

# **AN EVALUATION OF MEDIA SUPPORT PROGRAMMES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA**

> FINAL REPORT

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

*"If citizens and civil society have access to more (and) reliable information, provided by independent and critical media, they will demand (more) accountability of the state, businesses and NGOs. These organisations will respond to the external pressure and become more accountable to its citizens"* (Strategic Plan TMF 2012-2016).

This document outlines an evaluation of media support programmes in Tanzania (TMF-Tanzania Media Fund) and Kenya (KMP-Kenya Media Programme), commissioned by Hivos. The evaluation involves two funds that Hivos administers. These funds were put in place to make resources available to the media (journalists, radio makers, media houses) for the realization of specific 'media products' (articles, documentaries etc.). As can be derived from the above mentioned quote, the evaluation is driven by the assumption that the supported media products generate an effect in terms of a response from politicians, businesses and NGOs (both local and national) on the one hand, and citizens on the other hand. TMF and KMP both provide grants to individual journalists and media houses.

The evaluation departs from the posited theory of change. More in particular, it examines the following four evaluation questions:

1. To what extent did the TMF and KMP media products trigger a response from powerful actors? Powerful actors, including: politicians, businesses and NGOs.
2. To what extent did the TMF and KMP media products trigger a response from citizens?
3. Under which conditions do the media products trigger response from powerful actors and citizens?
4. Under which conditions do the media products not generate any response from powerful actors and citizens?

The questions reveal the overarching goal of this evaluation. The evaluation should be conceived as a *learning exercise* in the first place, rather than a classic accountability driven evaluation. The evaluation is primarily oriented towards explaining the outcome of the media products, and the paths leading to this outcome, and will not focus on the outcome of the media products as such. The formulation of the evaluation questions is in line with the terminology that is commonly employed in *Qualitative Comparative Analysis* (abbreviated as QCA). The research approach and technique will rely on this evaluation method. With a QCA analysis we want to unravel the (combinations of) conditions that foster or impede the outcome of media products. One of the characteristics of the QCA approach is that the analysis of the cases which trigger a response is separate from the analysis of the cases without response. The twofold analysis is the basis of formulating separate conclusions on how to improve media products that were not successful and drawing conclusions on how to sustain the accountability effect of the more successful media products.

In the following chapter we will explain the aim and scope of this evaluation. We will address the theories of change of the two media programmes in Tanzania and Kenya and we will explain in detail what the object ('the media products') of this study is. Chapter 3 describes the method that we used to systematically compare all the different media products: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). As this method is quite recent in the evaluation world we will explain why we specifically chose QCA and what it takes to conduct such an analysis. We used three methods of data-collection: interviews, a survey and documents analysis, this data collection is described in chapter 4. In chapter 5 we explain how we operationalised the explanatory elements of (i) the media products and (ii) the journalists themselves and (iii) the response of the powerful actors and citizens. This will be subsequently followed by the findings, which are presented in chapter 6. We complete this report with a conclusion.

## 2 SCOPE OF THE EVALUATION

### 2.1 KMP and TMF - Same theory of change - different contexts

This evaluation applies to both KMP and TMF administered programmes. While the two programmes largely come from the same overarching theory of change, they differ in multiple respects. Table 1 summarises the main differences, as put forward by TMF and KMP.

**Table 1 Differences between KMP and TMF**

	KMP- Kenya	TMF- Tanzania
<b>Length of programme</b>	First programme term (4 years, 2011-2015)	Second programme term (8 years, 2008-2015)
<b>Budget &amp; Staff size</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 4 year budget: USD 5,5 million</li> <li>- Staff: 2 full time programme officers, 1 part time programme manager, 1 part time assistant, one part time financial officer</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Budget: current phase: USD 10,2 million, previous phase: 17.8 million USD</li> <li>- Staff: Executive Director, grants team with manager, 2 grants officers and an assistant, learning officer, M&amp;E officer, communications officer and 5 finance &amp; admin support staff. All functions are fulltime.</li> </ul>
<b>Number of grants</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 86 small grants to individual journalists for investigative / public interest stories</li> <li>- 16 medium to large grants to media organisations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Term I: 284 small grants to individual journalists, 63 slightly larger individual grants to fellows for stories and training on specific topics, 58 medium to large institutional grants.</li> <li>- Term II: 299 small grants to individual journalists, 20 small grants to individual journalists for new media stories, 38 slightly larger individual grants to fellows on specific topics, 41 medium to large institutional content grants and 37 medium to large institutional transformation grants.</li> </ul>
<b>Programme focus' priority</b>	High impact stories on issues such as impunity, leadership, accountability, service delivery, corruption, politics, elections etc., both at national and local level	Investigative and public interest stories dealing linked to domestic accountability. Special attention is paid to coverage of stories from rural areas.

A *first* major difference is the experience of both teams: for KMP, the programme nearly finalises its first term, whereas TMF is reaching the end of its second term already.

*Secondly*, TMF and KMP differ in terms of budget: TMF's budget is significantly larger than KMP's budget. This is also reflected in the staff numbers working on the programme.

*Thirdly*, the priorities of the two programmes are different. The programmes are designed in accordance with the different media sectors in the two countries. TMF's ambition is in the first place to support public interest and investigative stories linked to domestic accountability, with special attention for rural stories. This contrasts with KMP's priority to focus on (fewer) high impact stories, that concern issues such as impunity and leadership, leadership and accountability, service delivery and corruption, politics and elections etc. The different focus of the programmes is seen in the size of budgets devoted to individual journalists. The size of TMF grants for individual journalists is smaller compared to its counterpart in Kenya. Moreover, KMP brings in more elements of research into the media sector and more in-depth investigations, TMF is more focussed on the production of quality journalism in general.

Method-wise, the evaluation largely followed the same strategy for KMP and TMF: the same explanatory conditions were 'tested', the same survey was launched, and the same analytical instruments were used. Yet, to account for the different contexts, the main analyses were conducted separately for the two countries. The different country specific paths were compared afterwards.

## **2.2 Evaluand: Completed media products from individual journalists**

This evaluation is centred on media products, administered by KMP, Kenya and TMF, Tanzania. Media products are typically categorised as: TV, radio, print and online products. The actual number of media products scrutinised is but a share of the total number of grants awarded to journalists. The focus of this evaluation was a response of actors, we only approached those journalists that had actually completed 'a' media product. The reasons for not completing a product are likely very diverse. Analysing why journalists do not complete a product, despite receiving a grant was beyond the scope of this evaluation. The final number of media products (see for an overview table 2) analysed corresponds with the number of products about which we could obtain complete information. The survey was a vital data collection tool in this regard. Only media products from journalists who participated in the survey were kept in the analysis. We will come back to this later on in the report.

**Table 2 Population and sample size: media products and journalists<sup>1</sup>**

	KMP	TMF
Number of grants awarded to individual journalists	86	299
Number of journalists who finalised 'a' media product (by the start of the evaluation)	56	112
Number of finalised media products by individual journalists	87	527
Number of individual journalists covered in the evaluation (cfr. survey response)	20	55
Number of media products covered in the evaluation (cfr. survey response)	43	217
Percentage of journalists included in the evaluation versus total number of journalists who finalised a media product	20/56= 36%	55/112 = 49%
Percentage of media products covered in the evaluation versus total number of media products finalised	43/87= 49%	217/527= 41%

TMF and KMP distribute both organisational (or institutional) grants and individual grants. Individual grants are given to individual journalists with the aim to produce one or a series of articles or radio/TV programmes about a certain topic. The number of articles is a priori set in the contract. An organisational grant is a grant given to a media house for producing a series of stories on a specific issue for TV, radio or print. The organisational grants only account for a few grants of the total share, but the budget granted is usually much bigger in comparison with grants for individual journalists (for instance: for KMP, on average 3000 USD for individual grant versus 350 000 USD for an organisation). For the present evaluation, we focus only on individual grants.

From the outset, we would like to emphasise that the QCA technique is a case-based approach. In principle, the conclusions only apply to the media products included in the analysis. To be precise, these media products concern both 'successful' and 'failed' cases. Successful and failed cases respectively refer to media products that triggered a response and media products that did not trigger any response.

### 3 QCA AS OVERARCHING EVALUATION METHOD

At the core of this learning exercise is the application of a relatively new method in the evaluation field, Qualitative Comparative Analysis. The method has determined the entire research design, in terms of case selection, data collection and analysis. Having such a central position in the present evaluation, we believe it is essential to summarise the main tenets of the method. More extensive technical details about the method can be found in specialised textbooks, such as Ragin, 1987, 2000; 2008; Rihoux and Ragin, 2009; Schneider and Wagemann, 2012. The method also receives increasing attention in the major evaluation journals (examples are: Befani et al., 2007; Pattyn, 2014; Sager and Anderegen, 2012).

#### 3.1 Why QCA?

Qualitative methods do not always uncover patterns across cases or respondents, subjected to a certain policy intervention. At the same time, too limited a number of cases or respondents (small n) in an intervention is a typical difficulty to proceed within the application of quantitative methods in evaluations. QCA is particularly well-suited to overcome this two-edged difficulty. The method is often portrayed as a bridge builder between qualitative and quantitative techniques (Ragin, 1987). In a nutshell, we can present QCA as a method that assumes that configurations, i.e. combinations of conditions (in frequentist methods: independent variables), are sufficient and/or necessary for a certain outcome to occur. The outcome in the present evaluation is an **actor response**.

In QCA, every case, in the present evaluation: **a media product** is conceived as a configuration of conditions and one particular outcome (response or non-response). By systematically comparing the configurations, we can search for certain patterns, and identify redundant conditions. To unravel those patterns, QCA relies on Boolean algorithms. Despite these characteristics that are borrowed from variable-based methods, the method actually belongs to the case-oriented camp (Rihoux, 2013). The label **Qualitative** Comparative Analysis is revealing in this regard. QCA is based on a notion of causality that is largely similar to the assumptions applied by critical **realist evaluators**.

1. *The effect of a particular condition may be different depending on the combination of factors by which they are surrounded.* The idea of a uniformity of causal effects is not assumed. In most cases it will be precisely the combination of conditions that ‘produces’ a certain level of response from the actors. From this perspective, searching for net effects of particular conditions does not make much sense, as linear additivity of individual conditions on the outcome is not likely to occur. The focus on combinations of conditions is the main reason why QCA does not speak of independent variables, but rather of “conditions” (Rihoux and De Meur, 2009: 67).

2. Contrary to statistical models, QCA is *not necessarily oriented towards the formulation of a single causal model that fits the data best* (Rihoux and Lobe, 2009). It instead allows for the possibility that several causal paths exist to understand an actor response to media products. In other words: depending on the characteristics of media products, different explanations may apply. No matter their frequency of occurrence, in configurational comparative logic, these explanations are, in principle, all theoretically equivalent (Schneider and Wagemann, 2012). Unlike correlations or regression analyses, QCA intends to explain every case, even, or especially, if it is an outlier (Berg-Schlosser, De Meur, Rihoux and Ragin, 2009: 7). This focus on all cases, including outliers, implies a shift away from classic probabilistic causal reasoning. Diversity is the main focus of analysis (Ragin, 2000).
3. Finally, QCA applies an *asymmetric notion of causality*, meaning that if the presence of a particular (combination of) conditions is relevant for an actor response to happen, its absence is not necessarily relevant for the absence of an actor response. Explaining the presence or the absence of an outcome thus requires the conduct of separate analyses in their own right (Schneider and Wagemann, 2012: 6).

Underlying these different assumptions is the more generic hypothesis that social reality is not fully subject to “unstructured chaos” (Berg-Schlosser, De Meur, Rihoux and Ragin, 2009: 10). Certain regularities can most likely be observed behind the diversity of media products.

### **3.2 Stages in the evaluation process**

The QCA component of the evaluation influenced its entire process. The evaluators were constantly in close contact with the M&E officer of Hivos, The Hague, the M&E officer of TMF, KMP’s programme leader and the KMP/TMF programme officers that are in charge of the selection of the journalists and the follow up of their activities. In the following, we call these actors the ‘primary stakeholders of the evaluation’ (cfr. Patton, 2003). The evaluation process consisted of the stages enlisted in Table 3.

**Table 3 Overview of the stages in the evaluation process**

Phases	What	Who
<b>Phase 0: Brainstorm about purposes of the evaluation</b>  <b>[Fall 2013- March 2014]</b>	Preparatory talks about the objectives of the evaluation: Why do we need an evaluation? What to investigate? Which outcome to expect? Which methods to use?	Hivos and KMP/TMF's programme leaders.
<b>Phase I: Preparation of the research design</b>  <b>[March - May 2014]</b>	Tentative determination of possible conditions and outcome(s): conditions; what data is already available, what data is likely to be collectible? outcomes; which outcomes are of interest? Determination of evaluation scope: unit of analysis and cases	Evaluators and primary stakeholders exchanged 3 versions of the research design in the period March until May 2014. Feedback was collected via skype and email. The feedback helped to improve the research design and evolve to a common understanding of conditions and outcome(s)
<b>Phase II:</b> <b>Field visit Nairobi, Kenya (*)</b> <b>22-27 June 2014</b>	Document analysis: application forms, selection sheets, monitoring reports, examples of products..., i.e. documents that give insight into KMP and TMF	Evaluation team
	QCA workshop in attendance of primary stakeholders (the nuts and bolts of QCA and the repercussions for the evaluation)	Evaluation team + Primary stakeholders
	Fine-tuning research design: Conditions and Outcomes to include + How to measure conditions and outcomes?	Evaluation team + Primary stakeholders
	First QCA analyses on a sample of 40 TMF cases for which secondary data was available	Evaluation team
	Fine-tuning research design based on first analyses	Evaluation team + Primary stakeholders
	Telephone/skype interviews with KMP grantees	Evaluation team
<b>Phase III: (Continua-</b>	Skype interviews with TMF grantees	Evaluation team

tion of ) Primary data Collection July-October 2014	Construction + Dissemination of survey to TMF and KMP grantees	Evaluation team. Various survey ver- sions were disseminated first among the primary stakeholders.
Phase IV: Data analysis October-November 2014	QCA analysis of survey data, for KMP and TMF separately	Evaluation team. Feedback was pro- vided by primary stakeholders
Phase V: Drafting evaluation report November 2014- February 2015	Drafting evaluation report	Evaluation team. Feedback provided by primary stakeholders.

(\*) The agenda of the field visit in Nairobi can be consulted in Annex I

The QCA based nature of the evaluation required a heavy interaction with the primary stakeholders that have in depth knowledge about a particular intervention. The involvement of stakeholders proved essential to determine the conditions to be included in the analysis, to translate the cases into configurations, and to help solve contradictions (see also next section). The field mission in Nairobi started off with a concise training session on the nuts and bolts of QCA, with the purpose of explaining what type of ‘ingredients’ a QCA evaluation requires.

### 3.3 ‘Ingredients’ for the QCA evaluation: Outcome and Conditions

Any QCA analysis, be it in an evaluation context or not, requires the same ‘ingredients’: a so-called outcome and conditions. In this report, we consistently use the QCA terminology.

#### 3.3.1 Outcome: From accountability to an actor response

TMF’s theory of change is oriented towards accountability. *“If citizens and civil society have access to more (and) reliable information, provided by independent and critical media, they will demand (more) accountability of the state, businesses and NGOs. These organisations will respond to the external pressure and become more accountable to its citizens”* (Strategic Plan TMF 2012-2016). In scholarly literature accountability is called a ‘magical concept’ (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011). It is a container term: often used and found to be useful, it is also sometimes mistreated. Pollitt and Hupe (2011: 641) warn others not to stretch the concept “to purposes to which it does not fit”. Without engaging in an extensive discussion about the concept, we restrict ourselves by stating one of the most frequently used definitions in scientific circles. Accountability is: “a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgment, and the actor may face consequences” (Bovens, 2007: 450).

While the evaluation took off with an initial focus on accountability, we – in consultation – decided to replace the term by the notion ‘*an actor response*’. We herewith adhere to the common perception of TMF and KMP about the concept of ‘accountability’. The verification reports used by TMF, and the narrative reports by the grantees of KMP also refer to ‘a response’ rather than to ‘accountability’. By restricting the evaluation to ‘a response’, we acknowledge that we reduce the term accountability to only one of its most tangible aspects. Yet, from a reliability point of view, we believe this is beneficial. Response is a relatively easy to grasp concept for all stakeholders involved in the evaluation.

The type of responses following the publication of media products can be many. In the review reports of TMF we find some concrete examples of what a response can involve (among other elements):

- The Food and Drugs Authority of Tanzania banned a certain type of milk powder
- The Inspector-General of Police (IGP) reshuffled regional police commanders following a newspaper report by a TMF grantee
- Environment: authorities took quick action to end environmental pollution in the River Mirongo
- National Environmental Management council gave a stop order pending inspection of the environment at the Bunda Oil Industries.
- Improved working conditions: *Jatropha* investors in Kisarawe
- The Mwanza Regional Commissioner instructed the Sengerema District Commissioner to follow up on ghost workers at the district hospital

The type of actors from whom response is solicited is broad. The evaluation concerns a wide spectrum of actors. The main target group for the media programmes are the so-called ‘powerful actors’. The latter concern three main actors: (1) politicians; (2) businesses; and (3) NGOs. All are considered equally important. For instance, when it comes to extractive industries and land rights, a response from businesses is at least as important as a response from the politicians. ‘Politicians’, in turn, are approached from a multi-government level perspective. One could argue that a response from a higher level of government is ‘better’ in terms of gravitas. Yet, in practice, lower levels of government can be expected to be more likely to take an immediate step that remedies a situation, especially when the media product is about a local situation. In addition to the powerful actors, we conceive a second major target group: i.e. response from *citizens*. For the two actor groups (powerful actors on the one hand, and citizens on the other hand), separate analyses have been conducted. As we will show, there are different dynamics at play behind each type of response. The patterns revealed are different per actor group.

### 3.3.2 *Factors that likely contribute to an actor response: Conditions*

“Under which conditions do the media products trigger (no) response from powerful actors and citizens?” The answer to this evaluation question requires a justified selection of conditions (i.e. explanatory conditions). We followed an iterative approach, and proceeded in three major steps:

- (i) Before the field visit, we requested the teams to suggest any conditions that were thought to be influential in explaining why some products lead to actors' response and others not. The theory of change underpinning the media programmes constituted the basis for selection.
- (ii) During the field visit, these conditions were systematically discussed with all stakeholders. The above mentioned QCA training helped TMP and KMP to identify new conditions, or to delete other conditions. The initial set of conditions predominantly focused on characteristics of the journalist and a selection of characteristics of the media product (media echo; quality of the media product and reach of media outlet).
- (iii) A preliminary QCA analysis on available secondary data identified inconsistencies in the configurations, i.e. so-called 'contradictory configurations'. Contradictory configurations are cases that share the same characteristics, but that have a different outcome. Contradictions are inherent and normal to any QCA analysis. They help to fine-tune the model, and help to identify what really matters. The contradictions highlighted the need to include more conditions about the actual content of the media product (salience of an issue; and regional focus of the story). We learned that a sufficient explanation would never be found by only including conditions referring to the journalist and the above mentioned characteristics of the media product (media echo, quality of the media product and reach of media outlet). Going back and forth between the conditions and the analysis is an inherent characteristic of QCA, and in particular it helps to get in-depth knowledge of the cases.

In the selection of conditions, we took into account the following considerations:

- *Comparability of conditions*: Only the factors that are sufficiently comparable across media products are eligible to be included in the analysis. Inevitably, this requires the temporary omission of some individual characteristics of the media products. The comparability not only concerns the comparison of media products per programme (either KMP or TMF), but also across programmes (comparing KMP with TMF). The programme theories being relatively equal across programmes, we decided to analyse the same set of conditions for the two programmes.
- *Variation in conditions*: Media products are characterised by a plethora of factors. It is only relevant to consider those factors for which the media products demonstrate sufficient variety. Constant or quasi-constant factors were omitted from the analysis.
- *Operationalisation of conditions*: Each condition ultimately needs to be translated into indicators that can be objectively measured. Investigating something as 'motivation of the journalist' may be interesting, but is hard to translate into objective indicators.
- *Number of conditions*: There may be dozens of factors that potentially influence actor response. Yet, working with too large a number of conditions involves the risk of individualised explanations per case, and thus inhibiting much parsimony. QCA evaluators are advised to keep the number of conditions included as low as possible, or at least to come to an adequate ratio between the number of conditions and the number of cases (Berg-Schlosser and De Meur, 2009).

The conditions included in the analysis can generally be grouped into two broad categories:

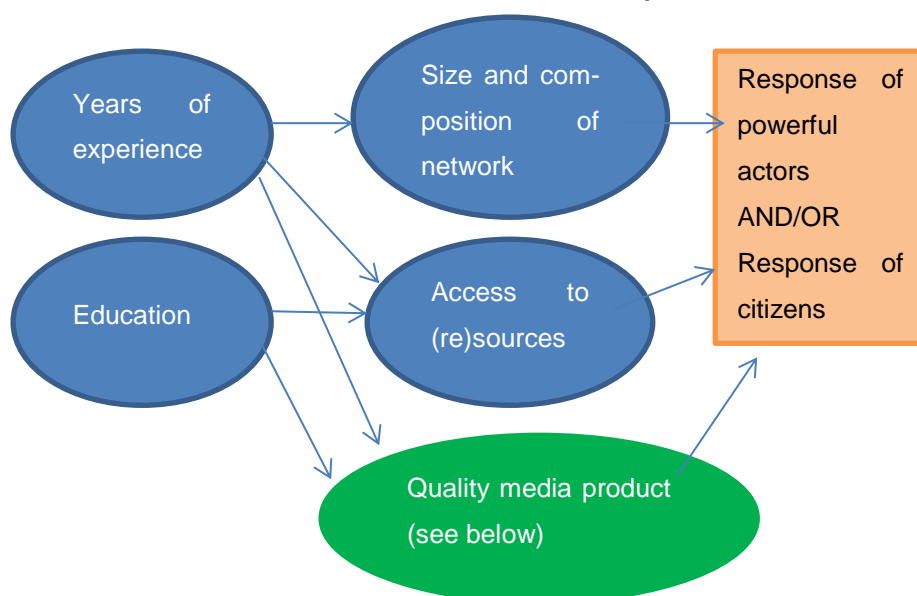
- (1) Conditions related to the individual journalist
- (2) Conditions related to the media product

Each of these conditions is assumed to be influential for the actors (both citizens and powerful actors). In the analysis, we used the same list of conditions for citizen response and response of the powerful actors (NGOs, businesses, politicians). We also used the same collection of conditions for the analysis of the presence of a response as for the absence of a response.

### 3.3.2.1 Conditions related to the individual journalist

The assumption for the individual grants is that the maker him/herself has some influence on the eventual actor's response. The type of training, the length of education, and the years of journalistic experience can be considered as valuable indicators for the journalist's capacity, in its broadest sense. One can logically expect that the higher the educational background and/or the more journalistic training the journalist received and/or the higher the years of experience in the field, the higher the chance for an actor's response. The underlying mechanisms behind this reasoning, mentioned during the workshop in Nairobi, are elements such as access to sources and the size and composition of a network. Besides, these conditions can be assumed to have an effect on the quality of the media product. Quality of the media product is captured as a separate condition though. The analysis should confirm whether this logical model (see also Figure 1) holds true, and under which circumstances it applies.

**Figure 1 Model of the influence of conditions related to the individual journalist on actor and citizen response**



#### 3.3.2.1.1 Years of journalistic experience

One can assume that the longer a journalist works in the field, the better known the journalist is and the higher the impact he/she probably has. An ideal situation would be a journalist who is well-known,

considered credible, has a good network, and has easy access to resources. The difficulty with this condition, though, is the challenge of how to operationalise it in a systematic way. Gut feeling is not reliable enough. The years of experience is a much more valid indicator. Journalistic experience is a proxy for the size of the network of the journalist and his/her perceived credibility. We simply count the number of years active as a journalist, even when the journalist combined this with some educational training.

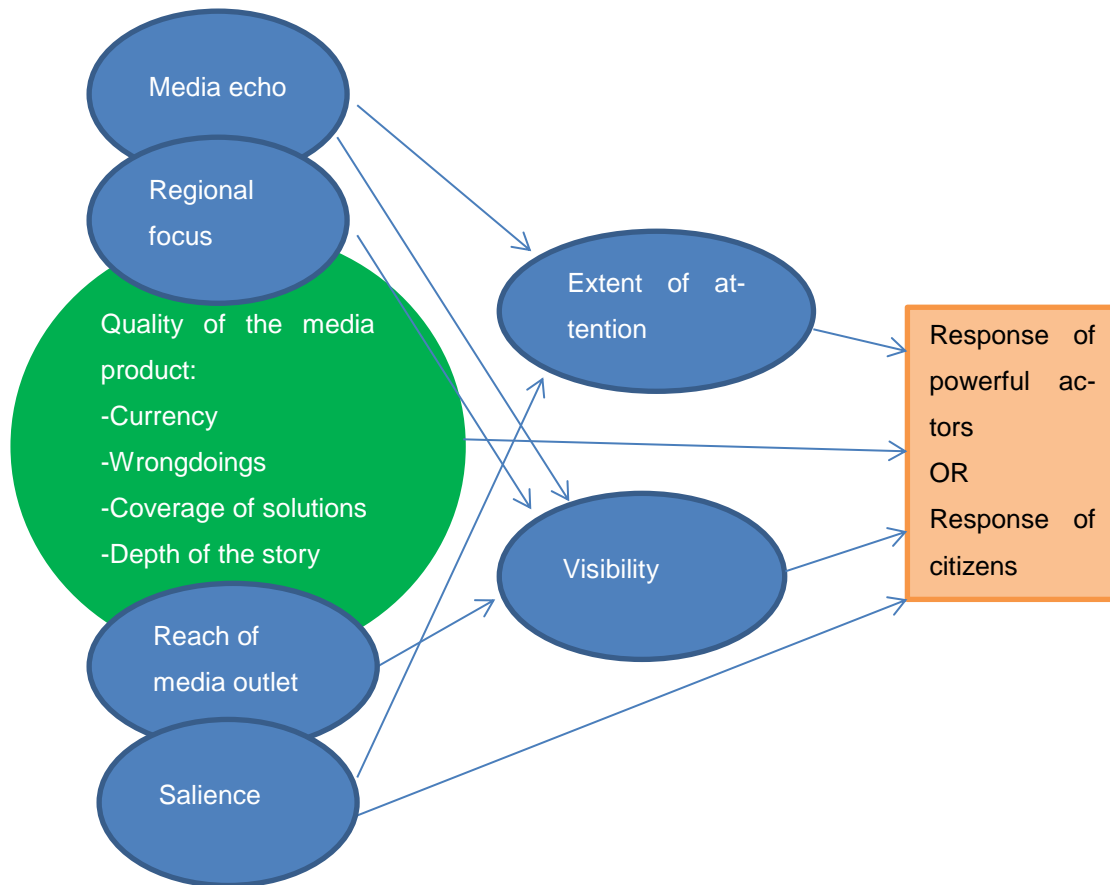
#### 3.3.2.1.2 Education: Journalistic and/or Other education

We decided to merge the factors 'journalistic education' and 'other education' and consider them as composites of a single condition 'education'. Working as a journalist does not require any professional accreditation. Everybody can, in principle, start a career as a journalist, without having followed any specialised training<sup>2</sup>. Nonetheless, we assume that those journalists who enjoyed specialised journalistic training will be more capable to mobilise actor's response. Other education is equally valuable to consider, in addition to specialised journalistic training. No matter the discipline, the more studies one attended, the more analytical skills one should have developed. These skills are useful when analysing a certain problem, investigating and interviewing sources, and pointing at certain solutions. Higher education also helps to liaise with policy makers, or CEO's of certain business organisations, who are also often highly educated.

#### 3.3.2.2 Conditions related to the media product

In addition to the conditions related to the individual journalist, the actor response following the dissemination of a certain media product will also depend a lot on the characteristics of the media product itself. The underlying theory of change model (see Figure 2) makes the underlying mechanisms explicit. We consider the 'extent of attention' and 'visibility' to be key intervening factors in the causal chain between media products and response. A first round of 'condition selection', prior to the first analyses on the basis of secondary data, yielded three conditions with probable explanatory potential: (1) media echo; (2) quality of the media product; and (3) reach of media outlet. We present these conditions first, before moving to some additional conditions that were finally added to the analysis.

**Figure 2 Model of influence of the conditions linked to the media product**



#### 3.3.2.2.1 Media echo

Iteratively repeating the same message may help to trigger response. An issue that is repeatedly addressed not only has greater chances to be ‘heard’, but also has greater chances of garnering a response. The publication of a KMP/TMF sponsored media product can trigger other media to pick up the same message. As such, a KMP/TMF product can be the first link in a chain of stories about the same issue. We classify this as ‘media echo’.

#### 3.3.2.2.2 Quality of the media product

Next to the assumed quality of the journalist, the quality of the product will likely be a determining condition in gaining a response. The two conditions can be expected to be correlated, but this is not necessarily the case. Quality of the media product, for instance, can also be influenced by the mentor or by the editor. Both of them can intervene in the production process. The present evaluation focuses on the media products, once published. The process of publication and the actors that potentially interfere are of secondary importance. No matter the production process, we expect that the quality of the end product will influence its deemed importance, as perceived by other actors. More qualitative articles can be expected to be considered more reliable, and will be given more in-depth attention. Action or reaction by other stakeholders can be assumed more likely, in this case.

Importantly, KMP and TMF have separately developed quality systems, varying in robustness and sophistication.

TMF developed a tradition of quality control, conducted by independent persons, who are specifically trained for this purpose. The control system is based on a large number of indicators that cover 9 quality related dimensions for investigative journalists. Each of the indicators is scored on a 5 point scale. Results of the quality content analyses are periodically published by TMF on their website.

KMP has its own quality control system. The media products are screened by staff members of KMP themselves. Seven criteria are taken into account: objectivity, variety, accuracy and balance, relevance to issues of national importance, depth, diversification of sources and viewpoints, and credibility of sources. Each of these criteria is scored on a 1-5 point scale.

With the existing data varying in quality and in detail, we decided to proceed with a common operationalisation of quality of the media product. We hereto used the most sophisticated index of the two programmes, the one developed and tested among TMF grantees. In consultation with the primary stakeholders, we decided to disentangle the concept 'quality of an investigative journalistic product' into four separate (aggregate) conditions (see for an overview Table 4). All of them are assumed to be influential in determining an actor response, albeit opinions about the assumed direction of influence sometimes varied between KMP and TMF stakeholders. The analysis should reveal which of these conditions matter most, and in which direction.

**Table 4 Conditions concerning the quality of the media product**

(Aggregate) condition		Composite 1	Composite 2
Currency of issue	Does the story concern problems of ordinary people and/or of officials?	Currency of citizens, i.e. the story concerns problems of ordinary people and their daily life	Currency of officials, i.e. the story covers the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)
Wrongdoings of people	Does the story deal with wrongdoings?	Wrongdoings of citizens	Wrongdoings of officials
Solutions	Does the story provide concrete solutions to the problem described, that are easy to solve?	Story provides solution to the problem described	The solution to the problem is easy to address.
Depth of story	Does the story describe the root causes to the problem described, and significant past events	Story covers the root cause(s) to the problem described	Story covers the most significant past events or issues relevant to understand the problem

### 3.3.2.3 Reach of the media outlet

The level of response to a media product can be assumed to be influenced also by the level at which the product is diffused. TMF and KMP hold different hypotheses. While TMF considers the local or regional level to be more influential in the Tanzanian context, KMP assumes that the national level will be decisive. Articles diffused at a national level can be expected to generate a more substantial response. The underlying mechanism is, again, visibility and extent of attention given to a certain product. The QCA analysis should enable us to verify which of these assumptions hold true in the particular countries, and in which combinations they lead to effect.

### 3.3.2.4 Additional conditions related to the content of the media product

It soon became clear, after conducting a first analysis for a sample of 40 TMF cases, that we would never be able to reach a full explanation on the basis of the above conditions only. Interviewees (see: 4. Data collection) all pointed at the importance of the content of the media products. A difficulty with this series of conditions is their operationalisation in a systematic way. Based on a brainstorm at the end of our fieldwork, we agreed to explore the value of the following conditions:

#### 3.3.2.4.1 Salience of issue

The more salient a topic, the more attention it gets, e.g. because of blame avoidance, safeguarding good reputation, the public good etc. The saliency of the topic covered by the media product is important at different levels:

- Individual; a topic is salient for a certain CEO or politician (portfolio minister)
- Political; a topic is salient for a certain political party or a certain policy issue
- Societal; a topic is salient for certain geographical areas, civil groups or an NGO

Whether a story is perceived as colloquial or not likely depends on the country context in which it is launched. The way in which we operationalised this condition takes this country context into account (see below).

#### 3.3.2.4.2 Regional focus of the story

In addition to the above mentioned level of media outlet, national or regional, we will also explore the potential impact of the targeted level of the story. What geographical areas is the journalist writing about? Is it an issue that concerns one of the main cities? Or is it a story that deals with rural areas? One could argue that the likelihood of an actor response may be higher when a story deals with issues dealing with local communities than in more anonymous cities. The inverse logic may also hold true: stories that concern urban residents will affect more people, and hence prompt more substantial response. The analysis should reveal which of these logics holds true and in which circumstances. It is interesting to recall that TMF gives extra attention to stories from rural areas. This is not so much explicitly the objective of KMP.

### 3.3.2.5 Overview of conditions

One can think of a dozen conditions that presumably influence an actor response. In interaction with the KMP and TMF teams, and inspired by the programme theories, we made a reasoned selection of

ten conditions (see Table 5). These conditions were also the ones that returned as relevant during the phone interviews with a series of journalists that participated in KMP or TMF (see below, on the interviews).

The ten conditions constitute the basis for the QCA analysis. As mentioned above, we depart from the same list of conditions for KMP and TMF, and for the two types of actor response, response of the powerful actors, and citizen response.

**Table 5 Overview of all the (aggregated) conditions**

(Aggregate) conditions	Composite 1 (if applicable)	Composite 2 (if applicable)
1. Years of experience of journalist		
2. Type of education		
3. Media echo		
4. Reach of media outlet		
5. Currency of issue	Currency of citizens	Currency of officials
6. Wrongdoings of people	Wrongdoings of citizens	Wrongdoings of officials
7. Coverage of solutions	Story covers solutions	The solution to the problem described is easy
8. Depth of story	Story covers the root cause(s) to the problem described	Story covers the most significant past events or issues relevant to understand the problem
9. Salience of issue		
10. Regional focus of story		

## **4 Data collection**

As could already be derived from the overview of the evaluation process, we relied on a combination of sources: (1) document analysis; (2) interviews and (3) survey. Of the three sources, the survey constituted the primary source of data collection, for the purposes of a systematic and comparable QCA data analysis.

### **4.1 Interviews**

The survey constituted our main reference point for the construction of the data table, and hence for the QCA analyses. To get more in-depth information about the specificities of the Kenyan and Tanzanian media context, we conducted a series of semi structured interviews in the two countries. The selection of respondents was conducted by KMP and TMF themselves. Within the limited scope of this evaluation, we deliberately focused on interviews with journalists who produced one or several media products that clearly triggered 'some' element of actor response.

Each interview consisted of four major parts:

- (i) What was the content and format of the media product?
  - (ii) What kind of response did the media product generate?
  - (iii) Did condition x contribute to this response? [condition x being the conditions that were considered relevant by TMF and KMP]
  - (iv) Are there any other conditions that explain the actor response?
- In total, we interviewed nine journalists, five based in Kenya and four in Tanzania.
  - Interviews were organised by skype or via phone.
  - On average, an interview lasted about 30 minutes.
  - Journalists were guaranteed anonymity, given the sometimes very sensitive topics investigated.

### **4.2 Survey**

For QCA, being a tool for systematic comparison, an important prerequisite is the comparability of the data. Yet, while modelled along a relatively similar programme logic, data availability and comparability for the two settings largely differed, at least for the conditions. KMP and TMF developed separate and different monitoring and evaluation frameworks throughout their existence. Prior to this evaluation, the large majority of the Tanzanian media products were already subjected to rigorous and independent content analysis. A reliable database with information on different content attributes was available. At KMP, such content analysis was not conducted, at least not in such a systematic way. Available data was exclusively based on the perception of journalists themselves and the staff members of the programme.

As for the outcomes, i.e. the actor's response to the media products, the picture was more homogeneous, in the negative sense. There was no fine-grained information about the outcomes in either of the countries.

Primary data collection was hence essential. For the sake of having comparable data across individual journalists and across the two countries, and anticipating the calibration of conditions and outcomes that a QCA analysis requires, we decided to launch an online survey (software used: Limesurvey):

- The survey was sent to all individual journalists that completed a KMP and TMF supported media product, and who had submitted a narrative report.
- The survey was identical for both KMP and TMF.
- The survey was sent to individual journalists, yet the level of analysis is the individual media product. Journalists who produced more than one media product with the support of a TMF/KMP grant were asked to complete part of the survey  $x$  times (where  $x$ = number of media products produced with the support of TMF/KMP).
- The survey consisted of a mixture of closed and open questions. Closed questions provided the primary source for the calibration; open questions provided extra narrative information.
- Two versions were developed, one in English and one in Kiswahili. Journalists could select their preferred language.
- First launch of survey: 15 September 2014. Survey was closed on 23 October 2014. Three reminders were sent by the evaluators, and one reminder by KMP/TMF themselves.
- We finally reached a response rate of 36% for KMP individual journalists<sup>3</sup> (corresponding with 49% of the media products supported by KMP<sup>4</sup>); and 49% as for TMF individual journalists (corresponding with 41% of the media products supported by TMF) [See table 2 for more detailed numbers in this regard]. We have to add here that many journalists, especially in Tanzania, had serious problems with access to (and proper understanding of the workings of) the internet.

The construction of the survey was done in close consultation with the teams (See Annex II for the outline of the survey). Feedback was systematically incorporated until no major remarks were raised. Questions were initially inspired by the TMF content analysis, and this for two major purposes: (1) these questions were already tested before, albeit only independent controllers applied them; (2) TMF could then later (*out of the scope of this evaluation*) compare the information provided by journalists themselves with the information provided by the independent controllers.

As to avoid social desirable answers as much as possible, we included 'verifying' questions for each of the conditions. For instance, we did not immediately ask the journalist whether he/she described the root causes of a problem in the media product, but first asked him/her to describe the root causes of the problem described. A subsequent question then asked whether the described root cause was also mentioned in the media product. As such, we stimulated the journalist to provide a reliable answer that could objectively be verified. The English version of the survey is included in Annex II of this report.

QCA, as mentioned, does not claim to provide findings that can be generalised to media products, other than the ones included in the analysis. One can arguably ask to what extent the products analysed are representative of the overall number of grants provided to individual journalists. This ques-

tion is hard to answer. Note that we departed from the *completed* media products. Journalists who received a grant, but never finalised their product, were not sent the survey. The analysis of the non-finalised products could probably yield interesting insights about the risk factors that can lead to non-finalisation. Yet, as mentioned, this was not the objective of this evaluation. As for the journalists who indeed participated in the survey, we asked the teams to verify the profiles of these journalists in order to check whether there was any inherent bias in the final sample.

For KMP, the following Table 6 provides the overview of journalists who participated in the survey divided over different media types (print, radio, TV), compared with all grantees.

**Table 6 Journalists divided over different media types (print, radio, TV)**

	Journalists who participated in survey	Total number of grantees
Print and Online	13	57
TV and Online	2	11
Radio and Online	5	17
Online only	0	1

	Journalists who participated in survey	Total number of grantees
Print and Online	41	171
TV and Online	5	51
Radio and Online	9	77
Online only	0	0

In terms of media type, the survey is fairly representative. In addition, as could be expected, the majority of journalists that participated in the survey are the more active ones (See for the Raw data Annex IX (KMP) and Annex X (TMF)).

### 4.3 Document analysis

The interviews and the survey were complemented with document analysis. The main purpose was again to get acquainted with the particularities of the two programmes, and to get in-depth information about some particular cases. Relevant documents were the following:

For KMP:

- Individual grant application forms
- Baseline Survey on Citizen's perception of the media report (1st April 2013 - 31st March 2014).
- Annual narrative reports (1st April 2012 - 31st March 2013+ 1st April 2013 - 31st March 2014)

For TMF:

- TMF Operational Report January – December 2013 (including Case Study Report)
- Content analysis report + Codebook 2014 (by: Dr Joseph Matumaini & Mr Peter Mataba, Consulting for Media)
- Institutional grantees audience survey 2014 (by: Ipsos Public Affairs)
- Baseline Community and Decision Maker Media Perception Survey (by: Ipsos Public Affairs)

## 5 Calibrating outcomes and conditions

### 5.1 Calibration in function of a systematic comparison of media products

With the selection of conditions, we are able to translate each media product into a combination of conditions and outcome (i.e. an actor response). This is not sufficient though to proceed to a systematic analysis. QCA, no matter the specific technique used, relies on Boolean or set-theoretic logic. We refer to specialised textbooks for more in-depth information about the characteristics of this logic. For the purposes of this evaluation, we restrict ourselves by stating that QCA requires the operationalisation of conditions in either crisp values or in fuzzy set values. With crisp values, we simply refer to 1 or 0 scores. Conditions or outcomes assigned a score of 1 should be read as present (or high, or large), while conditions with a score of 0 are conceived as absent (or low, or small). The crisp set variant of QCA involves most simplification. In the fuzzy set variant of QCA, by contrast, a condition can take every value between 0 and 1. As such, QCA allows us to take account of fine-grained information about cases, and partial membership in sets.

E.g. a media product can have a membership score for condition X on the following scale:

- Fully in the set (fuzzy membership = 1.0)
- More in, than out of the set (membership = .67)
- 0.5 known as the "crossover point" (neither in, nor out of the set)
- more out than in of the set (membership = .33)
- fully out of the set (membership = 0)

Key in the analysis is the anchor point: 0.5. Cases with a score below this anchor point are seen as cases without this particular characteristic. Cases with a score above this anchor point are considered as cases with this particular characteristic.

To account for nuances, we used as much as possible fuzzy scores in this evaluation, except when this was not very logical. For example: take the condition entitled "reach of media outlet". This condition can simply be translated into two values, where 1 stands for national outlet; and 0 stands for local or regional outlet. It is difficult to determine more fine grained values for such a condition.

The (simplified) translation of cases in a combination of binary or fuzzy values will help to systematically compare the media products.

## 5.2. Overview of operationalisation

### 5.1.1 Outcomes

#### 5.1.1.1 Response from powerful actors

With response from powerful actors, we refer to a response coming from politicians, NGOs or businesses. For each media product, journalists had to indicate the level of response received by a particular actor (see for an overview Table 7). The aggregate outcome is simply constructed on the basis of the average of the three composites. Any of the composites are given equal value.

**Table 7 Operationalisation of “a response from powerful actors”**

	A response from:	Measured in survey	Possible answers	Calibration for KMP and TMF
Composite 1	politicians	Please indicate to what extent POLITICIANS responded to the story	To a strong degree	1
			To a certain degree	0.67
			To a small degree	0.33
			Not at all	0
Composite 2	businesses	Please indicate to what extent BUSINESSES responded to the story	To a strong degree	1
			To a certain degree	0.67
			To a small degree	0.33
			Not at all	0
Composite 3	NGOs	Please indicate to what extent NGOs responded to the story	To a strong degree	1
			To a certain degree	0.67
			To a small degree	0.33
			Not at all	0
AGGREGATE			Average of Composites 1, 2 and 3	SUCCESSFUL CASES: If average > 0.5
				FAILED CASES: If average < 0.5

#### 5.1.1.2 A response from citizens

A second outcome is citizen response. As you can see in Table 8 the operationalisation of this outcome is modelled along the operationalisation of ‘a response from powerful actors’.

**Table 8 Operationalisation of “a response from citizens”**

Response from citizens	Measured in survey	Calibration KMP		Calibration TMF	
Response from citizens	To a strong degree	1	SUCCESSFUL CASES	1	SUCCESSFUL CASES
	To a certain degree	0	FAILED CASES	0.67	FAILED CASES
	To a small degree	0		0.33	
	Not at all	0		0	

Yet, for KMP and TMF, we used a different type of calibration.

- For TMF, we used the same calibration scales as for a response from powerful actors. Successful cases concern the media products with a citizen response of 1 or 0.67. Failed cases on the other hand concern the media products with a citizen response of 0.33 or 0 (not at all).
- For KMP, as we will discuss in the findings section, there was no citizen response for only two media products. While this may be a positive observation from the perspective of the media programmes (almost all products generated any kind of citizen response!), the lack of variability for this outcome variable complicates the fsQCA (fuzzy set QCA) analysis. As mentioned, QCA is oriented towards diversity. The analysis consists of systematically comparing successful cases and failed cases. If the latter category doesn't exist, the analysis can simply not be implemented. To cope with this difficulty, we decided to translate the data into crisp set conditions and a crisp set outcome. Different to previous analyses, where we used fuzzy, fine grained data, we have calibrated all conditions in 0 or 1 scores. As for the outcome variable, i.e. citizen response, we put the threshold between success and failure in between ‘strong response’ and ‘certain response’. This implies that the evaluation question for KMP slightly changes into: “which combinations of conditions explain *strong* citizen response?”

### 5.1.2 Conditions

The following table (Table 9) lists the overview of operationalisation of the different conditions. As mentioned, the survey constituted our primary reference. We systematically mention the survey question on which the coding of conditions is based. The majority of operationalisations are similar for KMP and TMF. Yet, for a few conditions, large context differences necessitated us to select different operationalisations.

**Table 9 Operationalisation of the conditions under study**

	Measured in survey	Calibration for KMP		Calibration for TMF	
Experience	Open text field, any number could be given	Maximum number of years (=19 for KMP) (**)	1	Maximum number of years (= 30 for TMF)	1
		X number of years	X/19	X number of years	X/30
Education	Master	1		Same as KMP	
	Bachelor	.88			
	Diploma	.44			
	Certificate or workshop	.22			
	None	0			
Salience of issue(*)	Cluster – top 1, 2, 3	Political accountability, Health, General politics	1	Agriculture & environment Education, Human rights	1
	Cluster – top 4,5,6	Agriculture & environment, Human Rights, Corruption	0,75	Health, Poverty, Safety	0,75
	Cluster – top 7,8,9	Safety, Poverty, Education	.5	Corruption, Drugs, Tourism	.5
	Cluster – top 10,11,12	Democracy, Drugs, Tourism	0,25	Democracy, Political accountability, General politics	0,25
	Cluster – top 13,14,15	Businesses, Extractive industries and mining, Sports	0	Sports, Businesses, Extractive industries and mining	0
Reach of media outlet	National		1	Same as KMP	
	Local		0		
Media echo	to a strong degree		1	Same as KMP	
	to a certain degree		0,67		
	to a small degree		0,33		
	Not at all		0		
Regional focus of story	General (no specific focus)		1	Same as KMP	
	National/mixed		1		
	Not applicable		0,5		
	Rural		0		

Cur- rency (***)	COMPOSITE 1 Currency     citi- zens	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		I covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
	COMPOSITE 2 Currency     offi- cials	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		I covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
Wrong- doings (***)	COMPOSITE 1: Wrongdoing citizens	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		I covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
	COMPOSITE 2: Wrongdoing officials	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
Solu- tions (***)	COMPOSITE 1: Solutions     de- scribed?	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		I covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
	COMPOSITE 2: Easy to imple- ment	Easy	1	Same as KMP
		Rather easy	0,67	
		Difficult	0,33	
		Very difficult	0	
Depth of story	COMPOSITE 1: Root cause de- scribed	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		I covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	
	COMPOSITE 2: Background explained	It was the core focus	1	Same as KMP
		covered this to some extent	0,67	
		I briefly touched upon this	0,33	
		I didn't cover this	0	

**(\*) SALIENT TOPIC/** We asked the individual journalists to answer the question: “What topics are currently important in your country?” Journalists were asked to rank the following 15 topics:

1	Health (e.g. AIDS, maternal health, malaria, disabilities)
2	Safety (e.g. road safety, violence sexual abuse, domestic violence, attacks, robberies)
3	Education
4	Agriculture & environment (e.g. water, pollution, crops)
5	Human Rights (e.g. general, women, children, disability)
6	Poverty
7	Political accountability
8	Extractive industries and mining
9	Businesses
10	Sports
11	Drugs
12	Tourism
13	Corruption
14	General politics
15	Democracy

Based on the answers of all journalists, we constructed an overall weighted ranking of what is considered salient in a particular country (at the time of surveying). Topics ranked as ‘number 1’ were weighted highest; topics ranked as ‘number 15’ were weighted lowest. To decide whether a journalist produced a story on a salient topic, we ourselves assigned the topic of the media product to one of the 15 categories, and compared this with the overall country ranking. The three most salient topics were assigned score 1-3; top 4-6 were given score 0.75; top 7-9 score 0.25; and the least salient topics score 0.

**(\*\*) EXPERIENCE/** Initially, the teams suggested using 6 years as a threshold. Yet, this threshold yielded insufficient variability across journalists. Therefore, we decided to take the maximum number of years per country observed as ‘1’ and scored all other observed values in function of this maximum. We hence used a continuous scoring. For KMP, the maximum number of years for the journalists included in the survey is 19 (with 9.5 years of experience as cut-off point 0.5); for TMF, the maximum is 30 (with 15 years of experience as cut-off point 0.5).

**(\*\*) AGGREGATES for CURRENCY; WRONGDOING; DEPTH OF STORY; and SOLUTIONS**

The scores for the conditions that consist of two composites were calculated as shown in Table 10. The composites were given an equal weight.

**Table 10 Aggregates for currency; wrongdoing; depth of story; and solutions**

Composite 1	Composite 2	Score of Aggregate
1	1	1
1	0.67	0.88
0.67	0.67	0.77
1	0.33	0.66
0.67	0.33	0.55
0.33	0.33	0.44
1	0	0.33
0	0.67	0.22
0	0.33	0.11
0	0	0

One major exception applies to this above described calibration of conditions (see Table 10). Earlier, we explained that we used a crisp set calibration for the analysis of KMP's strong citizen response. Accordingly, we also decided to calibrate the conditions in a crisp set way for the analysis of KMP's citizen response. We placed our threshold at the 0.5 value: conditions with a fuzzy score above 0.5, received a '1' score, while conditions with a fuzzy score equal to or below 0.5 received a '0 score'. With the recalibrated 0/1 data, we could apply a crisp set QCA analysis (software: Tosmana).

## 6 FINDINGS

The ‘translation’ of cases into crisp or fuzzy conditions and outcomes enables us to proceed to the analysis. The findings section is organised per programme, respectively KMP and TMF. For each we systematically address the following five aspects:

- To what extent did the media products trigger a response from powerful actors?
- To what extent did the media products trigger a response from citizens?
- What are the characteristics (i.e. conditions) of the media products?
- Under which conditions do the media products trigger a response from powerful actors?
- Under which conditions do the media products trigger a response from citizens?

In the concluding section of this report, we compare the findings across the two programmes.

### 6.1 KMP

#### *6.1.1 To what extent did the KMP media products trigger a response from powerful actors?*

Fourteen media products can be considered successful, in terms of a response received from powerful actors. Twenty-nine cases are classified as failed cases. We emphasise that the labels ‘successful’ and ‘failed’ only refer to an actor response, and not to any other characteristics of the media products. Table 11 summarizes the extent of response per type of actor, and illustrates this with examples of responses as literally mentioned by the journalists themselves.

**Table 11 Response from powerful actors**

	Survey question	Possible answers	# of cases	Examples literally mentioned by journalists
<b>Composite 1</b>	Please indicate to what extent POLITICIANS responded to the story	To a strong degree	8	Women representative Mombasa county assisted with hospital bill at the coast general hospital Mombasa (product: “livestock cartel terrorizing citizens in Sotik-Borabu border in Kenya”); there were actions from the Ministry of Health officials to streamline service delivery (product: “access to health as a basic human right”)
		To a certain degree	10	Equipment was fixed in some facilities and some facelifts, individual facilities addressed fate of their employees (product: “State of morgues vs environmental impact, morticians, management etc”); Some expressed outrage about the fact that a Rwanda Genocide suspect could have been hiding in the country (product: “In the footsteps of Kabuga - Investigative documentary”)
		To a small degree	8	No examples given
		Not at all	17	NA
<b>Composite 2</b>	Please indicate to what extent BUSINESSES responded to the story	To a strong degree	3	Especially the locals bars thought we came out to fight their existence, most raids were done and some patrons arrested but only lasted a while as bribes were paid for their freedom (product: “one radio investigative piece on child prostitution”)
		To a certain degree	6	Many raised concerns of low selling prices by players in the corrupt game (product: “Drugs and goods smuggling along the highway”)
		To a small degree	3	No examples given
		Not at all	31	NA

Composite 3	Please indicate to what extent NGOs responded to the story	To a strong degree	12	One NGO Carolina for Kibera enhanced their girls programme Binti Pamoja to also include sex education into their programme to empower girls from the community (product: “one radio investigative piece on child prostitution”); One NGO, the International Justice Mission really liked the story and called me into their office to further expound on some issues (product: “ Print-Prostitution in Juba,the inside story“)
		To a certain degree	17	More sensitization programmes on dangers of FGM (product: how educated women undergo female genital mutilation in south rift region of Kenya “); The story was picked up and reprinted by a health workers lobby (product: “role of community health workers in health care delivery”)
		To a small degree	7	lobbying the government to increase access to safe abortion (product: “status of Post abortion Care in the country“)
		Not at all	7	NA
SUCCESSFUL CASES			14 (33%)	
FAILED CASES			29 (67%)	

Table 12 provides the averages of responses by each of the actors.

**Table 12 Responses from powerful actors (1- not at all – 4 to a strong degree)**

POLITICIANS	BUSINESSES	NGOS
2.21	1.56	2.72

One should interpret these figures with care. It is likely that businesses will only respond, when the media product concerns one of their activities. Yet, only a limited proportion of media products deals with businesses. In between, we can situate responses from politicians. Only 18 of the products yielded a strong or certain response from politicians. This is perhaps more surprising, given the fact that KMP media products target powerful people.

The ‘not at all’ survey answer category is interesting: for 31 media products, there was no response from businesses. In contrast, only 7 media products were not followed by an NGO response. Hence, especially NGOs are active in responding to the investigative media products. Businesses (with an average response rate of 1,56) are least reactive.

In Annex V, we give the full overview of the responses from each of the powerful actors for the successful cases (as self-reported by the journalists). Note that some journalists did not give any narrative evidence about the response given by actors. Lacking complementary detailed evidence about these products, we proceeded with the self-reported data.

#### *6.1.2 To what extent did the KMP media products trigger a response from citizens?*

The survey data overall revealed a strong positive assessment of citizen response (see also Table 13). For only two media products, there was no citizen response. For twenty-five media products, the journalists indicated to have received a strong response from citizens. We consider these media products as the successful cases. The table below mentions examples (literally) given by journalists of citizen responses received. Annex VI lists all successful cases, and the responses they generated.

**Table 13 Examples of responses of citizens given by journalists**

	Possible answers	# of cases	Examples literally mentioned by journalists
Response from citizens	To a strong degree	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A lot, actually the story was trending on twitter, got a call from the children's department on the way forward (product: "TV documentary "lost childhood");</li> <li>Concerns were raised on corrupt leaders like the local administration like chiefs who are paid bribes by bar owners to encourage child prostitution, issue of unemployment among locals was also a key concern, our way of living single rooms catering for entire families. (Product: "one radio investigative piece on child prostitution");</li> <li>Resulted to consultations and advocacy (Product: "Access to health as a basic human right")</li> </ul>
	To a certain degree	15	Responses with people expressing concerns in the programmes the story went on air through SMS and phone calls (Product: "COAST AND ELECTIONS 1")
	To a small degree	1	Need to demystify the stigma associated with access (product: "gaps in the implementation of the post abortion care services")
	Not at all	2	
Successful cases (based on crisp set calibration)		25 (58%)	
Failed cases		18 (42%)	

**6.1.3 What are the characteristics (i.e. the values on the conditions) of the media products?**

The following Table 14 summarises the major characteristics of KMP supported media products.

**Table 14 Characteristics of KMP supported media products**

	Question in the survey	Measured in survey	Calibration		# of cases (successful and failed cases)
Experience of the journalist	How many years of experience do you have in the media sector?	Open text field, any number could be given	Maximum number of years (=19 for KMP)	1	>.5: 16 (corresponding with 7 journalists)
			X number of years	X/19	<.5: 27 (corresponding with 13 journalists)
Education of the journalist	What kind of education have you had?	Master	1		2
		Bachelor	0.88		25
		Diploma	0.44		16
		Certificate or workshop	0.22		0
		None	0		0
Salience of issue	Comparison of What was the topic of your product(s)?	Cluster – top 1, 2, 3	Political accountability, Health, general politics	1	18
		Cluster – top 4,5,6	Agriculture & environment, Human Rights, Corruption	0.75	12
		Cluster – top 7,8,9	Safety, Poverty, Education	0.5	7
		Cluster – top 10,11,12	Democracy, Drugs, Tourism	0.25	6
	AND What topics are currently important in your country?	Cluster – top 13,14,15	Businesses, Extractive industries and mining ,Sports	0	0
Reach of media outlet	Is the outlet (where the product appeared) local or national?	National	1	29	
		Local	0	14	
Media echo	Was the product (and its story) picked up by other media?	To a strong degree	1	13	
		To a certain degree	0.67	17	
		To a small degree	0.33	10	
		Not at all	0	3	
Regional focus of story	Did the product cover a story about a rural or an urban area?	General (no specific focus)	1	33	
		National/mixed	1		
		Not applicable	0,5	1	
		Rural	0	9	

Currency of issue	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover concerns and problems of ordinary people and their daily life in your product(s)?	Currency citizens	It was the core focus	1	39
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	3
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	1
			I didn't cover this	0	0
	COMPOSITE 2 To what extent did you cover the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process, ....) in your product(s)?	Currency officials	It was the core focus	1	19
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	18
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	3
			I didn't cover this	0	3
Wrongdoings	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover the wrongdoings of ordinary citizens in your product(s)?	Wrongdoing citizens	It was the core focus	1	15
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	17
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	7
			I didn't cover this	0	4
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent did you cover the wrongdoings of officials?	Wrongdoing officials	It was the core focus	1	22
			covered this to some extent	0.67	16
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	4
			I didn't cover this	0	0
Solutions	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover such solutions in your product(s)?	Solutions described?	It was the core focus	1	26
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	13
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	3
			I didn't cover this	0	1
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent are such solutions easy to implement?	Easy to implement	Easy	1	1
			Rather easy	0.67	15
			Difficult	0.33	25
			Very difficult	0	2

Depth of story	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover this/these root cause(s) in your product(s)?	Root cause described?	It was the core focus	1	31
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	11
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	1
			I didn't cover this	0	0
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent did you cover such past events or issues in your product(s)?	Background explained	It was the core focus	1	19
			covered this to some extent	0.67	15
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	7
			I didn't cover this	0	2

In Table 15 you can find additional information about the distribution of cases for the aggregate conditions: currency, wrongdoings, solutions and depth of story.

**Table 15 Distribution of cases for the aggregate conditions: currency, wrongdoings, solutions and depth of story**

Score of Aggregate	Currency	Wrongdoing	Solutions	Depth of Story
Number of cases per value				
1	17	8	1	18
0.88	19	17	8	11
0.77	0	4	5	5
0.66	2	3	17	3
0.55	2	6	8	3
0.44	0	0	1	1
0.33	3	1	0	0
0.22	0	2	2	2
0.11	0	2	1	0
0	0	0	0	0

#### *Years of experience*

As mentioned by one of the most famous Kenyan journalists: investigative journalism is still a field in development in Kenya. This is reflected by the relatively low average in years of experience: 8.5 years. The least experienced journalist has worked for 3 years in the field, the most experienced journalist for 19 years.

### Education

The journalists who participated in the survey are overall highly educated. 15 of the journalist have a bachelor- or a master diploma. The seven others have a diploma. Only two of the journalists have a diploma that is not journalism related.

### Which topics are now salient in Kenya?

In Table 16 you can see the perceived rank-order of what is now salient in Kenya.

**Table 16 Salient topics in Kenya**

1	Political accountability
2	Health (e.g. hunger, maternal health, malaria, disabilities, pollution)
3	General politics
4	Corruption
5	Human Rights (e.g. general, women, children)
6	Agriculture & environment (e.g. water, pollution, crops)
7	Safety (e.g. road safety, violence sexual abuse, domestic violence, attacks, robberies)
8	Poverty
9	Education
10	Democracy
11	Drugs
12	Tourism
13	Businesses
14	Extractive industries and mining
15	Sports

#### 6.1.4 Some conditions are almost stable across media products

As mentioned earlier in this report, QCA is oriented towards diversity. Listing the distribution of cases across conditions, reveals that some conditions vary little:

- *Currency citizens*: For no less than 39 of the cases (91%), the journalists indicated that the product covered concerns and problems of ordinary people and their daily life; for three products this was only covered to a limited extent; and for only one product, this condition was 'rather absent'. An in-depth content analysis of the products should verify whether this 'positive' perception is objectively reflected in the products, or whether this condition is influenced by socially desirable answers. The fact that we observed more diversity of the condition 'currency officials' makes us speculate that the positive assessment of currency citizens is not fully a product of social desirability.

- *Solutions are covered in the product:* For no less than 39 cases (91%), the solution was covered in the product, either the solution constituted the core focus (n=26); or it was covered to some extent (n=13). Three products only touched briefly upon a solution. For investigative journalistic products, this positive assessment is not very surprising.
- *Root causes are covered in the product:* In 31 products the root causes (72%) underlying a particular problem constituted the main focus; for 11 products the root causes were covered but only to some extent (26%); whereas in only 1 product, the journalist only briefly touched upon the root causes (2%). Again, perhaps, in an investigative journalism context, this finding is not so remarkable, but in line with the expectations.

Because of the limited explanatory power of these three conditions, it no longer makes sense to include them in the subsequent analyses. All three conditions are but one single composite of an aggregate condition. We nonetheless proceed with the other composites (respectively: currency officials; the ease of solutions; and the description of the background of the problem) for the remaining analyses for KMP.

#### 6.1.5 Under which conditions do the media products trigger a response from powerful actors?

Under which conditions do the media products trigger response from powerful actors? Answering this evaluation question requires first to check whether there are any necessary conditions. Necessary conditions are conditions that are (almost) always present or absent when we observe a response from powerful actors. With 'almost always', we refer to 90% of the instances (cfr. best practice in QCA research, Schneider and Wagemann, 2012, p. 143).<sup>5</sup> As you can see in Table 17, three conditions meet this requirement.

**Table 17 Trivial necessary conditions for response by powerful actors**

	Consistency*	Coverage*
(1) High education	0.94	0.52
(2) High currency officials	0.91	0.48
(3) High wrongdoing	0.97	0.51
Composite 1: High wrongdoing citizens	0.90	0.53
Composite 2: High wrongdoing officials	0.99	0.49

- **HIGH EDUCATION:** Having a bachelor or master degree, albeit not necessarily in journalism.
- **HIGH CURRENCY OFFICIALS:** Products that deal with the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)
- **HIGH WRONGDOING:** Tackling the wrongdoings of people. Comparing the two composites, the successful cases especially deal with the wrongdoings of officials, and to a lesser extent with the wrongdoings of citizens.

Yet, a closer inspection of these conditions shows that also the failed cases share these characteristics to a major extent. The conditions are, in other words, not unique to the successful cases. We are therefore inclined to label them as TRIVIAL necessary conditions. The individual conditions do not have much explanatory value to distinguish the successful cases from the failed cases. The analysis of sufficiency (See Annex VII), where we will search for the paths towards success/failure, should reveal whether these trivial conditions nonetheless have any explanatory power, in interaction with other conditions.

When comparing the failed cases, i.e. the cases without a response from powerful actors, we cannot retrieve any necessary conditions.

Conclusion: Analysis of necessity for response of powerful actors

- Trivial necessary conditions for the successful cases: High education; Currency officials; Wrongdoings.
- No necessary conditions for the failed cases

#### 6.1.6 *Paths towards response from powerful actors- SUCCESSFUL CASES*

The analysis of necessity focused on the role of individual conditions, which runs somehow counter to the combinatory logic of QCA. We precisely assume that it is a combination of conditions that gives media products their unique nature, and that different combinations can produce the same level of actor response (equifinality).

So, what are the possible paths that lead to a response from powerful actors? The systematic comparison of media products directs us to three core paths towards success (See Annex VII for an overview of all the conditions).

### THREE CORE PATHS TOWARDS SUCCESS<sup>6</sup> (response from powerful actors)

1. Rural focus
2. High education AND national media outlet AND strong coverage of wrongdoings AND strong coverage of background
3. Regional media outlet AND low coverage of background

#### • **CORE PATH 1: rural focus**<sup>1,2,3</sup>

The stories produced by these journalists concern issues that take place in a rural area, and not in an urban area. We can speculate that powerful actors feel more pressured to address stories that concern an identifiable group of people, rather than the anonymous collective of citizens living in the city. Contributing to this explanation are the other conditions shared by these cases: the media products covered by this path all deal with a salient topic and were extensively picked up by other media. They are further characterised by the two necessary conditions: coverage of wrongdoings; and currency of officials.

- **CORE PATH 2: high education AND national media outlet AND Strong coverage of wrongdoings AND strong coverage of background of problems<sup>4,5</sup>**

The second core path draws our attention to a combination of three core conditions. We interviewed one of the journalists whose product belongs to this path. He broadcasted an investigative documentary about the audit of elections. The documentary is a typical successful case. The documentary received high response from politicians, both from the ruling majority and opposition. A press conference was held, and the documentary paved the way for a national dialogue about the elections. The story being nationally broadcasted on one of the biggest TV stations was one of the major explanatory factors for its success. The extensive investigative work conducted by the journalist was a second condition. The journalist concerned is convinced that the topic of the story is less important than the depth of investigative work conducted. An investigative journalist should unravel things that people did not know before. Note that the journalist concerned is still relatively young. In a setting such as Kenya, investigative journalism is still premature in its development. The experience of a journalist is thus not such an explanatory factor.

- **CORE PATH 3: regional media outlet AND low coverage of background of problems<sup>6,7</sup>**

The third path applies to stories of national importance that are disseminated via a regional media outlet, but that lack extensive background coverage. A lengthy description of the background of a particular phenomenon is not always essential. For some issues, the background is already commonly known. This perhaps also applies to a problem such as child prostitution, one of the issues described by a case covered by this path. In Annex IV to this report, we give the overview of journalists' assumptions about the expected impact of different types of media outlets (both for Tanzania and Kenya). Core path 3 confirms that regional media outlets, such as local radio stations, can have impact equal to a national media outlet, if other conditions are met. People may feel more named and shamed, and hence may feel more responsible, when a story is disseminated in a limited area, where everyone knows everybody. The story of child prostitution triggered substantial impact, also because it dealt with wrongdoings and currency of officials, i.e. the necessary conditions for response of powerful actors.

#### *6.1.7 Paths towards absence of response from powerful actors- FAILED CASES*

In addition to the analysis of the successful cases, we also analysed the failed cases (See Annex VII for an overview of all the conditions). One can expect that results are more reliable for the failed cases. Journalists may be tempted to overestimate the impact of their work. But it would be surprising if a journalist is not aware of the response.

## FIVE CORE PATHS TOWARDS FAILURE

1. National media outlet AND low coverage of background of problems
2. Weak media echo AND strong coverage of background of problems
4. National focus AND problems that are easy to solve
5. Regional media outlet AND national focus AND strong coverage of background of problems
6. National media outlet AND salient topic AND national focus

- **CORE PATH 1: national media outlet AND low coverage of background of problems<sup>8,9</sup>**

The products covered by this path were followed by a strong media echo; they concern a salient topic of regional importance; deal with the currency of officials; and the wrongdoings. At first sight, based on the value of these conditions, one would expect high resonance with powerful actors, which is not the case. A comparison of the paths with the more successful products suggests that the reason for limited impact should be sought in the low coverage of the background of problems combined with the national media outlet. We should remark that we are surprised to find the product “unscrupulous use of carcinogenic calcium carbide to ripen fruits in Kenya” among the list of failed cases. In the interview with the journalist, strong indications were given in support of the impact of this story. Yet, in the survey, the journalist considered this product as only partially successful.

- **CORE PATH 2: weak media echo AND strong coverage of background of problems<sup>10,11,12,13,14</sup>**

Core path 2 is empirically powerful, with no less than 13 cases. In contrast to the previous path, the cases all deal with stories about rural areas and cover the background of problems. Yet, they are not widely picked up by other media. The media echo proves important in distinguishing between success and failure. Repetition of a story by other media helps to mobilise powerful actors to take steps in resolving a certain problem.

- **CORE PATH 3: national focus AND problems that are easy to solve<sup>15,16</sup>**

The 3 cases to which core path 3 applies are distributed by national media outlets; followed by media echo; they concern a salient topic (illegal logging in forests; role of community health workers; and state of technologies in hospitals); and extensively deal with the background of problems. The systematic comparison with the other cases shows that the national focus of the stories, combined with the fact that the problems are easy to solve is what distinguishes these cases from successful cases. It is hard to find a plausible explanation for this combination of core conditions. The full explanation should presumably be sought in the fact that none of these stories deal with the currency of officials. Officials will as a consequence not feel immediately pressed by these kinds of stories.

- **CORE PATH 4: regional media outlet AND national focus AND strong coverage of background of problems<sup>17</sup>**

Core path 4 deals with five cases that share exactly the same path. They are produced by relatively inexperienced journalists; concern salient topics (such as corruption), deal with the currency of officials

and with wrongdoings. They distinguish themselves from the successful case by the fact that they concern stories of urban/national importance that are distributed via a regional media outlet. In Kenya, regional media outlets, with the exception of local radio stations, are generally considered to be less picked up by powerful actors. Notice as well that these cases concern issues that are difficult to solve. The latter condition contributes to the understanding of non-impact.

- **CORE PATH 5: national media outlet AND national focus AND SALIENT TOPIC<sup>18</sup>**

Finally, the analysis revealed a path characterised by stories of urban/national importance, disseminated via national media outlets that deal with salient issues (such as: abortion or prostitution). It is again hard to find a full explanation for the non-impact of these stories (several of them written by the same journalist). A more comprehensive picture can be obtained by also considering the peripheral conditions. The journalists concerned are not highly educated (which is relatively an exception in Kenya). In addition, the issues addressed require solutions that are difficult to implement. Considering these peripheral conditions, helps to understand the limited impact of these stories. We should mention, though, that also one success story (i.e.; Access to health as a basic human right) shares exactly the same path. There is presumably still another explanatory factor that explains the difference between success and failure for this case. We lack profound case knowledge, though, to give any more hints in this regard.

#### 6.1.8 *Under which conditions do the media products trigger a strong response from citizens?*

Recall that we found three necessary conditions, albeit all of trivial nature, for the analysis of response from powerful actors: (1) high education; (2) high wrongdoings; and (3) currency officials. The analysis of response by citizens yields a different picture. Only one condition, high wrongdoings is found necessary. A closer inspection of this aggregate condition shows that all of the 25 successful cases have a positive score on this condition: in other words: all success stories deal to large extent with the wrongdoings of people. There are also failed cases that concern wrongdoings, but not all failed cases do so. When distinguishing between the two composites, we notice that especially officials are targeted by the journalists. As for the wrongdoings of citizens: all but two of the successful products concern wrongdoings of citizens; whereas nine failed cases do not deal with wrongdoings. We can hence conclude that the description of the wrongdoings is a necessary condition for a citizen response (see also: Table 18).

**Table 18 Necessary conditions for the successful cases in terms of citizens response**

	Consistency	Coverage
High wrongdoings	1	0.57
Composite 1: High wrongdoing citizens	0.94	0.67
Composite 2: High wrongdoing officials	1	0.59

We cannot find any common necessary conditions<sup>7</sup> for the failed cases.

Conclusion: Analysis of necessity for response of citizens

- Necessary conditions for the successful cases: strong coverage of wrongdoings of officials and citizens
- No necessary conditions for the failed cases

#### 6.1.9 Paths towards response from citizens- *SUCCESSFUL CASES*

The analysis of sufficiency (see Annex VII for an overview of all the conditions), conducted with the aim to search for patterns across the media products, revealed seven core paths towards success. Success in this context is defined as ‘strong response from citizens’. The level of abstraction/parsimony for the 25 successful cases is hence relatively limited. The story towards success is still a highly contingent one, as it seems. It is difficult to find patterns across cases.

### SEVEN CORE PATHS TOWARDS SUCCESS

1. No coverage of currency officials AND strong coverage of wrongdoings
2. Strong media echo AND no salient topic AND regional media outlet
3. Journalist with limited experience AND national media outlet AND national focus AND strong coverage of background of problems
4. Regional media outlet AND low coverage of background of problems
5. Regional focus AND solutions that are easy to solve
6. Journalist with limited experience AND salient topic AND regional focus
7. Strong media echo AND strong coverage of wrongdoings AND solutions that are easy to solve AND strong coverage of background of problems

- **CORE PATH 1: no currency officials AND Strong coverage of wrongdoings<sup>20,21,22</sup>**

The first path emphasises the necessary condition found: strong coverage of wrongdoings seems to be a major catalyst for a citizen response. In addition, the products do not deal with the currency of officials. Actually, currency of officials nowhere turns out to be a core explanatory condition. The media products to which this path applies further share the characteristic of being distributed via national media outlets; they share media echo and deal with a salient topic (e.g. prostitution).

- **CORE PATH 2: strong media echo AND salient topic AND regional media outlet<sup>23</sup>**

The second path only concerns one single case, i.e. a radio programme entitled “Trauma of the child”. The radio programme was picked up by several other media outlets. According to the surveyed journalists, the response of citizens is expected to be highest for local radio stations. This product is hence a typical example for this trend.

- **CORE PATH 3: journalist with limited experience AND national media outlet AND national focus and strong coverage of background of problems<sup>24,25</sup>**

Journalistic experience proves to be of second level order to trigger response in Kenya, both for citizens and powerful actor response. The third core explanatory path revolves around the absence of journalistic experience. The path concerns three of the media products produced by John Allen, with whom we conducted an interview (see also path 2 of the successful cases for response of powerful actors). His stories have been broadcasted on national TV; they concern issues of urban/national importance, and he invested a lot in explaining the background of problems. It is this 'cocktail' of combinations that explains why citizens responded to his products.

- **CORE PATH 4: regional media outlet AND low coverage of background of problems<sup>26,27,28</sup>**

We also identified this path for the analysis of response from powerful actors. It concerns the same media products. We argued above that the coverage of the background of problems is not essential for all issues. This path reconfirms that regional media outlets can have a strong impact on citizens response.

- **CORE PATH 5: rural focus AND solutions that are easy to solve<sup>29,30</sup>**

Citizens will feel more addressed, and feel more inclined to react when a story concerns an issue that has a local or rural focus. Especially when it concerns an issue that is relatively easy to solve. This combination of conditions is at the basis of the fifth core path, and applies to three cases. The cases further share a strong media echo; strong coverage of wrongdoings; coverage of the currency of officials and a strong coverage of the background of problems.

- **CORE PATH 6: journalist with limited experience AND salient topic AND regional focus<sup>31</sup>**

Core path 6, which applies to four products produced by two different journalists, again places rural focus at the forefront. The stories concern a particular area or region in Kenya (e.g. Sotik-Borabu border; South Rift region), and all deal with a salient topic (livestock cartels; female genital mutilation; access to health; HIV). Citizens of the regions concerned will feel strongly addressed by such stories and react when possible. The stories are produced by journalists with limited experience, which is yet another indication of the secondary importance of this condition. Contributing to the explanation was the strong media echo following the stories; the coverage of the currency of officials and the strong coverage of wrongdoings.

- **CORE PATH 7: strong media echo AND strong coverage of wrongdoings AND solutions that are easy to solve AND strong coverage of background of problems<sup>32</sup>**

The last route towards success combines four major conditions that turned out to be particularly powerful in explaining various paths. The present path concerns three products written by the same journalist. They are all characterised by a strong coverage of wrongdoings, a strong coverage of the background of problems, strong media and solutions that are easily applied, as core conditions.

**SIX CORE PATHS TOWARDS FAILURE** (See Annex VII for an overview of all the conditions).

1. Salient topic AND low coverage of wrongdoings.
2. Absence of media echo AND strong coverage of solutions that are easy to solve
3. National media outlet AND national focus AND low coverage of background of problems
4. Journalist with limited experience AND regional media outlet AND absence of media echo AND low salient topic
5. National media outlet AND low salient topic AND rural focus AND solutions that are difficult to solve
6. Lower education AND journalist with experience AND strong coverage of currency officials AND solutions that are difficult to solve.

- **CORE PATH 1: salient topic AND low coverage of wrongdoings<sup>33,34</sup>**

The coverage of wrongdoings turned out to be a necessary condition for a citizen response. The three cases concerning path 1 do not include the coverage of wrongdoings. Despite dealing with salient topics (e.g. health), the products did not yield substantial citizen response.

- **CORE PATH 2: absence of media echo AND strong coverage of solutions that are easy to solve<sup>35</sup>**

This path concerns a series of products entitled Coast and Elections. The media products triggered 'some reaction': according to the journalist: "Responses with people expressing concerns in the programmes the story went on air through SMS and phone calls." The story is still categorised as a 'failed' case, given the .67 score on citizen response ("to certain extent"). The reason for 'failure' mainly relates to the lack of media echo following the programmes.

- **CORE PATH 3: national media outlet AND national focus AND low coverage of background of problems<sup>36,37</sup>**

The path 'National media outlet' AND 'Low coverage of background of problems' proved to be one of the explanatory paths for the absence of response of powers. In the analyses of citizen response, a similar path can be found, with 'National focus' added. Part of the products of the two paths are identical. In contrast to what one would perhaps intuitively expect, products with a rural focus, and/or which are distributed via regional media outlets will be more likely picked up by third parties. The low coverage of the background to problems adds to the explanation of limited response of citizens.

- **CORE PATH 4: journalist with limited experience AND regional media outlet AND absence of media echo and low salient topic<sup>38,39</sup>**

Core path 4 again draws our attention to the absence of a media echo, and the salience of topics. The products implied by this path deal with "Devolved funds and Peoples rights" and about the "History of Kamukunji Constituency". They are distributed via regional channels by journalists with limited experience.

- **CORE PATH 5: national media outlet AND low salient topic AND rural focus AND solutions that are difficult to solve<sup>40</sup>**

Path 5 is an individual explanation for only one case, “online news piece”. The story did not deal with a salient issue, concerned an issue of regional importance and dealt with solutions that are difficult to implement (i.e. a solution would be: “firing irresponsible children officers”). Given especially the last circumstance, it is evident to find relatively low citizen response.

- **CORE PATH 6: lower education AND journalist with experience AND strong coverage of currency officials AND solutions that are difficult to solve<sup>41,42</sup>**

The last path puts the ease of implementing solutions again in the picture. It concerns five media products, produced by experienced journalists with low education. All of them dealt with the currency of officials. Yet, the issue of dealing with solutions that are difficult to implement, at least from a citizen perspective (such as: “Stiff laws to curb FGM”), make it hard for citizens to take substantial action.

## 6.2 TMF

### 6.2.1 *To what extent did the TMF media products trigger a response from powerful actors?*

With response from powerful actors, we refer to the extent of response coming from politicians; NGOs or businesses. For each of these actors, journalists had to indicate the level of response received. 71 media products can be considered successful, in terms of response received from powerful actors. 146 cases are classified as failed cases. We emphasise that the labels ‘successful’ and ‘failed’ only refer to an actor response, and not to any other characteristics of the media products. The large table below summarises the main findings. Per actor, we mention as to what extent a response was received. We equally give examples of responses, as mentioned by the journalists themselves. Table 19 also enables us to check variability across journalists.

**Table 19 Examples of responses mentioned by the journalists**

	Response from	Survey question	Possible answers	Number of cases	Examples literally mentioned by journalists
Composite 1	Politicians	Please indicate to what extent POLITICIANS responded to the story	To a strong degree	48 (22%)	(1) Some of them called me to congratulate me, really some politicians were using this crisis to lobby for votes for the upcoming elections (2) The leadership of Kituri village is from CCM [ruling party], the opposition was dissatisfied with the issue but CCM decided to cool matters down
			To a certain degree	79 (36%)	(1) The Ward Councillor of Mbekenyera, under the District Council of Ruangwa, congratulated me and put together a team at ward level to follow up on these effects (2) Politicians use the problems of citizens as a way to find votes as in when they vote for them they will resolve the issues affecting them
			To a small degree	48 (22%)	(1) I received feedback from the MP of the area involved, Lyatonga Mrema, but did not work on that issue (2) Social media (3) I got this to some extent
			Not at all	42 (19%)	
Composite 2	Businesses	Please indicate to what extent BUSINESSES responded to the	To a strong degree	14 (6%)	(1) They wanted to provide food (2) I did not get any positive ones, since they were using child labour and threatened me
			To a certain degree	31 (14%)	(1) Business people congratulated me because during the chaos their things were lost and noone paid them, also businesses stopped for a long time (2) The management of this company complained and threatened to take the journalist and the newspaper to court (3) They will do their best to set up groups to deal with HIV infections such as providing education related

		story			to health issues
			To a small degree	37 (17 %)	(1) The Karagwe District Cooperative, after the programmes, started a collaboration with the NSSF fund, which will collaborate with members of that cooperative to provide loans to some of the farmers facing the problems covered in the programme (2) Helping abandoned women (3) Changing some of the buildings
			Not at all	135 (62%)	
Composite 3	NGOs	Please indicate to what extent NGOs responded to the story	To a strong degree	57 (26 %)	(1) They wanted to bring food and know the needs of the centre and number of clients (2) Encourage youth in line with the fast evolving developments in Mtwara region and be ready to accept them (3) They wanted to know how I carried out my investigation and use my article as part of their trainings
			To a certain degree	38 (18 %)	(1) The organisation of YPC provided career opportunities to women entrepreneurs in the village (2) The government, via the environmental department, inspected the areas mentioned in the article together with me (3) Some of the organisations asked me for my articles so as to use them in their projects for service delivery for the elderly
			To a small degree	20 (9%)	(1) I was lucky to get several activists, who also provided their views (2) Continuing to stand up for the poor (3) They asked me about my communications with the leaders there since they wanted to follow up
			Not at all	102 (47%)	
			AGGREGATE		
			FAILED	146 (67%)	

Table 20 provides the averages of responses by each of the actors. The 'not at all' survey answer category is insightful: for 135 media products (or 62% of the media products), there was no response from businesses. In contrast, only 42 media products were not followed by a response from politicians (or 19% of the media products). Hence, politicians are especially active in responding to the investigative media products. NGOs are less reactive in comparison with businesses, they give more often a response than businesses do, but still they do not react in 47% of the cases.

**Table 20 Responses from powerful actors (1- not at all – 4 to a strong degree)**

POLITICIANS	BUSINESSES	NGOS
2.61	1.63	1.77

Businesses will likely only respond, when the media product concerns one of their activities. Yet, only a limited proportion of media products deals with business. In between, we can situate responses from NGOs. Most of the products, 127 products (58%) yielded a strong or certain response from politicians. The aggregate outcome is simply constructed on the basis of the average of the three composites. Overall, out of the 217 media products, 71 can be qualified as a 'successful story', for the three composites altogether (politicians; businesses, and NGOs), whereas 146 cases are classified as 'failed cases'. We emphasise that the labels 'success' and 'failure' only refer to the actors' response, and not to any other characteristics of the media products.

#### 6.2.2 *To what extent did the TMF media products trigger a response from citizens?*

To give insight into what kind of responses followed certain media products we constructed Table 21. The survey data overall revealed a strong positive assessment of citizen response. For only 12 media products, there was no citizen response. The table below mentions examples (literally) given by journalists of citizen responses received.

**Table 21 Examples of responses of citizens given by journalists**

Re- sponse from	Survey ques- tion	Possible answers	# of Cases	Examples given by journalists
Citizens	Please indi- cate to what extent CITI- ZENS re- sponded to the story	To a strong degree	131 (60%)	(1) While I was doing my investigation, I left my contact details with citizens from Mabwegere, Dumila and Doma. After the article was published they were calling me, some congratulating me and others asking more questions about whether their issue would eventually be worked on (2) The government, via the environmental department, went to the areas I mentioned in the article and citizens congratulated me on doing good work.
		To a cer- tain de- gree	59 (27%)	(1) Citizens congratulated me for making their voices heard so that the responsible authorities would be able to provide a solution for the challenges
		To a small degree	15 (7%)	(1) Several people congratulated me (2) Feedback from one person who called me
		Not at all	12 (6%)	
		SUCCESSFUL CASES		
FAILED CASES			27 (12%)	

6.2.3 What are the characteristics (i.e. values on the conditions) of the media products?

**Table 22 Characteristics of TMF supported media products**

	Question in the survey	Measured in survey	Calibration		# of cases with particular value (success and failure cases)
Experience of the journalist	How many years of experience do you have in the media sector?	Open text field, any number could be given	Maximum number of years (=30 for TMF)	1	>.5: 60 (corresponding with 13 journalists)
			X number of years	X/30	<.5: 157 (corresponding with 42 journalists)
Education of the journalist	What kind of education have you had?	Master	1		2
		Bachelor	0.88		11
		Diploma	0.44		24
		Certificate or workshop	0.22		18
		None	0		0
Salience of an issue	Comparison of What was the topic of your product(s)?	Cluster – top 1, 2, 3	Agriculture, Education, Human Rights	1	82
		Cluster – top 4,5,6	Health, Poverty, Safety	0.75	65
		Cluster – top 7,8,9	Corruption, Drugs, Tourism	0.5	39
	AND	Cluster – top 10,11,12	Democracy, Political Accountability, General Politics	0.25	12
	What topics are currently important in your country?	Cluster – top 13,14,15	Sports, Businesses, Extractive industries	0	19
Reach of media outlet	Is the outlet (where the product appeared) local or national?	National	1	170	
		Local	0	47	
Media echo	Was the product (and its story) picked up by other media?	To a strong degree	1	47	
		To a certain degree	0.67	52	
		To a small degree	0.33	33	
		Not at all	0	85	

Regional focus of story	Did the product cover a story about a rural or an urban area?		General (no specific focus)	1	58
			National/mixed	1	
			Not applicable	0.5	0
			Rural	0	159
Currency of issue	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover concerns and problems of ordinary people and their daily life in your product(s)?	Currency citizens	It was the core focus	1	204
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	12
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	1
			I didn't cover this	0	0
	COMPOSITE 2 To what extent did you cover the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process, ....) in your product(s)?	Currency officials	It was the core focus	1	123
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	32
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	16
			I didn't cover this	0	46
Wrongdoings	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover the wrongdoings of ordinary citizens in your product(s)?	Wrongdoing citizens	It was the core focus	1	102
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	72
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	14
			I didn't cover this	0	29
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent did you cover the wrongdoings of officials?	Wrongdoing officials	It was the core focus	1	152
			covered this to some extent	0.67	35
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	14
			I didn't cover this	0	16
Solutions	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover such solutions in your product(s)?	Solutions described?	It was the core focus	1	157
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	54
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	5
			I didn't cover this	0	1
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent are	Easy to implement	Easy	1	66
			Rather easy	0.67	100

	such solutions easy to implement?		Difficult	0.33	50
			Very difficult	0	1
Depth of story	COMPOSITE 1: To what extent did you cover this/these root cause(s) in your product(s)?	Root cause described?	It was the core focus	1	196
			I covered this to some extent	0.67	16
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	5
			I didn't cover this	0	0
	COMPOSITE 2: To what extent did you cover such past events or issues in your product(s)?	Background explained	It was the core focus	1	147
			covered this to some extent	0.67	41
			I briefly touched upon this	0.33	18
			I didn't cover this	0	11

Table 23 gives additional information about the distribution of cases for the aggregate conditions: currency, wrongdoings, solutions and depth of story.

**Table 23 Distribution of cases for the aggregate conditions**

Score of Aggregate	Currency	Wrongdoing	Solutions	Depth of Story
	Number of cases per value			
1	119	73	46	140
0.88	29	66	90	39
0.77	6	17	24	9
0.66	14	21	39	13
0.55	3	4	16	0
0.44	0	1	0	5
0.33	46	22	2	11
0.22	0	4	0	0
0.11	0	1	0	0
0	0	8	0	0

### *Years of experience*

The average years of experience of journalists of TMF who filled in the survey is 11.5 years. The least experienced journalist has worked for 3 years in the field, the most experienced journalist 30 years.

### *Education*

The journalists who participated in the survey are overall not highly educated, compared to the KMP grantees. 24 per cent of the journalists have a bachelor- or a master diploma. 44 per cent has a diploma. 33 per cent of the journalists have a certificate or attended a workshop. 6 journalists who responded do not have an education in journalism.

### *Which topics are now salient in Tanzania?*

In Table 24 you can see the perceived rank-order of what is now hot in Tanzania. In comparison with KMP, themes like education and health score much higher among TMF journalists, this corresponds with TMF's public perception survey conducted in 2012. Political issues, accountability and general politics seem to be more of an issue for KMP journalists.

**Table 24 Salient topics in Tanzania**

1	Agriculture and environment (e.g. water, pollution, crops)
2	Education
3	Human rights
4	Poverty
5	Safety (e.g. road safety, violence sexual abuse, domestic violence, attacks, robberies)
6	Health
7	Corruption
8	Tourism
9	Drugs
10	General politics
11	Democracy
12	Political Accountability
13	Extractive industries and mining
14	Businesses
15	Sports

#### 6.2.4 *Some conditions are almost stable across media products*

As mentioned earlier in this report, QCA is oriented towards diversity. Listing the distribution of cases across conditions, reveals that some conditions vary insufficiently:

*Currency citizens:* 94 per cent of the journalists indicated that their products (total: 204 products) covered concerns and problems of ordinary people and their daily life to a large extent; 6 per cent of the products only covered to this some extent (total: 12 products); and only in 1 product this condition was 'rather absent', meaning that the journalist didn't cover this or only briefly touched upon this (total: 1 product).

*Solutions are covered in the product:* In no less than 72 per cent (total: 157 products) of the products the solution was covered as a core focus. 25 per cent of the products covered the solution to some extent (54). Only in six products (3 per cent), did the journalist only briefly touch upon the solution or did not address it at all.

*Root causes are covered in the product:* In 90 per cent of the cases (total 196 products) the root causes underlying a particular problem constituted the main focus; in 7 per cent of the cases (total: 16 products) the root causes were covered but only to some extent; whereas in only 2 per cent (total: 5 products) only briefly touched upon the root causes.

Because of the limited explanatory power of these three conditions, it no longer makes sense to include them in the analyses. All three conditions are one single composite of an aggregate condition. We only proceed with the other composites (respectively: currency officials; the ease of solutions; and the description of the background of the problem) for the remaining analyses of TMF. These are the same conditions as in KMP.

#### 6.2.5 *Under which conditions do the media products trigger a response from powerful actors?*

Under which conditions do the media products trigger responses from powerful actors? As, explained before, we will first look into necessary conditions<sup>8</sup> ('almost always' present: 90% of the instances (cfr. best practice in QCA research)). Five necessary conditions seem worth scrutinizing (see Table 25):

- **LOW EDUCATION:** Having less than a bachelor or master degree
- **CURRENCY:** the composite of high currency officials and citizens. Comparing the two composites, this is especially because of the currency of citizens, and to a lesser extent because of the currency of officials.
- **WRONGDOING:** addressing the wrongdoings of people. Comparing the two composites, the successful cases especially deal with the wrongdoings of officials, and to a lesser extent with the wrongdoings of citizens.
- **COVERAGE OF SOLUTIONS:** addressing if the story covers solutions and how easy the solution are to implement. Comparing the two composites, the successful cases seem to describe solutions, which are also easy to implement.

- **DEPTH OF STORY:** addressing if the story describes root causes behind the issue and if the background is explicated. Comparing the two composites, the successful cases seem to describe root causes and give the background behind the issue.

**Table 25 Necessary conditions for response by powerful actors**

	Consistency	Coverage
(1) Low education	0.93	0.55
(2) High currency	0.97	0.46
Composite 1: High currency citizens	0.99	0.39
(3) High wrongdoing	0.94	0.47
Composite 2: High wrongdoing officials	0.96	0.45
(4) High easy solutions	0.97	0.46
Composite 1: Strong coverage solutions	0.98	0.42
(5) High depth of story	0.98	0.42
Composite 1: Strong coverage roots	0.99	0.40
Composite 2: Strong coverage background	0.94	0.44

A closer inspection of these conditions illustrates that also the failed cases share some of these conditions to a large extent. If the conditions are as necessary for the absence or presence of the outcome it means that they are always present and that they do not have much explanatory value. In the analysis of sufficiency<sup>9</sup> we will not take them into account:

- Currency citizens (as a consequence also not the index of currency, consisting of currency citizens and officials)
- Strong coverage of solutions (as a consequence also not the index easy solutions, consisting of coverage of solutions and how easy they are to implement)
- Strong coverage of roots (as a consequence also not the index of roots and background, consisting of coverage of roots and how easy they are to implement).

When comparing the failed cases, i.e. the cases without response from powerful actors, we can retrieve a few necessary conditions (see Table 26), but as explained above they overlap with the necessary conditions for the successful cases and are therefore left out of the analysis of sufficiency because they have no explanatory power.

**Table 26 Necessary conditions for absence of response by powerful actors**

	Consistency	Coverage
(1) Currency citizens	0.99	0.62
(2) High easy solutions	0.93	0.69
Composite 1: Strong coverage solutions	0.93	0.63
(4) High depth of story	0.92	0.62
Composite 1: Strong coverage roots	0.98	0.62

Conclusion: Analysis of necessity for response of powerful actors

Trivial necessary conditions for the successful cases:

1. Strong coverage background, content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process),
2. Wrongdoing officials
3. High depth of story

Necessary condition for successful cases:

1. Low education (somewhat caused by the fact that the majority of journalists have a low education)

No necessary conditions for the failed cases

#### *6.2.6 Paths towards response from powerful actors- SUCCESSFUL CASES*

The analysis of sufficiency, conducted with the aim to search for patterns across the media products, revealed eight core paths towards success. Success in this context is defined as 'high extent of response from powers: businesses, politicians and NGOs'. The highest level of abstraction/parsimoniousness concerns, i.e. the paths: 71 successful cases.

For each path, we mention the names of a few products to which it applies. The number of TMF cases being very high, this is inevitably a selection. The explanation of paths is, given the large number of products, also formulated in more generic terms for TMF, than for KMP where a path often only concerns a handful of cases. The tables which show all the paths and core paths can be found in Annex VIII.

- (\*) 0-5 cases covered: less empirically relevant
- (\*\*) 6-10 cases covered: moderately empirically relevant
- (\*\*\*) >10 cases covered: highly empirically relevant

## **EIGHT CORE PATHS TOWARDS SUCCESS<sup>10</sup>**

1. Journalist with low experience AND a high education AND strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)
2. National outlet AND rural focus AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND addressing wrongdoings AND strong coverage of the background of problems
3. High media echo AND story with rural focus AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND strong coverage of easy solutions AND strong coverage of the background of problems
4. Low media echo AND not a salient topic AND about a hard to implement solution
5. Journalist with a high education AND a strong media echo AND a strong coverage of wrongdoings
6. National outlet AND a strong media echo AND a regional story AND strong coverage of the background of the problem
7. National outlet AND a strong media echo AND a salient topic AND strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)
8. Journalist with low experience AND no media echo AND a regional story AND not a salient topic AND strong coverage of the wrongdoings

- **CORE PATH 1 (\*\*\*)**: Journalist with low experience AND a high education AND strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)<sup>11</sup>

This path covers 20 media products of 5 different journalists. Apparently inexperienced journalists, but with a high educational background who cover stories about the political process are successful in triggering a response from powerful actors.

- **CORE PATH 2 (\*\*)**: National outlet AND rural focus AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND addressing wrongdoings AND strong coverage of the background of problems<sup>12</sup>

In-depth regional stories, distributed via national outlets, that cover the content of the political process and do address wrongdoings (naming & shaming) are successful in triggering a reaction in 10 media products of 6 journalists. Apparently products that deal with a particular region and that target particular persons are successful, on condition that also the background of the problem is given substantial attention.

- **CORE PATH 3 (\*\*): Strong media echo AND story with rural focus AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process.) AND strong coverage of easy solutions AND strong coverage of the background of problems<sup>13</sup>**

Core path 3, which applies to 9 products produced by 6 different journalists places rural focus at the forefront. These stories concern a particular area or region in Tanzania. Powerful actors obviously feel strongly addressed by such stories and are inclined to react. The stories concern solutions that are easy to solve and devote attention to the background of the issue. The content doesn't concern the political process. Contributing to this explanation is the strong media echo around the stories.

- **CORE PATH 4 (\*): Low media echo AND not a salient topic AND about a hard to implement solution<sup>14</sup>**

Core path 4 draws our attention to the absence of media echo, and low salient topics. The products cover solutions which are hard to implement. We note, though, the uniqueness of this path: it only covers 2 cases written/made by two different journalists.

- **CORE PATH 5(\*\*\*) : Journalist with a high education AND a strong media echo AND a strong coverage of wrongdoings<sup>15</sup>**

This core path is probably most in line with our initial expectations about which conditions contribute to a high response of powers. A piece in which wrongdoings are explicitly mentioned, which is picked up by other outlets is in 20 cases a recipe for success. The products are all created by highly educated journalists. Together with the first core path this path covers many cases and is therefore empirically strong. The products are made by six different journalists.

- **CORE PATH 6 (\*\*\*) : National outlet AND strong media echo AND regional story AND strong coverage of the background of the problem<sup>16</sup>**

Rural stories, distributed via a national media outlet, that put emphasis on the background of the problem is another empirically strong explanatory path for the presence of responses from powers. This is in line with the expectations. The strong coverage of the background of problems and the strong media echo adds to the explanation of high response of powers. This path covers twenty media products, written or made by 10 different journalists.

- **CORE PATH 7 (\*\*\*) : National outlet AND strong media echo AND salient topic AND strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process)<sup>17</sup>**

Core path 7 shares many characteristics with core path 6: products on a salient topic, which are distributed via national media outlets will be more easily picked up by powerful actors and enhance the chance for reaction. The strong coverage of the content of the political process and the strong media echo add to the explanation of high extent of response from powers. This path covers 20 media products, created by 12 different journalists.

- **CORE PATH 8 (\*): Journalist with low experience AND no media echo AND a regional story AND not a salient topic AND strong coverage of the wrongdoings**

The eighth core explanatory path revolves around the absence of journalistic experience and the absence of media echo; it is a story about a non-salient topic in a regional outlet, but the journalist makes use of naming and shaming. The path concerns only one media product produced by Felix Juhudi. His story about the effects of mining operations on the environment especially got a lot of reaction from NGOs. An NGO started, for instance with providing education on environmental protection. It is the abovementioned 'cocktail' of conditions that explains why powerful actors responded to his product.

#### 6.2.7 Paths towards absence of response from powerful actors- FAILED CASES

The analysis of sufficiency (see Annex VIII for an overview of all the conditions), conducted with the aim to search for patterns across the media products, revealed eleven core paths towards failure. Failure in this context is defined as 'low extent of response from powers: businesses, politicians and NGO's. The core paths describe the 146 failed cases.

- (\*) 0-5 cases covered: less empirically relevant
- (\*\*) 6-10 cases covered: moderately empirically relevant
- (\*\*\*) >10 cases covered: highly empirically relevant

#### ELEVEN CORE PATHS TOWARDS FAILURE<sup>18</sup>

1. Stories in a regional outlet AND about a salient topic
2. Journalists with experience
3. Strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND low coverage about the wrongdoings of people
4. Low media echo AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND problems that are hard to solve
5. Regional story AND Low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND problems that are easy to solve
6. National outlet AND national story AND low salient topic
7. National outlet AND not a salient topic AND problems that are easy to solve
8. National outlet AND strong media echo AND national story
9. National outlet AND national story AND strong coverage of wrongdoings
10. Highly educated journalist AND salient topic AND strong coverage about the background of problems
11. Highly educated journalist AND problems that are easy to solve AND strong coverage about the background of problem

- **Core path 1 (\*\*\*): Stories in a regional outlet AND about a salient topic<sup>19</sup>**

Apparently although a topic can be salient, when it is distributed through regional channels it does not lead to a response of powers. This path covers 20 media products, made by nine different journalists.

- **Core path 2 (\*\*): Journalists with experience<sup>20</sup>**

Although counterintuitive, journalists with experience are less successful in triggering a reaction from powers. We can think of two different explanations for this remarkable observation: either inexperienced journalists tend to overestimate their impact, and experienced journalists underestimate theirs or alternatively the inexperienced journalist are indeed more successful in triggering a reaction (because of eagerness; motivation; etc.). This path covers 20 media products, albeit created by four different journalists only.

- **Core path 3 (\*\*): Strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND low coverage about the wrongdoings of people<sup>21</sup>**

Core path 3, which applies to sixteen products from four different journalists concerns media products that do not deal with the political process and neither target certain individuals via naming and shaming. It is rather straightforward that powerful actors (i.e. politicians, businesses or NGOs) will not feel addressed when the media product does not deal with the political content or when it does not mention concrete wrongdoings of certain people.

- **Core path 4 (\*\*): Low media echo AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND problems that are hard to solve<sup>22</sup>**

Core path 4 draws our attention to media products that concern issues pertaining to the political process and that tackle problems which are hard to solve. It is intuitive that this is not a successful combination for triggering a response, certainly not when combined with the absence of media echo. This path covers nine media products, made by five different journalists. Difficult issues with a political overtone are unlikely to trigger (direct) response.

- **Core path 5 (\*\*): Regional story AND low coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND problems that are easy to solve<sup>23</sup>**

Core path 5 applies to twenty products produced by nine different journalists. It puts the spotlight on regional stories that tackle problems that are easy to solve. Yet, the reason for a non-response is found in the focus of the product: the products only deal to a limited extent with the content of the political process. Powerful actors will therefore not feel inclined to respond.

- **Core path 6 (\*\*): National outlet AND National story AND Low salient topic<sup>24</sup>**
- **Core path 8 (\*\*): National outlet AND National story AND Strong media echo<sup>25</sup>**
- **Core path 9 (\*\*): National outlet AND National story AND strong coverage of wrongdoings<sup>26</sup>**

We discuss core paths 6, 8 and 9 together, since they share several characteristics. They all deal with media products that concern issues of national (read: not rural or regional) importance and are produced in national outlets. Seemingly, and as also highlighted in the analyses of TMF, powerful actors

will not feel the need to respond on such stories. The combination of these two conditions will not be sufficient though to provide a full explanation. The common path can figure in three various combinations of core conditions.

- Core path 6 , applying to 13 media products of 5 journalists, concerns low salient stories.
- Core path 8, applying to 18 products of 8 journalists, concerns products that were nonetheless followed by strong media echo.
- Core path 9, concerning 20 products from 7 journalists, addresses wrongdoings of people.

Especially the last two paths confront us with a puzzling observation. It might be that national issues are less easy to solve, and it's not as easy to pinpoint whose task it is to solve it (or easier to point to someone else to deal with it). It is advisable to collect more in-depth case knowledge to find the underlying causal mechanisms.

- **Core path 7 (\*\*\*)**: National outlet AND not a salient topic AND problems that are easy to solve<sup>27</sup>

Core path 7 combines some of the earlier mentioned conditions. Stories disseminated via national outlets; that do not concern salient issues, but are nonetheless easy to solve is an alternative explanation for non-response. The path covers eighteen cases, produced by nine journalists. The shared similarities with the previous path learns that national media outlets are not necessarily a guarantee to provoke reactions from powerful actors; especially not when the stories tackle issues of relatively limited salience.

- **Core path 10 (\*\*\*)**: Highly educated journalist AND strong coverage about the background of problems AND salient topic<sup>28</sup>
- **Core path 11 (\*\*\*)**: Highly educated journalist AND strong coverage about the background of problem AND problems that are easy to solve<sup>29</sup>

We will take core path 10 and 11 together, since these paths share two core characteristics: they are both produced by highly educated journalists, who extensively describe the background of the problems. Core path 10 (twenty cases of six journalists) combines this characteristics with a story about a salient topic, whereas core path 11 (twenty cases of seven journalists) brings the ease of solving problem into the picture. Both paths seem counterintuitive, at least at first sight. Yet, as analysis of a citizen response will demonstrate, in a Tanzanian context the less experienced journalists are often more capable in triggering reactions. The present analysis suggests that this also, in certain conditions, applies to a response of powers.

#### 6.2.8 Under which conditions do the media products trigger a strong response from citizens?

Under which conditions do the media products trigger response from citizens? The only necessary condition<sup>30</sup> that seems worth pointing out is the strong coverage of the background of the story. This one is not shared with the failed cases and therefore a relevant necessary condition for the successful cases.

**Table 27 necessary conditions for response by CITIZENS**

	Consistency	Coverage
Strong coverage back-ground	0.90	0.87

We did not find any relevant necessary conditions for the failure cases.

Conclusion: Analysis of necessity for response of citizens

- Necessary conditions for the successful cases: strong coverage background
- No necessary conditions for the failed cases

#### 6.2.9 Paths towards response from citizens- SUCCESSFUL CASES

Despite the high number of cases for TMF (190 successful cases), we were able to reduce the heterogeneous reality of journalism to only three paths towards success (see Annex VIII for an overview of all the conditions). Yet, we should emphasise that the empirical coverage of the paths is relatively low. Quite a number of cases remain unexplained by the selected ten conditions.

#### THREE CORE PATHS TOWARDS SUCCESS<sup>31</sup>

1. Journalist with high education AND story with local focus
2. An article about a salient topic AND without coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process, ....)
3. Strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process, ....) AND strong coverage of background of problems

- **CORE PATH 1 (\*\*\*)**: Journalist with high education AND story with local focus<sup>32</sup>

This path concerns media products written by highly experienced journalists that tackle local issues. Citizens will logically feel more addressed, and feel more inclined to react when a story concerns their own regional territory. This path covers 20 products, made by 8 different journalists.

- **CORE PATH 2 (\*\*\*)**: Salient topic AND without coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process, ....)<sup>33</sup>

The second path concerns media products that tackle salient topics, but that do not deal with political processes (20 products of 7 journalists). This path does not imply that citizens are not open to stories about the political process. Yet, certain conditions should be in place then. The following path is revealing in this respect.

- **CORE PATH 3 (\*\*): Strong coverage about the content of the political process (e.g. new laws, government policies, electoral process) AND strong coverage of background of problems<sup>34</sup>**

Compare path 2 with path 3. Core path 3 (20 products; 6 different journalists) involves the cases that indeed deal with the content of the political process, but that invest a lot in explaining the background of problems. The political process may be complex to understand for citizens. Yet, when investing in the explanation of the background of the problem, this can be overcome. Notice that this condition also turned out to be the only relevant necessary condition for citizen response: demonstrating that background matters in order to mobilize citizens.

#### 6.2.10 Paths towards absence of response from citizens- FAILED CASES

For the analysis of citizen responses, we could achieve a strong level of parsimony. The 27 failed cases can be reduced to two different core paths (with restriction that not all failed cases are captured by the explanation). Apparently, the explanatory model applied is more powerful in explaining the response of powerful actors than the response of citizens. Other (different than the 10 selected) conditions are likely matter in explaining citizen responses (see Annex VIII for an overview of all the conditions).

#### TWO CORE PATHS TOWARDS FAILURE<sup>35</sup>

1. Stories with a national focus AND Low coverage of background of problems
2. Journalist with high education AND national media outlet AND absence of media echo AND regional story

- **CORE PATH 1 (\*\*): Stories with a national focus AND low coverage of background of problems<sup>36</sup>**

Again, just as revealed for power response, stories of national focus will be less easily picked up by citizens. Add here the fact that the media products of this core path (9 media products; 3 journalists) do not cover the background of problems. The latter condition being a necessary condition for citizen response, it should not surprise anyone that citizens did not react.

- **CORE PATH 2 (\*): Journalist with high education AND national media outlet AND absence of media echo AND regional story<sup>37</sup>**

Core path 2 nonetheless deals with regional stories. Yet, other core conditions impede the chance for response: the absence of media echo (repeating a message enhances the probability of pick-up), and the fact that stories are published in national media outlets. Such outlets are relatively more distant from citizens, thus it is not illogical to expect a low response. This path explains 4 media products, written by 2 journalists.

## 7 Conclusion

In this concluding section, we highlight the most remarkable findings of the learning exercise, with a special emphasis on the trends across analyses and across the country settings.

### 7.1 Concluding remarks about the explanatory model.

- **THREE CONDITIONS WITH LIMITED VARIATION:** In mutual consultation with KMP and TMF, we departed from a list of ten conditions, that were assumed to play ‘a’ role in the explanation of an actor response on investigative journalistic products. QCA is oriented towards diversity. Three conditions showed only limited variation, and were therefore not included in the QCA analyses. They were not influential in determining the failure and success of cases.

Interestingly these conditions are similar for both KMP and TMF:

- (1) The product deals with the currency of citizens;
- (2) The product covers the solutions to the issue described;
- (3) The product describes the root causes of the problem.

In other words, almost all media products, irrespective of being produced in Kenya or Tanzania, have a high score on each of these conditions. Almost all journalists perceive themselves as scoring high on these three key characteristics.

- **HIGH CITIZEN RESPONSE FOR ALL MEDIA PRODUCTS:** Whereas response of powerful actors demonstrated substantial variation across media products, this was not really the case for citizen response. Overall, journalists considered citizen response to be relatively high, both in Tanzania, but especially in Kenya. For the KMP products, this necessitated us to rely on crisp set (binary) QCA, instead of fuzzy set QCA (all scores possible from 0 to 1). For KMP, we reformulated the evaluation question into: “What explains a very high citizen response?” The analysis of successful cases was focused on the most successful cases only (the cases that triggered ‘strong response’).
- **BETTER MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE OF POWERFUL ACTORS THAN FOR RESPONSE OF CITIZENS:** We departed from the same explanatory conditions for citizen response, as for the response of powerful actors. Yet, the analysis showed that the explanatory model is actually better suited to understanding the latter than the former. For the analysis of citizen responses, we identified a relatively high number of paths that only apply to a very limited number of cases (in technical terms: with low coverage scores). This makes us uncertain about the question of whether we did include the right conditions for citizen responses. Other conditions could perhaps have allowed for greater generalization.
- **BETTER MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSFUL CASES THAN FOR THE ANALYSIS OF FAILED CASES:** The QCA analysis departed from the same explanatory conditions for the successful cases than for the failed cases. Overall, the explanatory model seemed most apt in ex-

plaining the successful cases than the failed cases. Perhaps, other conditions could have had stronger explanatory power in the failed cases.

- **MORE PARSIMONY FOR KMP:** We departed from the same conditions for the two programmes, KMP and TMF. The QCA analysis helped to formulate some abstract conclusions across cases. Yet, all in all, the reason why media products trigger responses still seems to be, to a large extent, an individual story for particular cases. The mere fact that we investigated far more cases for TMF than for KMP increased the probability to find more unique stories underlying an actor response. This was indeed confirmed in the analyses.

## 7.2 Concluding remarks about the role of individual conditions

At the risk of oversimplification, we constructed two overview tables (see below). The tables are limited to a visualization of the role of the core conditions only, i.e. the conditions with the strongest causal linkage with an actor response. We consider all paths altogether per type of analysis (successful cases or failed cases) and mention how the various core conditions relate to a particular type of actor response. The tables enable us to draw some general conclusions about the role of the core conditions.

Legend for the symbols:

- A core condition that is systematically present: ✓
- A core condition that is systematically absent: ✕
- A core condition that has an ambiguous relationship with the outcome (sometimes present/sometimes absent): ✓✕
- Never core: A core condition is a condition with strongest causal relevance. The notation 'never core' refers to conditions that never turned out to be core in any of the paths.

### 7.2.1 Analysis of response of powers: Patterns across core conditions

Conditions	Presence of power response		Absence of power response	
	KMP	TMF	KMP	TMF
Education	✓	✓	Never core	✓
Experience	Never core	✗	Never core	✓
National outlet	✓✗	✓	✓✗	✓✗
Media echo	Never core	✓✗	✗	✓✗
Salient topic	Never core	✓✗	✓	✓✗
National focus	✗	✗	✓	✓✗
Currency officials	Never core	✓✗	Never core	✓✗
Coverage wrongdoings	✓	✓	Never core	✓✗
Easy solutions	Never core	✗	✓	✓✗
Depth of story	✓✗	✓✗	✓✗	✓

We emphasise the most remarkable observations for each country setting. The conclusions mainly focus on these core conditions for which clear trends can be discerned across cases.

KMP:

- **Education.** High education proves to be a major trigger for power response.
- **Media echo.** The absence of media echo is an important core condition to understand the absence of response of powers.
- **Salient topic.** Interestingly, and perhaps counter-intuitively, high salience appears to be core for the absence of response of powers!. Powerful actors are often not inclined to react when a story concerns a salient topic.
- **National focus.** Regional stories trigger more actor responses than nationally oriented stories. Powerful actors will feel more addressed when stories concern a specific region than the country in its entirety.
- **Currency officials.** Whether the media products concern the currency of officials does not play a major role as explanatory factor.
- **Coverage of wrongdoings.** The coverage of wrongdoings (naming and shaming) is a key condition to understand the response of powerful actors.

TMF:

- **Experience.** Low experience turned out to be a relevant necessary condition for the response of powers. Either experienced journalists underestimate the impact they caused. Or, the inexperienced journalists are indeed more capable in triggering a higher response (since being more active and engaged, not afraid of naming and shaming, etc.)

- **Salient topic.** Also for TMF, high salience appears to be central element for the absence of response of powers.
- **Coverage of wrongdoings.** For this condition, the observation is similar to KMP: the coverage of wrongdoings in media products proves again a key condition in understanding the high response of powerful actors.
- Three conditions have a clearly **ambiguous relationships** with the response of powers. It is difficult to draw any generalised conclusions about them. They certainly play a role, albeit in different ways for particular cases. A full understanding can only be acquired by taking account of the other conditions with which they interact.
  - National outlet
  - Whether solutions are easy to address
  - Depth of story

### 7.2.2 Analysis of response of citizens: Patterns across core conditions

We again mention KMP and TMF in one single table. Yet, we keep in mind that citizen responses in the KMP setting actually refers to only 'very strong' citizen response; whereas citizen response for TMF journalists includes both 'strong *and* certain' citizen response.

Conditions	Presence of citizens response		Absence of citizens response	
	KMP	TMF	KMP	TMF
Education	Never core	✓	✗	✓
Experience	✗	Never core	✗✓	Never core
National outlet	✗✓	Never core	✗✓	✓
Media echo	✓	Never core	✗	✗
Salient topic	✗✓	✓	✗✓	Never core
National focus	✗✓	✗	✗✓	✓
Currency officials	✗	✗✓	✓	Never core
Coverage wrongdoings	✓	Never core	✗	Never core
Easy solutions	✓	Never core	✗✓	Never core
Depth of story	✗✓	✓	✗	✗

Most remarkable observations:

KMP:

- **Education.** Low education is a core condition for the absence of citizen response for KMP.
- **Media echo.** The absence of media echo is again core to understanding the absence of citizen response.
- **Currency officials.** Citizens will be most eager to respond when stories do not concern currency of officials, and vice versa; the currency of officials is an explanation for the absence of response
- **Coverage of wrongdoings.** For KMP, the coverage of wrongdoings is a clear core condition to trigger a citizen response. Naming and shaming will make a difference. The observation is in line with the analysis of necessity that identified the coverage of wrongdoings as vital for the presence of citizen response
- **Depth of story.** The lack of a substantial description of the background of the problem constitutes a hindrance for a citizen response.

TMF:

- **Media echo.** Also in Tanzania, the absence of media echo proves to be important in understanding the absence of a citizen response.
- **National focus.** Regional focus is core for a comprehension of citizen response. Whereas national focus is core for the understanding of its absence. This is a rather logic observation. Citizens will feel more addressed and keen to react when a story concerns their regional habitat.
- **Depth of story.** This condition also turned out to be a necessary condition for TMF products. The lack of a substantial description of the background of the problem constitutes a major hindrance for a citizen response, also in Tanzania.

Conditions with an ambiguous relationship:

- Experience
- National outlet
- Salient topic
- Easy solutions

### 7.2.3 Key lessons across the analyses

When comparing the analyses of response, across the two types of actors, we can highlight the following conclusions per programme, respectively KMP and TMF.

KMP:

- **Education.** As iteratively mentioned throughout the report: KMP journalists are relatively high educated. Yet, this general observation does not apply to all journalists. Education proves to be central in the explanation of both response of powerful actors and response of citizens. It may be valuable to give this criterion prominent attention when selecting grantees.
- **Media echo.** Absence of media echo is core to understanding the absence of an actor response, be it citizens or powerful actors. Although it is not easy to control or influence media echo, it is recommendable to carefully think about dissemination strategies of media products. The more a message is repeated by other media outlets, the more the chance that it will be picked up by actors, and the more likely that a response will follow.
- **Salient topic.** Contrary to what we perhaps expected prior to the analyses, the salience of stories is not so important in triggering reactions.
- **Coverage of wrongdoings:** the presence and the absence of the coverage of wrongdoings is core for respectively the presence and the absence of response. If indeed an actor response is a core objective for KMP, we recommend that the mentoring programmes take this core condition into account. Mentoring programmes could guide journalists as to how best to integrate the coverage of wrongdoings in their media products. We acknowledge that this is a challenging task, but it touches upon the core rationale of investigative journalism.

TMF:

Overall, we observe that for KMP, the same set of conditions are present across the analyses. For TMF instead, the explanation for citizen response seems to be driven by other core conditions than the explanation for power response.

- For response of powers, we highlighted the following three conditions
  1. **Experience:** The observation that limited experience is core for strong response, confronts us with a puzzling situation. We do not claim that experience should no longer be taken into account in future selections, but it is interesting to realise that experience is not a guarantee for success. On the contrary.
  2. **Salient topic.** Just as for KMP, we learned that salient topic stories are not necessarily picked up by powerful actors. For future selections, this provided us with an interesting lesson. It would not be wise to only select salient topic stories.
  3. **Coverage of wrongdoings.** While it is much more uncommon in Tanzania to name and shame persons in stories, this condition nonetheless proved to be a major factor for success. As mentioned above, when individuals feel personally addressed, the chances for reaction are higher.

- For citizen response, three conditions deserve particular attention:
  1. **Media echo.** Also here the same lesson applies as for KMP. For future purposes, it is worth actively reflecting on strategies to influence media echo.
  2. **National focus.** The TMF media programme is especially designed to promote rural stories. And indeed, in terms of citizen response, this strategy proves to be effective. Citizens will feel more inclined to react when a story concerns their regional habitat.
  3. **Depth of story.** This condition turned out to be one of the most important core conditions to understanding citizen response, as it could also be derived from the analysis of necessity. TMF's content analysis already devotes considerable attention to the coverage of the background of a particular problem, and its root causes. It pays off to give these elements substantial attention in the mentoring activities.

### 7.3 Concluding remarks about the research design

- **BIAS TOWARDS THE CORE CONDITIONS.** We merely focused on the core conditions in the findings section of the report. These conditions can be considered to have the strongest causal linkages with an actor response. We consistently emphasize the need to be sensitive for alternative contributing conditions (i.e. the peripheral factors, see the complex solutions in the tables in Annex VII and VIII) to have a full understanding of the paths towards an actor response.
- **MECHANISMS BEHIND CONDITIONS?** Throughout the report, we speculated about the specific underlying mechanisms that link a condition with an actor response. Ideally, future studies should include more in-depth case analyses, that can help to verify and better understand these causal mechanisms. Evaluation techniques such as process tracing are a possible strategy.
- **SOCIALLY DESIRABLE ANSWERS?** The primary source of information for the scoring of the cases was the survey. The analysis is entirely based on perception data by the journalists themselves. Ideally, future studies should check the reliability of the data with more objective data. TMF developed a rigorous ex-post and objective content analysis of the media products. Within the limited scope of the present research, it was unfortunately not possible to systematically cross-check the objective content analysis with the self-assessments for each individual case.
- **GENERALISATION?** With the QCA analyses, we intended to reveal patterns across cases. Still, we only analysed a selection of the total of KMP and TMF media products. The results in the first place concern these cases. It is not clear of to what extent they are representative for the entire pool of cases, nor did we investigate why grantees were not successful in finalizing a media product.

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<sup>1</sup> percentages in all tables are rounded to whole numbers

<sup>2</sup> In Kenya, if you want to cover certain events, you need to be registered as a journalist through the Media Council of Kenya. The Council screens the background of applicants for press cards.

<sup>3</sup> See table 2: Percentage of journalists included in the evaluation versus total number of journalists who finalised a media product.

<sup>4</sup> See table 2: Percentage of media products covered in the evaluation versus the total number of media products finalised.

<sup>5</sup> See Annex III for some technical explanations about necessity and sufficiency.

<sup>6</sup> We focus on the core conditions that characterise these different paths. As mentioned, the core conditions have the strongest explanatory relationship to distinguish successful cases from failed cases. The core conditions can be surrounded by different combinations of contributing (peripheral) conditions. The latter have weaker explanatory power. In Annex X we give the overview of paths, with core conditions and peripheral conditions

<sup>7</sup> See Annex III for some technical explanations about necessity and sufficiency.

<sup>8</sup> See Annex III for some technical explanations about necessity and sufficiency

<sup>9</sup> See Annex III for some technical explanations about necessity and sufficiency.

<sup>10</sup> Core paths with unique coverage of 0 are not included because of parsimony

<sup>11</sup> Examples of cases that belong to this path: Kuukosa utwala bora ni chanzo cha migogoro ya ardhi Morogoro-makala-TMF, Mbinu zinazotumika kuiba dawa kwenye zahanati za fya, inside geita's highest malaria prevalence rate

<sup>12</sup> Examples of cases that belong to this path: udhalilishaji katika sekta ya utalii, Uharibifu wa mazingira wa waziwazi hadi lini? Juni 18,2013, Wakunga wa jadi vijijini mkoani Simiyu

<sup>13</sup> Changamoto iliyopo katika kukabiliana na suala la elimu hasa kwa mtoto wa kike,mkoani Mtwara, Ukatili wa kijinsia dhidi ya wanawake na watoto, Stori karibu 3 zinazohuiana na Mgogoro huo.

<sup>14</sup> Uchafuzi wa mazingira katika mgodi wa Bati Kyerwa

<sup>15</sup> Uwepo wa tatizo la wizi wa dawa za kwenye zahanati za serikali, Sumu mashambani zinavyokaribisha umaskini, Geita: mining, malaria. Relationship exposed

<sup>16</sup> Mwapwa kujisaidia vichakani kumepitwa na wakati, Sumu mashambani zinavyokaribisha umaskini, Mikakati ya Serikali katika kukabiliana na hali ya kutokuwepo kwa Viwanda vya kusindika Maziwa

<sup>17</sup> Maji yenye madini yanavyowatesa wananchi, Taarifa ya habari, Bringing fresh hope to MVCS Handeni

<sup>18</sup> Core paths with unique coverage of 0 are not included because of parsimony

<sup>19</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: kipindi - matatizo ya ulanguzi wa zao la ndizi tv, njia ya kutatua tatizo la walemavu, unyanyapaa wakwamisha watoto wanaopata mimba wakiwa mashuleni kutorejea

<sup>20</sup> kipindi & news - unenepeshaji ng'ombe, Tusiisingizie mizimu ni sisi wenyewe, Vipambe vya hovy Kilwa

<sup>21</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Ugawaji holela wa ardhi ya Kituri na uadui wa viongozi wa serikali ya Kijiji na wananchi, Why failures join secondary education.

<sup>22</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: nimeachika na kuporwa haki yangu, Changamoto iliyopo katika kukabiliana na ajali za barabarani kwa mabasi yaendayo mikoani, mimi na wewe tunaweza (series 1)

<sup>23</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Wanawake Tandahimba wanunua Talaka, athari za sekta ya utalii, kiuchumi,kijamii na kimazingira, wanavyotumia bodaboda kwenda kujifungua

<sup>24</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Funika jungu haitasaidia Mtwara, Willy Enterprises yazua mapya juni 28,2013, Rushwa inavyotafuna soka nchini 2

<sup>25</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Madina bauxite yagusa vigogo juni 11,2013, Njaa ya mara kwa mara Shinyanga na Simiyu

<sup>26</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Makala ya pili Sept 18,2014,Mazingira yasiyo rafiki yanakosesha elimu albi0, Tusiisingizie mizimu ni sisi wenyewe

<sup>27</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: wakulima, serikali wavutana dakawa, Mikakati ya Serikali kukabiliana na tatizo la njaa, Uwajibikaji wa Serikali,asasi katika utalii

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<sup>28</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Ngo0 kwa wanafunzi: Changamoto nyingine ya elimu wilayani Pangani, Ukimwi katika maeneo ya wachimbaji wadogo,

<sup>29</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Kemikali Mto Karanga zaanza kuathiri binadamu,mifugo, dawa za kulevya kwa wanafunzi wa skuli

<sup>30</sup> See Annex III for some technical explanations about necessity and sufficiency.

<sup>31</sup> Core paths with unique coverage of 0 are not included because of parsimony

<sup>32</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: kipindi & news - unenepeshaji ng'ombe, Uwepo wa tatizo la wizi wa dawa za kwenye zahanati za serikali, manyanyaso ya wachimbaji wadogo wa madini

<sup>33</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Wanawake Tandahimba wanunua Talaka, Changamoto iliyopo katika kukabiliana na suala la elimu hasa kwa mtoto wa kike,mkoani Mtwara

<sup>34</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Uharibifu wa mazingira unavyo sababisha shida maji Wilayani Mpwapwa, ZIRO kidato cha IV zinavyotesa wilaya ya Pangani, Gongo inavyoachwa kuwamaliza wananchi wa Rombo

<sup>35</sup> Core paths with unique coverage of 0 are not included because of parsimony

<sup>36</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Kipindi & news - wanafunzi wanajifunza kwa vitendo ufugaji kuku wa asili TV, Maka- la ya pili Sept 18,2014,Mazingira yasiyo rafiki yanakosesha elimu albi0, Nani anafaidika na korosho za Mtwara

<sup>37</sup> Examples of cases covered by this path: Rehema: Mjasiriamali asiyejua faida ya gesi Kilwa, dawa za kulevya kwa wanafunzi wa skuli