** (0.089)	-0.290*** (0.037)	-0.803*** (0.089)	-0.364*** (0.039)	-0.984*** (0.094)	-0.333*** (0.039)	-0.895*** (0.094)
Female			-0.027 (0.023)	-0.044 (0.055)			-0.041* (0.024)	-0.098* (0.058)
Cebuano			0.087*** (0.033)	0.261*** (0.079)			0.069** (0.035)	0.245*** (0.083)
Tagalog			-0.073*** (0.026)	-0.129** (0.064)			-0.077*** (0.028)	-0.120* (0.067)
Catholic			-0.030 (0.026)	-0.015 (0.063)			-0.005 (0.028)	0.039 (0.065)
Post Sec. Educ.			0.045* (0.025)	0.142** (0.061)			0.046* (0.027)	0.123* (0.064)
Inc. Lower 25th			0.058 (0.036)	0.189** (0.086)			0.032 (0.038)	0.107 (0.091)
Inc. Lower 26th-75th			0.049 (0.030)	0.113 (0.072)			0.034 (0.032)	0.075 (0.077)
News > 5 hrs			-0.002 (0.023)	0.032 (0.056)			0.001 (0.025)	0.037 (0.059)
Married			0.105*** (0.025)	0.253*** (0.061)			0.105*** (0.027)	0.247*** (0.064)
Metro Man./NCR			-0.049* (0.030)	-0.124* (0.071)			-0.047 (0.031)	-0.137* (0.075)
Constant	0.773*** (0.019)	3.125*** (0.046)	0.725*** (0.047)	2.873*** (0.113)	0.789*** (0.020)	3.170*** (0.048)	0.750*** (0.050)	2.968*** (0.118)
Observations	1,511	1,511	1,511	1,511	1,326	1,326	1,326	1,326
R <sup>2</sup>	0.070	0.092	0.110	0.133	0.077	0.103	0.114	0.142

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

### **I.2.3 Effect of Coverage Shift and Contestation on Attitudes Towards the ICC**

How does shifting coverage from regular WOD articles to articles describing contestation over the ICC affect attitudes towards the ICC? Here, I again focus on the effect of going from the WOD article treatment to the ICC Contestation treatment. In the aggregate, this shift has a negative, generally small and statistically insignificant effect on support for the ICC. Table I.4 shows results from regressing support for the ICC on the ICC Contestation treatment, using the WOD article as the baseline.

However, as above, this aggregate result masks significant party heterogeneity in the effects of the ICC Contestation treatment. This is most easily seen in Figure I.4, which shows the predicted probability of supporting the ICC across parties and treatments. Going from the WOD article to the ICC Contestation article significantly widens the party splits on attitudes towards the ICC. This is consistent with polarization. The Contestation article lowers support for the ICC substantially (and statistically significantly) among those not supporting the Liberal Party. It raises support for the ICC among Liberal Party supporters. The end result is a much larger gulf between the parties on their attitudes towards the ICC.

Note, too that the gaps in support for the ICC widen in going from the WOD Article treatment to the ICC No Contestation treatment. This is consistent with the argument that the ICC itself is a polarized topic. When respondents are prompted to read about the ICC, their attitudes, which are polarized along party lines, are activated. The gaps get even wider in moving to the ICC Contestation treatment, though the added effect on party gaps of moving to the ICC Contestation treatment from the ICC No Contestation treatment is only statistically significant in a few specifications.

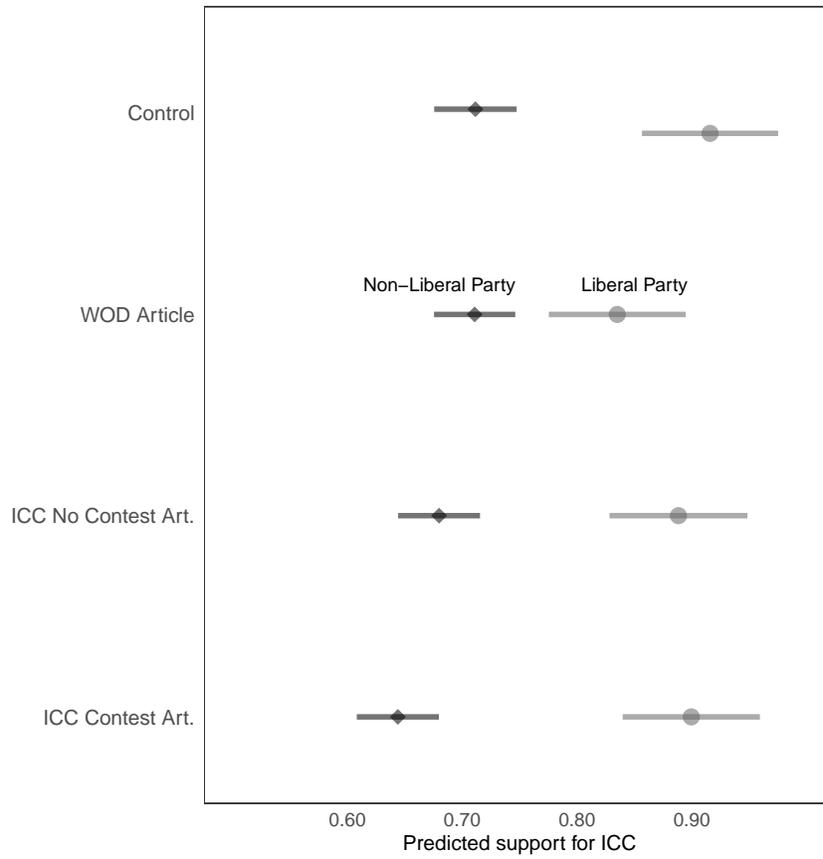
Table I.4: Effect of ICC Cont. on Support for ICC

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support ICC (bin.)	Support ICC (num.)	Support ICC (bin.)	Support ICC (num.)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ICC Contestation Art.	-0.032 (0.023)	-0.089 (0.061)	-0.033 (0.022)	-0.089 (0.059)
Liberal Party			0.189*** (0.026)	0.658*** (0.069)
Female			0.036 (0.023)	0.065 (0.060)
Cebuano			-0.020 (0.032)	-0.083 (0.086)
Tagalog			0.004 (0.026)	-0.007 (0.069)
Catholic			0.004 (0.026)	0.088 (0.068)
Post Sec. Educ.			-0.038 (0.025)	-0.132** (0.066)
Inc. Lower 25th			0.032 (0.036)	0.103 (0.095)
Inc. Lower 26th-75th			0.038 (0.030)	0.097 (0.078)
News > 5 hrs			-0.017 (0.023)	-0.042 (0.060)
Married			-0.055** (0.025)	-0.201*** (0.067)
Metro Man./NCR			-0.025 (0.030)	-0.012 (0.080)
Constant	0.743*** (0.016)	3.009*** (0.043)	0.700*** (0.045)	2.846*** (0.119)
Observations	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,522
R <sup>2</sup>	0.001	0.001	0.047	0.077

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Figure I.4: Predicted Support for the ICC, by Treatment and Party ID



Note: Predicted probabilities are from regressing (OLS) the binary version of the ICC support outcome measure on the indicators for each of the three article treatments, interacted with the Liberal Party indicator, without additional controls.

## J Evidence from Kenya

I again thank the anonymous reviewers for pushing for more media data and evidence from another country. I took the reviewers' suggestion and looked at how media coverage changed in Kenya over time. I picked that case because it's a very important example of the constraints placed on an IO by shifting domestic politics and because major Kenyan broadsheets are published in English. I replicated the same overall approach I used in the Philippines, with some simplifications.

I first collected a large set of the articles (3,780) from Nexis Uni that were about the 2007-2008 Kenyan post-electoral violence (PEV). This set of events are at the core of the ICC investigation. The Kenyan media uses a relatively narrow set of terms to consistently refer to these events, similar to how the Philippine media refers to the "war on drugs." I used a broad, wild-carded search term, "post-elect! viol!"<sup>84</sup> I limited my search to the major Kenyan broadsheets available on Nexis Uni (The Nation and The Star).

Using this corpus of articles about post-election violence, I estimated a topic model in the same ways as I did for the Philippines. I labelled two groups of topics. The first pertains to the ICC and includes topics where "ICC" was one of the key words. There are a lot of these topics (20), unlike in the Philippines. The second group includes "human rights" among its key terms. There were only 3 such topics.

The results are very interesting, though they differ from those highlighted in the Philippines analysis in some ways. There is some evidence that media coverage contains additional contestation between pro- and anti-ICC actors, though it is uneven. A large difference between the two cases is that coverage of the ICC itself is much more consistent and prevalent over time, compared to the Philippines case. Topics about the ICC start - and stay - prevalent. This is due to Kenya's early, deliberate involvement of the ICC via a domestic investigatory process. The Waki Commission was charged with investigating the 2007 PEV and issued its report in 2008. It contained a redacted list of alleged perpetrators. The Commission included a very unique design feature: it pledged to send the list of the accused to the ICC if a domestic investigation had not made serious steps towards accountability by the end of 2009. This deadline passed and the Commission passed its list to the ICC.

The early involvement of the ICC in Kenya - combined with a frustrating limitation of the set of articles available on Nexis Uni - makes Kenya a much less "clean" test of how an ICC event affects coverage. Nexis Uni's coverage of Kenya outlets begins late, on 14 January 2010.<sup>85</sup> The timing is frustrating because the ICC had been on the media radar well before 2010. This means that I can't go back and look at the changes in media coverage when the ICC first enters the scene in Kenya. In the window where Nexis Uni does have coverage, there is also not one distinct event (like the ICC's announcement of a Philippine examination) in Kenya.

This is in contrast with the Philippines, where the ICC is relatively off the media radar until

---

<sup>84</sup>I did not use a classifier again because these keywords sufficed.

<sup>85</sup>There are only three hits for the search before January of 2010, all from The Nation. This is because Uni just doesn't have complete access to those outlets for earlier years. I went to The Nation's website and manually checked that there were in fact articles mentioning "post-election violence" from the years 2007-2009, and of course, there are plenty. The corpus ends 17 September 2013. There is also a gap where Uni does not have access to articles from the Nation or the Star from 27 March 2012 to 2 June 2012.

the important announcement of a preliminary examination. This is also a distinct event; there aren't other instances of Philippine political actors interacting directly with the ICC before the preliminary examination announcement.

### Kenya Results Details

Here, I show results from a topic model where an algorithm chose the number of topics (98), in Figure J.1.<sup>86</sup> After labelling topics related to the ICC and human rights, I plotted the average prevalence of each type of topic over time, again in the same manner as the main manuscript. In other words, the lines show - for a particular day, what percentage of the post-electoral violence articles was associated with each type of topic. The vertical lines and annotations note some of the most important events in this time window.

In this window, the ICC starts as a more prominent feature of PEV coverage. Even at the beginning of the time window, ICC content makes up 10-20% of PEV coverage on any given day. And rather than coverage spiking around important events and then fading, the constitutes a very large portion of coverage for weeks at a time. This is especially the case in late 2010 and early 2011. William Ruto, one of the accused, *preemptively* travelled to the Hague in late 2010, increasing the prominence of the ICC in the media through March of 2011, when summonses were issued for Uhuru Kenyatta, Ruto, and others.

Additionally, the prevalence of human rights topics only weakly correlates with ICC coverage. In the Philippines, ICC actions tended to open space for additional coverage of human rights-promoting INGOs and domestic NGOs. In Kenya, the ICC makes up such a large proportion of coverage and is so frequently in the news, that it does not seem to trigger additional human rights content. Where it does so, though, that content tends to focus on contestation. For example, one of the main human rights topics emphasizes a spat between Ruto and an NGO he accused of witness tampering. Another focuses on Uhuru Kenyatta's efforts to get his name removed from a report on PEV.

Zooming out, coverage of the ICC itself focuses heavily on contestation, even if this is not under the auspices of human rights. Kenyatta, Ruto, and their political allies deliberately amplified contestation with the ICC. They tried to make the 2012-2013 election a "referendum on the ICC."<sup>87</sup> So while there are important differences between the Philippine and Kenyan cases, they both share the overarching feature of the ICC being associated with increased contestation over accountability.

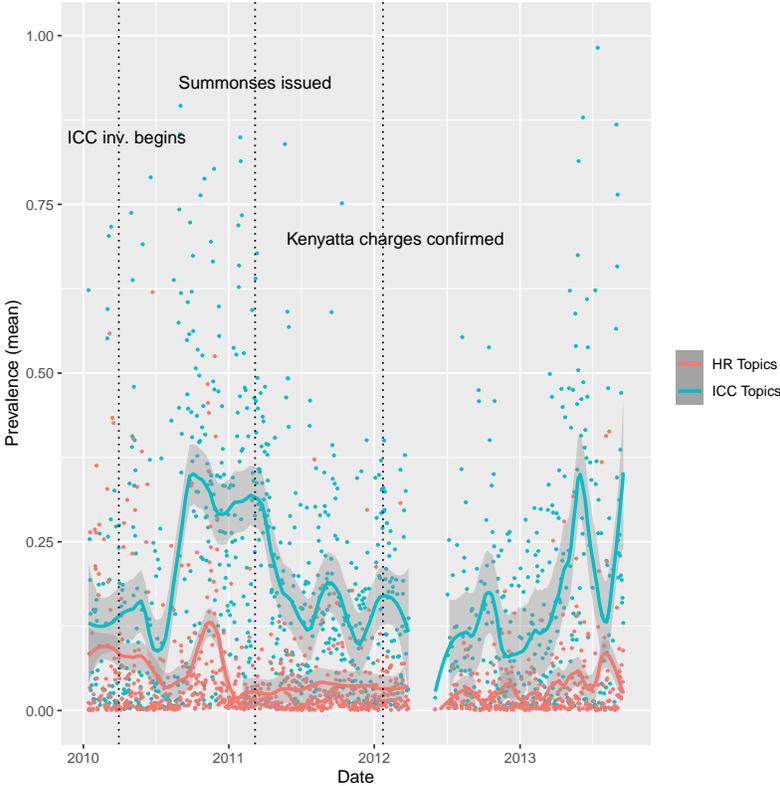
---

<sup>86</sup>Results are similar with my initial choice of a 100 topic model.

<sup>87</sup>"Did the ICC help Uhuru Kenyatta win Kenyan election?" BBC <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21739347>. Additionally, see Mueller (2014).

Figure J.1: (Mean) Prevalence of ICC, Human Rights Topics in Kenya

Note: Results are similar using total prevalence measures.



## Appendix Only References

- Bischof, Jonathan and Edoardo M Airoidi. 2012. Summarizing topical content with word frequency and exclusivity. In *Proceedings of the 29th International Conference on Machine Learning (ICML-12)*. pp. 201–208.
- Bowers, Jake, Mark Fredrickson and Ben Hansen. 2010. *RIttools: Randomization Inference Tools*. R package version 0.1-11.  
**URL:** <http://www.jakebowers.org/RIttools.html>
- Chang, Jonathan. 2011. “lda: Collapsed Gibbs sampling methods for topic models.”
- Clark, Phil. 2018. *Distant Justice: The Impact of the International Criminal Court on African Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Denny, Matthew J and Arthur Spirling. 2018. “Text preprocessing for unsupervised learning: Why it matters, when it misleads, and what to do about it.” *Political Analysis* 26(2):168–189.
- Mimno, David and Moontae Lee. 2014. Low-dimensional embeddings for interpretable anchor-based topic inference. In *Proceedings of the 2014 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing (EMNLP)*. pp. 1319–1328.
- Roberts, Margaret E, Brandon M Stewart and Dustin Tingley. 2019. “Stm: An R package for structural topic models.” *Journal of Statistical Software* 91(1):1–40.
- Taddy, Matt. 2013. “Multinomial inverse regression for text analysis.” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 108(503):755–770.