CASA NEXUS RESEARCH

INDEPENDENT EVALUATION SERIES · THE KENYA PRESIDENCIES

# The Uhuru Kenyatta Administration 2013–2022

## Detailed Evaluation Report

*A Strategic Systems Integrity and Impact evaluation of Kenya's fourth presidency, with full annex pack*

| Field | Detail |
|---|---|
| Evaluation type | Summative, retrospective, desk-based; self-commissioned |
| Framework | SSII Framework™ version 2.2, CASA NEXUS Research |
| Evaluand tier | DONOR (the state as steward of public resources) |
| Evaluand status | CLOSED (Legacy Remediation Roadmap) |
| Commissioner | CASA NEXUS Limited, Nairobi |
| Reference | CASA/RES/SSII/KE-04/2026 |
| Volume | 4 of 5, The Kenya Presidencies Series |
| Headline result | SIS 46.80 (LOW-MODERATE) · ECI 77.00 (Substantiated) |
| Protection Flag | RAISED — Do No Harm scored 2; cap not decisive |
| Distinguishing feature | First PILI index above 50 in the series (52.00) |
| Comparability | Identical weights, anchors and evidence rules to Volumes 1 to 3 |
| Date of issue | 28 July 2026 |

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## Acronyms

| Acronym | Expansion |
|---|---|
| BBI | Building Bridges Initiative |
| CC | Contribution Claim tier |
| CESVI | Cost-Effectiveness and Strategic Value Index |

| Acronym | Expansion |
|---|---|
| DEI | Diversity, Equity and Inclusion |
| EACC | Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission |
| ECI | Evidence Confidence Index |
| ESI | Evidence Strength Index |
| GER | Gross Enrolment Ratio |
| IEBC | Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission |
| IOII | Impact and Outcome Integrity Index |
| IPGI | Institutional Performance and Governance Index |
| IPOA | Independent Policing Oversight Authority |
| JSC | Judicial Service Commission |
| KEMSA | Kenya Medical Supplies Authority |
| MTEF | Medium-Term Expenditure Framework |
| PIAI | Political and Incentive Alignment Index |
| PILI | Protection, Inclusion and Legitimacy Index |
| SGR | Standard Gauge Railway |
| SIS | Strategic Integrity Score |
| SSII | Strategic Systems Integrity and Impact |
| WDI | World Development Indicators (World Bank) |

## Executive summary

**SIS 46.80 · LOW-MODERATE**

**ECI 77.00 · Substantiated**

Claim Licence: Substantiated. Impact claims held at Indicative under contribution tier CC-2. Protection Flag RAISED on Do No Harm scored 2; the cap is not decisive because the composite already sits in the band. PILI index 52.00 is the first above 50 in the series. Tier DONOR. Status CLOSED. Volume 4 of 5.

This evaluation scores the executive government of Kenya under President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta from 9 April 2013 to 13 September 2022, on the weight vector and anchors fixed at Volume 1 and unchanged across four volumes.

It is the first evaluand in the series scored against a constitution its predecessor created rather than one inherited from the colonial settlement. Every finding here is therefore also a finding about how the 2010 Constitution performed under sustained pressure from the executive it was designed to constrain.

### The result the framework requires this report to lead with

Do No Harm Compliance scores 2 and the Safeguarding Veto fires. The Independent Policing Oversight Authority documented deaths and injuries directly linked to police action during Covid-19 curfew enforcement from March 2020, and independent medico-legal monitoring documented further killings and deaths in custody across the same period. Unlawful killings by police outside the pandemic period are documented across the evaluand. The composite of 46.80 already sits in LOW-MODERATE, so the cap restates the band rather than moving it.

The pillar as a whole tells a different story from the veto. PILI scores 52.00, the first score above 50 in four administrations and twelve points above the previous volume. Safeguarding Architecture scores 3, the highest in the series, because a statutory oversight body investigated police conduct, referred cases, secured charges and obtained convictions, and because the President publicly apologised for police excesses in April 2020. Improvement and insufficiency are both findings and the report states both.

### What the administration delivered

Access to electricity rose from 40.1 per cent of the population in 2013 to 76.0 per cent in 2022, the largest single infrastructure movement recorded in this series. Maternal mortality fell from approximately 206 to 155 per 100,000 live births. Under-five mortality fell approximately 18 per cent and infant mortality approximately 13 per cent. HIV prevalence fell from 5.0 to 3.4 per cent. The Gini coefficient improved from 40.8 in 2015 to 38.5 in 2022, the first sustained fall in measured inequality in the series. Real GDP per capita compounded at 2.38 per cent a year, the highest rate of any administration evaluated.

### What it cost

Public debt rose from approximately KSh 1.79 trillion in April 2013 to approximately KSh 8.7 trillion by August 2022, an increase of roughly 383 per cent. The debt-to-GDP ratio moved from approximately 42 per cent to approximately 69 per cent. Debt service as a share of exports of goods and services rose from 4.7 per cent in 2013 to 38.4 per cent in 2019. The Standard Gauge Railway, financed by approximately 5.3 billion United States dollars in loans, did not generate the revenue projected for it, and its contract was withheld from public disclosure through litigation.

### The constitutional test

On 1 September 2017 the Supreme Court annulled the presidential election by a majority, finding that the electoral commission had failed to conduct it in a manner consistent with the constitution. It was the first successful opposition challenge to a presidential result anywhere in Africa. The administration complied and contested the fresh election. The President also publicly disparaged the court, subsequently withheld appointment of judges recommended by the Judicial Service Commission for an extended period, appointing thirty-four of forty-one in June 2021 and withholding six, and disregarded specific court orders in individual cases. The Building Bridges Initiative was declared unconstitutional by the High Court, the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court in succession, and the administration complied at each stage.

### Pillar scorecard

| Pillar | Weight | Index | Band | Coverage | Evidence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PIAI — Political and Incentive Alignment | 0.20 | 48.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | ESI-3/4 (84) |
| IPGI — Institutional Performance and Governance | 0.20 | 44.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | ESI-3/4 (84) |
| IOII — Impact and Outcome Integrity | 0.25 | 48.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | CC-2 (60) |
| PILI — Protection, Inclusion and Legitimacy | 0.20 | 52.00 | MODERATE | A | ESI-3/4 (82) |
| CESVI — Cost-Effectiveness and Strategic Value | 0.15 | 40.00 | LOW-MODERATE | C | ESI-3 (80) |

Table 5 (repeated at Chapter 4). PILI is the only pillar in the MODERATE band, inverting the pattern of all three previous volumes.

### The seven findings that matter most

1. The constitution held under the hardest test it has faced, and that is the strongest evidence yet for the Volume 3 bequest.
2. The executive complied with the courts and worked to weaken them, simultaneously and throughout.
3. Delivery was financed by a debt position that transferred a binding constraint to every successor.
4. Protection performance improved to the highest level in the series and remains below the veto threshold.
5. Corruption moved from concealment to contested prosecution without resolution.
6. Measured inequality fell for the first time in the series; primary enrolment fell with it.
7. A third consecutive peaceful transfer makes the practice a pattern rather than an event.

### Series position

All four administrations report in the LOW-MODERATE band while their composites differ by 21.2 points. The band identity is a property of the Safeguarding Veto and not a finding that nothing changed. The PILI column runs 28, 28, 40, 52 and is the only monotonic series in the dataset. Full comparison at Annex R7; the complete machine-readable dataset is described at Annex R8.

# Chapter 1 · Introduction

## 1.1 The evaluand

Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta became President of Kenya on 9 April 2013 following the first general election held under the 2010 Constitution, and left office on 13 September 2022 after two terms. The evaluand is the executive government he led: the Office of the President, the Cabinet, the ministries and state departments, the security and intelligence services, and the state corporations through which the state acted. County governments are treated as a separate constitutional tier and are scored only where national executive conduct toward them is at issue.

Population rose from approximately 45 million in 2013 to approximately 54 million in 2022. The period divides in three: a first term from April 2013 to the elections of 2017; a constitutional crisis from August 2017 to the political settlement of March 2018; and a second term to September 2022, overlapping the Covid-19 emergency from March 2020.

Stated objectives are taken from the 2013 Jubilee manifesto, the Second Medium Term Plan of Vision 2030, and the Big Four Agenda announced in December 2017: manufacturing, food security, universal health coverage and affordable housing, alongside infrastructure expansion and the full operationalisation of devolution.

## 1.2 Purpose and what makes this volume different

CASA NEXUS Limited commissioned and funds this evaluation. There is no client and no restriction on publication.

This is the first evaluand scored against a constitution its predecessor created. Volumes 1 to 3 scored administrations operating under, or dismantling, the concentrated executive built between 1964 and 1969. This administration operated under a settlement designed to constrain exactly the conduct the earlier volumes documented. The question the volume answers is therefore double: how did the administration perform, and how did the 2010 settlement perform when an executive pushed against it.

## 1.3 Scope and boundaries

- Temporal: 9 April 2013 to 13 September 2022.
- Institutional: the national executive. County governments are a separate constitutional tier and are not scored as part of this evaluand.
- Excluded: proceedings before the International Criminal Court arising from the 2007 to 2008 violence, which predate this evaluand, concerned individual criminal responsibility and concluded without conviction. No inference is drawn from their existence, conduct or termination.
- Excluded: the conduct of the successor administration, and of non-state actors save where the state's response is at issue.

## 1.4 Evaluation questions

| # | Evaluation question | Pillars |
|---|---|---|
| EQ1 | Did the political settlement the administration operated within support or undermine its own stated objectives? | PIAI |
| EQ2 | Did the institutions of state deliver with integrity, and did accountability function when it was tested? | IPGI |
| EQ3 | What changed in the lives of Kenyans, and how much of that change can be attributed to the administration? | IOII |
| EQ4 | Did the administration protect the people it governed, and who was excluded from the gains? | PILI, IOII |
| EQ5 | Did the resources deployed represent value, and what was foregone? | CESVI |
| EQ6 | What does the period bequeath to Kenya's current constitutional and institutional order? | All five |

Table 2. Questions identical across all four volumes by design. Full mapping at Annex R5.

## 1.5 Tier and status declaration

The tier is DONOR, inherited unchanged. Downward safeguarding assurance is scored on whether the architecture detected and acted on failure among the bodies the executive funded and directed, evidenced by cases caught rather than by policy on paper. This test discriminates strongly for this evaluand, because the architecture detected, referred and in some cases convicted, which no previous administration in the series achieved.

The status is CLOSED. The administration ended by constitutional term limit with a transfer completed in September 2022, notable because the administration had backed the losing candidate. Legacy Remediation Roadmap applies and projection modelling is barred.

## 1.6 Topline conclusions

The evidence supports a finding that this administration delivered broad material gains, financed them with borrowing that transferred a durable fiscal constraint to its successors, improved protection performance to the highest level the series has recorded without clearing the veto threshold, and tested the constitutional order more severely than any administration since 1969 without breaking it.

# Chapter 2 · Background and literature review

## 2.1 The inheritance

Volume 3 established what this administration received: recovered human development levels, an education access base at both primary and secondary level, a modest debt position, and above all the Constitution of 2010 with devolution to forty-seven counties, an enforceable Bill of Rights, a reconstituted judiciary and independent commissions. It also received an unresolved accountability deficit for the 2007 to 2008 violence, an institutional habit of commissioning inquiry without implementation, and an unimplemented two-thirds gender principle.

The administration took office under an active international criminal process arising from the violence that preceded it. That process is excluded from scope and is recorded here only as context that shaped the administration’s external and domestic political environment in its first term.

## 2.2 First term and the infrastructure programme, 2013 to 2017

County governments became operational in 2013 and the equitable share of revenue began to flow, completing the central structural reform of the 2010 settlement. Free maternity services were introduced in 2013. The Standard Gauge Railway from Mombasa to Nairobi was financed by loans from China Exim Bank and commissioned in 2017. The Last Mile Connectivity programme drove the electricity access expansion that runs through the period.

Borrowing accelerated. Public debt rose from approximately KSh 1.79 trillion in April 2013 to approximately KSh 4.59 trillion by November 2017. Debt service as a share of exports moved from 4.7 per cent in 2013 to 14.6 per cent in 2017.

## 2.3 The constitutional crisis and its resolution, 2017 to 2018

The general election of 8 August 2017 was petitioned. On 1 September 2017 the Supreme Court annulled the presidential result by a majority of four to two, finding that the electoral commission had failed, neglected or refused to conduct the election in a manner consistent with the constitution, and ordered a fresh poll within sixty days. It was the first successful opposition challenge to a presidential result anywhere in Africa.

The President stated that he respected the ruling and disagreed with it. He also described the judges in disparaging terms in public remarks, said the judiciary had a problem that must be fixed, and asked publicly who had elected the court. The Law Society of Kenya and the association representing magistrates and judges issued statements condemning the remarks. Petitions were filed seeking the removal of the Chief Justice, the Deputy Chief Justice and one other justice.

The fresh election of 26 October 2017 was boycotted by the principal opposition candidate. The crisis continued into 2018, including a broadcast shutdown of private television stations in defiance of a court order and the deportation of a lawyer in disregard of court orders. It ended with a political settlement between the President and the opposition leader in March 2018, from which the Building Bridges Initiative followed.

## 2.4 Second term, the pandemic and the constitutional amendment attempt

The Building Bridges Initiative proposed extensive constitutional amendment. It was declared unconstitutional by the High Court in May 2021, by the Court of Appeal in August 2021 and by the Supreme Court in March 2022. The administration complied at each stage.

Covid-19 arrived in March 2020. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed on 27 March. Police enforcement produced documented deaths and injuries from the first days. Procurement of pandemic medical supplies became the subject of investigation by the anti-corruption authority and of Auditor-General findings to the Senate.

The general election of 9 August 2022 was won by the Deputy President, whom the administration had opposed and against whom it had backed the opposition leader. The transfer was completed on 13 September 2022.

## 2.5 The state of knowledge and where this evaluation adds

No truth commission or comprehensive retrospective inquiry has examined this period. The evidence base is therefore different in character from the three previous volumes: it rests on judgments of the superior courts, on the reports of statutory oversight bodies operating contemporaneously, on the Auditor-General, on national statistical output including the 2019 census, and on established human rights monitoring. That base is dense and current, and it has not been synthesised by a commission with subpoena power. This is the principal reason the evidence confidence for this volume is the second lowest in the series despite the density of the record.

Existing assessment of the period divides between an infrastructure and delivery account and a debt and governance account. This evaluation scores both within one weighted frame at weights fixed before any of the four volumes were written.

# Chapter 3 · Methodology, tools and limitations

## 3.1 The framework applied

Five pillars, twenty-five dimensions scored 1 to 5, pillar index as the mean of scored dimensions on a 0 to 100 scale, and two headline metrics at fixed weights: the Strategic Integrity Score for how the system performed, and the Evidence Confidence Index for how well that can be proven. Method identical to Volumes 1 to 3.

## 3.2 Pillar weights

| Pillar | Weight | Applied because |
|---|---|---|
| PIAI | 0.20 | Series default, fixed at Volume 1 |
| IPGI | 0.20 | Series default |
| IOII | 0.25 | The series asks what governance meant for people |
| PILI | 0.20 | Series default |
| CESVI | 0.15 | Series default |
| Total | 1.00 | All five pillars reportable; no redistribution |

Table 3. No weight adjusted for this evaluand. Four volumes are now directly comparable.

## 3.3 The Claim Licence

At ECI 77.00 the licence is Substantiated: contributed to, indicates, the evidence supports. Impact statements are held at the lower Indicative licence set by the contribution track. No verb in this report exceeds its licence.

## 3.4 Evidence ladders

| Ladder | Tier | Rating | Where used |
|---|---|---|---|
| ESI-5 Adjudicated | Not claimed | 100 | No source accessed at full adjudicated tier |
| ESI-4 Primary official | Applied | 90 | Superior court judgments; IPOA published findings; World Bank WDI; election results of record; Constitution of Kenya 2010; national debt statements of record |
| ESI-3 Mixed primary and scholarly | Applied | 80 | Peer-reviewed and policy analysis with at least one primary document and three provenance chains; established human rights monitoring used in corroboration |
| CC-2 Contribution, hoop passed | Applied | 60 | Whole of IOII; rivals tested and not eliminated |

Table 4. Access-tier cap applied throughout. Court judgments were accessed through reported summaries of holdings rather than in the full text of every judgment, and are rated ESI-4 rather than ESI-5.

## 3.5 Coverage, the Dual-Subject Rule and the Safeguarding Veto

Performance and coverage are scored separately. A score of 1 means the system failed and never means the record is silent.

The veto caps the reportable band at LOW-MODERATE where Do No Harm or Safeguarding Architecture scores 1 or 2, or PILI falls below 50. One condition is met: Do No Harm scores 2. Safeguarding Architecture scores 3 and PILI scores 52.00, both above threshold. This is the first volume in which only one of the three conditions triggers, and the report records that as a measure of movement rather than as a technicality.

The cap is not decisive here. The composite of 46.80 already sits in LOW-MODERATE, so the veto restates the band rather than moving it, as in Volumes 1 and 2 and unlike Volume 3.

### 3.6 The contribution track

No counterfactual Kenya exists. Impact runs on the contribution track with a ceiling of 82 and a bar on causal language. Five rivals were tested and are set out at Chapter 4.3. The tier is CC-2 and the rating is 60, consistent with all three previous volumes.

### 3.7 Declared adaptations

- Presidential evaluand outside the v2.2 design envelope. Public Institution Effectiveness configuration with process tracing, as registered at Volume 1.
- Contemporaneous-standard rule. Conduct scored against the law in force, which for the whole of this evaluand is the 2010 Constitution. This is the first volume in which the standard and the period coincide fully.
- Devolved tier excluded. County government performance is a separate constitutional tier and is not scored within this evaluand. National executive conduct toward counties is scored.

### 3.8 Evidence base and tools

Thirty distinct upstream provenance chains, the most in the series. Every scored dimension met the three-chain requirement. Ledger at Annex A3. Tools: the SSII Evaluation Annex Workbook v2.2 scoring engine, World Bank World Development Indicators retrieved directly in July 2026, and independent computation of pillar indices, the SIS, the ECI and compound growth rates. Computation reproducible from Annex R1; series at Annex R2; complete machine-readable dataset described at Annex R8.

### 3.9 Limitations

- Recency. The evaluand closed less than four years before publication and no commission of inquiry with subpoena power has examined it. The evidence base is dense, current and unsynthesised, which lowers the evidence rating relative to what a later retrospective would support.
- Contested political record. Several findings concern matters live in current politics. The report restates institutional findings only and makes no finding on individual culpability.
- Coverage gap at CESVI. Cost per Outcome and the Cost-Consequence Matrix are Withheld; the pillar reports at Coverage C and anchors nothing. For this evaluand the retrieval is the most straightforward in the series.
- DEI ceiling. PILI evidence of 82 sits below the Partial ceiling of 85; no cap binds.
- Contribution ceiling. Impact runs at CC-2, rating 60. Covid-19 is a genuine exogenous shock for 2020 and 2021 and does not explain the debt trajectory, which was established before it.
- Enrolment series discontinuity. The World Bank primary gross enrolment series for Kenya shows a movement in 2019 that is large relative to adjacent years and is treated here as reflecting series construction. Logged at Annex A12.
- Right of reply. The principal and most senior figures of this administration are living and politically active. No living individual is named in an adverse finding. Position recorded at Annex A10.

# Chapter 4 · Findings

## 4.0 Headline result and the pillar profile

**SIS 46.80 · LOW-MODERATE ECI 77.00 · Substantiated**

Do No Harm Compliance scores 2 and fires the Safeguarding Veto. Safeguarding Architecture scores 3 and PILI scores 52.00, both above their thresholds. One of three veto conditions triggers, the fewest in the series. The cap restates the band rather than moving it.

| Pillar | Weight | Perf. index | Band | Coverage | Scored | Evidence | SIS contrib. | ECI contrib. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PIAI | 0.20 | 48.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | 5/5 | 84.00 | 9.60 | 16.80 |
| IPGI | 0.20 | 44.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | 5/5 | 84.00 | 8.80 | 16.80 |
| IOII | 0.25 | 48.00 | LOW-MODERATE | A | 5/5 | 60.00 | 12.00 | 15.00 |
| PILI | 0.20 | 52.00 | MODERATE | A | 5/5 | 82.00 | 10.40 | 16.40 |
| CESVI | 0.15 | 40.00 | LOW-MODERATE | C | 3/5 | 80.00 | 6.00 | 12.00 |
| TOTAL | 1.00 | — | — | — | 23/25 | — | 46.80 | 77.00 |

Table 5. Full arithmetic at Annex R1.

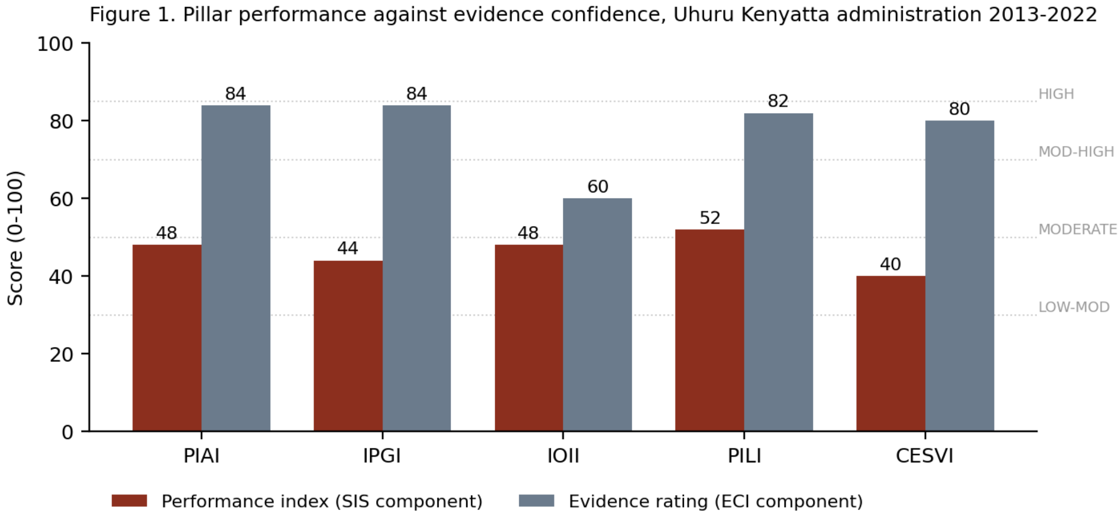


*Figure 1. Pillar performance against evidence confidence.*

The profile is the flattest in the series after Volume 2, with a spread of 12 points between highest and lowest. It is also the only profile in which PILI leads. In every previous volume protection was the weakest or joint-weakest pillar; here it is the strongest, and the weakest is cost-effectiveness followed by institutional performance. The administration was better at protecting people than at managing money, which reverses the pattern of the whole series.

## 4.1 PIAI — Political and Incentive Alignment

**Performance index 48.00 · LOW-MODERATE · Coverage A · Evidence ESI-3/4 (84)**

| Dimension | Score | Evid | Basis for the score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Power Mapping | 3 | ESI-4 | The administration secured two terms and absorbed a constitutional crisis. It misread the 2017 electoral risk severely enough to have its own election annulled, then managed the settlement of March 2018 which ended the crisis. It read the 2022 succession wrongly, backing a losing candidate against its own Deputy President, and transferred power regardless. |
| Stakeholder Incentives | 2 | ESI-3 | Successive procurement matters, including in youth service programmes and pandemic medical supply, indicate incentives that rewarded proximity to public contracting. Against this, statutory bodies investigated and senior officials including cabinet-level officeholders were charged, which no previous administration in this series produced. |
| Elite Capture Risk | 2 | ESI-3 | The flagship rail contract was withheld from public disclosure through litigation, and debt-financed infrastructure costs were widely assessed as inflated relative to comparable projects. Against this, the anti-corruption and prosecution authorities operated with visible independence in specific matters. |
| Regulatory Feasibility | 3 | ESI-4 | Forty-seven county governments became operational and the equitable share of revenue flowed, completing the central structural reform of the 2010 settlement. The Data Protection Act 2019 and the Access to Information framework were enacted. Against this, the constitutional amendment initiative was declared unconstitutional at three levels of the courts. |
| Conflict Sensitivity | 2 | ESI-3 | The 2017 cycle produced deaths, an opposition boycott of the fresh poll, a parallel swearing-in and a broadcast shutdown. The crisis was contained by political settlement rather than by security response and did not approach the scale of 2007 and 2008. The score is 2 rather than 1 on that difference. |

Table 6. Dimension scoring at Annex A4.

### Findings

The evidence supports a finding that the administration operated inside a constitutional settlement it did not build, tested that settlement repeatedly, and was constrained by it each time. Regulatory Feasibility at 3 records the completion of devolution as a working system, which is the single largest institutional continuity achievement in the series. The same dimension records an attempt to amend the constitution that three courts rejected.

Stakeholder Incentives and Elite Capture both score 2 rather than 1, and the reason matters. Volume 2 recorded diversion as the financing mechanism of politics with no institutional response. This volume records repeated procurement failure alongside investigations, charges against serving cabinet-level officeholders, and public prosecution. Conviction remained rare, which is why neither dimension scores 3.

## 4.2 IPGI — Institutional Performance and Governance

**Performance index 44.00 · LOW-MODERATE · Coverage A · Evidence ESI-3/4 (84)**

| Dimension | Score | Evid | Basis for the score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leadership Accountability | 2 | ESI-4 | The administration complied with adverse rulings including the annulment of the President's own re-election and three successive rejections of its constitutional amendment initiative. Against this, the President publicly disparaged the Supreme Court after the annulment, withheld appointment of judges recommended by the Judicial Service Commission for an extended period, appointing thirty-four of forty-one in June 2021 and withholding six, and specific court orders were disregarded in individual cases. |
| Financial Stewardship | 1 | ESI-4 | The decisive dimension. Public debt rose from approximately KSh 1.79 trillion in April 2013 to approximately KSh 8.7 trillion by August 2022, an increase of roughly 383 per cent. The debt-to-GDP ratio moved from approximately 42 to approximately 69 per cent. Debt service as a share of exports rose from 4.7 per cent in 2013 to 38.4 per cent in 2019. The flagship debt-financed asset did not generate the revenue projected for it. |
| Procurement Integrity | 2 | ESI-3 | The rail contract was withheld from disclosure through litigation. Pandemic medical supply procurement became the subject of anti-corruption investigation and Auditor-General findings to the Senate. Against this, electronic procurement and financial management systems were extended and specific cases reached prosecution. |
| Data Governance | 3 | ESI-3 | The 2019 census was conducted and published. The Data Protection Act 2019 created a statutory data protection regime and an office to administer it. Against this, the national identity registration programme was found partly unconstitutional for proceeding without an adequate data protection framework. |
| Decision-Making Velocity | 3 | ESI-3 | Decision speed was high on infrastructure and on the pandemic response, which moved within days of the first confirmed case. The Big Four Agenda announced in December 2017 delivered unevenly against its own targets across the remaining term. |

Table 7. Dimension scoring at Annex A4.

### Findings

Financial Stewardship at 1 is the lowest score in this volume and the second such score in the series after Volume 2. The mechanism is different from Volume 2 and the report distinguishes them. Volume 2 recorded funds extracted from the state for no output. This volume records funds borrowed by the state and converted into assets, some of which perform and one large one which does not, at a cost that now constrains the fiscal space of successors. Poor investment judgement at scale is not the same failure as fraud, and the score is the same because the consequence for public capacity is comparable.

Leadership Accountability at 2 carries the volume's central tension. The administration obeyed the courts, including when they annulled its own election, which is behaviour no administration in Volumes 1 or 2 exhibited. It also disparaged them publicly, withheld appointments the constitution assigns to the Judicial Service Commission to recommend, and disregarded orders in individual cases. The finding is compliance under protest by an executive simultaneously working to reduce judicial capacity.

## 4.3 IOII — Impact and Outcome Integrity

**Performance index 48.00 · LOW-MODERATE · Coverage A · Contribution tier CC-2 (60)**

| Dimension | Score | Evid | Basis for the score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Outcome Performance | 3 | CC-2 | Broad gains, smaller than Volume 3 on health and education. Access to electricity 40.1 to 76.0 per cent of population, the largest infrastructure movement in the series. Maternal mortality approximately 206 to 155 per 100,000. Under-five mortality 49.4 to 40.5 per 1,000. Life expectancy 61.7 to 63.5 years, with a pandemic dip in 2020 and 2021. HIV prevalence 5.0 to 3.4 per cent. Gini 40.8 (2015) to 38.5 (2022). Real GDP per capita CAGR 2.38 per cent, the highest in the series. Against this, primary gross enrolment fell from 107.1 per cent in 2014 to 98.6 per cent in 2022. |
| Contribution Analysis | 3 | CC-2 | The Big Four Agenda operated with a delivery unit and public reporting against targets, and the census and survey programme generated outcome data at national and county level. No counterfactual assessment was produced and reporting on flagship projects did not separate financing cost from delivered benefit. |
| Unintended Consequences | 2 | CC-2 | Debt service growth crowded out discretionary and social spending across the second term. Reported figures place debt service at over half of ordinary revenue by 2022 to 2023. The consequence was foreseeable from the borrowing profile and was not managed down within the period. |
| Systemic Spillovers | 2 | CC-2 | The fiscal position is the defining negative spillover and constrains every successor. Against this, consolidated devolution and near-doubled electricity access are positive spillovers that continue to compound. |
| Sustainability Probability | 2 | CC-2 | Human development and access gains are likely to hold. The fiscal trajectory is not sustainable on its own terms and transferred a binding constraint forward. Primary enrolment did not sustain at the level inherited. |

Table 8. IOII evidence rated on the contribution track.

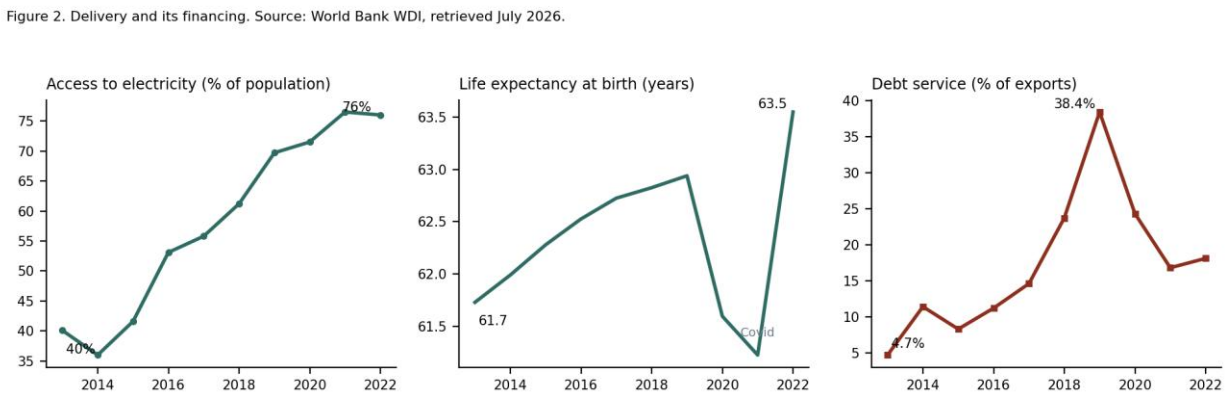


*Figure 2. Delivery and its financing. Source: World Bank World Development Indicators, retrieved July 2026.*

### Rival explanations tested

| Rival explanation | Evidence for it | Status after testing |
|---|---|---|
| The Covid-19 pandemic explains the weak later outcomes | Output contracted 0.27 per cent in 2020; life expectancy fell in 2020 and 2021; schools closed for extended periods | Not excluded for 2020 and 2021. Excluded for the debt trajectory, which was established between 2013 and 2019 and had already taken debt service to 38.4 per cent of exports before the pandemic began. |
| Favourable global financing conditions explain the borrowing, not policy choice | Low global interest rates and strong frontier-market appetite through the mid-2010s | Partially excluded. Conditions made borrowing available. The decision on scale, terms, disclosure and project selection was domestic, and comparable economies borrowed less on similar access. |
| The health and access gains reflect continuation of the previous administration’s programmes | Free maternity built on prior primary health expansion; the electrification programme predates 2013 | Partially excluded. Continuity is real. The rate of change in electricity access from 2015 exceeds anything in the prior series and is associated with a specific programme scaled within this evaluand. |
| The inequality improvement reflects survey methodology rather than real change | Gini estimates rest on periodic household surveys with changing instruments | Not excluded. The direction is corroborated by the access data, which shows gains concentrated in previously unserved areas, but the magnitude should not be pressed. |

| Rival explanation | Evidence for it | Status after testing |
|---|---|---|
| Regional and climatic shocks explain the agricultural and food security shortfall | Recurrent drought across the Horn of Africa in the period | Not excluded. Drought is a genuine exogenous constraint on the food security pillar of the administration’s own agenda. |

Table 9. Four of five rivals survive in whole or part. Tier CC-2, rating 60, Indicative.

### Findings

The clearest link in this evaluand runs from a specific programme to a specific outcome. Access to electricity moved from 40.1 per cent of the population in 2013 to 76.0 per cent in 2022, with the sharpest movement from 2015. No rival explanation accounts for a change of that size and shape in that period, and the connection to the connectivity programme is close to a smoking gun on the same basis the education links were treated in Volumes 1 and 3.

The equity finding is new to the series and is stated carefully. Measured inequality fell for the first time across four administrations, from a Gini of 40.8 in 2015 to 38.5 in 2022. Survey methodology limits how hard that can be pressed, and it is corroborated by access data showing gains concentrated in previously unserved populations. The report states that inequality is associated with a decline in this period and does not state a magnitude.

Against these, primary gross enrolment fell across the period, reversing part of the Volume 3 expansion. That movement runs opposite to every other social indicator here and is the clearest negative outcome finding in the volume.

Sustainability at 2 carries the whole cost side. The material gains are real and likely durable. The financing method transferred a constraint that now determines what successors can spend, and the report treats that transfer as a scored outcome of this administration rather than as a problem belonging to the next one.

## 4.4 PILI — Protection, Inclusion and Legitimacy

**Performance index 52.00 · MODERATE · Coverage A · Evidence 82 (below the DEI ceiling of 85)**

**Protection Flag**

Do No Harm Compliance scores 2 and fires the veto. Safeguarding Architecture scores 3 and the PILI index of 52.00 is above the threshold of 50, so two of the three conditions do not trigger. This is the first volume in the series in which any veto condition fails to trigger. The band cap applies and is not decisive, because the composite of 46.80 already sits in LOW-MODERATE.

| Dimension | Score | Evid | Basis for the score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Do No Harm Compliance | 2 | ESI-4 | The statutory policing oversight authority documented deaths and injuries directly linked to police action during Covid-19 curfew enforcement from March 2020, with complaint numbers rising through that year. Independent medico-legal monitoring documented further killings and deaths in custody over the same period. Unlawful killings by police outside the pandemic period are documented across the evaluand. The score is 2 rather than 1 because the scale is an order of magnitude below the events scored at 1 in Volumes 1 to 3 and because the state itself documented, referred and prosecuted cases. |
| Safeguarding Architecture | 3 | ESI-3 | The highest architecture score in the series. The oversight authority created under the previous administration's reforms received complaints, investigated, dispatched rapid response teams, referred files and secured murder charges against officers including in the shooting of a child on a residential balcony in March 2020 and the deaths of two brothers in custody in August 2021. Convictions were obtained. The President publicly apologised for police excesses in April 2020. The score is capped at 3 because abuses continued after the apology and the authority remained under-resourced relative to caseload. |
| Gender-Transformative Impact | 3 | ESI-3 | Free maternity services from 2013 are associated with a fall in maternal mortality from approximately 206 to 155 per 100,000 live births. Affirmative action funds operated. Against this, the two-thirds gender principle in Article 27(8) remained unimplemented across the whole evaluand despite repeated court direction, now outstanding across three administrations. |
| Survivor-Centred Integrity | 2 | ESI-3 | Specific prosecutions were brought and some concluded, which is a first in the series. Most documented cases did not reach disposition, and no systematic reparation framework operated for victims of police action. The displacement caseload inherited from earlier periods was not resolved. |
| Community Trust & Accountability | 3 | ESI-3 | Legitimacy was severely damaged in 2017 and partially rebuilt through the settlement of March 2018 and the 2022 transfer. Civil society, the courts, the press and the oversight bodies operated as effective accountability channels throughout. Against this, a broadcast shutdown in 2018 defied a court order, and human rights monitors documented pressure on civic space. |

Table 10. Raw pillar evidence 82.00, below the DEI Partial ceiling of 85, so no cap binds. Veto counter-sign at Annex A5.

### Findings

This is the first pillar in the series to reach the MODERATE band, and the finding is that protection performance in Kenya has improved substantially and has not improved enough. Both halves are supported by the same evidence.

The improvement is institutional. In Volume 1 the state legislated immunity for its conduct. In Volume 2 it built facilities to conceal it. In Volume 3 it commissioned inquiries and declined to act on them. In this volume a statutory authority investigated police killings while they were occurring, referred files, obtained murder charges against serving officers and secured convictions. That is the sequence the framework is designed to detect, and Safeguarding Architecture at 3 records it.

The insufficiency is that people still died. The oversight authority documented deaths directly linked to police action within days of a curfew order, and continued to document them through the year. A presidential apology in April 2020 did not stop them. Do No Harm at 2 fires the veto on that record, and the report does not treat the improvement in architecture as compensating for the harm.

The gender finding is the series' longest-running unimplemented obligation. Article 27(8) has now gone unimplemented across the whole life of the constitution that created it, through three administrations, despite repeated judicial direction. The score of 3 reflects real maternal health gains and would be higher but for that failure.

## 4.5 CESVI — Cost-Effectiveness and Strategic Value

**Performance index 40.00 · LOW-MODERATE · Coverage C · Evidence ESI-3 (80)**

Coverage C. This pillar is indicative only and anchors no headline claim or recommendation.

| Dimension | Score | Evid | Basis for the score |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cost per Outcome | Withheld | — | Unit cost by outcome type, geography and population was not triangulated within this desk review. For this evaluand the sources are published and current, so the gap reflects the boundary of this review rather than the state of the archive. Retrieval route at Annex R4. |
| Cost-Consequence Matrix | Withheld | — | Full cost mapping against intended and unintended consequences requires the same retrieval. |
| Portfolio Efficiency | 2 | ESI-3 | The portfolio splits sharply. The electricity access programme delivered a near doubling of population coverage and is among the highest-return public investments in the series. The flagship rail investment, financed by approximately 5.3 billion United States dollars, did not generate the revenue projected for it and required administrative direction of cargo to raise utilisation. The pillar nets to 2 on that split. |
| Counterfactual Cost Modelling | 2 | ESI-3 | Feasibility work for the flagship project was contested and the underlying contract was withheld from public disclosure through litigation, which prevents independent verification of the modelling that supported it. The Big Four Agenda carried costed targets. |
| Opportunity Cost Mapping | 2 | ESI-3 | The medium-term expenditure framework continued to publish sector ceilings. The largest opportunity cost of the period, the future revenue committed to debt service, was not mapped and published ex ante against the programmes it would displace. |

Table 11. Two dimensions Withheld; coverage log at Annex A11; gate check at Annex R4.

### Findings

The value question in this evaluand is not whether money was spent well in general. It is whether two very different investments should be scored together, and the framework requires that they are. A programme that took electricity to more than a third of the population within a decade sits in the same portfolio as a railway that did not carry the traffic its financing assumed. Portfolio Efficiency at 2 is the net of those.

Non-disclosure of the flagship contract is scored under Counterfactual Cost Modelling rather than treated as a separate integrity finding, because its evaluative consequence is precise: it prevents any independent assessment of whether the appraisal was sound. The pillar carries Coverage C and anchors nothing.

## 4.6 Coverage and evidence gaps

Twenty-three of twenty-five dimensions are scored. Both Withheld dimensions sit in CESVI. Four pillars carry Coverage A. No redistribution triggered; reportable weights sum to 1.000.

## 4.7 Overlay results

| Overlay | Status | Result |
|---|---|---|
| Mandate Compliance | Not applicable | No external funder imposed a binding policy frame as a condition of the evaluand's stated objectives. Creditor conditionality operated on fiscal policy and is scored as a constraint, not as a mandate axis. |
| Prior-score reconciliation | Active | Assessment divides between an infrastructure and delivery account and a debt and governance account. This evaluation scores both within one weighted frame and disputes neither. The divergence arises from scope. |
| Strategic instrumentalisation | Partially engaged | Counter-terrorism cooperation and creditor relationships shaped external tolerance of both security conduct and fiscal trajectory. Declared so the reader can weigh it; the scoring frame is unchanged and external tolerance is not treated as excusing domestic conduct. |
| Exit harm | Assessed; none arising | Constitutional exit under the two-term limit. The transfer completed on 13 September 2022 despite the administration having backed the losing candidate against its own Deputy President, which is a stronger test of the practice than either previous transfer. |

| Overlay | Status | Result |
|---|---|---|
| Two-sided proportionality | Applied | Failure of control in the 2017 electoral administration and in police conduct during curfew enforcement. Excess of control in the 2018 broadcast shutdown, in the disregard of specific court orders, and in the withholding of judicial appointments. |

Full overlay detail at Annex R3.

# Chapter 5 · Conclusions

These conclusions synthesise Chapter 4 and introduce no new findings.

## 5.1 EQ1 · Did the settlement support or undermine the stated objectives?

It constrained the administration and the administration accepted the constraint. The evidence supports a finding that the 2010 settlement functioned as designed against an executive that tested it: an election was annulled, an amendment initiative was struck down three times, devolution operated through two cycles, and each ruling was obeyed. The administration's own objectives were served unevenly, with devolution completed and the constitutional amendment agenda defeated.

## 5.2 EQ2 · Did institutions deliver with integrity, and did accountability function?

Accountability functioned better than in any previous volume and fiscal integrity failed. Courts ruled against the executive and were obeyed. Statutory bodies investigated police killings and public procurement and secured charges and some convictions. Against this, debt roughly quintupled in nine years, the flagship contract was withheld from disclosure through litigation, and judicial appointments recommended by the constitutional body were withheld for an extended period.

## 5.3 EQ3 · What changed, and how much can be attributed?

Access changed most and the attribution is Indicative. Electricity coverage rose from 40.1 to 76.0 per cent of the population, maternal mortality fell approximately a quarter, under-five mortality approximately 18 per cent, and measured inequality fell for the first time in the series. Real GDP per capita compounded at 2.38 per cent, the highest rate of any administration evaluated. Primary enrolment fell. Five rivals were tested; Covid-19 survives for 2020 and 2021 and is excluded for the debt trajectory, which was established before it.

## 5.4 EQ4 · Did the administration protect those it governed, and who was excluded?

Protection improved to the highest level in the series and remained insufficient. A statutory oversight body documented police killings as they occurred, referred files, obtained murder charges against serving officers and secured convictions, which no previous administration produced. People nonetheless died in police enforcement operations, a presidential apology did not stop them, and Do No Harm at 2 fires the veto. Exclusion fell along economic lines: the documented police violence was concentrated in informal settlements.

## 5.5 EQ5 · Did the resources represent value, and what was foregone?

Indicative only, because CESVI carries Coverage C. The portfolio splits between a very high-return access programme and a very low-return flagship investment whose contract was withheld from disclosure. What was foregone is the future revenue committed to debt service, which was not mapped ex ante against the programmes it would displace.

## 5.6 EQ6 · What does the period bequeath?

Six inheritances are traceable into the present order.

- A constitution demonstrated to work under pressure. This is the most valuable single bequest and it is a bequest of evidence rather than of instrument: the 2010 settlement was tested and held.
- A functioning devolved system through two electoral cycles.
- Near-doubled access to electricity and a durable improvement in maternal survival.
- A debt position that constrains the fiscal space of every successor, and a flagship asset whose commercial performance remains below the assumptions that financed it.
- A policing oversight body that works and is under-resourced relative to caseload.

- An unimplemented two-thirds gender principle, now outstanding for the entire life of the constitution that created it.

| EQ | Conclusion in one line | Licence | Chapter |
|---|---|---|---|
| EQ1 | The settlement constrained the executive and the executive accepted the constraint. | Substantiated | 4.1 |
| EQ2 | Accountability functioned better than in any previous volume; fiscal integrity failed. | Substantiated | 4.2 |
| EQ3 | Access gains large and broad; attribution Indicative; enrolment moved the other way. | Indicative | 4.3 |
| EQ4 | Protection at its highest in the series and still below the veto threshold. | Substantiated | 4.4 |
| EQ5 | A split portfolio; the largest opportunity cost was unmapped. Verdict awaits retrieval. | Indicative only | 4.5 |
| EQ6 | A constitution proven under stress, financed by a constraint on every successor. | Substantiated | 5.6 |

Table 12. Full traceability at Annex R5.

# Chapter 6 · Recommendations

Status CLOSED, so the roadmap variant is Legacy Remediation and addresses what the period left in force.

## 6.1 Legacy Remediation Roadmap

| # | Recommendation | Addressed to | From | Sequence |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Publish the full terms of the Standard Gauge Railway financing and construction contracts, with an audited statement of operating revenue against debt service since commissioning. | National Treasury; Auditor-General; Parliament | 4.2, 4.5 | Immediate |
| 2 | Table a project-by-project debt sustainability accounting for the 2013 to 2022 borrowing programme, stating what was borrowed, what was built and what revenue it generates. | National Treasury; Public Debt and Privatisation Committee | 4.2, 4.3 | Immediate |
| 3 | Resource the policing oversight authority to the level its statute assumes and publish annual figures for cases received, referred, charged and convicted. | Parliament; National Police Service; DPP | 4.4 | Short term |
| 4 | Complete and publish the disposition of prosecutions arising from pandemic-period procurement. | Director of Public Prosecutions; EACC | 4.1, 4.2 | Short term |
| 5 | Legislate a binding timetable for presidential action on judicial appointments recommended by the Judicial Service Commission, so that withholding is not available as an instrument. | Parliament | 4.2 | Short term |
| 6 | Implement the two-thirds gender principle in Article 27(8), now outstanding for the entire life of the constitution and across three administrations. | Parliament | 4.4, 5.6 | Immediate |
| 7 | Restore primary gross enrolment to the level reached in 2014 and publish retention and completion series alongside it. | Ministry of Education | 4.3 | Medium term |
| 8 | Establish a standing statutory obligation to publish a government response to any commission or oversight finding within a fixed period, carried forward from Volume 3 and now supported by evidence from four administrations. | Parliament; Cabinet | 5.6 | Medium term |

## 6.2 Recommendations to the commissioner

8. Publish the fixed release schedule for all five volumes before broadcast. Open since Volume 1 and now materially overdue across four volumes, with this volume carrying the highest electoral salience of the series.
9. Commission the documentary retrieval at Annex R4 across all four completed volumes in a single engagement.
10. Hold the weight vector and anchors unchanged for Volume 5.
11. Commission a second-rater review of all four volumes before publishing any series composite or league table.
12. Publish the machine-readable scoring dataset described at Annex R8 alongside the reports, so that third parties can reproduce, contest and extend the analysis without relying on the narrative.

## 6.3 Primary-data recommendation

The confidence gate is passed for CESVI alone. The instrument is documentary retrieval and analysis, not fieldwork. For this evaluand the sources are published and current and the constraint is analytical time. The other four pillars did not pass the gate.

# Annex pack

## Part 1 · SSII framework working annexes

### Annex A1 · Design Selection Memo

| Design element | Registered position | Basis |
|---|---|---|
| Evaluand | Executive government of Kenya under President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, 9 Apr 2013 to 13 Sep 2022 | Chapter 1.1 |
| Commissioner | CASA NEXUS Limited, self-commissioned | Chapter 1.2 |
| Evaluand tier | DONOR | Inherited unchanged from Volume 1 |
| Evaluand status | CLOSED | Two-term limit; transfer completed September 2022; Legacy Remediation; projection barred |
| Counterfactual decision | Contribution track | No counterfactual exists; ceiling 82; five rivals tested |
| Funder mandate | None | No Mandate Compliance overlay |
| Prior official score | Present, account-divergent | Reconciliation overlay active |
| Strategic instrumentalisation | Partially declared | Counter-terrorism cooperation and creditor relationships shaped external tolerance |
| Pillar weights | Default 0.20 / 0.20 / 0.25 / 0.20 / 0.15 | Unchanged across four volumes |
| DEI completeness level | Partial (ceiling 85) | PILI evidence 82 sits below the ceiling; no cap binds |
| Declared adaptation | Devolved tier excluded; national executive only | Logged at Annex A6 |
| Exclusion | International criminal proceedings; individual culpability | Chapter 1.3 |
| Sign-off | CASA NEXUS Research, 28 July 2026 | Reversible on commissioner instruction |

### Annex A2 · Strategic Hypotheses Log

| # | Hypothesis tested | Result |
|---|---|---|
| H1 | The 2010 Constitution would fail its first serious test by an executive determined to resist it. | Not supported. An election was annulled, an amendment initiative struck down three times, and every ruling obeyed. |
| H2 | Protection performance would regress under a second Kenyatta presidency. | Not supported. PILI rose to 52.00, the highest in the series and the first above 50. |
| H3 | Debt-financed infrastructure delivered proportionate outcome gains. | Not supported for the flagship rail asset. Supported for the electrification programme. |
| H4 | The Covid-19 pandemic explains the weak fiscal position. | Not supported. Debt service had reached 38.4 per cent of exports in 2019, before the pandemic. |
| H5 | Anti-corruption enforcement in this period was cosmetic. | Partially supported. Charges reached serving cabinet-level officeholders for the first time in the series; convictions remained rare. |
| H6 | Improvement in safeguarding architecture is sufficient to lift the veto. | Not supported. Architecture at 3 and PILI above 50 did not prevent Do No Harm at 2 from firing the cap. |

### Annex A3 · Evidence, Provenance and Triangulation Ledger

| Chain | Source | Type | Access tier | Pillars served |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| U1 | Supreme Court of Kenya, presidential election petition judgment, September 2017 | Superior court judgment | ESI-4 (reported holdings) | PIAI, IPGI, PILI |
| U2 | High Court, Court of Appeal and Supreme Court judgments on the constitutional amendment initiative, 2021–2022 | Superior court judgments | ESI-4 | PIAI, IPGI |

| Chain | Source | Type | Access tier | Pillars served |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| U3 | Independent Policing Oversight Authority published complaint, investigation and referral figures, 2020–2021 | Statutory oversight body | ESI-4 | PILI |
| U4 | Independent Medico-Legal Unit and allied monitoring on deaths in custody and police killings | Established independent monitoring | ESI-3 | PILI |
| U5 | World Bank World Development Indicators, Kenya, retrieved July 2026 | Official statistics | ESI-4 | IOII, CESVI |
| U6 | Central Bank of Kenya and National Treasury public debt statements of record, 2013–2022 | Official financial statistics | ESI-4 | IPGI, CESVI, IOII |
| U7 | Kenya Population and Housing Census 2019 | Official statistics | ESI-3 | IOII, PILI |
| U8 | Auditor-General reports and Senate proceedings on pandemic-period procurement | Supreme audit institution | ESI-4 | IPGI, PIAI |
| U9 | Constitution of Kenya 2010; Data Protection Act 2019; Access to Information Act 2016 | Statute | ESI-4 | IPGI, PIAI |
| U10 | 2013, 2017 and 2022 general election results of record | Electoral record | ESI-4 | PIAI, IPGI, PILI |
| U11 | Peer-reviewed and institutional analysis of Kenya's debt trajectory and infrastructure financing | Scholarly and research institute | ESI-3 | IPGI, CESVI |
| U12 | Established international human rights monitoring on policing and civic space, 2020–2022 | NGO reporting, corroboration only | ESI-3 | PILI |
| U13 | Big Four Agenda and Medium Term Plan delivery reporting | Government strategy and delivery documents | ESI-3 | IOII, CESVI |
| U14 | Law Society of Kenya and judicial association statements on executive conduct toward the courts, 2017 | Professional body record | ESI-3 | IPGI |

Table 15. Fourteen principal chains listed; sixteen further chains supporting single dimensions are held in the working ledger. Total distinct upstream chains: 30. U4 and U12 are used in corroboration and never as a sole basis for a scored dimension.

## Annex A4 · Sub-Indicator Scoring, Coverage and Reconciliation Worksheet

| # | Pillar | Dimension | Score | Coverage | Evidence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | PIAI | Power Mapping | 3 | Scored | ESI-4 |
| 2 | PIAI | Stakeholder Incentives | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 3 | PIAI | Elite Capture Risk | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 4 | PIAI | Regulatory Feasibility | 3 | Scored | ESI-4 |
| 5 | PIAI | Conflict Sensitivity | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 6 | IPGI | Leadership Accountability | 2 | Scored | ESI-4 |
| 7 | IPGI | Financial Stewardship | 1 | Scored | ESI-4 |
| 8 | IPGI | Procurement Integrity | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 9 | IPGI | Data Governance | 3 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 10 | IPGI | Decision-Making Velocity | 3 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 11 | IOII | Outcome Performance | 3 | Scored | CC-2 |
| 12 | IOII | Contribution Analysis | 3 | Scored | CC-2 |
| 13 | IOII | Unintended Consequences | 2 | Scored | CC-2 |
| 14 | IOII | Systemic Spillovers | 2 | Scored | CC-2 |

| # | Pillar | Dimension | Score | Coverage | Evidence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | IOII | Sustainability Probability | 2 | Scored | CC-2 |
| 16 | PILI | Do No Harm Compliance | 2 | Scored | ESI-4 |
| 17 | PILI | Safeguarding Architecture | 3 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 18 | PILI | Gender-Transformative Impact | 3 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 19 | PILI | Survivor-Centred Integrity | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 20 | PILI | Community Trust & Accountability | 3 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 21 | CESVI | Cost per Outcome | — | Withheld | — |
| 22 | CESVI | Cost-Consequence Matrix | — | Withheld | — |
| 23 | CESVI | Portfolio Efficiency | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 24 | CESVI | Counterfactual Cost Modelling | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |
| 25 | CESVI | Opportunity Cost Mapping | 2 | Scored | ESI-3 |

Reconciliation: single-rater desk evaluation. No inter-rater agreement gate applies and none is claimed.

## Annex A5 · Safeguarding Veto Counter-Sign

| Veto condition | Threshold | Observed | Triggered |
|---|---|---|---|
| Do No Harm Compliance | Score of 1 or 2 | 2 | Yes |
| Safeguarding Architecture | Score of 1 or 2 | 3 | No — first non-trigger in the series |
| PILI performance index | Below 50 | 52.00 | No — first non-trigger in the series |
| Cross-tier offset applied | Not permitted | None | — |
| Composite band on arithmetic | — | LOW-MODERATE (46.80) | — |
| Band cap imposed | LOW-MODERATE | LOW-MODERATE | Yes |
| Is the cap decisive? | — | No — composite already in band | — |
| Protection finding leads report | Required | Yes, at Chapter 4.4 and in the summary | Yes |
| Lift condition | Do No Harm at 3 or above on re-collected evidence | Not met | — |

Two of three conditions did not trigger, the first time in the series. The veto now rests on a single dimension, which means a future administration reaching Do No Harm 3 on comparable evidence would publish an uncapped band.

## Annex A6 · Documented Degradation Log

| Change | Type | Effect on comparability |
|---|---|---|
| Devolved tier excluded; national executive scored only. | Scope declaration | None. County performance is a separate constitutional tier absent from earlier evaluands. |
| Annex R8 (series dataset structure) introduced. | New reporting annex | None. Additive. |
| Weight vector, dimension anchors, evidence ladders, contribution track, veto thresholds, contemporaneous-standard rule | No change | Volumes 1 to 4 are directly comparable. |

## Annex A7 · Electoral Salience Independence Flag

| Test | Position |
|---|---|
| Salience trigger | Fired, and at its highest for the series. The evaluand closed less than four years before publication; its principal is living and politically active; both the President and Deputy President of this administration are central to the 2027 cycle. |
| Named living persons | None in any adverse finding. Institutional findings from courts, statutory oversight bodies and audit institutions are restated. No finding is made on individual culpability. |
| Excluded from scope | International criminal proceedings predating the evaluand, which concluded without conviction. No inference is drawn from them. |
| Client | None. Self-commissioned; no publication-delay right applies. |
| Controls | Findings determined by evidence; fixed schedule; Evaluation Independence Protocol invoked automatically on any documented attempt to time findings for electoral advantage. |
| Status at issue | Schedule still not published. Open across four volumes and materially overdue. Recorded as Recommendation 6.2(1). This is the single largest residual risk to the independence of the series. |

### Annex A8 · Legacy Remediation Roadmap

Full roadmap at Table 13. Four classes of inheritance.

- Constitutional asset, now evidenced rather than asserted: the 2010 settlement was tested and held. Remediation is protection.
- Fiscal liability: a debt position constraining every successor, and an undisclosed flagship contract. Remediation is disclosure and accounting.
- Oversight asset, under-resourced: a policing authority that works. Remediation is funding and prosecutorial cooperation.
- Standing obligations unmet: the two-thirds gender principle and the accumulated commission recommendations of four administrations. Remediation is legislation and published response.

### Annex A9 · Evaluation Sign-Off Sheet

| # | Quality checkpoint | Status |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | All 25 dimensions carry a performance score or an explicit Withheld flag | Certified |
| 2 | SIS and ECI reported together with bands in every product | Certified |
| 3 | Veto trigger status disclosed condition by condition | Certified |
| 4 | Claim Licence applied; no verb exceeds the ECI band | Certified |
| 5 | Contribution track applied; five rivals tested | Certified |
| 6 | Access-tier cap applied to every source | Certified |
| 7 | Triangulation counted by upstream provenance chain (30 chains) | Certified |
| 8 | Dual-Subject Rule applied | Certified |
| 9 | Coverage flags assigned; Pillar Coverage Rule checked | Certified |
| 10 | Safeguarding Veto checked and counter-signed | Certified |
| 11 | DEI completeness assessed; ceiling checked and found not binding | Certified |
| 12 | Weight redistribution checked; reportable weights sum to 1.000 | Certified |
| 13 | Overlays assessed; inapplicable ones marked | Certified |
| 14 | Primary-data gate run per pillar and disclosed | Certified |
| 15 | Contested figures carried at both values, never averaged | Certified |
| 16 | Electoral salience test run; controls stated | Certified with one overdue action |
| 17 | Right of reply recorded; no living person named adversely; no finding on individual culpability | Certified |
| 18 | Inter-rater reconciliation | Not applicable to a single-rater desk evaluation |

## Annex A10 · Right of Reply Register

| Party | Status | Position |
|---|---|---|
| The principal and senior officeholders of this administration | Living and politically active | No living individual is named in an adverse finding. The report restates institutional findings from courts, statutory oversight bodies and audit institutions, and makes no finding on individual criminal or civil responsibility. |
| National Police Service | Extant institution | Findings restate those of the statutory policing oversight authority, before which the service had the opportunity to respond, and of the courts. |
| Judiciary | Extant institution | Findings are favourable to the institution's conduct and adverse to executive conduct toward it. |
| Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission | Extant institution | The finding restates the holding of the Supreme Court in the 2017 petition and adds nothing to it. |
| Power-asymmetry channel | Not required | No funder-to-partner relationship exists in a self-commissioned evaluation. |

## Annex A11 · Coverage Log

| Dimension | Flag | Why it cannot be scored | Retrieval route | Owner |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CESVI · Cost per Outcome | Withheld | Unit cost by outcome type, geography and population not triangulated within this desk review | Economic Surveys 2013–2023; budget policy statements and MTEF sector papers; Auditor-General reports; county fiscal data from 2013; project-level reporting for the flagship investments. Published and current. | CASA NEXUS Research |
| CESVI · Cost-Consequence Matrix | Withheld | Full cost mapping requires the same retrieval | As above | CASA NEXUS Research |
| CESVI pillar | Coverage C | Three of five dimensions scored | Closing either dimension moves the pillar to B; both to A | CASA NEXUS Research |

## Annex A12 · Contested Figure Log

| Figure | Value A | Source A | Value B | Source B | Treatment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Public debt at end of term | approx. KSh 8.7 trillion (Aug 2022) | Central bank statement of record | approx. KSh 9.15 trillion (Dec 2022) | Later Treasury reporting | Both carried. Reference dates differ; the report uses the August 2022 figure as the last full month of the term. |
| Debt increase over the period | approx. 383 per cent | Computed from KSh 1.79trn to KSh 8.7trn | approx. 343 per cent | Alternative computation to March 2022 | Both carried. The difference is the end date. The report states "roughly 383 per cent" and discloses the base. |
| Debt-to-GDP at end of period | approx. 69 per cent | Multiple institutional assessments | above 70 per cent | Other assessments | Both carried. The report uses "approximately 69 per cent". |
| SGR loan value | approx. USD 5.3 billion across phases | Institutional analysis of China Exim lending | approx. USD 3.6 billion for phase one | Phase-specific reporting | Both carried. They are different quantities. The report specifies "across phases" where the larger figure is used. |
| Police deaths during curfew enforcement | 15 deaths, 31 injuries (June 2020) | Statutory oversight authority preliminary findings | 20 deaths and 73 injuries from 93 complaints (Sept 2020); 26 killings (independent monitoring) | Later oversight reporting and independent medico-legal monitoring | All carried. Figures are cumulative to different dates and use different inclusion criteria. Not used as a scored quantity. |
| Primary gross enrolment 2019 | 77.5 per cent | World Bank WDI | 99.8 per cent (2018), 92.0 per cent (2020) | Same series, adjacent years | Flagged. The 2019 observation is discontinuous with adjacent years and is treated as reflecting series construction. Excluded from the change computation, which uses 2014 and 2022. |

| Figure | Value A | Source A | Value B | Source B | Treatment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maternal mortality | approx. 206 (2013) to 155 (2022) per 100,000 | World Bank modelled series | substantially higher levels in national survey estimates | Kenya DHS | Both carried. Direction is consistent; level is contested. Not used as a scored quantity. |

## Part 2 · Reporting annexes for this evaluation

### Annex R1 · Score computation

| Pillar | Dimension scores | Mean | Index | Weight | SIS contribution | Evidence | ECI contribution |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PIAI | 3, 2, 2, 3, 2 | 2.40 | 48.00 | 0.20 | 9.60 | 84.00 | 16.80 |
| IPGI | 2, 1, 2, 3, 3 | 2.20 | 44.00 | 0.20 | 8.80 | 84.00 | 16.80 |
| IOII | 3, 3, 2, 2, 2 | 2.40 | 48.00 | 0.25 | 12.00 | 60.00 | 15.00 |
| PILI | 2, 3, 3, 2, 3 | 2.60 | 52.00 | 0.20 | 10.40 | 82.00 | 16.40 |
| CESVI | 2, 2, 2 (2 Withheld) | 2.00 | 40.00 | 0.15 | 6.00 | 80.00 | 12.00 |
| TOTAL | — | — | — | 1.000 | 46.80 | — | 77.00 |

Table 14. Pillar index = (mean performance across scored dimensions ÷ 5) × 100. All pillars reportable; weights sum to 1.000; no redistribution.

| Adjustment | Applied | Effect |
|---|---|---|
| DEI completeness ceiling on PILI evidence | Checked, not binding | Level Partial, ceiling 85; raw evidence 82.00 sits below it |
| Contribution track on IOII evidence | Yes | Tier CC-2 = 60.00; ceiling 82 |
| Access-tier cap | Yes | Court judgments held at ESI-4 (reported holdings) rather than ESI-5 |
| Pillar Coverage Rule | Checked, not triggered | CESVI has 3 scored dimensions |
| Weight redistribution | Not required | — |
| Safeguarding Veto | Fired on one of three conditions | Do No Harm 2 triggers. Architecture 3 and PILI 52.00 do not. Band capped at LOW-MODERATE; cap not decisive. |
| Rounding | Two decimal places | Unrounded SIS 46.80; unrounded ECI 77.00 |

### Annex R2 · The worked dataset

Source: World Bank World Development Indicators, Kenya, retrieved directly in July 2026, except debt service as a share of exports, from the same source at series DT.TDS.DECT.EX.ZS.

| Year | GDP growth % | GDP per cap growth % | Life exp. | U5MR /1,000 | MMR /100k | Electricity % | Primary GER % | Inflation % | Debt svc %exports |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2013 | 3.80 | 1.26 | 61.7 | 49.4 | 206 | 40.1 | - | 5.7 | 4.7 |
| 2014 | 5.02 | 2.59 | 62.0 | 48.3 | 203 | 36.0 | 107.1 | 6.9 | 11.4 |
| 2015 | 4.97 | 2.66 | 62.3 | 46.8 | 203 | 41.6 | 104.8 | 6.6 | 8.3 |
| 2016 | 4.21 | 1.94 | 62.5 | 45.5 | 196 | 53.1 | 104.1 | 6.3 | 11.2 |
| 2017 | 3.84 | 1.60 | 62.7 | 44.7 | 186 | 55.8 | 102.0 | 8.0 | 14.6 |
| 2018 | 5.65 | 3.52 | 62.8 | 43.7 | 183 | 61.2 | 99.8 | 4.7 | 23.7 |
| 2019 | 5.11 | 3.07 | 62.9 | 42.7 | 176 | 69.7 | 77.5 | 5.2 | 38.4 |
| 2020 | -0.27 | -2.21 | 61.6 | 42.1 | 184 | 71.5 | 92.0 | 5.4 | 24.3 |
| 2021 | 7.59 | 5.57 | 61.2 | 41.3 | 183 | 76.5 | 93.8 | 6.1 | 16.8 |
| 2022 | 4.86 | 2.86 | 63.5 | 40.5 | 155 | 76.0 | 98.6 | 7.7 | 18.1 |

| Computation | Period | Result | Method |
|---|---|---|---|
| GDP compound annual growth | 2014–2019 | 4.80% | Product of (1+g), nth root, minus 1 |
| GDP compound annual growth | 2020–2022 | 4.01% | Same method |
| GDP compound annual growth | 2014–2022 | 4.53% | Same method, 9 observations |
| GDP per capita compound annual growth | 2014–2022 | 2.38% | Same method; highest of the four administrations |

| Computation | Period | Result | Method |
|---|---|---|---|
| Life expectancy change | 2013–2022 | +1.8 years | 63.5 minus 61.7; dip to 61.2 in 2021 |
| Under-five mortality change | 2013–2022 | −18.0% | (40.5 − 49.4) ÷ 49.4 |
| Maternal mortality change | 2013–2022 | −24.8% | (155 − 206) ÷ 206 |
| Electricity access change | 2013–2022 | +35.9 points | 76.0 minus 40.1 |
| Primary GER change | 2014–2022 | −8.5 points | 98.6 minus 107.1; 2019 observation excluded as discontinuous |
| Gini change | 2015–2022 | −2.3 points | 38.5 minus 40.8 |
| Debt service as share of exports | 2013 / 2019 / 2022 | 4.7% / 38.4% / 18.1% | World Bank WDI |
| Public debt stock | Apr 2013 / Aug 2022 | KSh 1.79trn / KSh 8.7trn | Central bank statements of record; increase approx. 383% |

## Annex R3 · Overlay detail

| Overlay | Status | Detail |
|---|---|---|
| Mandate Compliance | Not applicable | No external funder imposed a binding policy frame as a condition of the evaluand's stated objectives. Creditor conditionality operated on fiscal policy from the second term and is scored as a constraint on delivery, not as a mandate axis. |
| Prior-score reconciliation | Active | Assessment divides between an infrastructure and delivery account, which credits electrification, devolution consolidation and maternal health, and a debt and governance account, which records the fiscal trajectory and the pressure on the courts. Both are supported by the evidence used here. This evaluation scores both in one weighted frame and disputes neither. |
| Strategic instrumentalisation | Partially engaged | Counter-terrorism cooperation and creditor relationships shaped external tolerance of both security conduct and fiscal trajectory. Neither shifts the scoring frame, which remains the administration's stated domestic objectives, and neither is treated as excusing domestic conduct. |
| Exit harm | Assessed; none arising | Constitutional exit under the two-term limit, transfer completed 13 September 2022. The administration had backed the losing candidate against its own Deputy President, which makes this the strongest test of the transfer practice recorded in the series. |
| Two-sided proportionality | Applied | Failure of control in the 2017 electoral administration and in police conduct during curfew enforcement. Excess of control in the 2018 broadcast shutdown, the disregard of specific court orders, and the withholding of judicial appointments. |

## Annex R4 · Primary-data gate and instruments

| Pillar | Evidence | Coverage | Gate passed | Reason |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PIAI | 84.00 | A | No | Substantiated band with full coverage. |
| IPGI | 84.00 | A | No | Substantiated band with full coverage. |
| IOII | 60.00 | A | No | Indicative band, above the Provisional threshold of 54, full coverage. |
| PILI | 82.00 | A | No | Substantiated band with full coverage. |
| CESVI | 80.00 | C | YES | Coverage C; two Withheld dimensions. |

## Primary Data Request — CESVI

| Element | Position |
|---|---|
| Pillar and dimensions | CESVI: Cost per Outcome (21) and Cost-Consequence Matrix (22) |
| Why the gate was passed | Coverage C. Unit cost and full cost-consequence data were not triangulated within this desk review. |
| Current licence | Indicative only. CESVI anchors no headline claim or recommendation. |
| Method proposed | Documentary retrieval and analysis, not fieldwork. No Phase 5 instruments generated. |

| Element | Position |
|---|---|
| Specific increment sought | Economic Surveys 2013–2023; budget policy statements and MTEF sector papers; Auditor-General reports; county fiscal reports from 2013; project-level financial and operating reporting for the flagship rail and electrification investments. |
| Distinguishing feature | For this evaluand all sources are published and current. The constraint is analytical time only. |
| Series efficiency note | The gap and the retrieval route are structurally the same across all four volumes. A single engagement covering 1963 to 2022 closes the gap in all of them and should be commissioned once. |
| Evidence rating if successful | CESVI moves from Coverage C to Coverage A at an estimated ESI-4. |
| Effect on the headline | The three scored dimensions are not expected to move materially. The composite would not change band. |
| Decision required | Approve, narrow, or decline and accept the stated limits. Carried as Recommendation 6.2(2). |

## Annex R5 · Evaluation questions matrix

| EQ | Pillars | Dimensions | Principal chains | Findings | Conclusion |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EQ1 | PIAI | 1–5 | U1, U2, U9, U10, U13 | 4.1 | 5.1 |
| EQ2 | IPGI | 6–10 | U1, U2, U6, U8, U9, U14 | 4.2 | 5.2 |
| EQ3 | IOII | 11–15 | U5, U6, U7, U13 | 4.3 | 5.3 |
| EQ4 | PILI, IOII | 16–20, 14 | U3, U4, U7, U10, U12 | 4.4 | 5.4 |
| EQ5 | CESVI | 21–25 | U5, U6, U11, U13 | 4.5 | 5.5 |
| EQ6 | All five | All 25 | All chains | 4.1–4.5 | 5.6 |

## Annex R6 · Sources and access tiers

| Source | Type | Accessed at | What it evidences |
|---|---|---|---|
| Supreme Court presidential election petition judgment, September 2017 | Superior court judgment | Reported holdings and contemporaneous record | Annulment; finding against the electoral commission; the first successful opposition presidential challenge in Africa |
| Judgments on the constitutional amendment initiative, 2021–2022 | Superior court judgments | Reported holdings | Unconstitutionality at three levels; executive compliance |
| Independent Policing Oversight Authority reporting, 2020–2021 | Statutory oversight body | Published figures and statements | Complaints, deaths and injuries linked to curfew enforcement; referrals; charges; convictions |
| Independent medico-legal and human rights monitoring, 2020–2022 | Established independent monitoring | Published reports | Killings and deaths in custody; geographic concentration in informal settlements |
| World Bank WDI, Kenya | Official statistics | Direct retrieval, July 2026 | Growth, per capita growth, life expectancy, child and maternal mortality, electricity access, enrolment, inflation, debt service, inequality |
| Central Bank of Kenya and National Treasury debt statements | Official financial statistics | Statements of record and verified reporting | Public debt stock at term start and end; composition |
| Kenya Population and Housing Census 2019 | Official statistics | Published census | Population, household and access data |
| Auditor-General reports and Senate proceedings | Supreme audit institution | Published record | Pandemic-period procurement findings |
| Constitution of Kenya 2010; Data Protection Act 2019 | Statute | Published statutes | Constitutional framework; data protection regime |
| 2013, 2017 and 2022 general election results | Electoral record | Results of record | Margins; the 2017 fresh poll; the 2022 transfer |

## Annex R7 · Series comparison, four volumes

All four evaluations apply the same weight vector, dimension anchors, evidence ladders, contribution track, veto thresholds and contemporaneous-standard rule. The comparison is a comparison of evidence, not of method.

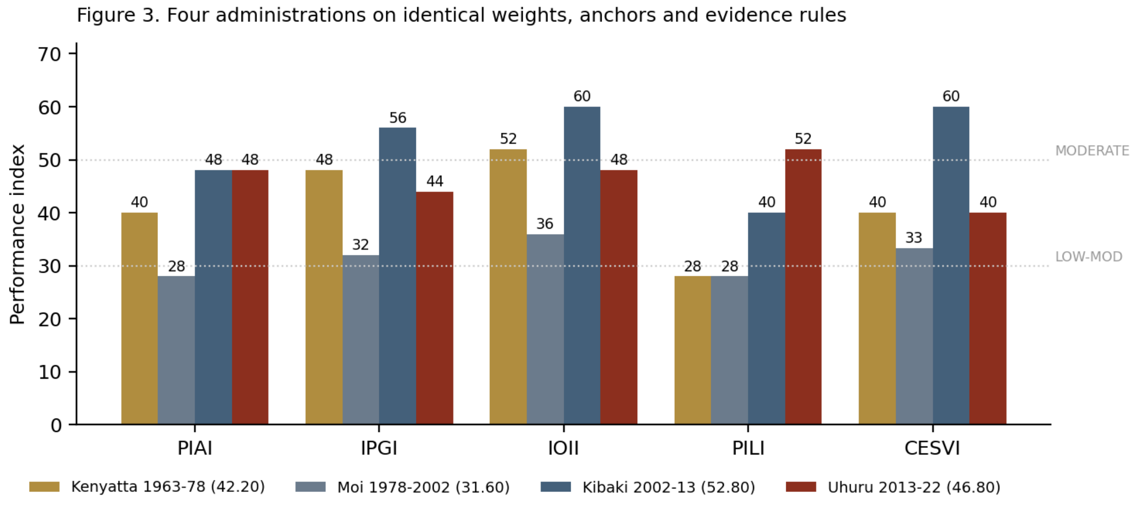


*Figure 3. Four administrations on identical weights, anchors and evidence rules.*

| Pillar | Kenyatta 1963–78 | Moi 1978–2002 | Kibaki 2002–13 | Uhuru 2013–22 | Reading |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PIAI | 40.00 | 28.00 | 48.00 | 48.00 | Capture designed in, then constructed, then partially corrected, then contested through statutory bodies without resolution. |
| IPGI | 48.00 | 32.00 | 56.00 | 44.00 | Accountability overridden, disabled, created-then-ignored, and finally obeyed while being resisted. The Volume 4 fall is fiscal, not judicial. |
| IOII | 52.00 | 36.00 | 60.00 | 48.00 | Rising welfare, falling welfare, recovered welfare, and broad access gains financed forward. |
| PILI | 28.00 | 28.00 | 40.00 | 52.00 | The only monotonic series in the dataset. Protection has improved at every handover since 1978. |
| CESVI | 40.00 | 33.33 | 60.00 | 40.00 | Windfall absorbed; funds extracted; access gains at modest cost; a split portfolio with one very poor flagship. |
| SIS composite | 42.20 | 31.60 | 52.80 | 46.80 | Range of 21.2 points across fifty-nine years. |
| Reportable band | LOW-MOD | LOW-MOD | LOW-MOD | LOW-MOD | Identical for all four. |
| Veto conditions fired | 3 of 3 | 3 of 3 | 3 of 3 | 1 of 3 | Volume 4 is the first in which any condition fails to trigger. |
| Veto decisive | No | No | YES | No | Only Volume 3 had its band moved by the cap. |
| ECI | 76.70 | 79.30 | 77.80 | 77.00 | All four Substantiated. Documentation quality does not track governance quality. |

Table 17. Three results for the series. First, the band identity across four administrations is a property of the Safeguarding Veto and not a finding that nothing changed; the composites differ by 21.2 points. Second, PILI is the only monotonic column, running 28, 28, 40, 52, and the veto now rests on a single dimension. Third, the trajectory of the composite is not monotonic and is best described as reversible.

### Annex R8 · Series dataset structure

The complete scoring inputs for all four volumes are published as a machine-readable dataset so that third parties can reproduce the arithmetic, contest individual scores and extend the analysis without relying on the narrative. The dataset is issued alongside these reports as the SSII Kenya Presidencies Open Dataset.

| Table | Grain | Rows | Contents |
|---|---|---|---|
| dimensions | one row per dimension per administration | 100 | Pillar, dimension, performance score, evidence tier and rating, coverage flag, and the scored basis |
| pillars | one row per pillar per administration | 20 | Weight, performance index, band, coverage, scored count, evidence rating, and contribution to SIS and ECI |

| Table | Grain | Rows | Contents |
|---|---|---|---|
| headline | one row per administration | 4 | SIS, ECI, bands, claim licence, veto status and decisiveness, gate result |
| indicators | one row per indicator per year | 1,000+ | World Bank WDI series 1960–2024 in long format, tagged to the administration in office |
| computation_audit | one row per computation step per administration | 60+ | Every arithmetic step from dimension scores to SIS and ECI, reproducible independently |
| evidence_chains | one row per provenance chain | 100+ | Chain identifier, source, type, access tier, pillars served |
| rivals_tested | one row per rival per administration | 19 | Rival explanation, evidence for it, status after testing |
| contested_figures | one row per contested figure | 30+ | Both values, both sources, and the treatment applied |
| recommendations | one row per recommendation | 28 | Text, addressee, source finding, sequence |
| veto_audit | one row per veto condition per administration | 36 | Condition, threshold, observed value, trigger status, decisiveness |
| data_dictionary | one row per field | all | Field name, table, type, definition, permitted values |

Table 18. Published in Excel, CSV and JSON. The CSV and JSON forms are the citable versions; the Excel workbook is a convenience view carrying the same values. Licensing, provenance and a reproduction script are documented in the dataset README.

# Bibliography

Distinct from Annex A3, which logs provenance and tier, and Annex R6, which logs access.


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**Verification note**

Four items are flagged for verification against a primary source before external release: the public debt stock at term end, where the figure depends on the reference date; the debt-to-GDP ratio at term end, where institutional assessments differ; the Standard Gauge Railway loan value, where phase-specific and across-phase figures are different quantities and are not interchangeable; and the 2019 primary gross enrolment observation, which is discontinuous with adjacent years and is excluded from the change computation. None is used as a scored quantity and no finding turns on any of them. All are logged at Annex A12.