

A systematic analysis of legal disputes on road development in Kenya

Supplementary Information

immediate

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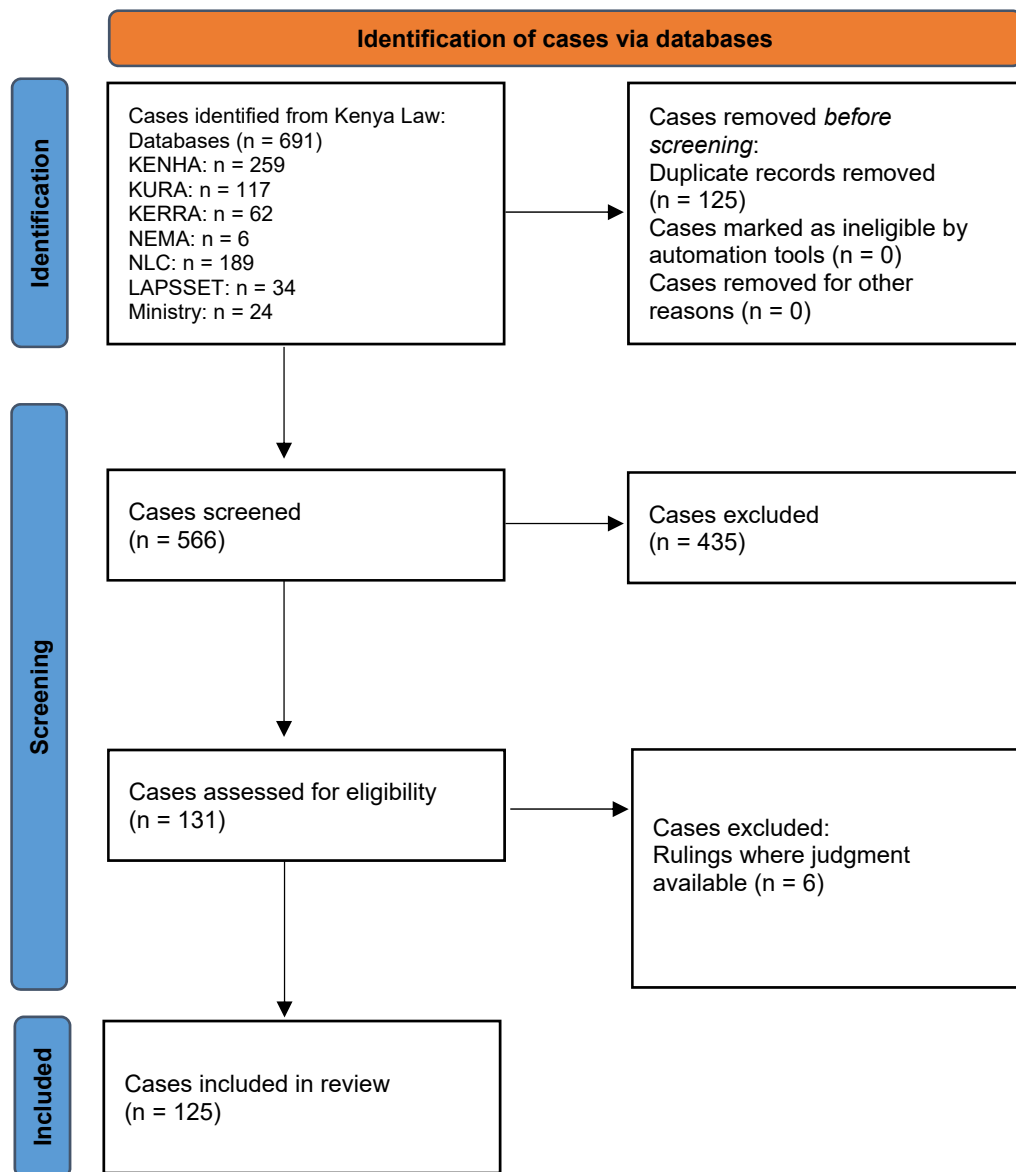


Figure S1: PRISMA 2020 flow chart of case selection. Adapted from Page et al. (2021).

Supplementary tables

Table S1: Names of the analysed cases.

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
1	Environment and Land Case 47 of 2018	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Kibwezi - Mutomo - Kitui - Migwani Road	Environment and Land Court	Machakos
2	Environment and Land Case 492 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Korogocho Road	Environment and Land Court	Korogocho
3	Environment and Land Case 66 of 2020	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Kitale –Endebess –Suam road (C45)	Environment and Land Court	Kitale
4	Environment and Land Case 110 of 2020	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Eldoret Town Bypass Road	Environment and Land Court	Eldoret
5	Environment and Land Petition 46 of 2018	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Missing Link No MA154/Ringroad Park-lands	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
6	Petition 17 of 2017	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Maai Mahiu - Narok Road	High Court	Narok
7	Petition Case 05 of 2016	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Nairobi-Naivasha Road A104	High Court	Nairobi
8	Tribunal Appeal Net 19 of 2020	NGO	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Nairobi expressway (total length of approximately 27 km designe)	National Environment Tribunal	Nairobi
9	Petition E013 of 2021	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Athi River-Machakos Turnoff (A109) Road	Environment and Land Court	Machakos
10	Petition 1303 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	JKIA Turn Off-Likoni Road Junction (A 104) Road	Employment and Labour Relations Court	Nairobi

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
11	Petition 31 of 2020	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	Environment and Land Court	Mombasa
12	Petition 11 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Mau Summit-Kericho Nyamasaria-Kisumu Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Kericho
13	Petition 01 of 2015	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Maai Mahiu – Narok Road	High Court	Naivasha
14	Miscellaneous Application 124 of 2019	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Bondo-Kisian Road	High Court	Kisumu
15	Environment and Land Suit 879 of 2013	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
16	Environment and Land Suit 537 of 2010	Company	unknown	Government Authority, Company and Private Person	Southern Bypass	High Court	Nairobi
17	Environment and Land Petition 15 of 2019	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Kisumu-Kakamega-Webuye-Kitale Highway	Environment and Land Court	Kisumu
18	Environment and Land Civil Suit 911 of 2013	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
19	Environment and Land Case Judicial Review 85 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	L.R. No. 209/14097	Environment and Land Court	JKIA Turn Off-Likoni Road Junction (A 104) Road
20	Environment and Land Case 93 of 2019	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Athi River-Mombasa Highway	Environment and Land Court	Mavoko
21	Environment and Land Case 92 of 2019	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Athi River-Mombasa Highway	Environment and Land Court	Mavoko

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
22	Environment and Land Case 91 of 2019	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Athi River-Mombasa Highway	Environment and Land Court	Mavoko
23	Environment and Land Case 90 of 2019	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Athi River-Mombasa Highway	Environment and Land Court	Mavoko
24	Environment and Land Case 05 of 2017	Private Person	male	Government Authority	L.R. No Keri-cho/Kipchimchi/302	Environment and Land Court	na
25	Environment and Land Case 301 of 2014	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Kisumu-Kakamega-Webuye-Kitale Highway	Environment and Land Court	Kisumu
26	Civil Case 210 of 2014	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Kakamega-Webuye Section of the Kisumu Kitale Road	High Court	Kisumu
27	Civil Case 66 of 2021	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	Environment and Land Court	Mombasa
28	Petition E006 of 2021	Private Person and Company	male	Government Authority and Company	L.R. No. Wanga/Ekero/1587	Environment and Land Court	L.R. No. S.Wang
29	Petition 01 of 2018	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Kanaam-Nyangweso URA 22 road	High Court	Homa Bay County
30	Environment and Land Case 1087 of 2016	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	E1507	Environment and Land Court	Kiambu County
31	Environment and Land Case 318 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Thogoto-Gikambura-Mutarakwa Road	Environment and Land Court	Ndeiya Area of Kiambu County
32	Environment and Land Case 209 of 2018	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	na	Environment and Land Court	Mombasa

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
33	Environment and Land Case 01 of 2019	Private Person	male	Government Authority	9708	Environment and Land Court	13355
34	Civil Suit 80 of 2019	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Farm-Kawiru-Mutuati-Kachulu (E817, E831 & D486) Roads Project	High Court	NA
35	Petition E022 of 2021	Private Person and Company	male	Government Authority	Legio Maria Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
36	Petition 974 of 2016	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Missing Link 12 (Ngong Road-Kibera-Kungu Karumba-Lang'ata Road)	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
37	Judicial Review 146 of 2017	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Catherine Ndereba Road passing through Mukuru Kwa Njenga	High Court	Nairobi
38	Environment and Land Case Petition 228 of 2016	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Muthurwa Jogoo Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
39	Environment and Land Case 910 of 2012	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Several roads in Upper Hill area within Nairobi	High Court	Nairobi
40	Environment and Land Case 743 of 2015	Private Person and Company	male and female	Government Authority	Mau Mau Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
41	Environment and Land Case 185 of 2017	Private Person	female	Government Authority	Western Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Meru
42	Environment and Land Case 07 of 2018	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	na	Environment and Land Court	Nyahururu
43	Environment and Land Case 02 of 2020	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Moi Girls Road	Environment and Land Court	Chuka

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
44	Environment and Land Case 04 of 2020	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Moi Girls Road	Environment and Land Court	Chuka
45	Civil Application Nai 101 of 2012 (UR 79/2012)	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Eastern Bypass, Mombasa Road – North Airport Road	Court of Appeal	Nairobi
46	Miscellaneous Civil Application 124 of 2019	Government Authority	unknown	Company	Bondo-Kisian Road	High Court	Nairobi
47	Environment and Land Case 150 of 2018	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Thika Super Highway	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
48	Petition Case 10 of 2015 (connected to Civil Appeal 52 of 2016)	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Nyamasaria-Kisumu Highway including Kisumu bypass road	Environment and Land Court	Kisumu
49	Judicial Review Application 84 of 2020	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority	Isiolo - Kulamawe Mogadashe Road	High Court	Nairobi
50	Environment and Land Suit 331 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Mombasa Road Interchange Section	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
51	Environment and Land Petition 20B of 2020	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Kibwezi- Kitui Road	Environment and Land Court	Ikutha
52	Environment and Land Petition 11 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Mau Summit-Kericho Nyamasaria-Kisumu Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Kericho
53	Environment and Land Case 469 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Nairobi- Thika Highway	Environment and Land Court	Ruiru
54	Environment and Land Case 94 of 2017	Private Person	male	Government Authority	na	Environment and Land Court	Kisii
55	Environment and Land Case 58 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Nuno-Modogashe Road (C8)	Environment and Land Court	Balambala Sub-County in Garissa

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
56	Environment and Land Appeal 38 of 2021	Private Person and Company	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Kibwezi-Mutomo-Kitui-Kabati-Migwani (A9/B64) Road	Environment and Land Court	Kitui
57	Environment and Land Appeal 16 of 2015	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
58	Civil Case 309 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	High Court	Nairobi
59	Civil Application 112 of 2018	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Southern Bypass	Court of Appeal	Nairobi
60	Environment and Land Constitutional Petition 188 of 2018	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Mombasa Road	Environment and Land Court	Machakos
61	Environment and Land Case 378 of 2017	Private Person	female	Government Authority and Company	Kenol-Mitaboni- Kathiani road	Environment and Land Court	Mitaboni
62	Environment and Land Case 1339 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Outer Ring Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
63	Civil Appeal 623 of 2006	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Sultan Hamud-Mtito Andei Road	High Court	Sultan-Hamud
64	Constitutional Petition 43 of 2018	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	High Court	Mombasa
65	Constitutional Petition 44 of 2018	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	High Court	Mombasa
66	Environment and Land Case 445 of 2014	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
67	Environment and Land Appeal 70 of 2015	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Ngong Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
68	Environment and Land Appeal 2 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Ngong Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
69	Environment and Land Case 234 of 2017	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Mwatate-Taveta (A23) Road and Taveta-Voi Bypass Road	Environment and Land Court	Taveta
70	Environment and Land Case 162 of 2014	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Karia-Rwambiti Factory Road	Environment and Land Court	Kerugoya
71	Environment and Land Petition 713 of 2016	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Outer Ring Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
72	Petition 9 of 2019	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Nairobi-Nakuru Highway	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
73	Petition 533 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	High Court	Kikuyu Town
74	Petition 409 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	High Court	Nairobi
75	Petition 402 of 2013	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	L.R. No. 1055/31	High Court	Southern Bypass
76	Petition 247 of 2017	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Lot 6 roads in Bungoma, Kakamega, Trans Nzoia, Busia and Siaya	High Court	Bungoma, Kakamega, Trans Nzoia, Busia and Siaya Counties
77	Petition 186 of 2013	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Mombasa Nairobi Highway (Slip road from Mombasa Road to Likoni)	High Court	Nairobi
78	Petition 58 of 2019	Private Person and Company	male and female	Government Authority	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	Environment and Land Court	Changamwe

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
79	Petition 13 of 2018	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Nairobi-Nakuru Highway	Environment and Land Court	Kiambu County
80	Petition 13 of 2015	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Digo-Changamwe Road (58km)	High Court	Mombasa
81	Judicial Review 366 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	L.R. No. 27799/3	High Court	Thika Super Highway
82	Environment and Land Petition Case 09 of 2018	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Kisumu-Kakamega-Webuye-Kitale Highway	Environment and Land Court	Kakamega
83	Environment and Land Petition 37 of 2017	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Generally roads in Kenya	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
84	Environment and Land Petition 36 of 2021	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Mombasa-Mariakani Road	Environment and Land Court	Mombasa
85	Environment and Land Petition 25 of 2018	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
86	Environment and Land Case Petition 14 of 2017 (Machakos Elc Pet	Private Person	female	Government Authority	Arusha – Namanga – Athi River Project	Environment and Land Court	Namanga Township, within Kajiado County
87	Environment and Land Case 1317 of 2015	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Embakasi – Kibera Railway Line and the Southern By-pass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
88	Environment and Land Case 963 of 2012	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
89	Environment and Land Case 98 of 2012	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Kisumu Bypass Road	Environment and Land Court	Kisumu
90	Environment and Land Case 73 of 2018	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Nakuru-Kabarak Road	Environment and Land Court	Nakuru

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
91	Constitutional Petition E29 of 2020	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Intersection of Kipevu terminal link road (Part of the Mombasa	Environment and Land Court	Mombasa
92	Constitutional Petition 01 of 2012	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Eldoret-Webuye section of the Eldoret-Malaba Highway	Environment and Land Court	Mwamba Village of Uasin Gishu County
93	Civil Appeal 52 of 2016	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Nyamasaria-Kisumu Highway including Kisumu bypass road	Court of Appeal	Kisumu
94	Environment and Land Petition Case 06 of 2021 (Formerly Migori	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Kanaam-Nyangweso URA 22 road	Environment and Land Court	Homa Bay County
95	Environment and Land Petition 11 of 2018	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Kisima-Kibirichia-Kiirua-Ruiru	Environment and Land Court	Meru
96	Environment and Land Petition 09 of 2015	Private Person	male	Government Authority	Lwandeti – Webuye access road	Environment and Land Court	Kakamega
97	Environment and Land Petition 06 of 2020	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Road network from Kapng'enangen through Elain to Kabarmosis	Environment and Land Court	Eldoret
98	Constitutional Petition 27 of 2016	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Malindi-Kakoneni-Sala Gate Road	Environment and Land Court	Malindi
99	Constitutional Petition 19 of 2020	Company	unknown	Government Authority	L.R. No. 49403	Environment and Land Court	Laikipia Road
100	Petition 178 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Missing Link Road No. 3, 6 and 7 - North Western Ring Road	High Court	Nairobi
101	Petition 88 of 2010	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Junction of Airport North and South Roads at Embakasi, Nairobi	High Court	Nairobi
102	Petition 70 and 69 of 2010	Private Person and Company	male and female	Government Authority	NA	High Court	Northern Bypass Road

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
103	Petition 62 of 2018	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Catherine Ndereba Road passing through Mukuru Kwa Njenga	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
104	Petition 53 of 2015	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Outer Ring Road	High Court	Nairobi
105	Petition 42 of 2015	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Northern Bypass	High Court	Nairobi
106	Miscellaneous Civil Application 130 of 2014	Government Authority	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Accra road extension (Ngara market – Kirinyaga road)	High Court	Nairobi
107	Miscellaneous Application 203 of 2016	Government Authority and Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Outer Ring Road	High Court	Nairobi
108	Judicial Review 121 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Airport North Road	High Court	Nairobi
109	Environment and Land Petition 175 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Outer Ring Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
110	Environment and Land Case Petition 30 of 2015	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Lusaka Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
111	Environment and Land Case Petition 27 of 2018	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Junction at Jogoo Road and Outering Roads	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
112	Environment and Land Case Petition 03 of 2017	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Link road connecting Hospital road and Mbagathi way	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
113	Environment and Land Case 1468 of 2016	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Airport North Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
114	Environment and Land Case 545 of 2012	Company	unknown	Government Authority	Link road between Waiyaki Way and Red Hill Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi

No.	Case Number	Plaintiff	Gender of plaintiff	Defendant	Road	Court type	City
115	Environment and Land Case 264 of 2017	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Church Road	Environment and Land Court	Machakos
116	Environment and Land Case 232 of 2017 (O.S)	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Ngong Road – Kibera – Langata Link Road	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
117	Environment and Land Case 01 of 2020	Private Person	male	Government Authority and Company	Plot No. 225 Chuka Township	Environment and Land Court	Moi Girls Road
118	ELC Civil Suit 976 of 2012	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Link road connecting the Nairobi Northern Bypass to Limuru Road	High Court	Nairobi
119	Constitutional Petition 122 of 2011	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Feeder road from Bakarani Area (to connect it with the Old Mali	High Court	Mombasa
120	Civil Appeal 133 of 2016 (formerly Petition 53 of 2015)	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	Outer Ring Road	Court of Appeal	Nairobi
121	Petition 22 of 2012	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	LAPSSET Project	High Court	Nairobi
122	Miscellaneous Civil Application 142 of 2014	Government Authority and Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Northern Bypass	High Court	Nairobi
123	Environment and Land Court 114 of 2014	Company	unknown	Government Authority and Company	Southern Bypass	Environment and Land Court	Nairobi
124	ELC Civil Petition 04 of 2014	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority and Company	Stadium Road	High Court	Malindi
125	Constitutional Petition 16 of 2017	Private Person	male and female	Government Authority	LAPSSET Project	High Court	Kililana

Table S2: Sub-codes for the legal grounds. TOTAL indicates the total number of cases in the respective main category.

Sub-code	Number of cases
Procedure	
TOTAL	27
Violation of right to fair administrative action	18
Violation of access to justice/hearing	4
Urgency	4
No authority	3
Substantial questions of law	2
Existing decision	1
Land and Property	
TOTAL	113
Land owner	84
Violation of right to property	47
Unlawful land acquisition	42
No information/public participation	36
Demolition	36
Land acquisition without compensation	28
No/partial/inadequate compensation	25
Trespassing	24
Damage	22
No road reserve	21
No/wrong (monetary) valuation/survey of property	20
Economic/financial damage	16
Resettlement Action Plan	9
Eviction	9
Alternative route/change of initial plan	7
Community land	4
Environment	
TOTAL	12
No EIA	7
Damage to environment	6
Right to clean and healthy environment	5
No information/public participation	4
Damage to health	3
EIA Study Report	1
Construction	
TOTAL	9
Contract, Construction, Arbitration	5
Tender/PPP	2
Adjudicator Award	2
Procurement	1

General

TOTAL	12
Danger for people	4
Marginalized community	2
Lapsset	2
Disruption of essential services/infrastructure	2
Culture	2
Delay of road construction	1

Table S3: Sub-codes for the arguments of the defence. TOTAL indicates the total number of cases in the respective main category.

Sub-code	Number of cases
Procedure	
TOTAL	53
Abuse of the law/court process	20
No jurisdiction	15
Wrong defendant	9
No prima facie case	8
No notice before suit	8
Existing decision/ongoing case	6
Statute of limitations (Verjährung)	4
No evidence	4
Right authority	3
No locus standi	3
Wrong kind of petition	2
Not following laws	2
Land and Property	
TOTAL	66
Information and participation	32
No (legal) owner	23
Lawful land acquisition	18
Compensation/enough compensation paid/will be paid	18
Public land	12
Resettlement Action Plan	5
Unregistered community land	1
Road and Infrastructure	
TOTAL	48
Road reserve	37
Better Infrastructure	14
Road already existed	2
Hinders road construction	1
Effect on traffic	1
Construction complete	1
Environment	
TOTAL	9
ESIA/report/study done	9
General	
TOTAL	40
Public Interest/Benefit	34
Monetary loss	8
Negative effect on taxpayers	6
No danger for people	2

Table S4: Sub-codes for the positive decision for the plaintiff. TOTAL indicates the total number of cases in the respective main category.

Sub-code	Number of cases
Procedure	
TOTAL	41
No evidence by other party	17
Evidence	14
Not met threshold for preliminary objection	7
Jurisdiction for suit	7
Prima facie case	6
Urgency	2
Access to justice	2
Unopposed	1
Met threshold of preliminary objection	1
Land and Property	
TOTAL	28
Unlawful land acquisition process	12
No/not enough compensation	12
Unlawful encroachment on property/trespass/demolition	7
No information/public participation	7
Lawful owner	6
Property not on road reserve	3
Notice before suit	2
Unfair administrative action	1
Environment	
Violation of environmental rights/principles	3
TOTAL	3
No/inadequate EIA	2
No information/public participation	2
Violation of cultural rights	1

Table S5: Sub-codes for the negative decision for the plaintiff. TOTAL indicates the total number of cases in the respective main category.

Sub-code	Number of cases
Procedure	
TOTAL	46
No evidence	25
No prima facie case	10
No jurisdiction	8
Statute of limitations	5
Already existing decision/ongoing case (res judicata)	5
Wrong party	2
Parties are bound to pleadings - no such pleading	1
Land and Property	
TOTAL	33
No legal owner	10
Lawful land acquisition	10
Compensation is enough/will be paid	10
Information/public participation	9
Public land	6
Encroached on road/road reserve	6
No damage/trespass	5
Fair administrative action	5
RAP in place	2
Lawful demolition	2
No notice before suit	1
Environment	
TOTAL	3
Information/Public participation	2
EIA	1
General	
TOTAL	22
Public interest	16
No public importance	2
No marginalization/discrimination	2
Financial reasons	2
Failed arbitration	1

References

Page, M. J. et al. (2021). “PRISMA 2020 explanation and elaboration: Updated guidance and exemplars for reporting systematic reviews”. In: *The BMJ* 372, p. 160. DOI: [10.1136/bmj.n160](https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n160). URL: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n160>.