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**Master's Thesis of Public Administration**

**The Philippines' War Against Drugs  
and the Public Voices:**

**The Dynamic Relationship Between Policy and  
Citizens' Attitude and Engagement**

**필리핀의 마약과의 전쟁과 국민 여론:  
정책과 시민의 태도 및 참여와의 역동적 관계**

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**Graduate School of Public Administration  
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# **The Philippines' War Against Drugs and the Public Voices:**

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Citizens' Attitude and Engagement**

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# **Abstract**

## **The Philippines' War Against Drugs and the Public Voices: The Dynamic Relationship Between Policy and Citizens' Attitude and Engagement**

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Using the case of the Philippines' anti-illegal drugs policy and people's opinion about it, this study explores the dynamic relationship between public policy and citizens' attitude and engagement with it. Drawing from Attitudinal Policy Feedback framework developed by Pacheco (2013), this aims to examine the mutually transforming relationship between public policy and citizens' attitude and engagement.

The paper looks into the characteristics of Philippine President Rodrigo R. Duterte's anti-illegal drugs policy in terms of tangibility, visibility, and length of implementation and how these become crucial factors in generating feedback in the form of public opinion. Analysis of data from Facebook shows the types of social media content related to the policy that spawn strong public reaction and how people's attitude and engagement with the policy result to some changes in its implementation. Finally, the prospect of this kind of dynamics between policy and citizen engagement to the

continuation of the anti-illegal drugs policy and other related policies are also discussed. In the end, the study confirms the mutually transforming relationship between public policy and citizens' attitude and engagement.

**Keywords: Public Policy, Citizen Engagement, Public Opinion, Social Networking Site, Policy Feedback, Facebook**  
**Student ID: 2017-25110**

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# Chapter 1. Introduction

Beginning November 2015 when he officially announced that he was running for president of the Philippines for the May 2016 elections, one of the things then Davao City Mayor Rodrigo R. Duterte promised in his presidential campaign was that he would end criminality and drugs in three to six months if he wins. His campaign rhetoric against drugs and criminality was clear. He would not tolerate small and big-time drug dealers and the war against drugs would be a bloody one. He promised to kill thousands if only to rid his country of criminality and abuses the soonest possible time.

His celebrated success as mayor of Davao City, one of the major cities south of the Philippines, for seven terms or more than two decades was proof of his capability to overhaul the Philippines according to his supporters. While critics pointed out records of human rights violations and disregard of law and procedures in dealing with accused criminals in Davao City and his threats and profanities directed against accused criminals, law violators, and narco-politicians; his brazen attitude was lauded by his supporters, comparing his action-oriented stance against his more diplomatic rivals. In May 2016 presidential elections, Duterte won by a landslide, garnering 39% or 16.6 million votes against five other candidates (Inquirer.net, 2016).

Right after he assumed his position in July 2016, Duterte began to carry out his “war on drugs” policy. The all-out war against illegal drugs was officially launched by the Philippine National Police (PNP) with the mission of clearing drug-affected *barangays*<sup>1</sup> across the country and conducting operations against drug personalities and syndicates. It aimed to address the

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<sup>1</sup> *Barangay* is the smallest political unit in the Philippines under towns/municipalities and cities.

country's mounting concern on drug abuse as government data revealed that as of February 2016, about 27% of 42,065 barangays in the Philippines were drug-affected (PNP, 2016; Gavilan 2017).

Six months after Duterte administration's launch of its anti-illegal drugs policy, the period by which he promised to end criminality and illegal drug abuse in the Philippines, the PNP data recorded more than 7,000 people killed in the war against drugs, including more than 2,000 drug suspects killed during police operations (Bueza, 2017).

The anti-illegal drugs policy of the Duterte administration generated strong and varied reactions from the citizens, as well as from the international community. Supporters commended the efforts of the administration to end criminality and drug abuse in the country. On the other hand, critics of the policy equated the figures accomplished by the war against drugs to the staggering human rights violations by Duterte administration.

Social networking sites (SNSs) became one of the arenas for contestations on the anti-illegal drugs policy. The initial years of the Duterte administration saw a proliferation of online contents related to the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy coming from established media organizations, as well as from individual citizens and groups. The availability of these online contents encouraged people to engage with one another in social media. Varieties of reactions, comments, and shares, on articles, news, opinion pieces, and even memes about controversial arrests and killings of ordinary and prominent people filled the social media feeds of ordinary Filipinos.

In the literature of policy processes, we always find the notion of citizens' opinion affecting agenda setting and formation of policies. Various forms of pressure from the citizens, especially through organized interest groups and mass public, have pushed for people inside the government—those who are involved in agenda setting and formation of policy alternatives—to

consider varieties of issues, problems, and solutions (Kingdon, 1984). Policy processes, however, are not only one-way streets. As much as there are actors who create policies, there are also policies that influence, activate, strengthen, or weaken these actors, particularly their attitude towards and engagement in policies. The resulting feedback generated from these actors also become impetus for changes in the implementation of the policy. Therefore, rather than describe the relationship between policies and people's attitude and engagement as one-directional, with the former influencing the latter, or vice versa, it may be helpful to look at this relationship as mutually transforming, with both sides affecting changes on the other.

This study of the Philippines' anti-illegal drugs policy and citizens' attitude and engagement aim to uncover the dynamics between the policy and public's attitude and engagement. Unlike many other policies that do not produce such overwhelming public reaction, the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy generated a tremendous response from the people. The objective of this research, therefore, is to uncover the nature and characteristics of a policy that would encourage strong citizen participation, on the one hand, and how the people's reactions pushed for changes or modifications in the implementation of the policy, on the other hand.

Furthermore, this study also aims to explore the nature of social media and SNSs, particularly Facebook, which is the most commonly used SNS in the Philippines, as a legitimate sphere of citizen engagement on policies. Drawing from the theory of the public sphere by Jurgen Habermas, as well as more recent articles on the use of social media and SNSs, I would like to describe his notions and extend the concept to SNSs as contemporary public spheres. Using this, I will argue that the use of SNSs is a legitimate form of social and political participation; hence, a valid source of data when we talk of social and political engagement of the public on government policies.

## **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

The main research problem this study would like to explore is the relationship between public policy and citizens' attitude and engagement.

Specifically, the researcher would like to know how a public policy generates feedback in the form of citizens' attitude and engagement. Why are some policies able to produce feedback in the form of public opinion? What are the characteristics and nature of policies that enable such engagement?

On the other hand, how do citizens react and interact with public policies? Specific to the case of the Philippines, what are the people's reactions to Duterte's drug policy? How do they show keen support or illicit strong disagreement to the policy?

Finally, what is the prospect of this kind of dynamics between policy and citizen engagement to the continuation/discontinuation of the policy or to future policies related to drugs and other institutions or structures affecting the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy?

## **1.2 Significance of the Study**

The study on the Philippines' war against drugs aims to achieve two main contributions. Theoretically, it aims to contribute to the existing literature on the relationship between public policy and citizens' attitude and engagement by showing the particularities of the Philippine case. It endeavors to show unique characteristics and nature of policies and citizens that get involved in such kind of dynamics.

Methodologically, this paper aims to contribute to the use of new means of generating and analyzing data through the social media, especially public opinion, as this seems to be one of the biggest contributions of the medium in the policy feedback process. The literature of social media shows

how it has reshaped traditional ways of political participation. Its democratizing capability has opened channels even to those who have little education, income, and political association. The language of the social media is that of the ordinary people and everyone can engage with anyone regardless of age, economic status, background, and political and social disposition.

### **1.3 Ethical Consideration**

This study was highly reliant on data from Facebook which included people's opinion about issues surrounding the Philippines' anti-illegal drugs policy under the Duterte administration. The social media contents were posted public and the researcher believed that there was no need to ask permission from each of the thousands of people who commented on the contents. The researcher made sure, however, that no specific comments or opinions will be associated to any particular person and none of the names of Facebook users will appear in the study.



## **Chapter 2. Review of Related Literature**

### **2.1 Theoretical Framework**

Public policies are often seen as results, but rarely as causes, of democratic processes (Campbell, 2007). When we think of policies, we look at them as outcomes of actions and dynamics among different policy actors, institutions, and structures. We look into the interconnectedness of these different factors in determining what agenda are elevated and to which direction policies gear toward.

Kingdon (1984), for example, discussed the dynamics among three policy streams—problems, politics, and policy—in agenda setting and subsequent policy formation. He defined problems as everyday conditions that people recognize as requiring change as they do not adhere to certain values or they appear problematic in comparison to other contexts. How problems are portrayed could have an effect on how the agenda would be elevated and on what policies would be formulated to solve them. When it comes to the political stream, certain events such as elections and changes in the administration, adaption of certain ideas among political groups that could change political mood, or demands of interest groups could also have an effect on agenda setting (Kingdon, 1984). Finally, policy refers to specific proposals or ideas that float around and whose survival depends on a number of criteria including “technical feasibility, congruence with the values of community members, and the anticipation of future constraints, including a budget constraint, public acceptability, and politicians’ receptivity” (Kingdon, 1984, p. 200). Among these policy streams, he also discussed the roles of policy actors, which he categorized between visible and hidden participants. He defined visible participants as those “who receive considerable press and public attention

(including) the president and his high-level appointees, prominent members of the Congress, the media, and such elections-related actors as political parties and campaigners” (Kingdon, 1984, p. 199) and who decide on which agenda should be elevated; on the other hand, bureaucrats, members of the academe, consultants and researchers, congressional staff, and all those who are involved in considering and crafting specific policy proposals and solutions comprise the hidden participants. While each stream develops independent from one another, the “coupling” or combination of these streams result to the rise of an issue in the policy agenda table (Kingdon, 1984).

Some scholars have explored, however, the capability of public policy itself to influence democratic processes (Campbell, 2007). For example, historical institutionalism and policy feedback, as expounded by many scholars, talk of the impact of policies in politics and future policy-making processes (Beland, 2010). Theda Skocpol discussed the effect policy has on the expansion of state capacity. According to her, the necessity to implement policies result to changes in the state, often increasing its administrative capability, which could affect future policy formation and implementation (Beland, 2010; Pierson, 1994). In order to implement certain policies, the state may adapt some changes on how it usually performs its mandate. These newly adapted changes, in turn, may have consequential effects on formulation of future policies and/or implementation thereof.

While some policies may have some enhancing effect on the capacity of the state, some existing policies, however, can also have limiting consequences to succeeding or future policy developments as explained by the concept of lock-in effect. Pierson (1994) explained the lock-in effect as “policy-induced emergence of elaborate social and economic networks that greatly increase the cost of adopting once-possible alternative and inhibit exit from a current policy path” (p. 42). It means that adaption of existing policies may

create conditions that may eventually constrict or make it more difficult, although not impossible, to develop other policy alternatives that would require different capacity or conditions; thereby, creating a lock-in to the existing policy (Beland, 2010; Pierson, 1994).

Apart from the effects policies can have on state institutions and structures, policies can also influence formation and behavior of interest groups (Beland, 2010; Pierson, 1994). Certain policies may create opportunities and motivations to strengthen influence, mobilization, and political participation and activities of interest groups; some groups may actually be funded by the government as provided by the policies created (Pierson, 1994).

These perspectives show that policy direction is not unilateral, with only institutions, structures, and different policy actors influencing policy formation. Rather, the relationship of policies to these other factors can be viewed as mutually transforming with both sides shaping and influencing the other.

## **Attitudinal Policy Feedback**

The transformative nature of policies can affect, not just meso (e.g., interest groups) and macro structures (e.g., institutions, state, etc.) but also, micro structures such as individuals. While some scholars have focused attention on the relationship between policies and institutions and groups of policy actors, some have shifted their attention to the relationship between policies and individuals—their attitude and participation both in reacting to and in actively shaping policies and their implementation. This is coming from their analyses that state policies and programs, especially those that have implications on the economic well-being of the people such as the

implementation of the Social Security Systems, encourage people's interests and participation on political issues (Beland, 2010; Campbell, 2007).

Drawing on the works of other scholars, Pacheco (2013) in her study of the impact of smoking bans in restaurants on people's attitude towards smokers, secondhand smoke, and other anti-smoking policies, discussed two pathways by which policies influence attitude of the people. The first is by direct experience. As individuals become more exposed to a certain policy, they become used to it, which could further lead to them supporting other related policies and changes in social norms and nature of policy environment in the future (Soss and Schram, 2007; Pacheco, 2013). In this sense, what exactly a direct experience on drug policy means to Filipinos is the question that needs to be explored.

The second way is by means of the information they receive. Usually, the information received by the individuals are highly influenced by the political elites (Pacheco, 2013). So how the political elites frame policy information affects the way individuals accept or reject them. Analysis of this aspect entails knowing exactly who frames such policy information and how this is being disseminated to the public. It is also important to know how people react to such framing and how they perceive influencers of the anti-drug policy rhetoric. Focus on this pathway becomes much more relevant when we utilize the social media as a means of gathering and evaluating people's attitude and engagement in the policy. The receptive nature of the social media to different kinds of information may characteristically generate wide range of claims regarding the policy and, consequently, variety of opinions from the public.

Apart from these pathways, there are three factors relating to the characteristics of the policy that influence public opinion—tangibility, visibility, and length of exposure. Tangibility refers to the degree of effect a policy has on the individuals. Highly tangible policies are those that are directly

experienced by the citizens, while policies that are not directly experienced are low in tangibility. Visibility, on the other hand, refers to the reach of a policy and how much attention it draws from a large number of people. Length of exposure is also important as it is assumed that the longer an individual has been exposed to a policy, the stronger and deeply engrained his/her opinion becomes toward that policy (Pacheco, 2013).

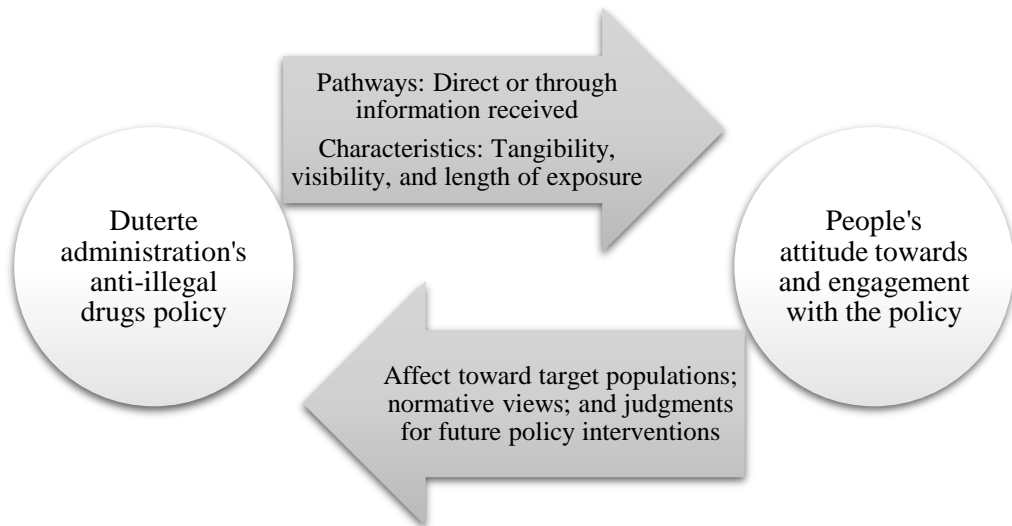
Pacheco (2013) further proposed that highly tangible policies influence “three facets of mass attitudes: affect toward target populations; beliefs about what is right/wrong, good/bad, and safe/dangerous; and judgments for future policy interventions” (p. 715). Certain policies may be directed to a large group of individuals, while others on select segments of the population. Further, there are policies that aim to elevate the status of its target population and policies that punish certain segments. The crucial role of identifying the subject or target of the policy and ascribing the effect of the policy—whether it is upgrading or degrading the status of the target population—lies in the government. (Pacheco, 2013). The attribution towards target population, although a main role of the government, has influence on the segments of the population who are not target of the policy. A policy may frame sectors of the population in a positive or a negative light; therefore, activating or strengthening certain kind of perceptions of the other segments of the population towards them. “If a policy is inclusive, expanding the status of target populations, then political attitudes are expected to be positive. If a policy is exclusive, alienates a segment of the population, or signals that policy targets are of lesser status, then attitudes about those people are expected to be negative” (Pacheco, 2013: p. 717). In the case of the Philippines, this facet was explored by looking at how the drug policy influenced people’s opinion of the target population, or those labeled by the policy as drugs personalities.

Apart from influencing how individuals view other members of the society, tangible policies may also affect people's social and political normative views or beliefs (Pacheco, 2013). Public policy may be seen as a form of social control, setting expectations on individual beliefs and actions. Support of a certain policy means adherence to the values, beliefs, and ideals that inform that policy.

Finally, tangible policies may also influence individuals' perception of other policies that complement or contradict existing policies (Pacheco, 2013). Policies that appear to match the objectives and achievements of other existing policies may likewise be supported by those who got comfortable with them, while those that contradict accepted policies may also receive rejection from the public. In the case of the anti-illegal drugs policy, question of what other policies, institutions, and structures are related or have direct connection with the anti-illegal drugs policy, and how the public consequently perceives them, was also explored.

Further extending Pacheco's (2013) proposal of how policy influences people's attitude to the other side of the mutually transforming relationship between the two, people's perspective and attitude toward the policy's target population, their normative views, and judgements on future policy interventions, on the other hand, can greatly affect implementation of the existing policy and conceptualization of future policies. The feedback the policy generate from the people may shape the policy itself—may strengthen it, reinforce it, weaken it, or demand changes in it—or may motivate future policy initiatives.

These analytical concepts were explored in this study of the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy and its mutually transforming relationship with the people's attitude and engagements with the policy.



**Figure 1.** Illustration of the Relationship Between the Duterte Administration’s Anti-Illegal Drugs Policy and People’s Attitude and Engagement Based on Pacheco’s (2013) Model

## **2.2 Setting the Agenda of the Philippines’ War Against Drugs Under the Duterte Administration**

The war against illegal drugs as a national policy agenda did not start upon the assumption of President Rodrigo R. Duterte. It started as early as the campaign period for the 2016 presidential elections. It is of great interest to many scholars and observers how the fight against illegal drug abuse and trade, which was overlooked in the past and merely regarded as localized concern of communities and local government units (LGUs), was suddenly raised as an important national issue meriting the status of a campaign agenda of one of the strongest presidential candidates and gaining prominence akin to campaign for stronger economy, for good governance, against corruption, against poverty, and other usual national election calls. Kingdon’s (1984) three policy streams and the “coupling” or combination of these streams, as elaborated in the previous section, provide important analytical concepts in looking at how then-presidential candidate Duterte elevated the drug problem as a national concern.

As a problem, illegal drug use has been recognized as an issue that needs to be addressed for many years now. With illegal drug use comes other related issues of increased criminality, destruction of the family as an important institution in the Philippine society, non-adherence to long-held community values, and bigger problems of drug trade and smuggling. Prior to the 2016 presidential elections campaign, however, these were treated as localized concerns. Although there have been laws to address the problems, unless they involved big-time drug dealers and smugglers, the issues were dealt with mostly in the level of communities and LGUs.

The other important policy stream is the political stream. In this case, it refers primarily to the 2016 presidential elections and the rise of Duterte as one of the strongest contenders. Duterte gained popularity as mayor of Davao City, one of the prominent cities south of the Philippines, for more than two decades. As Mayor Duterte, he gained reputation for his unusual manner of dealing with drug addicts and criminals—using threats, and, according to himself, even resorting to violence to warn and punish wrongdoers. According to his critics, he was notorious for extrajudicial killings and violations of human rights in Davao City during his term. His name has been implicated in a number of summary executions carried out by a supposed vigilante group allegedly supported by him in Davao City (Mangahas, Ilagan, Lucero, and Maru, 2016). People were worried that cases of human rights violations would become rampant under a Duterte administration similar to what supposedly happened in his city. Some people raised concerns as to the kind of leadership he would adopt if he wins the election. He established an image of the strongman at the local level. Thomson (2016), referring to John Sidel’s 2004 study on “Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia: Towards an Alternative Framework for the Study of ‘Local Strongmen’,” believed that “bossism” best described Duterte’s leadership style—enjoying long-term



monopoly over coercive and economic resources by managing his city like a private fiefdom.

On the other hand, some people saw him as a welcome alternative to the other politicians. Duterte did not come from the landed elites and political dynasties, a characteristic typical of many prominent politicians in the Philippines. If he wins, he would be the first president to come from Mindanao, the island group south of the Philippines, which many people believed have been overlooked by many administrations in the past due to its distance from Manila, the center of government power. Many people, especially those from Mindanao and, to some extent, those in Visayas (the other island group in the middle of the Philippines), were hoping that a Duterte presidency would mean development for the previously neglected regions and provinces in the Philippines. His penchant for expletives and threats in his public speeches, although viewed by some as unbecoming of a public figure, more so of a presidential candidate, was seen by others as manifestation of his sincerity and no-nonsense and irreverent attitude. His strong leadership style, although feared and frowned upon by some, was seen by others as an effective and much needed kind of leadership to counter the ills of the society. As Thomson (2016) best put it,

In an environment of lawlessness, where institutions are weak, the strongman who protects the good common *tao* (people) against the evil criminals is not only able to legitimize his ruthless *modus operandi* but also to ensure his long-term hold on office. (p. 56)

Both seen as an advantage and a drawback relative to his opponents for the presidential seat, Duterte's image and leadership style definitely set him apart from other politicians.

The 2016 presidential elections provided the impetus for a shift on how Filipino citizens see, first, Duterte, not as a city mayor but, as a presidential

candidate and as an alternative to the more prominent names in Philippine politics; and second, his narrative of change through eradication of drugs, criminality, and corruption as opposed to the discourse of development through stronger democracy, economic growth, poverty reduction, or good governance as espoused by previous administrations and his opponents. It set the stage for the government and the people to consider new policy directions with the change in administration.

The coupling of these two policy streams resulted to the elevation of the illegal drug problem as a national policy issue beginning campaign season for 2016 elections with Duterte as the most visible actor espousing his agenda of eradication of illegal drugs within three to six months if he wins the election. His strong presidential bid granted him media and public attention, which became instrumental in the framing of drug abuse and criminality, not only as localized concerns but, as problems that had bigger and far-reaching implications to national development. He estimated about 3.7 million drug addicts in the Philippines, more than double the number previously accounted by the government agencies handling illegal drug concerns—the Dangerous Drug Board (DDB) approximated the number at 1.24 million and the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) at 1.8 million (Mangahas, et al., 2016). He elevated the concern by using the “radical rhetoric portraying a corrupt elite that coddles drug dealers and addicts” (Thomson, 2016, p. 42).

Without referring to them as policy streams, Curato (2016) provided a very good elaboration of the relationship between the problem of illegal drugs and the pivotal moment of Duterte’s rise during the presidential elections campaign using the “politics of anxiety” and the “politics of hope.” She described the problem of illegal drugs as a “latent anxiety...a shared sense of distress among communities, but one that remains in the background. It is

present but not central, mundane but still worrisome, publicized but not politicized” (p. 98-99). The drug problem was part of daily conversations, but was only concentrated in communities and neighborhood and far from being viewed as part of political discourse. It was not difficult, therefore, for Duterte to use this latent anxiety and politicize the issue that was already familiar and even close to home for many voters. He made the issue more visible, even overstating the problem itself, and stressing the importance of instituting measures to repress criminality—banking on the “politics of anxiety” (Curato, 2016).

After successfully provoking anxiety among the people, however, came the offering of what Curato (2016) referred to as the “politics of hope,” with its forward-looking, positive, and empowering orientation. Duterte appealed to the people to make his campaign promises possible and to help him win the election against other political elites. Despite the grim situation of the country with its mounting problems, the people could look forward to a potentially positive future that was within their control. The upcoming election and their support of Duterte gave them an opportunity and a sense of empowerment to participate in something that could spell the difference in their lives.

Duterte’s campaign call against drugs and criminality first appealed to the elite and the middle class, not only in his strong regional bases in Visayas and Mindanao but also those in Manila—groups who were concerned with their peace and order situation, and fearful of being victimized by criminals and drug addicts (Thomson, 2016; Teehankee, 2016). These people have had enough of the daily news of heinous crimes, many of which purportedly committed by people under the influence of drugs. The connection between criminality and drug abuse seems logical anyway; hence, the support for Duterte’s campaign calls. It also helped that he could use Davao City as a compelling model for his

platform. Davao was described as “a city transformed from violence and conflict (the “murder capital of the Philippines”) to a peaceful place where business and culture flourished and which had been named among the most liveable in Asia” (Thomson, 2016, p. 55). Initial Duterte supporters saw in Davao City a prototype of the kind of transformation they hoped for the Philippines to have under the Duterte presidency.

Curato (2016), in her study of Duterte’s rise to power, pointed to the concept of populism to explain Duterte’s appeal to more than 16 million Filipinos who casted their votes on him. Drawing from the works of other scholars, she established the “broad consensus...about the logic underpinning populism, which is the construction of an antagonism between ‘the people’ and ‘the dangerous other’” (p. 94). In Duterte’s narrative, the antagonism was between the law-abiding citizens and the criminals, most especially the drug addicts and pushers (Curato, 2016). This dichotomy was well played out during the campaign and attracted the support of the middle class and the elites, who saw themselves as the law-abiding citizens that needed to be protected from the criminals. Duterte was seen as an ally and a strong leader that could provide this protection through his promise to aggressively fight illegal drugs and criminality. This dichotomy resulted to a more specific type of populism—penal populism, which demands “harsher mechanisms for social control to address the public’s demand to be ‘tough on crime’” (Curato, 2016, p. 94). Crucial in the concept of penal populism is the public’s consensus of the need to treat criminals differently from the righteous citizens and impose severe punishments on the former to protect the latter.

In the May 2016 presidential elections, Duterte won by a landslide, garnering 39% or 16.6 million votes against five other candidates (Inquirer.net, 2016). Upon his assumption in July 2016, Duterte began to carry out his “war on drugs” policy. The all-out war against illegal drugs was officially launched

by one of its enforcement agencies, the Philippine National Police (PNP) through its Command Memorandum Circular (CMC) No. 16-2016, known as the PNP Anti-Illegal Drugs Campaign Plan – Project: “Double Barrel.” CMC No. 16-2016 set the guidelines and procedures to be conducted by the PNP in its drug-related operations with the mission of clearing “all drug affected *barangays* across the country, conduct no let up operations against illegal drugs personalities, and dismantle drug syndicates” (PNP, 2016; Gavilan 2017).

As stated in CMC No. 16-2016, lower barrel police operations would be conducted in the barangay levels as data from the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) said that as of February 2016, about 27% of 42,065 barangays in the Philippines were drug-affected, or those with existence of drug users, pushers, and other drug personalities. The circular further noted that most of the victims of the drug problem came from the disadvantaged sector (PNP, 2016).

Another data from the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) said that there were 20,252, or as high as less than 50%, drug-affected barangays in the Philippines as of April 2017. In terms of the extent of barangay drug exposure, the National Capital Region (NCR), which includes Manila and 16 other cities had the highest with 97.30% of its barangays affected by drugs (Mangahas, Lucero, Maru, Carvajal, & Antiquerra, 2017b).

As per the circular, the lower barrel approach, more popularly known as the Project *Tokhang*, would include visits to houses of suspected drug personalities to encourage them to stop their illegal activities and surrender to authorities. The list of drug personalities to be visited was to be obtained and validated by the respective police units having jurisdiction of the place of residence. Police coordination with national and local government agencies such as the PDEA, Dangerous Drugs Board, LGUs, community-based anti-drug

abuse councils, media, and non-government organizations (NGOs) should also be done prior to visits to ensure compliances in investigation and operations and to solicit support from other stakeholders. Lastly, processing and documentation of those who would surrender and further monitoring of activities of other drug personalities should be done after house visitations (PNP, 2016).

The upper barrel approach, called the Project HVT (for High-Value Target), on the other hand, would be conducted in city, provincial, regional, and national levels focusing on national and international drug trafficking (PNP, 2016; Gavilan 2017). The circular openly identified three transnational drug syndicates operating in the Philippines; namely, 1) the Chinese or Filipino-Chinese drug syndicate, 2) the African Drug Syndicate, and 3) the Mexican-Sinaloa Drug Cartel (PNP, 2016)

Apart from anti-illegal drugs operations, the circular also covered a program to reform the police ranks with the PNP Internal Cleansing, which would arrest and prosecute members of the PNP who would be involved in illegal activities related to drugs including case fixing, recycling of confiscated drugs, and acting as protectors of drug personalities. Conduct of education, awareness, and rehabilitation programs, especially for drug users who would voluntarily surrender would also be done (PNP, 2016; Gavilan 2017).

The PNP's CMC No. 16-2016 was just the initial official response to President Duterte's standing order to curtail illegal drugs. Following Executive No. 15 dated March 6, 2017, the Inter-Agency Committee on Anti-Illegal Drugs (ICAD), chaired by the PDEA, was created to ensure comprehensive implementation and to consolidate and monitor all anti-illegal drugs operations and activities of 20 member agencies (Office of the President of the Philippines, 2016; The Inter-Agency Committee on Anti-Illegal Drugs, n.d.). The member agencies were divided into four clusters: 1) Enforcement Cluster, responsible

for the anti-illegal drugs operations; 2) Justice Cluster, responsible for handling of all legal aspects of the war against illegal drugs; 3) Advocacy Cluster, for advocacy campaigns and information dissemination; 4) Rehabilitation and Reintegration Cluster, for managing drug rehabilitation programs and community reintegration of former drug addicts (ICAD, n.d.).

Six months after Duterte administration's launch of its drug policy, the period by which he promised to end criminality and illegal drug abuse in the Philippines, figures based on the PNP data recorded more than 7,000 people killed in the war against drugs, including more than 2,000 drug suspects killed during police operations (Bueza, 2017).

## Chapter 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Methodological Framework

The aspect of citizens' attitude and engagement is conceptually defined as citizens' reaction and opinion on the policy and their participation in the on-going discourse on the matter. Operationally, this was analyzed by looking at the citizens engagement in social media content and exchange of opinions on news articles and posts concerning the drug policy in the Philippines. Further elaboration on the data collection method and analysis shall be discussed in the succeeding section. At this point, however, it is important to lay down important theoretical basis for using the social media in the analysis of citizen engagement in the discourse on the drug policy.

In his book entitled *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Jurgen Habermas (1989) described the public sphere as “the sphere of private people come together as a public” (p. 27). He located the public sphere as lying between the private realm, composed of the civil society and the family and the sphere of public authority, comprised of the state and the court. The public sphere, therefore, connects the private realm and the sphere of public authority. “Through the vehicle of public opinion, it put the state in touch with the needs of society” (Habermas, 1989).

Brundidge (2008) recognized that the Internet has changed the structure and dynamics of the public sphere by creating numerous platforms, sites, and forums in which political discourses can take place. She was also hopeful that the Internet may be useful in making more concrete the concept of the public sphere and how people should engage in it. In particular, she proposed that discussion in the public sphere “should be comprised of



informed, civil, and rational exchanges among diverse groups of citizens—with diversity being a key aspect emphasizing “the working out of political differences through political deliberation” (Brundidge, 2008, p. 2-3).

In a study on the effects of the Internet in political participation, Gainous, Marlowe, and Wagner (2013) suggested that “who uses the Internet, and how they use the Internet, is significant in predicting political participation” (p. 155). They also believed that traditional forms of political engagement may not be as significant anymore as people are turning more to the Internet, particularly social networking sites (SNSs), to engage with their fellow voters (Gainous, Marlowe, and Wagner, 2013). Another interesting findings in their study was with regard to the Internet equalizing the disparity between the haves and the have-nots.

While SNSs do have a positive and significant effect on the proclivity to participate in politics, they do not appear to affect all groups to the same degree...Social networking alone does not generate equal capital. Rather, those who are more likely to discuss politics within their networks are more likely to generate politically relevant social capital, and as a result participate in politics. (Gainous, Marlowe, and Wagner, 2013, p. 155)

These perspectives will help us locate the role of the Internet and the social media as contemporary public sphere for citizen participation. Recent studies on the importance of the Internet show that it has indeed provided a non-traditional space for social and political engagement among netizens.

Data on citizens’ attitude and engagement on the Duterte administration’s drug policy was looked from the perspective of their engagement in the social media, specifically on Facebook, which is the most widely used SNS in the Philippines. From 23 million Filipino Internet users in 2010, the figure has doubled to 49 million in 2016, which accounted for about 42.3% of the population (Dangla, 2016). It is also important to note that 94%

of Filipinos with access to the Internet use Facebook, the leading SNS in the world (Sinpeng, 2016).

There are recognized limitations in using Facebook as a source of valid data and to regard it as a contemporary public sphere with the proliferation of fake news and fake accounts, the still unequal distribution of resources to ensure that everyone is represented in this public sphere, the shallowness and shortness of interactions among users, especially in public pages where people just leave comments on posts and interact mostly with other Facebook users they did not know.

While recognizing these limitations, however, it is also important to look at the potential of the data source in understanding certain aspects of people's lives. Established ways of analyzing social phenomena have given us important insights about social relationships, but for about two decades now, people's use of the internet and the social media have grown so much that there is a need to expand our perspective of public social interactions as happening only in the traditional public sphere. The receptivity of SNSs to various kinds of claims have made them easier venues for different kinds of expressions among people, including social and political engagement of the public, which were previously found in the streets, in coffeehouses, in legislative halls, or in places where people used to interact face-to-face. Despite the virtual environment of SNSs, where interactions are limited and people can maintain different personalities from the ones they have in real life, it is already a fact of life and the kind of interaction that comes out of it are undeniably forms of social interactions.

## 3.2 Methodology

Following the Attitudinal Policy Feedback model elaborated by Pacheco (2013), as discussed in the previous chapter, this study measured the relationship between the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy and the people's attitude and engagement using data from government agencies responsible for the implementation of the war on drugs policy and those generated from Facebook. As stated by Pacheco (2013), there are two pathways by which policies influence attitude of the people—first is through direct experience and second is by means of the information they receive. Analysis of the second pathway became much more relevant since the method employed gathering and analyzing data of people's engagement with the policy from social media.

When it comes to analyzing characteristics of policies that would have influence on public opinion, Pacheco (2013) mentioned tangibility, visibility, and length of exposure. To measure tangibility of the policy, which is closely connected to the direct experience of the people, the researcher looked at the combination of official data, as well as those generated by media and non-government organizations, to analyze the extent of the implementation of anti-illegal drugs policy in terms of the extent of the operations conducted number of drug personalities killed and arrested; value of drugs and drug money confiscated; number of communities and individuals affected by the implementation of the policy; and other relevant measures.

As stated, visibility is about the reach of the policy and how much attention it draws from the people. While tangibility is connected to direct experience of the policy, visibility on the other hand, somehow captured the second pathway, which is how people receive information about the policy. Observations of how information about the administration's anti-illegal drugs

policy were framed will be provided. Visibility was measured using interaction of the people to select drug-policy related news and online contents by established media organizations in the Philippines.

Since the idea was to look at people's engagement with the policy in social media and SNSs as legitimate public spheres, the process was to look for where and how people interact with one another on these media. In Facebook, people's reactions to the anti-illegal drugs policy were usually triggered by contents and posts that served as convergence points or platforms for various people to interact with others. Most of these contents were not from individual private accounts, but from public pages including, but not limited to, those of established media organizations' accounts. Although other Facebook pages also became popular sources of contents related to the anti-illegal drugs policy, the researcher opted to limit the study to established and credible media organizations' Facebook pages to avoid including those that were associated with certain politicians, parties, or interest groups, or those that propagated fake news.

The researcher started by identifying and choosing top five Facebook pages of media organizations based in the Philippines to be used for gathering news and contents (i.e., articles, videos, photos, etc.) related to the drug policy based on the number of followers, or those who liked their Facebook pages<sup>2</sup>. The assumption was that these media organizations with the most number of Facebook followers could reach to more number of audience and the likelihood of people interacting (liking, sharing, and commenting) with their contents was greater than in other media organizations' pages with fewer followers. It was

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<sup>2</sup> Liking or following a page is similar to subscribing to the content of that page. Once a Facebook user likes a page, any content posted in that page will be shown automatically in his/her Facebook timeline.

also ensured that the chosen Facebook pages were verified<sup>3</sup> or those that have been confirmed by Facebook as authentic pages or accounts of public figures, media companies, or brands. The top five media organizations chosen for the study were ABS-CBN News (15 million followers), GMA News (12 million), INQUIRER.net (4.3 million), Rappler (3.7 million), and News5 (3.1 million).


Apart from Facebook pages, all of them have websites from which content posted on Facebook pages originated. It was also noted that these established media organizations have non-online presence as well. ABS-CBN News, GMA News, and News5 are tied to the three leading television stations in the country and other media affiliates such as print and radio, while INQUIRER.net has printed newspaper counterparts and affiliates.

The researcher also looked into the verified Facebook pages of the Presidential Communications (Government of the Philippines), which had 1.3 million followers, and the Philippine National Police, which had 1.1 million followers. These two were identified as the most relevant Facebook pages for government postings on anti-illegal drugs policy.

Second, certain events and news related to the policy implementation that generated strong public attention were identified. Based on initial research, the following events and news garnered strong media exposure and public opinion—(Event 1) initial implementation of the drug policy; (Event 2) discovery of the killing of a South Korean businessman, also allegedly involved in drug trade, by policemen; and (Event 3) the death of a minor shot by police officers during an anti-illegal drugs operation.

Upon identification of the exact dates these events happened, the researcher then used Facebook's search option to select all contents posted in

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<sup>3</sup> A Facebook page or account is said to be verified if its account name appears with a blue badge .

each media organization's page for a specified period since the events happened (i.e., two months for Event 1 and two weeks for Events 2 and 3). Once Facebook generated all the contents for the specified dates, those related to the specific events were selected and saved for processing.

Next, each saved content was scanned for initial organization of data. Databases were created for each event, which included information such as the sources or pages that posted the content, titles of the Facebook posts, dates of posting, content type (whether article, video, or picture), number of specified audience interaction (i.e., likes, shares, and comments) for each content, and focus of the contents (e.g., government agencies, drug personalities, families of drug personalities, groups, etc.). These would be crucial in measuring reach of policy-related contents in terms of strength of audience interaction and engagement to the events and the related contents.

Pacheco (2013) did not only show the characteristics of a policy that would influence citizens' attitude and how these affected aspects of mass attitudes. On the other side of the mutually transforming relationship between policy and people's attitude and engagement, reactions from the citizens could also affect implementation of the policy or other policy initiatives. To analyze these aspects of the relationship, the researcher looked at Facebook users' comments<sup>4</sup> on each selected content. Since the pages have different number of contents for each event, the researcher sorted the contents each page had based on the number of likes, shares, and comments. Also, since comments for each content could reach from hundreds to thousands, the researcher opted to choose

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<sup>4</sup> Facebook has the option available for a user to leave a comment on a content, unless this option was deactivated by one who posted the content. For public Facebook pages, however, this option is usually activated, and followers or likers of a page can leave a comment on all the contents.

the most commented content for each page and for each event and picked 5% of comments for analysis.

Comments were categorized using the three facets of mass attitudes proposed by Pacheco (2013): 1) perspective and attitude toward the policy's target population; 2) their normative views of right and wrong; and 3) judgments on other policy interventions. The first category is connected to how the people view drug personalities as the target population of the policy. For example, do they view them the same way the government narrative portrays them? Do they offer other ways of looking at the target population? The second category involves their opinions of the issue being discussed in the article and what they view as right and wrong. Do they agree with how policies are implemented? Do they think certain personalities are right or wrong? Finally, comments regarding their perspectives on other relevant programs and policies were also sorted (e.g., revival of death penalty, police reforms, etc.).

## Chapter 4. Presentation and Analysis of Data

For a policy to gain public attention, the public, at the very least, must first be aware of its existence. The more people experience and feel its effect on them, the greater the chance of a policy influencing the attitude and opinion of the people. In what Pacheco (2013) described as the two pathways by which policy can influence the public—through direct experience and by the information they receive, and the characteristics of the policy that would have influence—tangible, visible, and long-lasting—direct experience is closely connected to tangibility of the policy, while the means by which people receive information and how they interact with them seems more connected to visibility.

The succeeding sections will talk first about the characteristics of the anti-illegal drugs policy that affected people's attitude and engagement. The first one, which is connected to tangibility will discuss the extent of President Rodrigo R. Duterte's drug war from the time of its initial implementation upon his assumption in July 2016 until September 2018. It was crucial to gather official information from the agencies implementing the policy, but discrepancies in the actual count, especially of deaths and casualties in the drug war, were asserted by some media and non-government organizations. Hence, some data from these non-government organizations will also be presented. This will show the extent of the drug war as directly experienced by Filipinos all over the country.

The second one deals with visibility, which concerns how information were presented to the public by established media organizations and how the public responded to them. Questions such as how the anti-illegal drugs policy was framed in different events, whose voices were heard in social media



content, which types of content about the drug policy prompted more interaction from the public, and how people interacted with them will be explored.

At this point, it is important to note that with regard to the length of the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy as another characteristic to look at, only assumptions can be made as to how much more it would shape people's attitude and engagement in the future as this is a continuing policy that has been executed for just over two years. Hints of how people's judgement for other policy interventions will be discussed in the last section instead based on their interactions and comments on social media contents.

The next section will tackle the other side of the relationship between public policy and people's attitude and engagement. This will elaborate how people reacted to the policy. It is in this section where analysis between two controversial events that prompted some changes in the policy will be discussed—the killing of a South Korean businessman by policemen in what was called as a *tokhang-for-ransom* operation and the killing of a minor falsely accused of being a drug courier. The differences between the two cases and how these would matter to the reactions of the public will be explored. It will also show how such reactions and opinions generated by these events affected the implementation of the policy.

The last part will further discuss how the effects the policy had on people in terms of the latter's attitude towards the target population, the belief of what is right or wrong, and their judgment of other policy interventions shaped the on-going implementation of the policy. How people's attitude and engagement has influenced the course of the policy since its first implementation in July 2016, as well as the possibility of people's opinion influencing other related policies will also be explored.

## **4.1 How Policy Affects People's Attitude and Engagement**

### **4.1.1 Direct Experience and Tangibility**

In his campaign speeches, President Duterte promised to eradicate illegal drugs and criminality in the country in three to six months upon his assumption if he wins the election. He estimated the number of drug addicts in the Philippines at about 3.7 million (Mangahas, et al., 2016). More than two years since the launch of Duterte administration's all-out war against illegal drugs, the campaign has proved to be far from over and the extent of the policy has continued to expand.

The Philippine National Police (PNP), as cited by Palatino (2017), released statistics of the accomplishments of the government's anti-illegal drugs policy on January 07, 2017, six months since the beginning of the policy and the end of the period by which Duterte initially promised to solve the problem. According to the report, the government conducted 40,982 anti-illegal drugs operations, visited more than six million houses of alleged drug personalities in communities around the country, arrested 44,070 suspects, and assisted the surrender of more than a million drug users and pushers. In terms of casualties, the PNP claimed to have killed 2,206 drug personalities and lost 35 police officers and three soldiers during anti-illegal drugs operations in the said period. Apart from these deaths in drug operations, the PNP also declared that an additional 4,049 alleged drug personalities were killed by vigilantes—a number believed by human rights groups, however, as killings also executed and/or backed by state forces themselves, but which the latter denied. As early as January 2017, critics have already raised their concerns with these numbers, while supporters of the government saw this as an indication of the new

president's strong political will to solve what he believed was a crisis (Palatino, 2017).

An investigation conducted by international media organization Reuters and the Philippine Commission on Human Rights a month before these official data were released indicated that police killed 100 and wounded three in the 51 drug-related shooting cases they looked into, which registered a 97% kill ratio. They even compared the figure to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, also with cases of extrajudicial killings by policemen, and found out that Rio de Janeiro posted only five people killed for every person injured. Human rights groups and families of the victims worried that these numbers did not seem to match the PNP's claim that policemen were only forced to kill to defend themselves; they suggested that the numbers and eyewitness accounts hinted the intention of state forces to intentionally kill alleged drug personalities even without due process and not just for self-defense (Baldwin, Marshall, & Sagolj, 2016).

As early as this first few months of the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy, there has been confusion as to the number of total deaths related to anti-illegal drugs operations. Media and human rights groups claimed bigger figures in terms of deaths and casualties compared to those released by government agencies, especially with regard to the number of cases of "deaths under investigation," which the PNP did not claim responsibility for (Mangahas, et. al, 2016).

In its attempt to clarify the official figures related to the government's drug war, the Inter-Agency Committee on Anti-Illegal Drugs (ICAD) launched #RealNumbersPH in May 2017 (Cahiles, 2017). Government agencies member of the ICAD consolidated regular reports regarding the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy into #RealNumbersPH, a regular summary of the achievements of the ICAD member-agencies. Usual items found in #RealNumbersPH include the number of operations conducted, persons

arrested, persons who died in the operations, government workers arrested for their involvement in illegal drugs, and value of drug money seized.

A sample summary of the data from #RealNumbersPH from July 01, 2016 until the period stated shows as follows (See Appendix A for the consolidated data for previous months):

**Table 1. Published #RealNumbersPH Data until September 30, 2018**

Particulars	as of April 30, 2018	as of May 15, 2018	as of June 30, 2018	as of July 31, 2018	as of August 31, 2018	as of Sept. 30, 2018
Operations conducted	98,799	99,485	102,630	105,658	108,059	110,395
Drug personalities arrested	142,069	143,335	147,802	152,123	155,193	158,424
Drug personalities who died in anti-drug operations	4,251	4,279	4,354	4,410	4,854	4,948
Summary of government workers arrested	504	506	526	569	576	582
Elected officials	217	217	229	243	247	250
Uniformed personnel	48	48	52	58	58	60
Government employees	239	241	245	268	271	272
Clandestine laboratories dismantled	No data	12	No data	12	12	13
Dismantled drug dens	No data	180	No data	209	223	242
Methamphetamine ( <i>shabu</i> ) seized (in kilograms)	2,676.60	2,678.61	2,738.73	2,757.77	3,142.40	No data
Value of <i>shabu</i> seized	Php13.81B	Php14.34B	Php14.66B	Php14.79B	Php17.39B	Php18.27B
Value of confiscated drugs, controlled precursors and essential chemicals, and laboratory equipment	Php20.23B	Php20.77B	Php21.29B	Php21.48B	Php24.12B	Php25.01B
Drug-cleared barangays	No data	No data	6,562	8,215	8,444	8,766

**Sources:** #RealNumbersPH Facebook Page

Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency. Data on Anti-Illegal Drugs Campaign, July 01, 2016 to August 31, 2018. Sent through e-mail on October 22, 2018.

Philippine National Police. #RealNumbersPH Year 2: Towards A Drug-Cleared Philippines from July 1, 2016 to August 31, 2018. Retrieved November 07, 2018, [http://pnp.gov.ph/images/News/2018/RealNumbers/rn\\_83118.pdf](http://pnp.gov.ph/images/News/2018/RealNumbers/rn_83118.pdf).

Philippine National Police. #RealNumbersPH Year 2: Towards A Drug-Free Philippines from July 1, 2016 to July 31, 2018. Retrieved November 07, 2018, [http://www.pnp.gov.ph/images/News/2018/RealNumbers/rn\\_73118.pdf](http://www.pnp.gov.ph/images/News/2018/RealNumbers/rn_73118.pdf).

Analyzing these data reveals that from July 01, 2016 until September 30, 2018, 822 days of the implementation of the anti-illegal drug policy, an average of 134 anti-illegal drugs operations were conducted, 192 alleged drug personalities were arrested, and six people were killed each day. The 158,424

drug personalities arrested account for just about 4% of the 3.7 million drug addicts estimated by President Duterte at the beginning of his term. #RealNumbersPH data also recorded that 8,766 or about 43% of the total number of drug affected barangays have been cleared as of September 2018.

Additional data from #RealNumbersPH revealed that of the 582 people working in the government arrested, 43% were elected officials, 47% were civilian employees, and the remaining 10% were uniformed personnel or those employed by the PNP, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, and other law enforcement agencies. Publication of such data seemed to show the administration's commitment to cleanse the government and to warn the public that even people from the government would not be spared from the war against illegal drugs.

Despite this consolidated data from various government agencies, there were still contentions on the accuracy and reliability of the official figures related to the war on drugs throughout the implementation of the policy. For example, on the first month of the weekly release of #RealNumbersPH, the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), an independent, non-profit media organization, reported some discrepancies in the figures consolidated and publicized by the ICAD from those gathered by the PCIJ from individual government agencies supposedly contributing to the #RealNumbersPH figures, specifically in terms of the number of homicide cases that were drug-related, non-drug related, and those still under investigation, the number of anti-drug operations conducted, and the number of drug personalities who surrendered, arrested, and killed (Mangahas, Lucero, Maru, Carvajal, Antiquerra, 2017a).

Sample comparison made by the PCIJ from the data from #RealNumbersPH and two offices of the PNP as of May 23, 2017 showed discrepancies in official figures released.

**Table 2. Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism’s Comparison of Data from #RealNumbersPH, PNP Directorate for Operations, and PNP Double Barrel Secretariat as of May 23, 2017**

ITEM	#RealNumbersPH Data as of May 23, 2017 (B)	PNP Directorate for Operations, Data as of May 23, 2017, 6 am (C)	PNP Double Barrel Secretariat, Data as of May 23, 2017, 6 pm (D)	Difference (B minus C), Data as of May 23, 2017	Difference (B minus D), Data as of May 23, 2017
Killed in Drug Operations	3,027	2,962	3,002	65	25
Arrested	78,804	72,792	75,678	6,012	3,126
“Surrendered”	1,286,389	1,203,046	No data given	83,343	N.A.
Operations Conducted	59,364	55,305	55,481	4,059	3,883

**Source:** Mangahas, M., Lucero, V., Maru, D., Carvajal, N.C., & Antiquerra, J.R. (2017, June 08). #RealNumbersPH unreal, inexact, locked in riddles. *Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism*. Retrieved November 10, 2018, from <http://pcij.org/stories/realnumbersph-unreal-inexact-locked-in-riddles/>.

The PCIJ gathered data from the two offices of the PNP—the Directorate for Operations and the Double Barrel Secretariat—for May 23, 2017 for 6:00am and 6:00pm, respectively. Although under the same agency, notable differences were seen in the data of the two offices in just a matter of 12 hours. Double Barrel Secretariat recorded 176 more operations conducted than those posted by the Directorate for Operations. Also higher were the number of people killed during drug operations and those arrested. Further, none of the data matched those released in #RealNumbersPH on the same day. Assuming that the #RealNumbersPH data ended before 12 midnight of May 23, 2017, the discrepancies were still significant from both the PNP offices as shown in the last two columns showing the differences in figures.

Regardless of the discrepancies in figures related to the Duterte administration’s anti-illegal drugs policy, what is clear is that it has affected a lot of people in just over two years of its implementation. Human rights groups have insisted on greater magnitude and extent of the policy compared to official reports. Amnesty International (AI) even compared the number of casualties to

the 14-year martial law under former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos from 1972 to January 1981, in which AI recorded 3,240 people killed, 34,000 tortured, and 70,000 imprisoned during Marcos' dictatorship, proving that the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy has had a more extensive effect on the populace in terms of casualties (Mangahas, et. al, 2016).

If the official data from the ICAD, the #RealNumbersPH, are to be believed, the official count as of September 30, 2018 registered 158,424 drug personalities arrested, 4,948 killed in drug operations, and 8,766 or about 21% of more than 42,000 barangays in the Philippines cleared of illegal drugs (#RealNumbersPH Facebook Page, #RealNumbersPH as of Sept. 30, 2018). Human rights groups claimed, however, that the policy has resulted to a total of about 12,000 deaths, with 54 minors killed in the first year, most of which came from urban poor communities (The Guardian..., 2018). One opposition Senator put the number at more than 20,000, combining both the reported deaths during police operations and those homicide cases under investigation, which were also purportedly related to the war on drugs (Emelia, 2018).

These numbers, varying and inconsistent as they may be, are only conservative approximation of the extent of the anti-illegal drugs policy of the administration as these only captured the effect the policy had on the actual target population. What these did not capture was the effect on the other people directly experiencing the policy as families, friends, acquaintances, and neighbors of drug personalities who surrendered, were arrested, or killed—which would account for an even greater number of people in communities and barangays where anti-illegal drugs operations were conducted. Although the policy was obvious directed at certain groups of people, operations, house-to-house visits, as well as the resulting casualties affected people other than the target population. With these perspective, we can say that the anti-illegal drugs

policy of the Duterte administration was already highly tangible policy even as early as its first two years of implementation.

#### **4.1.2 Indirect Experience and Visibility**

Since the campaign period for the 2016 elections, Duterte have already attracted lots of reactions from Filipinos inside and outside the country, as well as the international community, because of his bold statements and brazen attitude. His administration's anti-illegal drugs policy did not fall short of attracting equally varied and strong reactions from the people, not only because of the apparent direct encounters and personal accounts people have had with the policy but, also because the media—traditional and new forms—became a crucial link between the policy and the people for the latter to become aware of what was going on with the new president's war on drugs.

The first few months of the implementation of the policy was characterized by influx of daily news of drug buy bust operations, arrests, lists of people in communities subject for investigation and house visits by police operatives, shooting incidents, and deaths. The narrative of how a suspected drug addict or pusher ends up dead became familiar—policemen were conducting a drug buy-bust operation and the drug personality would shot the first fire, forcing police officers to defend themselves, ensuing a firefight with the suspect being killed in the end. Usually, the dead suspect would be found with a gun and some sachets of methamphetamine (commonly called as *shabu*). If not deaths in police operations, usual media reports would have dead men, usually identified as suspected drug personalities, found by bystanders in different locations, dumped in the same fashion, with placards tied around their necks bearing words like “*Drug pusher ako, huwag tularan*” (“I am a drug



pusher. Do not become like me.”). People would only be left guessing as to who committed the crime.

The researcher surveyed Facebook pages of top five identified media organizations in the Philippines for the first two months of the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy.

**Table 3. Number of Policy-Related Contents Posted in the Facebook Pages of Rappler, Inquirer.net, GMA News, ABS-CBN News, and News5 in July and August 2017 and the Number of Shares Generated by those Contents**

Facebook Page	July 2016		August 2016	
	Number of Policy-Related Contents	Number of Shares Generated by the Contents	Number of Policy-Related Contents	Number of Shares Generated by the Contents
Rappler (@rapplerdotcom)	23	2,111	46	15,396
Inquirer.net (@inquirerdotnet)	40	14,924	49	45,775
GMA News (@gmanews)	8	6,412	10	6,889
ABS-CBN News (@abscbnNEWS)	26	19,228	42	43,996
News5 (@News5Everywhere)	60	48,813	74	88,812
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>91,448</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>200,868</b>

The five media organizations’ pages posted a total of 157 contents related to the drug policy varying from straight news, featured articles, opinion pieces, live videos, recorded videos, to photos in July 2016, the first month of the policy. The number increased to 221 contents the following month or from a daily average of five in July to seven in August 2016. (See Appendices B and C for the database of policy-related contents posted by the five media organizations surveyed on their Facebook pages in July and August 2016.) Although the figures might appear small, since these are public pages,

Facebook allows these contents to be shared<sup>5</sup> and posted by as many people or users as possible—generating a wide reach of audience. Consolidated data revealed that drug-related contents from the five Facebook pages were shared more than 91,000 times in July and reached more than 200,000 in August 2016. The number of shares of anti-illegal drugs policy contents more than doubled in just two months. Therefore, although not directly experienced by other citizens, the policy has started to become visible to others.

Topics covered by the social media would also give a hint of the progress of the anti-illegal drugs policy in the first two months of implementation. Content topics for July and August 2016 included the following:

<b>Table 4. Policy-Related Content Topics of Top Media Organizations’ Facebook Pages</b>	<b>Number of Contents</b>	
	July 2016	August 2016
Status of the implementation, including statistics, accomplishments, news about people who surrendered and were arrested and killed	81	77
News about prominent and big-time drug personalities	22	48
Local reactions to the spate of killings and the implementation of the policy	21	11
Reactions from international community	2	21
News and pronouncements about the Philippine National Police as one of the implementors of the policy	13	8
Prospect of other related programs and policies to support the war on drugs	9	6
Senate and Congressional probe on drug-related killings	4	24
Response of other government agencies on the implementation of the drug war	2	18
Other related news	3	8

<sup>5</sup> The SHARE function on a Facebook post allows users to re-post the same content on their accounts or send the content to other users through the Facebook’s messaging application Messenger.








As regards to contents, from July to August 2016, notable rise in the number of contents related to prominent and big-time drug personalities, reactions from international community, Senate and Congressional probe, and responses of other government agencies on the implementation of the war on drugs was observed. The increase in the number of news about prominent and big-time drug personalities could be attributed to the time when President Duterte released a list of military echelon, Supreme Court judges, and politicians, including a member of the Senate who was a known critic of Duterte, supposedly involved in illegal drug activities. With this, also came the response of other government agencies like the Supreme Court and the Commission on Human Rights on the implementation of the policy and the alleged involvement of civilian and military officials in illegal drugs. Reactions from international organizations and foreign governments also became featured more as media picked up statements from the United States of America and the United Nations, as well as the Philippine government's response to them. The beginning of the Senate inquiry on extrajudicial killings in August 2016 also prompted the rise in the number of contents related to Senate and Congressional probe.

The data shows that contents related to the anti-illegal drugs policy during the first two months of implementation were still dominated by the voice of the government. Going back to the second pathway by which policy influences people's attitude and engagement, as discussed by Pacheco (2013), the information received by the public are usually influenced by the political elites. The arrests of prominent and big-time personalities and the opportunity provided by the media to the administration to answer and counter allegations and criticisms thrown at them with regard to the policy were very crucial factors in making the policy acceptable to the people. The image of prominent personalities being arrested due to involvement in illegal drugs could send a

signal to the public on the government's commitment and political will to end drug abuse and drug trade regardless of who would be affected in the process. Also, despite the gaining criticisms from the oppositions in the government, human rights groups, and international community, the administration and the implementors of the policy remained active in responding to them.

It can be noted that at this point, contents related to the war on drugs from established media organizations was driven mostly by the developments on the implementation of the policy. Ordinary people's reactions remained on the sideline in terms of the number of media exposure of citizens' response to the spate of killings and the implementation of the anti-illegal drugs policy. Despite the limited number of contents dedicated to ordinary people's reactions to the drug war, this content type was still among the top that generated Facebook users' most number of interactions in terms of the number of likes or reactions, shares, and comments<sup>6</sup>, alongside content about the status of the implementation and prominent personalities involved in the drug war in July 2016. The number of likes or reactions, shares, and comments on a Facebook content was seen as an indicator of the level of interest users have on that particular content, making them interact with it more. This means that although there was a limited number of contents focused on them, ordinary people's responses to and opinion on the policy was a topic that encouraged further engagement of Facebook users.

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<sup>6</sup> Facebook allows users to interact with a content by liking or reacting, sharing, and commenting on it. Users can LIKE or react to a content using different icons corresponding to different emotions—like , love , laugh , smile , surprised , sad , and angry . Users can also post COMMENTS on a content. They can also post the same content on their own accounts or send it to their Facebook friends using SHARE. Number of likes and reactions, shares, and comments are shown in the content.

## **4.2 How People's Attitude and Engagement Affect Policy**

We have discussed how tangibility and visibility of the anti-illegal drugs policy have influenced people's attitude and engagement in its first two months. It is important to look at how the policy progressed in the succeeding months and how, in the course of its implementation, it further shaped public opinion. At this point, however, it is equally crucial to look at how these responses from the people also influenced the course of the policy.

Two significant events will be looked at to illustrate this. The first is the killing of a South Korean businessman in what many called as a *tokhang-for-ransom* incident and the second is the killing of minor in a questionable drug operation in a city in Metro Manila.

### **4.2.1 Tokhang-for-Ransom and the Killing of Jee Ick-joo**

On January 8, 2017, *Inquirer.net* ran a story about a South Korean businessman named Jee Ick-joo who had been missing since October 2016 and was allegedly kidnapped by police officers in the guise of a drug raid in his home, or what was tagged as *tokhang-for-ransom*, a play on the strategy of the PNP to visit houses of drug personalities and urge them to surrender to the authorities (Quismundo, 2017; Fonbuena, 2017). *Tokhang* is based on Filipino Visayan words *toktok*, which means knock, and *hangyo* or request (Fonbuena, 2017). Based on *Inquirer's* interview with Choi Kyung-jin, Jee Ick-joo's wife, Jee and their househelp were abducted on October 18, 2016 by men who introduced themselves as police officers and accused Jee of involvement in drug activities; the househelp was eventually freed by the abductors. By the end of the month, Choi received a call from the abductors asking ransom money worth eight million pesos (about US\$150,000) in exchange for her husband's freedom. She coordinated with the kidnappers and paid five million pesos

(around US\$100,000) without telling the authorities investigating the kidnapping, but Jee was not released (Quismundo, 2017). On January 11, 2017, then PNP Chief, Police Director Ronald M. Dela Rosa ordered a manhunt for the cop, who was found out to be a member of the PNP Anti-Illegal Drugs Group, and other suspects involved in the kidnapping of Jee (PNP Facebook Page, 2017). The following week, the National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) and the PNP confirmed that Jee is already dead and he was killed inside the headquarters of the PNP (Fonbuena, 2017). It was later found out during the investigation that his body was cremated after death certificates and other documents required for cremation were forged and his ashes were flushed down the toilet (Carvajal & Maru, 2017).

What followed was a series of investigation by the PNP, the NBI, the Department of Justice, and a Senate inquiry on the death of Jee Ick-joo as high-ranking officials from the PNP, aside from the ones who actually kidnapped Jee, were also implicated to have master-minded the operation. By the end of January 2016, President Duterte ordered the PNP to stop all anti-illegal drugs operations nationwide and to focus instead on cleansing its ranks. The order meant that policemen were not allowed to conduct buy-bust operations and to apply for and serve search warrants connected to illegal drugs. The PNP was still allowed to do administrative coordination with other agencies regarding the anti-illegal drugs policy, arrest those caught in the act of doing a crime, and serve warrants of arrest to drug personalities as a regular anti-crime procedure. The Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) was tasked to take over the lead in the anti-illegal drugs campaign (Cupin, 2017).

In about a month since the suspension of the PNP's involvement in the drug war, however, President Duterte ordered the PNP back to the anti-illegal drugs campaign, citing lack of manpower in his administration's fight against insurgency, terrorism, and drugs without the PNP onboard. Former PDEA chief

also noted that the government's anti-illegal drugs operations dropped by 75% when President Duterte suspended PNP from the operations and admitted that the PDEA could not sustain its campaign without the PNP. To avoid the incident similar to the kidnapping and killing of Jee Ick-joo in the guise of anti-illegal drugs operations, however, President Duterte asked the PNP chief to form task forces composed of policemen without derogatory records to handle drug cases instead of involving all of its manpower (Macas, 2017).

#### **4.2.2 The Death of Kian Loyd Delos Santos Caught on CCTV**

Another case that would be crucial in the implementation of the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy was the killing of a 17-year-old teenager accused of being a drug courier. In the morning of August 17, 2017, a news broke out regarding the death of a minor in an anti-illegal drugs operation conducted by police operatives the night before. News reports identified the victim as Kian Loyd Delos Santos, a Grade 11 student in Caloocan City, part of the National Capital Region. The policemen and the neighbors of Delos Santos recalled different versions of what happened that night. Based on the initial investigation report by the Caloocan City police, which was obtained by *Rappler*, at around 8:00 pm that night, police officers were conducting an anti-illegal drugs operation when Delos Santos, after seeing them coming, fled from the policemen. Allegedly holding a gun, Delos Santos fired at the policemen as he was trying to escape, so the operatives were forced to fire back in self-defense. He was eventually killed by the policemen and a caliber-.45 gun and sachets of methamphetamine were recovered from him. A drug personality arrested in the area close to Delos Santos' place a few days after the latter was

killed testified about the teenager's involvement in drug activities as a drug courier (Talabong, 2017).

Delos Santos' neighbors, eyewitnesses, and the CCTV in the barangay that caught a footage of him being dragged by men, allegedly the policemen who killed him, told a different story. According to them, Delos Santos was seen being dragged by policemen to a dark alley in his neighborhood. He was heard pleading to the policemen. The CCTV did not show him armed and eyewitnesses testified that he was forcibly given a gun by the policemen, was asked to run, and was shot dead (Talabong, 2017). Delos Santos' family and friends maintained his innocence and denied the accusations that he was a drug courier.

The death of Delos Santos sparked varied reactions from ordinary people, civic and church groups, people in the government, politicians in the oppositions, as well as those who were allies of President Duterte, and even the international community. Separate investigations were conducted by the PNP, the NBI, the Department of Justice, the Commission on Human Rights, the Public Attorney's Office, and the Philippine Senate. All seemed to point out foul play in the conduct of the anti-illegal drugs operation that killed Delos Santos (Talabong, 2017; Buan, 2017; Reformina, 2017; Cordero, 2017). Even President Duterte, who said in his previous statements that he would protect policemen doing their jobs relative to the anti-illegal drugs campaign, called for an investigation and promised justice for Delos Santos. Members of the Caloocan City police responsible for Delos Santos' death were relieved from their posts (Bajo, 2017). Foreign governments and international organizations also issued statements of condolences and support for calls for justice for Delos Santos (Esmaguél, 2017).

Amidst all the on-going investigations surrounding Delos Santos' death, the ordinary people's response became noticeable. Protests, rallies,



gatherings—even among overseas Filipino workers in Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, London, Canada, Italy, Australia, South Korea, New Zealand, Thailand, and Japan—and a funeral march were held demanding justice for Delos Santos and the other victims of extrajudicial killings from the government’s war against drugs (Pasion, 2017; Hapal 2017; Layug, 2017).

Due to the controversies and the public outcry resulting from Delos Santos’ death, for the second time in 2017, President Duterte suspended again the PNP from its involvement in the drug war through a memorandum dated October 10, 2017, emphasizing instead the role of the PDEA in enforcing an existing law aimed at eradicating illegal drugs in the country—Republic Act No. 9165, the Comprehensive Dangerous Drugs Act of 2002. All other agencies and all ad hoc task forces performing anti-illegal drugs campaigns and operations, including the PNP, were ordered to leave to the PDEA all such duties. All information concerning illegal drugs should be brought to the attention of the PDEA for its action (Office of the President, 2017b).

Almost two months after, in a new memorandum issued by President Duterte, he ordered again the PNP and other law enforcement agencies back to supporting the PDEA in the anti-illegal drug operations. Cited as reasons for doing so were the PDEA’s insufficient number of agents and operatives to cover anti-illegal drugs operations in drug-affected municipalities and barangay levels, the resurgence of illegal drug activities and drug-related crimes due to the lack of law enforcement forces to curtail such, and the public clamor to bring back the active support of the PNP and other agencies to the PDEA. Duterte ordered the PDEA to continue leading anti-illegal drug efforts and coordinate all activities and operations of other law enforcement agencies through the ICAD (OP, 2017c).

Although suspended from its direct involvement in the anti-illegal drugs policy for only two months, the event seemed to have pushed the PNP to

once again look at its organization and assess its conduct and implementation of the policy. In January 29, 2018, a month after President Duterte ordered the PNP back to the anti-illegal drugs campaigns and operations, the PNP relaunched its house-to-house anti-illegal drugs operation called *Oplan Tokhang Reloaded* with new and stricter guidelines for its operatives with the intent of implementing a bloodless war on drugs (Talabong, 2018; Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility, 2018; ABS-CBN News, 2018). The following are some of the significant points included in the new guidelines in implementing the PNP's *Oplan Tokhang*:

**Figure 2. TOKHANG RELOADED: PNP's New Guidelines for 'Tokhangers' in Implementing Oplan Tokhang**

- From 8am to 5pm, Mondays to Fridays only
- Compliant with the rule of law and respect for human rights
- Based on verified intelligence reports
- Targets only those included in an official list
- Conducted by a "Tokhang Team" composed of four qualified police officers led by a deputy chief of police
- Joined by a representative from the barangay council, human rights group, or religious sector
- Operatives are encouraged to use body cameras
- Operative must wear proper uniform during operations
- Operative may not enter a suspect's house
- Operative must not engage hostile suspects
- Uncooperative suspects must be reported to the police Drug Enforcement Unit for case buildup
- Post-mission reports must be submitted by each team
- Higher-ranking officials must be responsible for their subordinates and may face sanctions in case of mission irregularities
- Those who surrender must go to the nearest barangay hall accompanied by a relative
- Minor offenders who will surrender must be accompanied by a parent or a legal guardian to the nearest social welfare office
- Taking of suspects' mugshots and fingerprints is voluntary

**Source:** ABS-CBN News. (2018, January 29). TOKHANG RELOADED: PNP's new guidelines. *ABS-CBN News*. Retrieved <https://news.abs-cbn.com/focus/01/29/18/tokhang-reloaded-pnps-new-guidelines>.

Notable in this guideline is the emphasis on the compliance with the “rule of law and respect for human rights” and conduct of the operations “based on verified intelligence reports” (ABS-CBN News, 2018). It should be noted that the reactions of the public to Delos Santos’ death were primarily driven by the operatives’ apparent disregard of human rights by the way the minor was dragged and killed by multiple gunshots. It was also discovered during the investigation that the supposed arrest of Delos Santos was a result of unverified reports alleging the kid as a drug courier.

### **4.2.3 People’s Reactions to Jee Ick-joo and Kian Delos Santos’ Deaths and Their Implication on the Anti-Illegal Drugs Policy**

Although not of the same magnitude, both Jee Ick-joo and Kian Loyd Delos Santos’ deaths became crucial events in the course of the implementation of the Duterte administration’s anti-illegal drugs policy and attracted media and people’s reactions. The factors surrounding the deaths of Jee and Delos Santos, the people’s reactions to both incidents, and their implications on the policy can be analyzed using tangibility, visibility, and length of the policy.

In terms of tangibility, Delos Santos’ death had more impact on the Filipinos as it was a clear example of the usual narrative of killings in drug operations heard almost every day over the past year since the implementation of the policy in July 2016, only this time it was visualized with the CCTV footage showing how it actually happened unlike in most cases where the narratives were told by eyewitnesses and secondary informants. The impact was even made stronger by the fact that the one killed was a minor, described by his family and friends as being a good and responsible son and student—also part of the narrative claimed by other victims and casualties of the war on

drugs, who were supposedly innocents. Delos Santos' death represented the mounting fear of ordinary people with the growing number of drug-related deaths that what happened to him could also happen to others.

On the other hand, Jee's case was a bit more unusual and not commonly heard of incident in the course of Duterte's drug war. Although there were news and rumors of policemen being involved in extortion activities, the facts surrounding Jee's killing were not of a storyline heard everyday. Although people were shocked at the atrociousness of his death and they criticized the policemen who killed Jee, it was not something anyone could easily relate with and the effect was not as emotional and taken as personal compared to the death of a minor caught by a CCTV and heard by his neighbors pleading to his killers.

In terms of visibility of the cases, the researcher looked at the contents of media organizations' Facebook pages for the two-week period following the news of Jee's and of Delos Santos' deaths and found out that across all the Facebook pages of the top media organizations, more contents were posted about Delos Santos. The average of people's interactions with the contents (i.e., likes or reactions, shares, and comments) were also higher in posts about Delos Santos than those about Jee in all Facebook pages, except in News5.

**Table 5. Comparison of Interactions with Facebook Contents of Top Media Organizations on Jee Ick-joo\* and Kian Loyd Delos Santos\*\***

		Number of Content	Average Likes/ Reactions	Average Shares	Average Comments
<b>Rappler</b>	Jee Ick-joo	26	334	34	161
	Delos Santos	34	1339	188	325
<b>GMA News</b>	Jee Ick-joo	15	1,034	50	133
	Delos Santos	60	2,239	133	900
<b>Inquirer.net</b>	Jee Ick-joo	6	314	74	45
	Delos Santos	32	2,186	589	763
<b>ABS-CBN News</b>	Jee Ick-joo	9	840	14	57
	Delos Santos	20	3,500	338	1,190
<b>News5</b>	Jee Ick-joo	33	1,684	397	544
	Delos Santos	44	1,282	74	541

\*Data from January 08-31, 2017

\*\*Data from August 18-31, 2017

The timing of Jee's case and that of Delos Santos' could also be another factor why people had different responses toward them, which is related to the length of exposure to the policy. Jee was kidnapped and killed in October 2016 and the news broke out in January 2017, just six months since the policy was introduced, while Delos Santos was killed in August 2017, more than a year since the war on drugs started. Going back to Pacheco's (2013) Attitudinal Policy Feedback, it is assumed that the longer people have been exposed to a policy, the stronger their opinion become toward that policy.

To elaborate, the Philippine National Police became very controversial in both the Jee Ick-joo and the Kian Loyd Delos Santos' cases primarily because of its crucial role in the implementation of the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy. It was the policemen, more than any law enforcement agents, who were more visible in anti-illegal drugs campaigns and operations, especially in the barangay and municipal levels where its operatives conducted house-to-house visits. They were the ones interacting more with the people. It was almost easy to connect the administration's anti-illegal drugs policy to the PNP. If people have already been exposed to the corruption, misconducts, and wrongdoings of some forces in the PNP and how some of them have used the war on drugs for their own evil interests as shown in the killing of Jee Ick-joo, then it would be very likely that another similar incident involving them would generate much stronger reaction from the public, which what could have happened to Delos Santos's case. The PNP has already been marked for the misconduct and corruption of some of its members during Jee's case and Delos Santos' death exposed the weaknesses, incompetence, and abuse of the institution all the more, resulting to stronger reactions from the public.

In addition, the rising number of deaths and casualties associated to the PNP's anti-illegal drug operations and the resistance and growing criticisms of human rights groups, people in the government, and the international

community as the policy progressed could have also created a strong impression of the PNP being responsible to drug-related extrajudicial killings, so an incident like Delos Santos' death further generated such negative response from the people.

Another difference between the two cases was the focus of the blame on the incident. In the case of Jee Ick-joo, the focus of the government investigating the incident as well as the various reactions generated by the news was the cops responsible for his death. It was treated very uniquely from other killings done related to the war on drugs. The death of Delos Santos, however, was easily tied and associated to the other drug-related killings; hence, the focus of the media content and the responses from various groups of people were not just toward the police officers who committed the crime, but toward the policy itself. Delos Santos' death was not only blamed on the cops, but seemingly on the institution and, to some extent, the policy itself for giving so much discretion on the operatives conducting the operations and the lack of clear guidelines in the conduct of the implementation of the policy. It should be noted that people's call for justice for Delos Santos' death and their criticisms on the policy were no longer just expressed in social media platforms but were brought to the streets through demonstrations and rallies. It was after Delos Santos' death and the PNP's suspension from the policy that a new set of guidelines were formulated to address the issues in the conduct of anti-illegal drugs operations.

### **4.3 The Future of the Policy**

Apart from the immediate changes in the implementation of the policy following crucial events, there are other aspects to look at if we would like to know the prospect of the policy. Going back to Pacheco's (2013) discussion,

tangible policy can influence different facets of mass attitudes: 1) their perspective and attitude toward the policy's target population, 2) their normative views of right and wrong, and 3) their judgment of other policy interventions. With policy influencing these facets and with the knowledge of the capacity of people's attitude and engagement with the policy to shape the course of the latter on the other hand, analyzing these aspects of the mass attitude is important in anticipating people's likely response to the policy in the continued course of its implementation.

In order to see this, the researcher looked into people's comments, statements, and opinions using the most commented drug-related contents on each media organization's Facebook pages to have a glimpse of what was still the dominant attitude, the on-going debates, and other policy proposals that people came up with in relation to the current policy. Using the three facets of mass attitudes proposed by Pacheco (2013), people's comments were categorized into those three facets.

In the samples selected, it was observed that comments usually fell under the first category—people's view of the target population, the drug addicts and pushers. The conversation was centered on whether it was justified to execute and kill drug personalities. Those who expressed their concern about the spate of killings usually argued for the use of due process and legitimate ways of dealing with the drug abusers. Those who agreed with the killings of drug personalities, on the other hand, justified the reasoning because of their wrongdoings. They also raised question as to whether people would rather have innocent victims of criminals and drug addicts killed over the death of these criminals. This observation seemed to resound what Curato (2016) said about Duterte's rhetoric during his campaign, which played out the dichotomy between law-abiding citizens versus criminals and drug personalities. The

result was that the law-abiding citizens would justify the killing of people they saw as criminals and drug personalities who pose threat to their security.

The role of identifying the target population and ascribing the effect of the policy on them lies in the government. As early as his campaign, Duterte had been vocal in expressing his desire to use force, if necessary, to eliminate drugs and criminality in the Philippines. His pronouncements about drug addicts and how he viewed them as criminals deserving of punishment were crucial in influencing how people perceived them. They activated people's opinion of them and their belief of the kind of punishment they deserve. The opinion of some Facebook users seemed to echo the same rhetoric, justifying the killings of drug personalities—whether done in self-defense as claimed by police operatives or execution-style as news reports described—because they were identified as different from them and as threats to their security.

As regard to the second category, people's normative views of right or wrong were centered on the justification of the anti-illegal drugs policy and of President Duterte himself. People justified the war on drugs of the administration as part of the narrative of Duterte's campaign promise of "Change is coming." Despite recognition of the sacrifices that came with the policy, they saw it as part of the change that was promised by the new administration, to which people should abide in order for that promise to come to realization.

With regard to the spate of killings that result from the drug war, the usual justification was that surely not all killings were executed by police forces and that some killings might have actually been done by drug personalities themselves to prevent the others from implicating them. This, again, echoed the statements coming from the PNP that claimed at one point that the killings were done by vigilante groups and, at some point, was done by bigtime drug pushers themselves to prevent other drug personalities from surrendering to the



authorities and pointing at them. Some people also supported the PNP's claim that policemen were only forced to shoot and kill to defend themselves.

The other side of the debate on whether the policy was right or wrong, especially when it comes to the number of drug-related deaths were usually focused on the deaths of innocent people, who were wrongfully accused of being drug addicts or pushers and those who were considered collateral casualties of the drug war. They argued that the problem with the war on drugs was that it was not only killing the drug addicts and criminals but the innocent ones as well. The conduct of the war on drugs also disregarded the rule of law and due process.

The third category, which relates to the prospect of other policy interventions, comprised of comments about the revival of death penalty to drug addicts and hard criminals and also the institutionalization of police reforms. Like how people justified the killings that resulted from the government's war on drugs, commenters were also keen on having the revival of death penalty in order to punish hard criminals and drug personalities. Some people, on the other hand, called for stronger police reforms after the involvement of policemen in drug-related controversies. Since it became the forefront of the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy, it was natural for people to associate the results of all anti-illegal drugs campaigns or operations to the PNP regardless of the participation of other law enforcement agencies' participation in the drug war.

Apart from these categories, people's comments on drug-related contents also had political dimension—the dichotomy between the Duterte's supporters, tagged as die-hard Duterte supporters (DDS), and those who raise opposition and criticisms to the president, who were always categorized and framed by DDS as *dilawans* (yellows). The color yellow became associated to former President Corazon C. Aquino and later on to former President

Benigno C. Aquino, III, immediate predecessor of President Duterte. People who criticize the policies of President Duterte were immediately labelled as *dilawans* by his supporters regardless if they actually support the Aquinos or not. In contents that tackled criticisms and opposing views to the policy, people's comments were more focused on the politics rather than the merit of the argument, believing that these were more politically motivated criticisms against President Duterte.

All these reactions of the people toward the anti-illegal drugs policy of the Duterte administration showed a great division among the people's opinion on the policy and its results. While the narrative of the Duterte campaign has continued to be imbibed and propagated by his supporters in social media platforms, opposing opinions have surfaced because of the events that questioned the effect of the policy.

Despite some notable events that have challenged the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy by exposing its loopholes and the weaknesses of the institutions and government agencies that are at the forefront of its implementations, it seems that the rhetoric and the narrative portrayed by the administration, the PNP, and the agencies responsible for the war on drugs have continued to dominate social media conversation as reflected in the number and strength of these opinions online. The result was people's continued support of the policy and of the administration of implementing such policy.

This do not disregard, however, that the opposing opinions' and reactions from those who disagreed with the policy or some aspects of the policy could not still influence the policy as long as the dominant narrative is being accepted. As shown in the events surrounding the death of Delos Santos, and to some extent even that of Jee's, although a policy could not be easily abolished, public opinion still has the potential to shape it or influence

modifications, transformation, or changes in the current policy. Apart from the characteristics of the policy related to tangibility and visibility, the key in Delos Santos' case and the resulting reaction of the public was that it exposed the weaknesses of the aspects of the policy, in this case, the PNP as an institution at the forefront of the implementation of the policy. Hence, although Delos Santos' death and people's clamor for justice and abolishment of the policy did not put a stop to the policy, it opened the door for changes and possibly reform in an institution that is crucial in the policy.

## Chapter 6. Conclusion

President Rodrigo R. Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy has been a very controversial since its implementation in July 2016 when he assumed his position. It is no doubt that the policy has affected and reached a great number of people despite the differences in official statistics and the counts of media and non-government organizations and human rights groups monitoring the policy. The policy's visibility through its exposure by the media has also extended its reach or visibility even to people who were not directly affected by it. With regard to the length of the policy as another aspect to be looked at in Pacheco's (2013) model, it was noted that only assumptions can be made as to how much more it would shape people's attitude and engagement in the future since the policy has been executed for just over two years.

The media, specifically those with presence online and in social networking sites, have played a significant role in showing which voices became dominant in particular events and which content captured the interest of and generated reactions and interaction from the people, and in providing venues for people to voice out their opinion of the policy. As a result, we have seen the dominant narratives perpetuated by the administration and the implementors of the policy and supported and echoed by ordinary people in the internet.

The overall support for the Duterte administration's anti-illegal drugs policy has remained strong as reflected by the people's comments on how they justify the killings and the questionable procedures and lack of due process, and how they still view opposing opinions and criticisms of the policy as politically motivated actions against President Duterte.

This leaves us now the question regarding the capacity of people's engagement to shape the policy. We have seen the example of the death of Kian Loyd Delos Santos and how it generated public outrage that eventually brought some changes in the implementation of the policy. What is important to note in that particular incident is that the response of the people to his killing was not limited to online discourse. Exchange of online opinions and reactions among people provided a crucial impetus for people to move, but it did not stop there. It was brought to the streets, the public outrage was picked up by other government and non-government entities, even the international community.

The death of Delos Santos' and the resulting public response it generated also became crucial in exposing the weaknesses of the Philippine National Police as the primary institution implementing the policy. The series of events following Delos Santos' death pushed the agency to evaluate itself as an organization and to introduce modifications in the implementation of the policy.

Therefore, while the anti-illegal drugs policy as a highly tangible and visible policy was able to influence people's attitude and engagement, the latter was also notable for its capability to shape the course of the implementation of the former.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A. #RealNumbersPH Data Since the Implementation of the Anti-Illegal Drugs Policy on July 01, 2016 up to September 30, 2018

Particulars	as of May 30, 2017	as of June 13, 2017	as of July 26, 2017	as of August 29, 2017	as of October 25, 2017	as of Nov. 27, 2017	as of Dec. 27, 2017	as of Jan. 17, 2018
Operations conducted	60,395	62,751	68,214	70,854	77,468	79,193	80,683	81,919
Drug personalities arrested	80,415	84,467	96,703	107,156	117,044	118,287	119,023	119,361
Drug personalities who died in anti-drug operations	3,050	3,151	3,451	3,811	3,967	3,967	3,968	3,987
Summary of government workers arrested	280	292	327	376	420	435	444	446
Elected officials	119	127	142	167	181	185	188	189
Uniformed personnel	23	23	26	33	36	42	44	44
Government employees	138	142	159	176	203	208	212	213
Clandestine laboratories dismantled	No data	No data	9	No data	9	9	9	9
Dismantled drug dens	No data	No data	154	No data	163	163	170	174
Methamphetamine ( <i>shabu</i> ) seized (in kilograms)	2,289.0	2,429.1	2,455.8	2,465.7	2,509.2	2,526.5	2,560.5	2,577.1

	P13.8B	P12.5B	P12.7B	P12.7B	P12.9B	P13.0B	P13.1B	P13.2B
Value of <i>shabu</i> seized								
Value of confiscated drugs, controlled precursors and essential chemicals, and laboratory equipment	P17.7B	P18.4B	P18.6B	P18.6B	P18.9B	P18.9B	P19.1B	P19.3B
Drug-cleared barangays	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	4,747	5,072	No data

Particulars	as of Feb. 08, 2018	as of March 20, 2018	as of April 30, 2018	as of May 15, 2018	as of June 30, 2018	as of July 31, 2018	as of Aug. 31, 2018	as of Sept. 30, 2018
Operations conducted	85,068	91,704	98,799	99,485	102,630	105,658	108,059	110,395
Drug personalities arrested	121,087	123,648	142,069	143,335	147,802	152,123	155,193	158,424
Drug personalities who died in anti-drug operations	4,021	4,075	4,251	4,279	4,354	4,410	4,854	4,948
Summary of government workers arrested	454	469	504	506	526	569	576	582
Elected officials	192	199	217	217	229	243	247	250
Uniformed personnel	44	45	48	48	52	58	58	60
Government employees	218	225	239	241	245	268	271	272
Clandestine laboratories dismantled	9	9	No data	12	No data	12	12	13
Dismantled drug dens	179	180	No data	180	No data	209	223	242

Methamphetamine ( <i>shabu</i> ) seized (in kilograms)	2,610.4	2,620.5	2,676.6	2,678.6	2,738.7	2,757.8	3,142.4	No data
	P13.4B	P13.5B	P13.8B	P14.3B	P14.7B	P14.8B	P17.4B	P18.3B
Value of <i>shabu</i> seized								
Value of confiscated drugs, controlled precursors and essential chemicals, and laboratory equipment	P19.6B	P19.7B	P20.2B	P20.8B	P21.3B	P21.5B	P24.1B	P25.0B
Drug-cleared barangays	5,327	5,327	No data	No data	6,562	8,215	8,444	8,766

## Appendix B. Database of Policy-Related Contents Posted by Rappler, Inquirer.net, GMA News, ABS-CBN News, and News5 on their Facebook Pages in July 2016

### Rappler

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Senate to start probe on drug-related killings mid-August	July 27, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	276	32	113	The Senate is set to start its probe on the spate of drug-related killings middle of August next month.
2	Duterte: Use of military camps as rehab centers temporary	July 28, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 2, 2018	780	38	21	President Rodrigo Duterte has elaborated on his plan to use military camps as rehabilitation centers.
3	Philippines' war vs drugs: It has been bloody	July 26, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	325	54	21	"My ideal society is one where citizens look after each other, one where we turn others' misfortune, and even bad decisions, into redemption." #ThoughtLeaders
4	Week 3 under Duterte: 16k drug suspects surrender in Negros Island	July 20, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	938	149	21	Almost 16,000 drug personalities have surrendered to the police in Negros Island Region in the first 3 weeks of the Duterte administration.
5	Hundreds of kilos of shabu seized in Cagayan	July 4, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	775	126	31	At least "seven black bags" and "one big blue ice box" containing substances that appear to be shabu were seized in Cagayan.



6	2 drug suspects killed, city police chief hurt in Pampanga	July 6, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	260	16	20	A suspected drug dealer and an associate were killed while the police chief of the City of San Fernando was injured.
7	Duterte plan to use AFP camps for drug rehab gains support	July 26, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	99	13	13	Military camps and facilities will be used as drug rehabilitation centers, President Rodrigo Duterte said in his first State of the Nation Address.
8	Anti-drug war in Cagayan: Mayor's son, village chairman surrender	July 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	1.4K	451	33	The son of Ballesteros mayor and vice mayor surrendered as a "drug user," while a barangay chairman and his brother from the same town yielded to authorities as drug pushers.
9	Is he top 'drug lord' Peter Lim? 9 things about the Cebu businessman	July 10, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	674	78	62	Who is this Peter Lim, the supposed big time drug lord in the Visayas, whom Duterte was talking about?
10	Watchdog to Kerry: Tell Duterte to probe killings	July 27, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	230	18	83	HRW Asia deputy director Phelim Kine said Kerry should air his concern about Duterte's war against illegal drugs.
11	La Salle president slams killings under Duterte admin	July 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	512	83	66	De La Salle Philippines president Brother Jose Mari Jimenez: "You cannot build a culture that respects life while relying principally on the instruments of death."
12	President Duterte, do not kill in my name	July 9, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	188	17	24	"Our people have seen what a mob can do in the hands of a tyrant who knows no law but his own." #IMHO
13	Duterte to Peter Lim: Go to NBI to prove you're not a drug lord	July 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	778	107	30	Cebu businessman Peter Lim submits himself to the NBI in Manila today, July 21. Last Friday, President Rody Duterte told him to go to the NBI to prove his claim that he's not a drug lord.

14	Nearly 5,000 drug suspects yield in Negros Island Region	July 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	564	125	34	More than a week since the Duterte administration started, a total of 4,786 drug pushers and users have surrendered to the authorities in the Negros Island Region.
15	Rappler Talk: PNP chief Dela Rosa on enforcing rule of law	July 15, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 2, 2018	84	4	2	Rappler talks to Director General Ronald dela Rosa, chief of the Philippine National Police.
16	Why acceptance of killings is at all-time high	July 28, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	280	68	107	On Thought Leaders: "So has the criticism of the extrajudicial killings of late hardly made a dent on the public mind? Why are approbation and apathy toward these brutalities at their all-time high?"
17	Duterte threatens 3 Chinese drug lords, claims Garbo is 'coddler'	July 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	854	95	42	President Rodrigo Duterte: "I'm just watching Peter Lim and Peter Co: do not escape from prison, you will die. Colangco, never try to go out of prison, you will die."
18	DLSU denounces killings after Duterte took office	July 22, 2016	Video (128K views)	Oct. 2, 2018	865	108	604	De La Salle University denounces killings after President Rody Duterte took office. Full video here: <a href="http://bit.ly/2alwvu6g">http://bit.ly/2alwvu6g</a>
19	Duterte to pardon 'truthful' cops accused of abuse in war vs drugs	July 18, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 2, 2018	1.2K	75	36	President Rody Duterte promised to pardon cops should they be wrongly accused of abusing authority.
20	Cebu town mayor: 'No dealings with drug lords'	July 7, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	94	7	21	Daanbantayan mayor Vicente Loot arrives in Manila, saying he's willing to submit himself to an investigation to prove he has no ties with alleged drug lords.

21	Philippine police kill 10 in Duterte's war on crime	July 3, 2016		Oct. 2, 2018	338	15	34	Police in Bulacan province neighboring Manila said they launched an anti-drug trafficking blitz on Thursday, the day Duterte took office, that claimed 9 lives.
22	PNP chief Ronald dela Rosa live on Rappler	July 15, 2016	Live video (76K views)	Oct. 2, 2018	3.5K	414	602	Philippine National Police chief Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa talks about enforcing rule of law in the Rody Duterte administration. Watch! <a href="http://bit.ly/29Awz1v">http://bit.ly/29Awz1v</a>
23	Duterte asks lawmakers to revive death penalty	July 11, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	314	18	18	Duterte mentioned that many public officials are involved in illegal drugs – a form of “treason” as they should be the ones protecting Filipinos from harm.

### Inquirer.net

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Edgardo Tinio   The latest from Inquirer News	July 5, 2016	Archives	Oct. 2, 2018	708	191	102	ARCHIVES: What we have on QCPD chief Edgardo Tinio.
2	China backs PH's controversial drug war	July 20, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	680	51	106	China is offering its support to the controversial drug crackdown pushed by President Rody Duterte.
3	Duterte to troops: Be not afraid to kill drug traders, criminals	July 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	492	114	19	President Rody Duterte: “All those you are executing as I ordered, it’s on me. Mine and mine alone.”

4	Duterte mulls 'stopgap measure' to stem rise of drug users	July 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	728	136	44	President Rody Duterte: "We cannot build a nation over the dead bodies of our own citizens."
5	Drug executions: Public split	July 25, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	120	16	25	"President Rody Duterte, please put a stop to extrajudicial killings." #KillList #Sonadu30
6	The death of an invisible man	July 31, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	461	44	76	As far as she knows, Michael Siaron had voted for Rody Duterte.
7	Drug-related killings hit 72 since June 30	July 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	471	136	73	It was Sunday Bloody Sunday two days after the Rody Duterte administration came to power.
8	MILF joins Duterte in war on drugs	July 29, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	699	76	41	The MILF is joining forces with Pres. Rody Duterte! #KillList
9	On dignity	July 27, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	157	17	22	EDITORIAL: "The notion that 'human rights' can be used as an excuse to destroy the country—this can only be understood as the Duterte administration's blanket answer to the many questions surrounding the killings." #SONADu30
10	Drug monster bigger than expected	July 22, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	601	93	36	No one expected it to be this big.
11	Drug killings seen to cause losses for funeral parlor business	July 15, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	441	137	65	The funeral parlor business can't even make a killing nowadays. Details:
12	Drug deaths add more life to funeral trade	July 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	239	55	15	These businesses are making a killing under Pres. Rody Duterte:
13	Dangerous statements from Palace, PNP chief	July 16, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	224	20	80	#Letters: But will this move finally bring an end to media killings?
14	5 more drug war deaths in 12 hrs	July 22, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	136	24	12	Pres. Rody Duterte's war against illegal drugs claims five more lives. #KillList

15	Seized by cops, too: Shabu, Ecstasy, acetone, muriatic acid	July 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	624	54	81	Then as now, the anti-drug war has yielded very little harvest of the supposed drugs of choice of the affluent.
16	Wider and wider circles of outrage	July 28, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	395	157	86	Wider and wider circles of outrage <a href="http://f.inq.ph/wqAiyII">http://f.inq.ph/wqAiyII</a>
17	Rody tells LGUs: Intensify drug war	July 29, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	66	8	6	Who are the real victims in Pres. Rody Duterte's war against illegal drugs? #KillList
18	Bolder by the day	July 23, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	217	83	73	"The manner of death is almost always one of three ways: killed by police in an alleged shoot-out, drug raid, or buy-bust operation; terminated by gunmen, many in broad daylight; or found dumped somewhere, the body wrapped in packing tape and adorned with a crude cardboard sign announcing the deceased's alleged involvement in drugs." #INQOpinion
19	Against transparency	July 15, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	342	87	57	EDITORIAL: "Vigilante killing remains a crime under the law, so the decision of the country's top cop to look away and abdicate his duty deserves, at the very least, some answers."
20	4 dead in Bulacan drug busts	July 15, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	166	19	38	A bloody night in Bulacan. The #KillList. Our special report on drug-related killings: <a href="http://f.inq.ph/736YXJX">f.inq.ph/736YXJX</a>
21	The Duterte Administration Has Plans For The Economy - Scout Magazine	July 4, 2016		Oct. 2, 2018	68	3	9	Scoutmagph: But the new president would rather chase criminals and stop corruption than save our economy.

22	Duterte warns drug lords: Your hours are numbered	July 1, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	261	24	13	Not in days, but in hours.
23	Killing spree	July 6, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 2, 2018	489	99	106	<b>EDITORIAL:</b> "When guns are what determines justice, the criminals can simply purchase more firepower in the future."
24	INQUIRER.net	July 3, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	2.4K	92	70	A self-confessed drug user is among several hundred others who voluntarily surrendered and signed certificates to cease their involvement in illegal drugs in Taguig City.
25	INQUIRER.net	July 25, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	4.4K	1.6K	2.3K	Photo by Lyn Rillon
26	INQUIRER.net	July 25, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	2.6K	569	2.3K	
27	INQUIRER.net	July 11, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	172	12	27	<b>BUSTED AND BOOKED</b> Detainees cram a gym at the Eastern Police District headquarters in Pasig City as they await documentation on Sunday. The EPD over the weekend rounded up almost 200 drug suspects, ordinance violators and persons with standing arrest warrants in Pasig, Mandaluyong, Marikina and San Juan cities.
28	INQUIRER.net	July 15, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	530	21	37	Photo by Raffy Lerma Hot stuff! PNP chief Ronald dela Rosa shows packs of "shabu" seized in several raids that became part of the

29	Drug killings alarm Palace	July 5, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	158	17	22	<p>P1.77 billion worth of illegal drugs destroyed by the PDEA in Trece Martires City in Cavite province on Thursday. #KillList</p> <p>*** Photo by Raffy Lerma</p> <p>ANOTHER ONE BITES THE DUST Funeral parlor workers lift the body of one of the two drug suspects who were killed in an alleged shootout with police in Barangay Bonuan Tondaligan in Dagupan City on Monday. Read the story here: <a href="http://f.inq.ph/LWKjVZ5">http://f.inq.ph/LWKjVZ5</a></p> <p>Photo via Ray B. Zambrano</p>
30	Robredo calls for probe into drug-related extrajudicial killings	July 12, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	193	35	91	<p>Vice president Leni Robredo issued a statement regarding drug-related extrajudicial killings. Read: <a href="http://f.inq.ph/9MnQOKF">http://f.inq.ph/9MnQOKF</a></p>
31	INQUIRER.net	July 28, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	683	21	14	<p>LOOK: Philippine National Police Police Security and Protection Group undergoes drug testing.   via PTV</p>

32	INQUIRER.net	July 20, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	593	43	48	<p><b>BATO DESTROYS "BATO" PNP chief</b> Police Director General Ronald "Bato" dela Rosa shows packs of seized shabu (methamphetamine hydrochloride) part of the P1.77 billion worth of illegal drugs that was destroyed by the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) at the Integrated Waste Management, Inc., Barangay Aguado, Trece Martirez, Cavite, July 14, 2016.</p> <p>Photo by <b>RAFFY LERMA/Philippine Daily Inquirer</b> #FromOurArchives frame.inquirer.net</p>
33	INQUIRER.net	July 21, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	986	62	133	<p><b>MEEK AS A LAMB</b> Convicted drug lord Herbert Colango is questioned by Philippine National Police Director General Ronald dela Rosa during the transfer to the PNP Special Action Force of the responsibility of guarding New Bilibid Prison in Muntinlupa City on Wednesday.</p> <p>Photo by <b>EDWIN BACASMAS/Philippine Daily Inquirer</b></p>
34	INQUIRER.net	July 25, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	6.4K	3.8K	1.6K	<p><b>EARLIER:</b> These teenagers held placards which promoted the legalization of marijuana rather than the usage of illegal drugs. Photo by Inquirer Volunteer Celine Amilhamja #SONADu30</p>



									More at: <a href="http://sona.inquirer.net">sona.inquirer.net</a>
35	INQUIRER.net	July 31, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	1.3K	83	85		<p><b>GUARDING TEDDY.</b> A member of the PNP-Special Action Force guards confiscated items found inside the New Bilibid Prisons in Muntinlupa City, including a pink stuffed bear that may have been used to carry drugs during Oplan Galugad, July 29, 2016. The operation is a bid to sweep clean the prison of drugs and other luxury items.</p> <p><b>MARIANNE BERMUDEZ/INQUIRER</b></p> <p><b>'TIPSTER' SLAIN</b> The body of Antonio Baginon, who reportedly helped the police locate drug suspects in his village, is carried by funeral home workers after he was shot dead by still unidentified men at his home in Bagong Silangan, Quezon City, early Monday.</p> <p>Photo by <b>NIÑO JESUS ORBETA/Philippine Daily Inquirer</b></p> <p><b>EARLIER:</b> President Rody Duterte names drug lords.</p> <p><b>LAMENTATION</b> A weeping Jennelyn Olaires hugs partner Michael Siaron, 30, a pedicab driver and alleged drug pusher, who was shot and killed by</p>
36	INQUIRER.net	July 12, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	242	69	55		
37	<b>WATCH:</b> President Rody Duterte reveals more information on ille...	July 7, 2016	Live video (146K views)	Oct. 2, 2018	7.5K	2K	2.1K		
38	<b>Church:</b> Thou shall not kill	July 24, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	10K	4.6K	1K		

39	INQUIRER.net	July 2, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	2.1K	219	176	<p>motorcycle-riding gunmen near Pasay Rotonda on Edsa. He was one of six killed in drug-related incidents in Pasay and Manila yesterday. RAFFY LERMA/INQUIRER</p> <p>READ:  <a href="http://inq.news/ThouShallNotKill">http://inq.news/ThouShallNotKill</a></p> <p>LOOK: Galy, brother of suspected drug lord Rowen "Yawa" Secretaria, showing off his Duterte baller behind bars.</p> <p>Galy surrendered to police and is currently detained at Carbon Police Station. Photo via Lito Tecson Cebu Daily News.</p> <p>LOOK: Members of the media undergo drug testing at police regional office 7 in Cebu City.</p>
40	INQUIRER.net	July 18, 2016	Photo	Oct. 2, 2018	566	37	36	<p>PNP chief Dela Rosa said after drug test in Cebu, he will also ask the other members of the media in Manila to undergo the test.</p>

## GMA News

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	AWOL cop killed in buy-bust ops in Manila	July 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	1.2K	41	27	Patay ang isang AWOL na pulis sa buy bust-operation ng pulisya sa Sampaloc, Maynila.
2	Six suspected drug pushers killed in separate incidents in Metro Manila	July 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	573	18	45	Patay ang anim na himihinalang drug suspect sa magkakahilaway na insidente sa Metro Manila.
3	REPLAY: PNP chief's press conference on Oplan Double Barrel Accomplishment	July 4, 2016	Video	Oct. 2, 2018	3.7K	92	28	Panoorin ang press conference ng Philippine National Police sa pangununa na ni PNP Chief Director General Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa kaugnay ng Oplan Double Barrel LIVESTREAM: <a href="http://gmane.ws/29oVdGd">http://gmane.ws/29oVdGd</a>
4	OVER 100 DRUG SUSPECTS KILLED: Human rights lawyer asks Duterte to stop 'nuclear explosion of violence'	July 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	6.7K	351	1.8K	Hiniiling kay Pangulong Rody Duterte ni Atty. Jose Manuel Diokno, national chairman ng Free Legal Assistance Group at nagmula sa pamilyang nagdusa sa ilalim ng diktadurang Marcos, na pigilan ang anyay "nuclear explosion of violence."
5	Three suspected drug pushers found dead in Bulacan garbage dump	July 29, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 2, 2018	503	31	17	Natagpuang patay ang tatlo umanong tulak ng droga sa Norzagaray, Bulacan.

6	PDEA clears Ongs in Samar drug trade	July 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	898	252	78	In a statement, Laurefel Gabales, PDEA Region 8 director, said his men, upon investigation, did not find evidence linking Northern Samar Rep. Edwin Ong and his uncle, Northern Samar Governor Jose Ong, to the illegal drug trade.
7	New PNP chief alarmed; 9 out of 2,405 cops test positive for drugs	July 4, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	58K	5.6K	2.4K	Naalarma ang bagong Philippine National Police Chief na si Director General Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa matapos na magpositibo ang siyam na pulis sa paggamit ng droga. #DU30First100Days
8	Five drug suspects killed in separate attacks in Quezon	July 4, 2016	Article	Oct. 2, 2018	863	27	41	Limang drug suspect ang napatay sa magkakahiwalay na pananambang sa Quezon mula Linggo hanggang kanina.

### ABS-CBN News

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Bizman allegedly on drug watchlist shot dead	July 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	611	104	26	This is the second shooting incident in Sto. Domingo this week, and the victims were allegedly involved in the illegal drug trade.

2	7 patay sa pamamarily sa Kamaynilaan	July 30, 2016	Video	Oct. 3, 2018	867	26	21	Pito ang patay sa magkakahiwalay na pamamarily sa lungsod ng Caloocan, Maynila at Malabon.
3	Nearly 2,000 drug suspects surrender in Ilocos Sur	July 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	2.9K	186	20	The drug suspects took their pledge of commitment, vowing to put an end to sale of narcotics in the province.
4	Tok, tok...bang, bang: The bloody war on drugs #2	July 24, 2016	Article Photos	Oct. 3, 2018	26K	1.9K	770	Pres. Rody Duterte said he would eradicate drugs and crime within 3 to 6 months. Now, barely a month into his term, some officials are calling the initial stage of the campaign a success.
5	Man helping in anti-illegal drug ops shot dead in QC	July 11, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	777	27	45	Authorities believe some groups are taking revenge due to the intensified anti-drug campaign of the police.
6	LOOK: Baguio cops inspect city jail for illegal drugs	July 27, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	4.4K	83	27	Most cells are holding inmates who were involved in the illegal drug trade.
7	16-year-old student killed in Baguio buy-bust	July 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	7.8K	556	602	The teenager was with a suspect in the Baguio City Anti-Illegal Drug Group's watch list when policemen held a sting operation.
8	WATCH: Shabu laboratory raided	July 5, 2016	Video (794K views)	Oct. 3, 2018	18K	10K	2K	KAPAPASOK LANG NA BALITA: Timba-timbang droga ang nadiskubre sa raid ng PDEA sa isang shabu laboratory sa Philamlife Village, Las Piñas City ngayong Martes. Dalawang Taiwanese "chemist" ang arestado, ulat ni Maan Macapagal, ABS-CBN

																News. Narito ang buong ulat: <a href="http://bit.ly/29nVgk6">http://bit.ly/29nVgk6</a>
9	9 out of 10 Metro Manila villages plagued by drugs: police	July 19, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	1.2K	23	46									The drug menace is thriving in nine out of 10 barangays in Metro Manila, the National Capital Region Police Office said
10	Lolo, patay sa pamamaril sa Mandaluyong	July 26, 2016	Video	Oct. 3, 2018	915	27	37									Patay ang isang lolo habang sugatan naman ang kanyang pinsan matapos pagbabarilin ng mga armadong lalaki sa loob ng kanilang bahay sa Mandaluyong.
11	2 patay sa umano'y summary execution sa Quiapo	July 3, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 3, 2018	789	22	49									Dakong alas-4 ng madaling araw nakita ang mga bangkay na nakabalot ng duct tape ang mukha.
12	6 arrested, P1.5M illegal drugs seized in Maguindanao	July 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	986	88	28									Authorities also recovered a gun, motorcycles, and various ammunition.
13	P3.5-M worth of shabu found in Leyte boarding house	July 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	5.7K	479	68									Authorities recovered over 400 grams of suspected shabu from a boarding house allegedly rented out by a drug pusher killed earlier this month by unidentified suspects in Leyte.
14	Mga bangkay ng umano'y tulak ng droga. natagpuan sa Tacloban	July 30, 2016	Video	Oct. 3, 2018	963	35	29									Tatlo sa mga biktima ang natagpuan malapit sa airport kung saan nagdaos ng misa si Pope Francis noong isang taon.
15	5 patay, 1 kritikal sa pamamaril sa Malabon	July 21, 2016	Video	Oct. 3, 2018	630	26	71									Pinaulanan ng bala ang isang tirahan sa Malabon City dahil umano sa droga.
16	7 drug suspects arrested in Manila during downpour	July 8, 2016	Videos Article	Oct. 3, 2018	964	34	31									One of the suspects denied involvement in the drug trade and

											added he was suffering from stage 3 cancer.
17	VACC gives 'benefit of the doubt' on drug operations	July 18, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	469	6	58				VACC founding Chairman Dante Jimenez said given that the new administration has only been in power for two weeks, the war on drugs doesn't show enough results yet.
18	Seized: Shabu, ecstasy, acetone, chloroform, muriatic acid	July 26, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	1.5K	77	34				The PNP had hauled a fairly bountiful harvest from its anti-drug war from January 2010 to June 2016.
19	Top 5 drug pusher ng Masambong, patay sa engkwentro	July 19, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 3, 2018	1.8K	59	76				Naaktuhan umano ng mga pulis ang suspek habang nagtatapon ng droga sa inidoro sa loob ng kanyang bahay.
20	MAP, CHARTS: The Death Toll of the War on Drugs	July 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	388	17	82				Check out the death toll of the war on drugs down to the local level in these interactive charts.
21	More rehab facilities sought for drug users	July 15, 2016	Video	Oct. 3, 2018	932	42	22				The health department plans to put up more rehabilitation facilities.
22	Barangay treasurer, husband arrested; cops find drugs in house	July 27, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	1.6K	40	31				Police arrested a couple after P40,000 worth of suspected shabu was recovered from their home in Cotabato City.
23	Drug users who surrender not yet off the hook: Aguirre	July 1, 2016	Article	Oct. 3, 2018	1K	18	23				Aguirre said they will be investigated so that they can point to the ones behind the illegal drugs trade that is rampant all over the country.
24	WATCH: Duterte to drug suspects: Church, rights groups can't save you	July 25, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 4, 2018	548	32	49				According to the ABS-CBN Investigative and Research Group, 579 people have been killed in anti-drug operations from May 10 to June 25. #Du30SONA2016

25	WATCH: PNP chief Director General Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa talks to 4 Chinese nationals found inside the shabu lab in Valenzuela City.   Video by Maan Macapagal, ABS-CBN News   FULL STORY: <a href="http://bit.ly/29ZpIWY">http://bit.ly/29ZpIWY</a>	July 22, 2016	Video (666K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	11K	4.6K	1.8K		
26	ABS-CBN News   Latest Philippine Headlines, Breaking News, Video, Analysis, Features	July 16, 2016	Photo	Oct. 4, 2018	5.2K	721	564		LOOK: President Duterte meets Cebuano-Chinese businessman Peter Lim, one of the alleged top drug lords in the triad involved in illegal drug operations in the Philippines.   via Dexter Ganibe, DZMM Teleradyo  Full story to follow at <a href="http://news.abs-cbn.com">news.abs-cbn.com</a>

## News5

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Sen. Lacson, naniniwalang may basehan ang rebelasyon ni Pres. Duterte tungkol sa 5 heneral	July 7, 2016	Video (54K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.3K	448	101	



2	News5 Everywhere - DE LIMA, PAIMBESTIGAHAN ANG SUNUD-SUNOD NA PAGPATAY SA MGA SUSPEK SA DROGA	July 8, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	3.1K	687	2.9K	Tingin ng senadora, bagama't may iba na talagang nanlaban, may ilang kaso raw na may senyales ng summary execution.
3	News5 Everywhere - 3 SA 5 HENERAL NA DAWIT UMANO SA DROGA, HAHARAP KAY PNP CHIEF DELA ROSA	July 6, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.4K	125	53	Humrap na kay PNP Chief Ronal "Bato" Dela Rosa ang tatlo sa limang heneral na dawit umano sa iligal na droga.
4	News5 Everywhere - HIGIT 60 NA SANGKOT SA ILIGAL NA DROGA, SUMUKO, NANUMPA SA MGA PULIS SA BULACAN	July 5, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1K	156	35	10 notoryus na drug pusher kalaboso sa magkakahitwalay na operasyon sa Olongapo at Aurora. Kasabay nito, sumuko ang higit ang 60 na sangkot sa iligal na droga sa Hagonoy, Bulacan.
5	News5 Everywhere - DILG SEC. SUENO, PLANONG BUMUO NG GRUPO SA MGA BRGY. NA LALABAN SA DROGA	July 5, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.3K	169	67	Plano ni DILG Sec. Ismael Sueno na palakasin ang mga barangay para masugpo ang droga at kriminalidad.
6	News5 Everywhere - MGA PULIS SA DAVAO DEL NORTE, HINAHARANA ANG MGA DRUG PUSHER, USER PARA SUMUKO	July 11, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.6K	285	38	Higit 1,000 suspek sa iligal na droga sumuko matapos haranahin ng mga pulis sa Davao Del Norte.
7	Ilang opisyal ng gobyerno, gumamit ng drug money noong eleksyon ayon kay PNP Chief Dela Rosa	July 12, 2016	Video (96K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.5K	662	63	

8	News5 Everywhere - 2 LALAKI, PATAY SA BUY-BUST OPERATION SA QUIAPO	July 5, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	785	92	58	Patay sa pamamailalim ang dalawang lalaki sa Quiapo na sangkot sa ilegal na droga.
9	Explainer   Top 5 drug-infested regions	July 8, 2016	Video (206K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.5K	1.7K	98	
10	93 drug pusher at user, naaresto ng QCPD	July 9, 2016	Video (111K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.2K	564	65	
11	News5 Everywhere - PETER LIM, HUMARAP KAY PRES. DUTERTE PARA LINISIN ANG PANGALAN	July 18, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	162	8	48	Kumalat sa social media ang litrato nina Pres. Duterte at ng tinukoy niyang drug lord na si Peter Lim. Ayon sa nag-post, magkumpare raw ang dalawa. Lumabas ito kasunod ng pagpupulong ng Pangulo at ni Lim sa PDEA sa Davao.
12	VP Robredo, nanawagan ng imbestigasyon kaugnay ng pagdami ng extrajudicial killings	July 20, 2016	Video (50K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.7K	222	1.3K	
13	News5 Everywhere - SOLGEN CALIDA, BINIRA ANG PANAWAGANG IMBESTIGASYON NI DE LIMA	July 12, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1K	89	60	Nangako si Solicitor General Jose Calida na ipagtanggol ang mga pulis na paimebestigahan dahil sa sunud-sunod na pagkamatay ng mga suspek sa ilegal na droga.
14	News5 Everywhere - H2O   ADIK NA TANOD	July 21, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	505	102	42	Alamin ang plano ng lokal na pamahalaan ng QC sa higit na 170 na tanod na nagpositibo sa paggamit ng ilegal na droga sa panayam kat Vice Mayor Joy Belmonte.

15	Pusher na susuko na sana sa mga otoridad, itinumba umano ng sangkot din sa droga	July 15, 2016	Video (221K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	2K	1.1K	613	
16	News5 Everywhere - 5 PATAY MATAPOS TAMBANGAN NG 2 RIDING-IN-TANDEM SA CALOOCAN	July 20, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	123	8	11	Ang ilan sa mga biktima, notoryus umanong tulak ng iligal na droga.
17	News5 Everywhere - LALAKI NA BALOT NG PACKAGING ANG MUKHA, KAMAY, NATAGPUAN SA PASIG	July 19, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	232	51	27	Natagpuan ang isang bangkay sa Kalawaan, Pasig kaninang madaling araw. Balot ang mukha at kamay nito ng packaging na biktima raw ng summary execution.
18	NUPL, nanawagan sa administrasyon na maaaring matigil ang droga nang di kinakailangang pumatay ng tao	July 5, 2016	Video (141K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1K	313	1.1K	
19	News5 Everywhere - PULIS, 2 LALAKI, PATAY MATAPOS UMANONG MANLABAN SA BUY-BUST OPERATION SA TAGUIG	July 28, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	453	73	15	Patay ang tatlong lalaki matapos umanong manlaban sa drug buy-bust operation sa Taguig. Kasama rito ang isang aktibong pulis na rumaraket daw bilang drug dealer.
20	Isang isla na pag-aari ng gobyerno, balak gawing rehabilitation sanctuary para sa mga sumukong drug dependents	July 14, 2016	Video (37K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.2K	204	57	
21	88 pulis, sinibak mula sa 2 Anti-Illegal Drugs units ng QCPD	July 28, 2016	Video (215K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	3.2K	1.4K	178	

22	News5 Everywhere - REAKSYON   MGA OPERASYON KONTRA DROGA, BINABALOT NG KONTROBERSYA PART (1/2)	July 26, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	921	68	44	Sa #ReAksyonTV5, nanindigan si PNP Chief Ronald Dela Rosa na lehitimo ang drug operations ng pulisya sa mga nanlaban at napatay sa sangkot sa iligal na droga.
23	PAO: Mga pulis na sangkot sa pagkamatay ng drug suspects, dapat dumaan pa rin sa imbestigasyon	July 18, 2016	Video (64K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1K	364	155	
24	News5 Everywhere - HIGIT 100 DRUG PUSHERS, USERS NA SUMUKO, NANUMPA SA HARAP NG MGA PULIS	July 4, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.8K	321	34	Ilang mga sangkot sa iligal na droga, sumuko at nanumpa sa mga pulis. Ang mga umaming sangkot sa droga, nanawagan sa mga supplier na sumuko na.
25	News5 Everywhere - MGA PULIS, BINIGYAN NG BASBAS NI DIGONG NA PATAYIN ANG MANLALABAN NA KRIMINAL	July 1, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.1K	128	13	Handa raw si Pangulong Duterte na mamatay para sa mga pulis na tutupad sa kanilang tungkulin. Pero babala ng Pangulo, wala siyang pasensya sa mga alagad ng batas na tiwali at sangkot sa droga.
26	Chief Supt. Tinio, handa raw harapin ang imbestigasyon matapos pangalanan ni Duterte na sangkot sa droga	July 5, 2016	Video (267K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	2.4K	646	502	
27	Panelo, binatikos ang plano ni Sen. De Lima na imbestigasyon sa mga napatay na drug suspects	July 12, 2016	Video (14K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	931	114	99	

28	News5 Everywhere - LALAKING ADIK UMANO SA COUGH SYRUP, PATAY SA PANANAMBANG SA CALOOCAN	July 14, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	322	73	17	Dalawa ang patay sa magkahiwalay na pamamariil sa Caloocan. Ang isa, kilala umanong tulak ng droga habang ang isa naman ay adik daw sa cough syrup.
29	Malacañang, planong imbestigahan ang lahat ng LGU officials sa mga lugar na mataas ang kaso ng drug abuse	July 12, 2016	Video (79K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	2.7K	968	126	
30	Resolusyon para imbestigahan ang drug killings sa Kamara, ibinasura	July 18, 2016	Video (223K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	5.4K	1.9K	778	
31	Lalaking naka-unipormeng pulis, patay nang matagpuan sa Bulacan	July 7, 2016	Video (58K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	830	365	108	
32	PNP: 'We will not slow down. Momentum is on our side'	July 9, 2016	Video (195K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.6K	517	29	
33	Chinese national, nahulihan ng P6M na halaga ng hinihinalang shabu sa Cebu	July 21, 2016	Video (42K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	1.1K	348	164	
34	Sinasabing drug lord na si Peter Lim, humarap na sa NBI	July 22, 2016	Video (29K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	307	69	38	
35	News5 Everywhere - MGA PULIS, KANYA-KANYANG GIMIK PARA MAPASUKO ANG MGA DRUG PUSHER, USER	July 18, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1K	120	26	Ang ilang mga sumuko na adik at pusher, pinag-zumba habang ang iba naman ay pinakanta pa kasama ang mga pulis.

36	News5 Everywhere - MGA PULIS, KANYA-KANYANG GIMIK PARA MAPASUKO ANG MGA DRUG PUSHER, USER	July 18, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1K	120	26	Ang ilang mga sumuko na adik at pusher, pinag-zumba habang ang iba naman ay pinakanta pa kasama ang mga pulis.
37	Agarang pag-sira sa iligal na droga, ipatutupad ni PNP Chief Dela Rosa	July 15, 2016	Video (9.6K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	478	70	25	
38	PNP Chief 'Bato,' kinumpirmang may sumuko ng drug personalities kaninang hapon	July 1, 2016	Video (396K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	6.6K	2.2K	311	
39	Pres. Duterte, paitimbestigahan ang mga lokal na pamahalaan kaugnay ng iligal na droga	July 13, 2016	Video (105K video)	Oct. 4, 2018	1K	476	84	
40	Dela Rosa, di rin daw maiwasan na maalarma sa pagkakatay sa ilang suspek	July 15, 2016	Video (41K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	492	62	34	
41	News5 Everywhere - AWOL NA PULIS, PATAY MATAPOS MANLABAN SA BUY-BUST OPERATION SA MAYNILA	July 28, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	888	116	25	Patay ang isang pulis matapos manlaban sa drug operation sa Maynila. Nakahalata raw ang suspek kaya agad itong nagpapatok sa mga otoridad.
42	Datos ng mga napapatay at nahuhuli sa kampanya kontra iligal na droga, alamin	July 15, 2016	Video (27K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	546	172	94	
43	News5 Everywhere - EXCLUSIVE   KAKULANGAN NG REHAB CENTER, MAS LALALA DAHIL SA RAMI NG SUMUSUKO	July 22, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	320	45	51	Bago pa man ang sunud-sunod na pagsuko ng drug suspects, siksikan na ang mga rehab center sa bansa. Kaya ang problema sa kakulangan ng pasilidad, lalo pang lumala.

44	News5 Everywhere - TALAKAYAN   IMBESTIGASYON SA MGA HENERAL NA SANGKOT UMANO SA DROGA	July 7, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	856	169	73	Alamin ang mga proseso at hakbang na gagawin para sa imbestigasyon ng mga heneral na sangkot umano sa droga sa panayam kay Atty. Rogelio Casurao, Vice Chairman at Executive Officer ng NAPOLCOM.
45	News5 Everywhere - AABOT SA P1.7B HALAGA NG ILIGAL NA DROGA, SINIRA NG MGA OTORIDAD	July 15, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	673	48	20	Pagpapakita raw ito na walang intensyong i-recycle ang mga nasabat na droga, ayon kay PNP Chief Dela Rosa.
46	News5 Everywhere - 2 NOTORYUS UMANONG DRUG PUSHER, NAPATAY SA QC	July 19, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	389	48	44	Patay ang dalawang notoryus umano na drug pusher sa Quezon City. Ang isa sa mga biktima, hindi raw nanlaban pero pinatay pa rin daw.
47	News5 Everywhere - ILANG LEADER SA MGA SELDA SA BILIBID, NAKIPAGTULUNGAN SA OPLAN GALUGAD NG SAF	July 27, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	4.7K	1.3K	131	Ang ilang preso, itinuro pa raw kung saan nakatago ang ilang droga.
48	News5 Everywhere - H2O   REHAB PARA SA DRUG SUSPECTS	July 19, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	286	38	11	Ano nga bang plano ng gobyerno sa mga sumuko? Alamin sa panayam kay SSupt. Dionardo Carlos, spokesperson ng PNP.
49	News5 Everywhere - 3 HENERAL NA NADADAWIT SA DROGA, HUMARAP SA NAPOLCOM	July 7, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1K	82	76	Sa harap nito, nanindigan ang Palasyo na walang trial by publicity na nangyayari at binibigyan ng due process ang mga inaakusahan.

50	News5 Everywhere - PULIS NA SANGKOT SA DROGA, PATAY MATAPOS MANLABAN SA MGA KABARO	July 26, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	960	100	50	Suspek daw ang pulis sa pag-recycle ng mga nakukumpiskang shabu.
51	Mga mayor na sangkot umano sa iligal na droga, tutukuyin daw ni Pangulong Duterte	July 11, 2016	Video (444K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	7K	3.9K	665	
52	Ret. Gen. Loot, ipinakita ang mga natanggap na medalya sa paglaban sa droga kasunod ng pagdawit sa kanya bilang protektor daw ng drug lord	July 7, 2016	Video (336K views)	Oct. 4, 2018	2.3K	1K	2.1K	
53	News5 Everywhere - PRES. DUTERTE, IMINUNGKAHING GAWING REHAB CENTERS ANG MGA KAMPO NG MILITAR	July 28, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	167	2	3	Ito raw ay para masigurong hindi na sila makapambiktima pa.
54	News5 Everywhere - REAKSYON   OPERASYON NG PULISYA SA PAGSUGPO SA ILIGAL NG DROGA PART (2/2)	July 29, 2016		Oct. 4, 2018	1.3K	99	27	PNP Chief Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa, kumpiyansang maisasakatuparan ang pagsugpo sa iligal na droga sa loob ng anim na buwan.
55	WATCH   PNP Chief Dela Rosa kay Jaybee Sebastian: 'Ikaw pala siga dito?' Nakaharap na ni PNP Chief Bato Dela Rosa ang mayor sa Bilibid	July 20, 2016	Video (2M views)	Oct. 4, 2018	13K	11K	1.3K	



	at bigtime drug lord na si Jaybee Sebastian. Panoorin.											
56	News5 Everywhere - 4 DRUG SUSPECTS, PATAY SA MAGKAKAHIWALAY NG OPERASYON SA QC	July 26, 2016			Oct. 4, 2018	273	19	13				Lahat sila, hinihinalang sangkot sa iligal na droga.
57	News5 Everywhere - 5 PATAY SA MAGKAKAHIWALAY NA DRUG BUY-BUST OPERATION SA BATAAN	July 21, 2016			Oct. 4, 2018	1.1K	228	36				Patay ang limang hinihinalang drug pusher matapos manlaban sa mga pulis sa Bataan.
58	News5 Everywhere - BILANG NG NAPATAY NA SANGKOT UMANO SA DROGA, HALOS 200 NA	July 15, 2016			Oct. 4, 2018	236	16	65				Ayon sa huling tala ng PNP, mula May 10 2016, aabot sa halos 200 na ang napatay na sangkot umano sa iligal na droga. PNP Chief Dela Rosa, nababahala na sa dami ng napatay.
59	News5 Everywhere - 2 AWOL NA PULIS, PATAY SA MAGKAKAHIWALAY NA ANTI-DRUG OPS NG PNP	July 28, 2016			Oct. 4, 2018	362	44	8				Isa sa kanila, supplier pa umano ng droga sa ilang lugar sa Metro Manila.
60	WATCH   PNP Chief Dela Rosa kay Herbert Colangco: 'Ikaw yung kumakanta?' Nakaharap na ni PNP Chief Bato Dela Rosa ang recording artist sa Billboard at bigtime drug lord na si Herbert Colangco. Panoorin.	July 20, 2016		Video (1.8M views)	Oct. 4, 2018	13K	13K	2.5K				

## Appendix C. Database of Policy-Related Contents Posted by Rappler, Inquirer.net, GMA News, ABS-CBN News, and News5 on their Facebook Pages in August 2016

### Rappler

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	"Day of Action" against killings, threats of Martial Law	Aug. 11, 2016	Photos	Oct. 4, 2018	4.6K	2K	3.4K	Youth and student groups held protest actions at the University of the Philippines Diliman as part of a nationwide "Day of Action" against the spate of extrajudicial killings in relation to the Duterte administration's #WarOnDrugs and of the recent martial law pronouncements.
2	Ligao City's female police chief is 'top performer' in Bicol anti-drug campaign	Aug. 29, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	1K	249	14	Photo by Joel Liporada Supelana said the youngest drug user in their city is 17 years old, while the oldest is 80 years old.
3	Duterte responds to Sereno's concern over his 'drug' list	Aug. 9, 2016	Video (1.1M views)	Oct. 5, 2018	12K	11K	1.5K	President Rodrigo Duterte reacted to Chief Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno's concern over his list of judges and other public officials allegedly linked to the drug trade, saying it's his job to inform the public of such matters. Full story: <a href="http://bit.ly/2aHKpAJ">http://bit.ly/2aHKpAJ</a>

4	War on drugs' begins in BGC, Makati bars	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	953	55	16	Several clubs and bars based in Makati and Taguig inked the deal with police as a show of “support” for the police force’s #WarOnDrugs.
5	Gov't to launch public service ads vs illegal drugs	Aug. 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	859	54	36	The Philippine government steps up its anti-illegal drug efforts with public service announcement videos.
6	Inside the brain of a drug user	Aug. 20, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	841	496	60	According to the health department, recovery from drug addiction can be a long-term process that may require multiple episodes of treatment. #WarOnDrugs
7	Rowena Tiamson: Graduating honor student, choir member – not a drug pusher	Aug. 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	698	144	75	She was smart, she was talented, and she was not supposed to be part of the “collateral damage” of the intense war against drugs in the Philippines.
8	Kids unsafe in society that condones violence – female LP lawmakers	Aug. 16, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	568	48	221	Five female legislators from the Liberal Party urged the House of Representatives to investigate the spike of apparent summary executions. #WarOnDrugs
9	SC orders probe on judges named in Duterte's drug list	Aug. 9, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	549	54	54	The Supreme Court has ordered a fact-finding investigation on the judges earlier accused by President Rody Duterte of being involved in the illegal drug trade.
10	War on Drugs: Phase 2 targets drug lords – Dela Rosa	Aug. 31, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	546	43	40	The Philippine National Police (PNP) – and other law enforcement agencies – are moving onto “Phase 2” of the so-called war on drugs.
11	PH 'war on drugs' should draw lessons from other countries	Aug. 10, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 4, 2018	472	72	178	"Bringing in method to this madness: Learning from the experience of other countries." #IMHO

12	An empathic minority	Aug. 12, 2016	Opinion piece	Oct. 4, 2018	460	147	162	"We are creating a society devoid of empathy, a mass of people who cannot see that they themselves could be killed or lose loved ones this way." – Shakira Sison #IMHO
13	Dela Rosa to Senate witnesses vs cops: Stay in the 'White House'	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	431	18	48	PNP chief Ronald dela Rosa offered his official residence in Camp Crame as temporary shelter for grieving relatives of those allegedly killed in the government's #WarOnDrugs.
14	Rehab centers shortage: 100 years to treat drug surrenderers – Recto	Aug. 10, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	417	36	216	Senator Ralph Recto urges for the expansion of the country's drug rehabilitation system, given the Duterte administration's crackdown on drugs.
15	Duterte names officials linked to drugs	Aug. 7, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	395	84	15	TOP STORY: Linked to drugs? President Rody Duterte reveals names of officials. #WarOnDrugs
16	Philippines to UN: Duterte not committing crime	Aug. 19, 2016	Video (21K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	392	67	218	The Philippine government criticizes as "baseless and reckless" a United Nations statement that President Rody Duterte's war on illegal drugs amounted to incitement to violence and killing, a crime under international law. More on the 6PM wRap: <a href="http://bit.ly/2bCxj8r">http://bit.ly/2bCxj8r</a>
17	De Lima: Cop killing suspect about to surrender 'clearly a crime'	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	359	22	167	Senator Leila de Lima says the recent killing of a drug suspect in Pasay City while signifying intent to surrender is a 'clear criminal act. #WarOnDrugs
18	DJ Karen Bordador, boyfriend arrested in drug operation	Aug. 15, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	350	42	50	UPDATED. In a report, Radio DJ Karen Bordador can be heard saying: "Wala po akong ginaga wa... bumisita lang ako."

19	Eastern Visayas lawyers condemn killing of Rogelio Bato Jr	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	327	28	53	Rogelio Bato, Jr. was the legal counsel of the embattled Albuera, Leyte mayor Rolando Espinosa. Bato and a high school student were shot dead by unidentified gunmen.
20	PNP to talk to club and bar owners in Makati, Taguig in its wa...	Aug. 11, 2016	Video (69K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	320	53	28	Philippine National Police to talk to Makati, Taguig bar owners in its war against illegal drugs. Full video: <a href="http://bit.ly/2aOpV9k">http://bit.ly/2aOpV9k</a>
21	FACT CHECK: One judge in Duterte list already dead for 8 years	Aug. 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	318	35	68	Do you have information to correct or add to what's on the Duterte list? Rapppler is crowdsourcing information on the individuals on Duterte's list. Comment below or email <a href="mailto:investigative@rapppler.com">investigative@rapppler.com</a> for confidential information. Or simply tag @rappplerdotcom on Twitter.
22	UNODC raises concern over drug-related killings in PH	Aug. 4, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	254	40	106	The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime has expressed concern on the rise of killings of suspected drug personalities in the Philippines.
23	Duterte to UN expert: 'Let's have a debate'	Aug. 22, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 4, 2018	254	27	13	"Let him talk to me and let him face me with hard facts. Not newspaper clippings....Let's have a debate," he said.
24	US expresses concern on PH extrajudicial killings	Aug. 9, 2016	Video (58K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	249	116	118	The United States expresses concern on the rising number of extrajudicial killings in the Philippines. Full video here: <a href="http://bit.ly/2b4ByMO">http://bit.ly/2b4ByMO</a>
25	The Duterte list: Judges, mayors, police officials linked to drugs	Aug. 7, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	232	28	51	A careful check, however, revealed that information has not been sufficiently verified. Among others, a judge whose

26	Sereno expresses concern over Duterte drugs list	Aug. 8, 2016	Video (81K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	216	41	61	name was included in the list, has already been dead since 2008.
27	Duterte matrix claims Pangasiman's Espino into prison drug trade	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	206	51	24	Chief Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno writes a letter to President Rody Duterte Monday expressing concern over his list of judges, local government officials, policemen, and soldiers allegedly involved in drugs. More on the 6PM wRap: <a href="http://bit.ly/2aFSPbJ">http://bit.ly/2aFSPbJ</a>
28	AFP: 4 soldiers in Duterte list no longer in service	Aug. 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	201	29	67	President Rodrigo Duterte showed a copy of his "Muntinlupa Connection" matrix early this morning. #WarOnDrugs
29	PH to US: We don't condone unlawful killings	Aug. 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	192	90	24	4 AFP personnel mentioned in the list of officials supposedly involved in the illegal drug trade are no longer with the military. #WarOnDrugs
30	MAP: Are the drug-related killings related to poverty, crime rate?	Aug. 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	188	20	63	The Duterte administration issued a statement against "unlawful" killings after the United States said it is "concerned" about recent extrajudicial killings in the Philippines.
31	SC rejects resignation of judge on drug list	Aug. 16, 2016	Video (55K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	161	28	44	The government's war against drugs continues, with the number of reported drug-related killings increasing by the day.

32	Duterte hits UN for 'stupid proposition' vs drugs	Aug. 18, 2016	Videos Article	Oct. 4, 2018	149	27	21	President Duterte: "Here comes the UN, easily swayed and coming on a very stupid proposition."
33	LIST: Suspected drug lords killed under Duterte gov't	Aug. 31, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	147	8	16	This list will be constantly updated as the #WarOnDrugs continues.
34	WATCH: Leila de Lima's privilege speech on extrajudicial killings	Aug. 2, 2016	Video	Oct. 5, 2018	145	15	24	WATCH LIVE: Senator Leila de Lima gives a privilege speech on extrajudicial killings.
35	Rappler	Aug. 11, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2018	140	22	50	Youth and student groups held protest actions at the University of Santo Tomas as part of a nationwide "Day of Action" against the spate of extrajudicial killings in relation to the Duterte administration's #WarOnDrugs and of the recent martial law pronouncements.
36	Duterte & UN, war on illegal drugs, Tokyo 2020   6PM wRap	Aug. 22, 2016	Video	Oct. 4, 2018	117	8	14	Photo by Rappler Today on Rappler: *Yasay: PH is not leaving the UN *Dela Rosa relieves Antipolo cops linked to illegal drugs *Sison, Tiamzons reunite in Oslo after 30 years *Duterte's directive to vacate post only applicable to Aquino appointees *Abe closes Rio Olympics in geekiest way possible

37	UNODC condemns extrajudicial killings in PH	Aug. 4, 2016	Video (32K views)	Oct. 5, 2018	115	21	32	Watch #TheWRap here! UNODC - United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime condemns extrajudicial killings in the Philippines. Full video here: <a href="http://bit.ly/2auSyrQ">http://bit.ly/2auSyrQ</a>
38	The Drug War: Safe for the good	Aug. 22, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 4, 2018	109	13	20	Josephine says there were people who saw what happened. She says they know who killed Jerome.  She does not expect them to speak – they are afraid, and they would be right to be afraid. They might be next.
39	Summary killings under Duterte admin 'unprecedented' – CHR	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	103	17	58	CHR: "Perhaps during the Martial Law period, there might have been a significant amount of cases, but this nature or magnitude, none."
40	PH rejects 'interference' of UN in 'household affairs'	Aug. 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	100	15	14	It was Duterte's own chief legal counsel, Salvador Panelo, who challenged UN experts to probe the killings.
41	Duterte offers P2-M bounty for cops into drug trade	Aug. 30, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	66	4	9	To his audience of Cabinet secretaries, diplomats, soldiers, and military retirees, he joked, "Ipagbili niyo na kabigan niyo (Sell out your friends)."
42	Epicenters of fatalities in the war on drugs	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	66	11	6	Metro Manila has the highest number of fatalities, followed by Cebu, Bulacan, Quezon, and Pangasinan. Bulacan, Zambales and parts of Metro Manila also stand out due to the number of fatalities linked to police operations.



														Read more about the statistics on #WarOnDrugs:
43	Inside a drug den	Aug. 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 4, 2018	42	11	16							What is it like inside a drug den? Find out here:
44	Part 2: The dangers of the Dangerous Drugs Act	Aug. 29, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	42	7	16							“The prosecution will tell the police, you weakened the evidence. The law enforcement would tell prosecution that they performed magic that’s why the case was dismissed.”
45	Rappler	Aug. 10, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2018	9	0	5							
46	Rappler	Aug. 10, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2018	7	0	6							

### Inquirer.net

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Duterte threatened to pull PH out of UN	Aug. 22, 2016		Oct. 5, 2018	5.9K	829	871	Pres. Rody Duterte: “Maybe we’ll just have to decide to separate from the United Nations. If you are that rude, son of a bitch, then we’ll just leave you.”
2	DJ Karen Bordador didn’t show signs of drug ties at work—RX 93.1	Aug. 18, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	262	13	128	RX 93.1 said it was not condoning drug use by any of its staff and condemned the use of illegal substances.

3	Jailed DJ won't sign drug test papers	Aug. 17, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	626	88	37	This is why Karen Bordador doesn't want to sign:
4	1,800 dead in antidrug war not genocide, says Duterte	Aug. 30, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	391	34	46	Pres. Rody Duterte: "Genocide? Who did I kill? I did not kill any child... I'm fighting... criminals."
5	Duterte popularity starts to erode	Aug. 3, 2016		Oct. 5, 2018	415	60	241	ANALYSIS: "The big difference between Mr. Duterte and his role models is that they did not rule with a vow to kill people suspected of being criminals and drug lords."
6	SC panel to probe rights abuses	Aug. 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	86	4	24	The Supreme Court has created a panel to look into the rising cases of human rights abuses across the country.
7	House sets own probe into killings	Aug. 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	128	9	25	There will be one for the House, and one for the Senate.
8	Isabela City cop nabbed for peddling shabu	Aug. 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	715	184	21	A drug peddler in blue.
9	More witnesses to face Senate as probe on summary killings resumes	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	187	13	82	Watch the livestream of today's Senate inquiry here: <a href="https://fb.com/inquireidotnet">fb.com/inquireidotnet</a>
10	Subic 'drug user' killed inside own home	Aug. 16, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	395	91	54	He was among the 1,450 confessed drug dependents who surrendered to authorities in Subic, Zambales under the government's Oplan Tokhang.
11	Quezon solon's brother, nephew on drug list yield to clear names	Aug. 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	597	67	73	Quezon Rep. Vicente Alcala took his younger brother, Cerilo "Athe!" Alcala, and his nephew, Sajid, Cerilo's son, to

																				the Lucena City police station on Sunday so they can clear their names.
12	Unemployed man on drug watch list killed in Ecija town	Aug. 1, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	147	5	15													He was on a local drug watch list.
13	Int'l rights group: Duterte's drug war packs jails to 'breaking point'	Aug. 3, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 5, 2018	401	74	126													The Human Rights Watch said that the Duterte administration should address the deplorable conditions of the country's jails.
14	Drug suspect shot dead for trying to stab PDEA exec	Aug. 19, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	363	40	56													The detainee allegedly tried to stab the agency's deputy regional director with a roof nail.
15	Duterte tells critics: Count cops, soldiers killed in drug war, too	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	610	190	43													President Rody Duterte: "I am losing two policemen or soldiers a day because of the drug war."
16	Cops to visit, talk to Leyte mayor, son into surrendering	Aug. 1, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	192	26	16													"Otherwise, an order of shoot on sight will be given if they resist and endanger the lives of arresting police officers."
17	Poe wants independent leadership of PNP internal affairs service	Aug. 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	404	34	49													Sen. Grace Poe pointed out the need for a "balancing act" in that the police force should also be subject to an independent investigation.
18	Alvarez refers probe on Espino to House committee	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	161	10	27													Speaker Pantaleon Alvarez said he has yet to talk to the congressman who was linked by President Rodrigo Duterte to be in cahoots with Senator Leila De Lima in the drug trade inside the National Bilibid Prison.

19	Cops linked to drugs, slays	Aug. 23, 2016				123	19	49	TOP STORY: More than half of 1,799 killings blamed on vigilantes.
20	'Inutile' Aurora cop chief sacked	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	380	70	23	It's due to his alleged dismal performance in the Duterte administration's war on drugs.	
21	Duterte, Palace defend shoot-to-kill order	Aug. 5, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	490	34	18	Pres. Rody Duterte guaranteed to answer for state forces involved in shooting incidents related to their duty in his administration's war against drugs.	
22	Lapu-Lapu cop strongly denied ties to drugs – police official	Aug. 7, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	611	39	53	SPO2 Jomar Ybañez was securing the triathletes in Cebu when he learned that he was among those named by President Rodrigo Duterte as “drug trafficking protectors.”	
23	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 20, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2018	2.1K	666	799	The Killing Continues... By Raffy Lerma - August 18, 2016 The family of Paul Lester Lorenzo mourn after he was killed, along with Danny Laurente, in an alleged drug buy-bust operation by the police in Pandacan, Manila on August 17, 2016.	
24	CHR lacks personnel to probe extrajudicial killings	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	706	79	358	CHR lacks personnel to probe extrajudicial killings <a href="http://f.inq.ph/FUCzAST">http://f.inq.ph/FUCzAST</a>	
25	Palace to Reds: Drug war propeople	Aug. 15, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	645	31	99	Palace to Reds: Drug war propeople	
26	Religious hit silence on drug deaths	Aug. 26, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	170	60	65	“Where good men are silent, evil prospers.”	

27	Only 22 cases on drug deaths filed, says PNP	Aug. 19, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 5, 2018	592	86	93	Only 22 cases on drug deaths filed, says PNP <a href="http://f.inq.ph/umWGyKz">http://f.inq.ph/umWGyKz</a>
28	It's mistake, ex-solon says on being linked by Rody to drugs	Aug. 7, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2018	499	37	80	"I have no idea on what evidence or in what capacity my inclusion [on] the list rests."
29	No shortcut in Duterte war on drugs—Palace	Aug. 11, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 5, 2018	111	5	11	No cutting of corners, assured Malacañang.
30	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 7, 2016		Oct. 5, 2018	340	79	184	Lingayen-Dagupan Archbishop Socrates Villegas says enough.
31	Danao police station strafed after Barok bro's death	Aug. 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2019	377	83	20	From Cebu Daily News
32	Effective anti-drug drives focus on roots, not killing addicts	Aug. 17, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 5, 2020	382	86	163	Effective anti-drug drives focus on roots, not killing addicts
33	De Lima denounces summary execution	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2021	565	40	163	De Lima denounces summary execution <a href="http://f.inq.ph/dHyggIS">http://f.inq.ph/dHyggIS</a>
34	CHR: Extrajudicial killings in Duterte war on drugs 'unprecedented'	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2022	529	43	329	CHR chairperson Jose Luis "Chito" Gascon said the rising casualties at the height of President Rody Duterte's war on drugs is "unprecedented" since the commission was established in 1987.
35	Duterte threatens to take PH out of UN	Aug. 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2023	420	55	99	President Rody Duterte: "So take us out of your organization. You have done nothing. Where were you here the last time? Never. Except to criticize." #ICYMI

36	4 discharged, 1 dead AFP personnel on Duterte's drug list	Aug. 8, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2024	432	74	65	AFP said that four of its men mentioned by President Rodrigo Duterte who are allegedly linked to the illegal drugs trade have already been discharged from service.
37	CHR to Duterte: Where are charges?	Aug. 14, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2025	3.2K	636	1.5K	CHR to Duterte: Where are charges?
38	FULL TEXT: Sen. Leila de Lima privilege speech on drugs, killings	Aug. 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 5, 2026	171	15	41	Read Senator Leila de Lima's privilege speech at the Senate today. Also, tune in for her live interview here on INQUIRER.net.
39	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 24, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2027	1.2K	108	138	PNP chief Bato Dela Rosa at the Senate hearing on alleged extrajudicial killings.
40	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 8, 2016	Photo	Oct. 5, 2028	315	18	8	LOOK: PNP Chief Ronald "Bato" Dela Rosa talking to some LGU officials allegedly involved in protecting drug lords. He is accompanied by OIC CIDG Chief Obusan and Dir. for Operations Gen. Magalong. via PTV
41	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 22, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	8K	647	186	Senator Miguel Zubiri's opening statement before the Senate hearing on alleged extrajudicial killings.
42	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 24, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	1.4K	250	1.1K	WAITING TO TESTIFY Their faces covered, witnesses, mostly relatives of suspects killed during an intensified police campaign against illegal drugs, wait for their appearance at a hearing on extrajudicial killings being conducted by the Senate committee on justice and human rights.

43	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 11, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	261	53	85	RAFFY LERMA/Philippine Daily Inquirer
44	President Rody Duterte press conference in Davao City - August...	Aug. 21, 2016	Live video (209K views)	Oct. 10, 2018	17K	2K	3.7K	Abuyog Penitentiary in Leyte attacked by CIDG, inmate with drug-related case involved in shooting spree dead. via DZIQ 990am RADYO INQUIRER REPLAY: President Rody Duterte talks about Senator Leila de Lima and her alleged lover and bagman; the United Nations; and the ongoing ceasefire with the Reds.
45	RadioInquirer990A M (@dzIQ990)   Twitter	Aug. 8, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	348	25	72	JUST IN: Chief Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno writes to Pres. Rody Duterte in connection with the seven judges allegedly linked to drugs.
46	WATCH: Policemen in the drug list of President Duterte got a verbal beating from a fuming mad PNP chief Dir. Gen. Ronald "Bato" De la Rosa when they surrendered to their commander Monday morning.	Aug. 8, 2016	Video (2.5M views)	Oct. 10, 2018	29K	38.6K	3.8K	
47	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 8, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	95	12	12	LOOK: Today's Inquirer front page. Sign up for the full issue <a href="#">inq.news/inqplus</a> #DrugWar #Marcos #Libingan

48	INQUIRER.net	Aug. 1, 2016	Photo	Oct. 10, 2018	128	9	45	45	
49	Widow tells Duterte: Kill drugs, not people	Aug. 1, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	213	45	81	81	Michael Siaron voted for Mr. Duterte in the May 9 presidential election, Olayres said.

### GMA News

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	REPLAY: Press briefing of PNP chief Bato dela Rosa	Aug. 2, 2016	Video	Oct. 10, 2018	1K	50	27	Muling balikan ang ginanap na press briefing ni PNP chief Roland dela Rosa kaugnay ng pagsuko ni Albuera, Leyte Mayor Rolando Espinosa na may kaugnayan umano sa ilegal na droga.
2	Bato dela Rosa to Kerwin Espinosa: Surrender or die	Aug. 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	8.3K	322	91	PNP chief Ronald Dela Rosa issued a warning to Kerwin Espinosa, linked to the illegal drug trade, to surrender or be killed if he resists arrest.
3	Two drug suspects killed in Pateros, Caloocan	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	466	9	59	Dalawang drug suspect ang napatay sa magkahiwalay na insidente sa Pateros at Caloocan City kagabi.
4	Police official linked to drugs faces NAPOLCOM	Aug. 2, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	1.5	34	39	Humarap sa NAPOLCOM si Chief Supt. Edgardo Tinio, ang isa sa limang PNP officials na sangkot umano sa kalakaran ng ilegal na droga.



5	'Usher,' cohort killed in drug buy-bust operation in Manila	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	484	12	67	Patay ang dalawang hinihinalang tulak ng droga isang sa buy-bust operation sa Sta. Cruz, Maynila.
6	Giit ng nanay ni DJ Karen Bordador, hindi sangkot sa droga ang...	Aug. 17, 2016	Video (734K views)	Oct. 10, 2018	4.4K	934	677	May listahan na raw ang pulisya ng ilang celebrity na parokiyano ng nobyo ng radio DJ na si Karen Bordador na nasangkot sa droga. Pero ang nanay ng DJ, igitit na walang kinalaman sa droga ang anak niya. Tinutukan 'yan ni Marisol Abdurahman sa 24 Oras, EXCLUSIVE!
7	WAR ON DRUGS: Palace recognizes SC decision to probe 'narco-judges' – official	Aug. 17, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	662	14	14	"We recognize the independence of the Supreme Court, which exercises administrative supervision and control of all courts, including power to discipline erring members of the judiciary."
8	Maguindanao town mayor appears before police to deny drug links	Aug. 4, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	801	55	40	Parang, Maguindanao Mayor Rasul Sangki appeared before Chief Supt. Agripino Javier of PNP-ARMM to deny that he is engaged in illegal drug activities.
9	GMA News: Senate hearing on the spate of drug suspects' summar...	Aug. 23, 2016	Live video (698K views)	Oct. 10, 2018	45K	5.4K	51.3K	Panoorin ang pagding ng Senado kaugnay ng umano'y extrajudicial killings

10	New York Times-Asia headlines news on extrajudicial killings in PHL	Aug. 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 10, 2018	471	59	150	ICYMI: News about extrajudicial killings in the Philippines landed on the front page of the August 20 to 21 issue of the International New York Times-Asia.
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### ABS-CBN News

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Cebu police rolls out funeral car on Heroes' Day	Aug. 29, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 10, 2018	650	7	21	A patrol car with a loud speaker accompanied the funeral car as it went around the area, sometimes stopping at crowded places.
2	Palace: Drug menace is also public health issue	Aug. 26, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 10, 2018	880	26	21	The government is eyeing a 10-hectare plot site in Fort Magsaysay for a rehabilitation center.
3	OPINION: Foreign media on native killings	Aug. 31, 2016	Opinion piece Video Article	Oct. 10, 2018	979	43	52	Teddy Locsin asks, "Is foreign media biased?"
4	PNP chief claims drug rings behind 'vigilante slays'	Aug. 16, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 10, 2018	1.3K	29	60	The Philippine National Police insisted that crime syndicates, and not vigilante groups, are responsible for the serial summary executions of drug peddlers and users.

5	Relatives say Bertes father, son arrested sans warrant	Aug. 23, 2016	Video	Oct. 10, 2018	504	16	115	What happened to the Bertes family attracted the attention of foreign media, as well as international human rights groups.
6	Policeman killed, another hurt in Zamboanga shooting	Aug. 21, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	2.2K	185	143	A rookie policeman was killed, while another was seriously wounded when they were attacked by three unidentified armed men in Sirawi town here, police said Saturday.
7	ALAMIN: Ano ang papel ng DILG sa kampanya kontra droga?	Aug. 9, 2016	Video	Oct. 11, 2018	1.5K	39	28	Bumuo ang DILG ng panibang task force -- ang Task Force Digong. Kung ano ang target nito, alamin mismo kay DILG Sec. Ismael Sueno.
8	Bagong guidelines sa Oplan Tokhang, inimungkahi	Aug. 4, 2016	Video	Oct. 11, 2018	849	19	63	Kung masusunod ang mungkahì, dapat nakasanggalì muna sa abogado ang isang sumukong drug user bago pumirma ng waiver o voluntary confession.
9	Drug matrix' a mere list of names, says ex-Justice Usec	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	789	14	87	Former Justice Undersecretary Francisco Baraan on Thursday shrugged off President Duterte's matrix which accused him of tolerating the illegal narcotics trade inside the New Bilibid Prisons.
10	Oplan Tokhang' surrenderees get P25K rehab in private resort	Aug. 16, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.4K	29	29	The surrenderees will undergo counseling and prayer sessions, which are part of the local government's effort to rehabilitate them from illegal drug use.

11	UN not invited to probe Duterte drug war, spokesman says	Aug. 20, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	7.2K	449	487	"The Philippines has not extended any invitation to any body, nor the U.N. to look into its national affairs. We are capable of our own internal dialogue," Presidential Spokesman Ernesto Abella said in a statement.
12	Cohort' of Kerwin Espinosa falls in Cebu	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	3K	151	36	Policemen found several sachets of shabu and marijuana, firearms and a laptop in the suspect's room.
13	Nation faces clear and present danger: Palace	Aug. 9, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.4K	24	41	Presidential spokesperson Ernesto Abella said those who believe they were wrongly named by the president must speak up about the allegations.
14	Jailbreak, kidnap attempts eyed in Paranaque jail blast	Aug. 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.3K	27	37	Preliminary investigations showed the explosion was caused by a grenade, with a pistol also recovered from the scene.
15	Bise alkaldeng idinadawit sa droga, kumuha ng 3 drug test	Aug. 3, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	741	12	63	Iginit naman ng bise alkalde na pamumultika ang nasa likod ng mga paratang laban sa kanya.
16	ABS-CBN News	Aug. 23, 2016	Photo	Oct. 11, 2018	4.6K	2K	3.3K	Sen. Ralph Recto ponders the long-term repercussions of the war on drugs, particularly on citizens' level of trust with the police.
17	Suspek sa droga, ginulpi umano ng mga pulis-Laoag	Aug. 31, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	467	8	58	Itinanggi naman ng pulisya ang alegasyon ng suspek.
18	Espinosa brings along daughters in meet with police chief	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1K	14	37	The police chief earlier clarified that Espinosa was not arrested but came to his office for a meeting.

19	In PNP, it's still cops probing cops	Aug. 23, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	580	5	12	The PNP's attention was called out anew for its failure to appoint a civilian head to the Internal Affairs Service (IAS).
20	WATCH: Cebu cops combat drugs with Yoyoy Villame hit	Aug. 31, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.7K	32	26	Idinaan ng mga pulis-Cebu sa kantahan ang apela nila na sumuko na ang mga tulak at gumagamit ng droga.
21	Slain inmate was suspected drug lord's supplier	Aug. 11, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	991	28	23	The inmate was convicted of murder but may have been recruited into the narcotics trade by his NBP detainees, who were involved with illegal drugs.
22	Rising body count in drug war 'bothers' Duterte: spokesman	Aug. 9, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	412	7	77	The presidential spokesperson clarifies that the president does not rejoice over the fact that hundreds of drug suspects have been killed less than 2 months.
23	Gunmen strafe Danao police station	Aug. 12, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.1K	21	14	No one was hurt in the incident.
24	ABS-CBN, SM to carry Duterte's anti-drug ads for free: Palace	Aug. 28, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	46K	2.7K	1.2K	It'll be for free.
25	PNP claims crime down in E. Visayas due to anti-drugs drive	Aug. 17, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.3K	38	24	Eastern Visayas police tallied a lower number of crimes this month compared to last year, attributing the crime decrease to increased efforts to eradicate drugs.
26	Palace: No legal shortcuts, extrajudicial killings under Duterte	Aug. 11, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	458	6	70	Abella said the government will soon announce how it will deal with the vast number of drug suspects who have turned themselves in to the police.

27	WATCH: PNP chief Ronald Dela Rosa holds a press conference followed by Sen. Leila De Lima's privilege speech on extrajudicial killings.	Aug. 2, 2016	Live video (666K views)	Oct. 11, 2018	43K	6.4K	28.4K
28	Suko o giyera? Bato hinamon ang narco-pols	Aug. 5, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 11, 2018	30K	1.7K	533
29	Rehab center sa Bicutan, umaapaw na sa mga pasyente	Aug. 26, 2016	Video	Oct. 11, 2018	632	29	50
30	More than P5M in dried marijuana seized in La Union	Aug. 26, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.6K	29	21
31	EU officials raise concerns on PH drug killings	Aug. 30, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	365	15	53
32	Philippine police detail body count in drug war	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	517	13	45
33	Parañaque jail blast staged to kill drug-linked inmates?	Aug. 16, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.3K	35	47

34	Drugs eyed in slay of narco-linked mayor's lawyer	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	1.2K	30	39	Albuera police chief Jovie Espenido said he had reprimanded lawyer Rogelio Bato Jr. for his alleged involvement in drug trafficking.
35	LOOK: 65 drug dependents 'surrender to God'	Aug. 24, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	13K	703	145	Under the "Surrender to God Drug Recovery Program," the attendees went through a spiritual recovery program with the help of their spiritual adviser, who is a priest.
36	DOJ: 2 witnesses vs 'narco-generals'	Aug. 25, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	597	3	18	The justice chief earlier admitted that the DOJ is conducting its own probe and evidence build-up against the alleged narco-generals.
37	DILG seeks to empower barangays in drug war	Aug. 22, 2016	Article	Oct. 11, 2018	716	17	20	Interior Secretary Mike Sueno said the program will create an umbrella organization that will bring together all the government groups within the barangay.
38	PhilHealth offers new package for drug dependents	Aug. 26, 2016	Video	Oct. 16, 2018	3.2K	162	30	PhilHealth will offer a new insurance package for drug dependents next month.  It will be called the "Medical Detoxification Package," and will focus on cases where patients are experiencing withdrawal symptoms.  This new medical package is priced at P10,000

39	Witness	Aug. 22, 2016	Video (502K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	3.4K	758	1.2K	WATCH: At a Senate hearing on extrajudicial killings, witness Mary Rose Aquino narrates how she found out about her parents' murders after an alleged delivery of drug money to suppliers.
40	Espinosas ask Duterte: Ama ka rin, konting awa, idaan sa due process	Aug. 2, 2016	Video Article	Oct. 16, 2018	6.8K	373	1.8K	Naniniwala ang mga kamag-anak ng mag-amang Espinosa na pulitika ang nasa likod ng mga akusasyon laban sa mga ito.
41	ABS-CBN News: LIVE: Hearing on alleged Extrajudicial Killings	Aug. 23, 2016	Live video (351K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	22K	2.5K	22.1K	[PART 2] LIVE: The Senate Committee on Justice and Human Rights continues its hearing on the alleged extrajudicial killings.
42	"RECONNECT WITH THE LORD." PNP chief Ronald dela Rosa dares self-confessed drug users/pushers in Bacolod City to change for the better.	Aug. 25, 2016	Video (1.6M views)	Oct. 16, 2018	42K	25.3K	1.8K	



## News5

	Title	Date	Content type	Date analyzed	Likes/ Reactions	Shares	Comments	Post Caption
1	Sen. De Lima, nasa matrix ng illegal drug trade sa Bilibid ayon kay Pres. Duterte	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (686K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	8.9K	5.7K	920	
2	Mayor Espinosa, nanawagan sa anak na sumuko na	Aug. 3, 2016	Video (189K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	2.8K	1.6K	376	
3	Dating DOJ Undersecretary, idinawit ni Pres. Duterte sa droga sa Bilibid	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (98K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.4K	344	99	
4	Sen. Leila de Lima, ipinanawagan ang pagtigil sa extrajudicial killings sa pagdinig sa senado	Aug. 22, 2016	Video (83K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.2K	123	598	
5	News5 Everywhere - PAG-AMYENDA SA ANTI-WIRETAPPING LAW, ISINUSULONG SA KAMARA	Aug. 24, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	802	51	16	Ang ilang mambabatas, isinusulong na amyendahan ang Anti-wiretapping Law para mamonitor ang transaksyon ng mga hinihinalang drug lord.
6	PNP Crime Lab: 130 pulis, nagpositibo sa screening at confirmatory drug tests	Aug. 22, 2016	Video (53K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	942	270	97	
7	News5 Everywhere - 4 PULIS-PASAY NA DAWIT SA	Aug. 24, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	637	26	57	Dinepensahan naman ng Pasay-PNP ang kamilang tauhan.

	PAGKAMATAY NG PEDICAB DRIVER, SINIBAK NA											
8	PNP Chief Dela Rosa, may ebidensya raw na hindi vigilante ang may gawa ng extrajudicial killings sa bansa	Aug. 16, 2016	Video (342K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	7.1K	2.9K	619					
9	News5 Everywhere - SUSPEK NA KONEKTADO SA SINDIKATO, ITINATAGO ANG DROGA SA INSTANT PANCIT CANTON	Aug. 26, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.7K	268	58					Tiklo sa isang operasyon ang babaeng itinuturong tulak ng iligal na droga sa Cavite at Metro Manila.
10	News5 Everywhere - ALBUERA MAYOR RONALDO ESPINOSA, SR, MAY MGA BANTA RAW SA BUHAY	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	668	31	139					Nagbigay na ng affidavit sa CIDG si Albuera Mayor Ronaldo Espinosa, Sr. Inamin ng kanyang mga abogado na may banta sa buhay ng alkalde
11	Drug matrix na inilabas ni Pres. Duterte, minadali at dapat ilagay sa basurahan ayon kay Sen. De Lima	Aug. 25, 2016	Video (70K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	903	90	326					
12	News5 Everywhere - DRUG PUSHER AT 2 KASABWAT NITO, PATAY SA ENKWENTRO SA MAYNILA	Aug. 1, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	730	73	18					Ang suspek, matagal na raw nasa watchlist ng Philippine National Police.
13	Alkalde ng Albuera, Leyte, na dawit umano sa iligal na droga, sumuko na	Aug. 2, 2016	Video (256K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	2.9K	1.1K	527					

14	ermie p. reyes on Twitter	Aug. 18, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	220	12	6	Pinangunahan ni Senate Committee on Public Order chairman Sen. Ping Lacson ang pagdiniig ngayong araw tungkol sa mga isyu sa iligal na droga gaya ng drug-related killings. (courtesy: Ermie Reyes/ Interaksyon)
15	EARLIER: Pagharap ni PNP Chief 'Bato' Dela Rosa sa mga pulis na sangkot umano sa droga. Banta miya sa mga hindi magbabago, "Papatayin ko kayo."	Aug. 8, 2016	Video (263K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	6.1K	3.8K	519	
16	Pres. Duterte, muling binanatan si Chief Justice Sereno	Aug. 27, 2016	Video (506K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	11K	6.1K	1.5K	
17	Robin Padilla, nakiusap sa pamahalaan na wag munang ilabas ang mga pangalan ng artista na sangkot sa iligal na droga	Aug. 19, 2016	Video (1.1M views)	Oct. 16, 2018	10K	6.4K	5.3K	
18	News5 Everywhere - ISA SA DALAWANG TINUTUGIS NA TULAK SA MAYNILA, PATAY SA ENKGWENTRO	Aug. 31, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	753	18	34	Nakatakas ang isa sa mga notoryus na drug pusher na target ng mga pulis sa Maynila kagabi.
19	Mga kaanak ni Albuera Mayor Espinosa, humiling ng 'due process'	Aug. 4, 2016	Video (164K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.1K	199	911	

20	News5 Everywhere - 2 HINHINALANG DRUG PUSHER, PATAY SA ENKWENTRO SA MAYNILA	Aug. 23, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.2K	62	45	Ang isa sa mga napatay, dati na raw pinakiusapan sa "Oplan Tokhang" pero nagmatigas pa rin.
21	News5 Everywhere - KAPATID NI DATING DA SEC. ALCALA, SUMUKO SA MGA PULIS	Aug. 16, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.1K	119	75	Kasama niyang sumuko ang anak na si Sajid na sangkot din umano sa iligal na droga.
22	Sen. Leila De Lima sa mga biktima ng drug killings: "Hindi sila Suman o Dinuguan"	Aug. 3, 2016	Video (114K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	2.2K	671	2.2K	
23	Sen. De Lima at ang ikinasa niyang hearing tungkol sa extrajudicial killings, binatikos ni Sen. Cayetano	Aug. 31, 2016	Video (525K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	7.6K	4.3K	454	
24	US, nagpahayag ng pagkabahala sa kaso ng extrajudicial killings sa Pilipinas	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (127K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.6K	287	1.3K	
25	Pamilya ng mga napatay sa sinasabing engkuwentro sa Bulacan, iginiiit na nagbagong-buhay na ang mga suspek pero tinuluyan pa rin ng mga pulis	Aug. 5, 2016	Video (121K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	913	196	979	
26	Pagdinig ng Senado tungkol sa extrajudicial killings, itinakda sa August 22 at 23	Aug. 11, 2016	Video (42K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	357	63	153	
27	Watch   Banat ni Pres. Duterte sa isang babaeng senador	Aug. 17, 2016	Video (399K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	8.5K	6.2K	1.1K	Aniya, ginagamit ng babae ang boyfriend para makolekta ang pera para sa kampanya at



34	News5 Everywhere - PALASYO, MAKIPAG-UGNAYAN NA SA 27 OPISYAL NA SANGKOT SA DROGA	Aug. 3, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	899	113	20	Nanindigan ang Palasyo na sa pagtukoy sa mga opisyal ay nabibigyan sila ng pagkakataon para malinis ang kaniyang pangalan.
35	ILAN BA TALAGA? I Mga dumalo sa Senado, hindi nagtugma ang datos kung ilan na ang patay sa operasyon laban sa ilegal na droga	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (117K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.2K	422	272	
36	News5 Everywhere - PANGASINAN BOARD MEMBER SISON, ITINANGGING SANGKOT SA BILIBID DRUG TRADE	Aug. 30, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	418	21	73	Nagsalita na ang board member ng Pangasinan na si Raul Sison.
37	Statement by the UNODC Executive Director on the situation in the Philippines	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	228	15	148	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, kinondena ang serye ng umano'y extrajudicial killings sa bansa
38	Watch   Opening speech ni Sen. Alan Peter Cayetano sa pagdimig ng Senado kaugnay ng umano'y extrajudicial killings	Aug. 22, 2016	Video (211K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	9K	3.8K	585	
39	ReAksyon   Ano nga ba ang kahihinatnan ng ating bansa oras na maiakyat ang isyu ng extrajudicial killings sa international criminal court?	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (107K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	959	197	1K	

40	Pasay-PNP, dinepensahan ang apat na pulis na nadadawit sa pagkamatay ng pedicab driver	Aug. 24, 2016	Video (97K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.6K	235	226	
41	News5 Everywhere - 16 KATAO, NAHULI SA 'ONE-TIME BIGTIME' OPERATION SA VALENZUELA	Aug. 9, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.5K	208	34	Mula sa mga sangkot sa droga hanggang sa mga nakahubad sa kalsada, hindi nakaligtas
42	Patay ang isang tricycle driver sa Pasay matapos umanong manlaban sa mga tumutugis sa kanyang pulis. Pero base sa na-record ng isang testigo, pinagbabaril pa rin ang suspek kahit sumustuko na.	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (250K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.3K	522	829	
43	Tirahan ng mga drug suspect sa San Juan, kinatok ng mascot ng mga pulis	Aug. 5, 2016	Video (341K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	5K	1.6K	211	
44	News5 Everywhere - PRES. DUTERTE, NANINDIGAN LABAN SA KATIWALIAN, DROGA, AT TERORISMO	Aug. 15, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.7K	201	44	Muling nanindigan si Pangulong Rodrigo Duterte laban sa katiwalian, droga, at terorismo sa bansa.
45	News5 Everywhere - 14 GALON NG SANGKAP SA PAGGAWA NG SHABU, NASABAT SA APAYAO	Aug. 8, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	794	142	9	Nasabat ng mga otoridad ang 14 na galon ng ethyl ether sa isang barangay sa boundary ng Apayao sa Cagayan.
46	Sen. De Lima, di raw dadalo sa pagdinig ng Kamara kaugnay ng drug trade sa Bilibid	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (635K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	5.6K	2.5K	3K	

47	ASK   Ano ang tawag ng Human Rights advocates sa serye ng pagpatay sa mga sangkot umano sa ilegal na droga?	Aug. 24, 2016	Video (41K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	318	51	38	
48	Vice Mayor ng Ozamis City, humarap din kay PNP Chief Dela Rosa	Aug. 3, 2016	Video (634K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	4.6K	5.4K	1.4K	
49	News5 Everywhere - MEXICAN DRUG CARTEL, NASA PILIPINAS AYON KAY PRES. DUTERTE	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	973	133	32	Sanga-sangang problema na ang kinahaharap ngayon ng pamahalaan kaugnay ng droga.
50	News5 Everywhere - MGA PULITIKONG SANGKOT SA DROGA, ISUSUNOD NA PASUSUKUIN NI DELA ROSA	Aug. 1, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.7K	297	25	Sinabi ito mismo ni PNP Chief Ronald Dela Rosa kasabay ng pagharap sa kanyag ng 10K drug suspects na sumuko sa CALABARZON.
51	Pres. Duterte: Not to justify its use, but in the sense of damage, mas maganda pa ang heroin pati cocaine (kaysa shabu) because they are organic	Aug. 5, 2016	Video (56K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.2K	654	68	
52	News5 Everywhere - KAMPANYA NG GOBYERNO KONTRA DROGA, PINAG-UUSAPAN NG INTL MEDIA	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	529	30	289	Ang United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, nababahala na rin daw.
53	News5 Everywhere - MATRIX NA NAGPAPATUNAY DAW NA SANGKOT SI DE LIMA SA	Aug. 24, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.5K	129	25	



	<b>DROGA, ILALABAS NG PANGULO</b>												
54	Sen. Cayetano, pinapa-inhibit si Sen. De Lima sa pagdinig ng umano'y extrajudicial killings	Aug. 24, 2016	Video (365K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	4.7K	1.8K	1.9K						
55	Bilang ng napatay sa anti-illegal drugs operation ng PNP, pumalo na sa 402	Aug. 2, 2016	Video (31K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	903	99	182						
56	Wala nang komunikasyon sa labas ang nakakulong na drug lords sa Bilibid - PNP Chief Dela Rosa	Aug. 23, 2016	Video (157K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	2.2K	1.1K	2.1K						
57	News5	Aug. 11, 2016	Photo	Oct. 16, 2018	171	19	3						Breakdown of PNP & non PNP personnel who presented themselves to PNP Chief Dir Gen. Ronald Dela Rosa (via France Noguera/News5)
58	News5 Everywhere - PAMUNUAN NG NCRPO, HAHARAP SA PAGDINIG NG SENADO SA EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS	Aug. 19, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	720	25	37						Sa Metro Manila kasi naitala ang pinakamaraming kaso ng extrajudicial killings sa bansa.
59	News5 Everywhere - MGA MAYOR NA IDINAWIT SA DROGA, LUMUTANG PARA LINISIN ANG PANGALAN	Aug. 8, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	887	67	97						Ang ilan sa kanila, natakot daw para sa kaligtasan lalut' nagbigay ng taning ang Pangulo.

60	News5 Everywhere - CJ SERENO, TINANGGAP ANG SORRY NI PRES. DUTERTE	Aug. 12, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	360	18	49	Matatandaang nagbantasi si Pres. Digong ng Martial Law matapos siyang sulatan ni CJ Sereno nang pangalanan niya ang mga hukom na dawit umano sa droga.
61	News5 Everywhere - H20   LISTAHAN NG MGA SANGKOT SA DROGA, PINUNA DAHIL SA MALI AT KULANG UMANO	Aug. 9, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	619	37	82	May ilang personalidad na lantarang pumuna sa inilabas na listahan ni Pangulong Rodrigo Duterte ng mga sangkot umano sa droga.
62	Bishop Broderick Pabillo, may banat kay Pangulong Duterte	Aug. 11, 2016	Video (130K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	1.9K	672	3.3K	
63	Baron Geisler, binabatikos si Pres. Duterte dahil sa sunud-sunod na pagkamatay ng mga sangkot sa iligal na droga	Aug. 16, 2016	Video (359K views)	Oct. 16, 2018	2.1K	866	2.5K	
64	News5 Everywhere - MGA PRESONG SANGKOT SA DROGA SA P'QUE CITY JAIL, NANGANGAMBA SA SEGURIDAD	Aug. 12, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	213	18	21	Walo sa 10 inmates na nasawi ay may kaso kaugnay ng droga.
65	News5 Everywhere - NUJP, HINAMON ANG DOJ NA ILABAS ANG PANGALAN NG MEDIA NA KONEKTADO SA DROGA	Aug. 10, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	448	41	110	Ayon sa NUJP, dapat maglabas ang kalihim para mapatunayan ang mga akusasyon nito.

		Aug. 24, 2016	Video (1.1M views)	Oct. 16, 2018	13K	13.8K	3.7K	
66	Rep. Roque, hinamon si Sen. De Lima na sumipot sa pagdinig ng Kamara kaugnay ng drug trade sa Bilibid	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	938	42	13	Kinumpirma rin ni Dela Rosa na may impormasyon na protektor umano ng drug lord ang dalawang retiradong heneral na idinawit ni Pangulong Rodrigo Duterte sa droga.
67	News5 Everywhere - SUSPECTED DRUG LORD NA ANAK NI ESPINOSA, NAGPARAMDAM NA PARA SUMUKO	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	938	42	13	Base sa intelligence report ng PDEA, nakikipag-ugnayan na ang Mexican drug cartel sa Chinese drug trafficking organization sa bansa.
68	News5 Everywhere - MEXICAN DRUG CARTEL, NAKIKIPAG-UGNAYAN SA CHINESE DRUG ORG. - PDEA	Aug. 4, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	689	155	20	Sa gitna naman ng pinaigting na kampanya kontra droga, nakakatanggap na umano ng banta sa buhay ang hepe ng Quezon City
69	News5 Everywhere - QCPD DIRECTOR, NAKATATANGGAP NA UMANO NG BANTA SA BUHAY	Aug. 2, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	879	92	50	Sa kusina ng bahay ng alkalde narekober ang 11 kilo ng himihinalang shabu.
70	News5 Everywhere - P88M HALAGA NG SHABU, NATAGPUAN SA BAHAY NI ALBUERA MAYOR ESPINOSA	Aug. 10, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1K	170	31	

71	News5 Everywhere - HALOS P4M HALAGA NG SHABU, NASABAT SA MOSQUE SA CALAMBA	Aug. 8, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	1.6K	389	37	Nakumpiska sa Calamba, Laguna ang halos P4-milyong halaga ng shabu kahapon.
72	News5 Everywhere - APAT NA HUKOM NA IDINAWIT SA DROGA, ISASAILALIM SA IMBESITIGASYON	Aug. 9, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	920	165	49	Bibigyan ng pitong araw ang mga hukom para sagutin ang reklamo.
73	News5 Everywhere - 2 PATAY, 4 ARESTADO SA DRUG RAID SA LAGUNA; ISANG SUSPEK, SUPPLIER DAW SA TAGA-SHOWBIZ	Aug. 12, 2016		Oct. 16, 2018	833	67	14	Ang isang target, nagsupply daw ng iligal na droga sa mga taga-showbiz.
74	DJ Karen Bordador at kanyang kasintahan, arestado sa buy-bust operation sa Pasig	Aug. 15, 2016	Video (1M views)	Oct. 16, 2018	6.8K	4.1K	839	

# 국문초록

## 필리핀의 마약과의 전쟁과 국민 여론: 정책과 시민의 태도 및 참여와의 역동적 관계

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본 논문은 필리핀의 마약과의 전쟁과 이에 대한 국민 여론 사례를 통해 정책과 시민의 태도 및 참여와의 역동적 관계에 대해 고찰한다.

Pacheco(2015)가 개발한 태도 정책 피드백 분석틀(Attitudinal Policy Feedback framework)을 사용하여 정책과 시민의 태도 및 참여의 관계가 어떻게 상호의존적으로 변화하는지를 분석한다.

본 연구는 로드리고 두테르테 필리핀 대통령의 불법 마약 근절 정책의 특징을 실재성, 가시성, 도입 기간의 측면에서 살펴보고, 어떻게 정책이 이 세 가지 중요한 요인을 통해 국민 여론이라는 형태로 피드백 되는지를 설명한다. 페이스북 게시물에 대한 분석 결과, 정책을 내용으로 하는 게시물 중 시민의 반응을 강하게 이끌어내는 특정 유형이 있음을 발견하고, 어떻게 정책에 대한 시민의 태도와 참여가 정책 시행에 변화를 이끌어낼 수 있는지를 알 수 있었다. 마지막으로 정책과 시민 참여의 역학적 관계를 통해 향후 마약 근절 정책 기조 유지에 대해 전망하였다. 요컨대 본 연구는 정책과 시민의 태도 및 참여의 관계가 상호의존적으로 변화한다는 것을 확인해준다는 의의가 있다.

주제어: 공공정책, 시민 참여, 국민 여론, 소셜네트워크서비스, 정책 피드백, 페이스북

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