

Who Is Next?

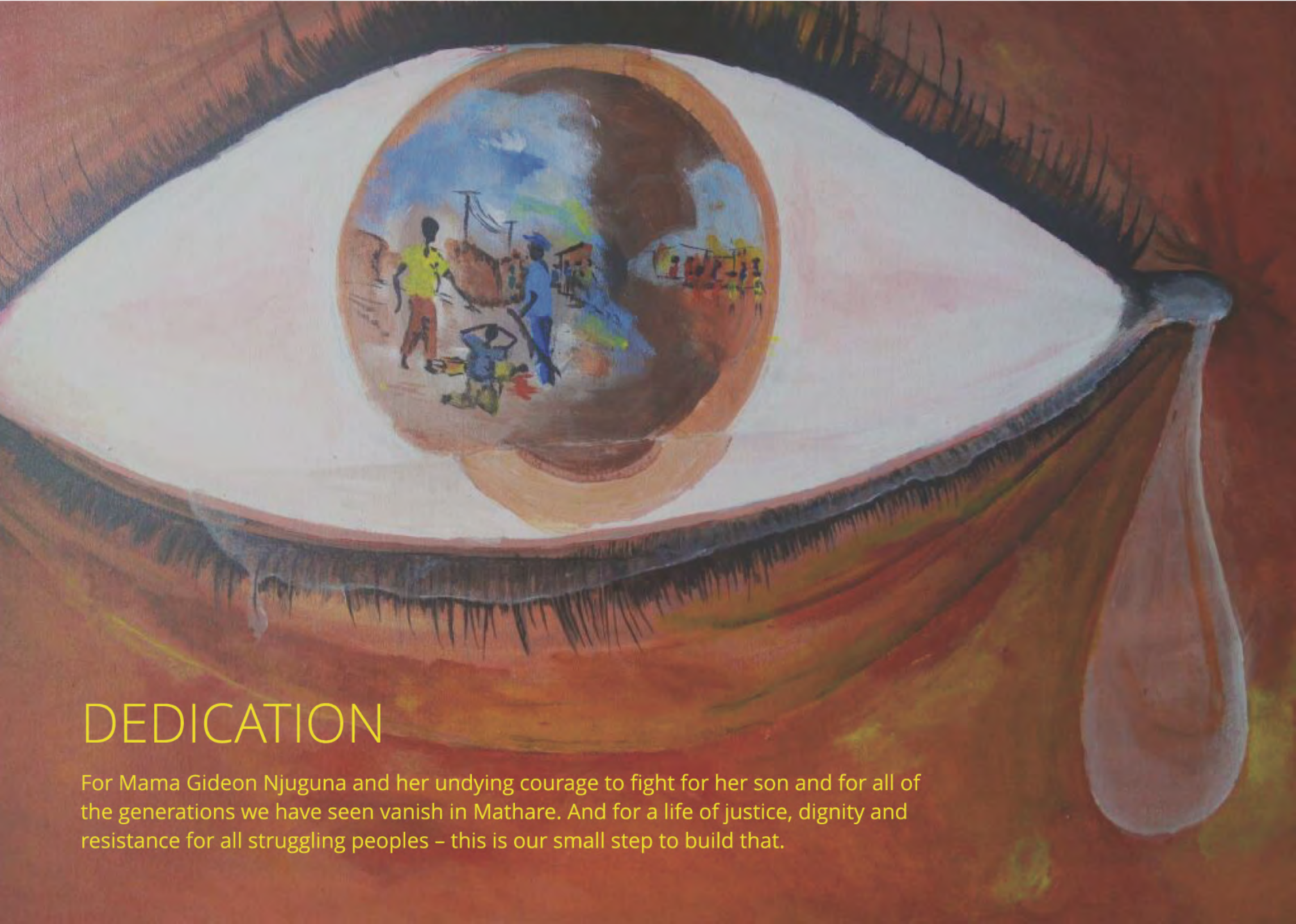
A Participatory Action Research
Report Against the Normalization
of Extrajudicial Executions in
Mathare

MATHARE SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTRE



In Defense of Social Justice
www.matharesocialjustice.org





DEDICATION

For Mama Gideon Njuguna and her undying courage to fight for her son and for all of the generations we have seen vanish in Mathare. And for a life of justice, dignity and resistance for all struggling peoples - this is our small step to build that.

CONTENTS

MESSAGE TO MATHARE/UJUMBE KWA WAKAAZI WA MATHARE	4
INTRODUCTION	7
PAR PROCESS	11
CASE PATTERNS	13
DOCUMENTED CASES	15
RUN KIJANA RUN: THE CRIME OF BEING A POOR YOUNG MAN IN KENYA	34
CONCLUSION AND ACTION POINTS	40
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	42
APPENDIX	46

MESSAGE TO MATHARE/ UJUMBE KWA WAKAAZI WA MATHARE



Ni muhimu Kwa kila jamii, kulea kizazi kwa njia inayo kihamasisha kutatua changamoto zinazoikabili kwa njia inayozingatia misingi ya uelewano na uhusiano mwema. Kila kizazi kina wajibu wa kulikomboa bara la Afrika kutokana na ushawishi wa kibeberu. Tunapotumia mauaji ya kiholela kama suluhisho la changamoto zinazoikabili jamii yetu, ndio vile vile, tunakifunza kizazi hicho kupuuzilia mbali maisha na uhuru kama kiini cha uhai. Wakati ambapo misingi ya jamii inaporomoka, nafasi za uelewano pia hutokomea. Binadamu akifungwa njia za kutoa au kupokea mawazo, anakufa kiakili. Hilo linapelekea kuzaliwa taifa la majuha.

Taifa lenye mazoea ya uhasama, hofu, majonzi na dhuluma, linazaa demokrasia potovu. Demokrasia hii nayo inapora akili na nyoyo za Walalahoi. Hii inajitokeza kama demokrasia inayopendelea matakwa ya wachache dhidi ya wengi wanaoishi maisha ya uchovu, utumwa na upweke wa uhai. Maisha ya kila siku kwa Mwafrika yanakuwa ni ya kuporwa haki na kulazimishwa kuitumikia demokrasia ya walalakheri. Demokrasia isiyo huru ni soko la ulanguzi wa haki na uhuru wa wananchi. Hivi, panaingia ufa katika nguzo za kulijenga taifa. Ufa huo



usipozibwa panatokea changamoto za kizazi, changamoto za uadimifu wa Ulezi wa kiitikadi kutoka kwa kizazi kikuu. Ni muhimu kuelewa kwamba, kizazi kichanga kinapokabiliwa na suala la dhuluma, pindi kinaposhurutishwa kuvua uhai wake katika utumishi wa nchi, ndipo tunaposhuhudia vurugu ikitumika kama chombo cha kujadili mabadiliko. Kiini cha suitafahamu hii ni kusababisha udhaifu wa fikra za ukombozi, kusababisha mazoea ya kutumika, kupotosha vizazi, kukamua uhai wa mnyonge duniani na kuporomosha matumaini ya haki za kijamii. Hivyo, mbiu ya mgambo inapolia, inakuwa ni wito usiotajika. Maovu yamepakwa mafuta na kung'arishwa, yamepewa majina mapya, yamevishwa vazi na kurembeka, yakakuzwa na kuwa mila na desturi, sheria na dini ya uongozi. Hapa, mtumishi wa umma anajikabidhi mamlaka na kuwa dudu baya linalozorotesha na kutatiza

utekelezaji wa sera endelevu. Hivi, bara zima linashikwa mateka, uhuru nao unawekewa bei kama bidhaa sokoni.

Kinuthia Mwangi

"Kwa mkazi mtaani, inakuwa kusurvive nikuishi kulinganana vile gava imetupanga. Kutoka utotoni, tumezoea kuskia polisi fulani ndio ngori- akipatana na boy lazima amtoanishe, ama ampige, ama hata amnyurie. Kwetu, hii ndio system, haibagui kama umesoma ,kabila ama hali ya afya. Kwetu, polisi amefunzwa kama adui wa raia- kazi ya polisi inajulikana ni kukimbizana na vijana bila sababu. Wengi ambao wamededi ni maboy tumejuana nao, wengi waliangushwa wakiwa raondi za mtaa, au wakiwa wametulia base na wadhii. Polisi nao

hawajitambulishi na pia, wanajulikana kwa majina ya vako tu.

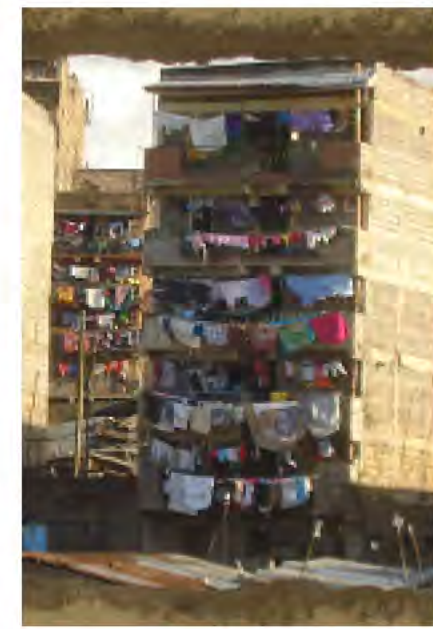
Hata mtu akimadwa, community haziwezi sema ni nani alimadana, kuulizia majina yao pia ni kesi inaweza fanya pia utumwe. Kwa hivyo, hata kujaribu kuleta change inabidi pakuwe na vuguvugu ili kuconfront dhuluma za 'Right of arrested persons' -kwa sababu pia polisi hawatambui Katiba ya Kenya na gava haionekani kujali maboy wanapomadwa. Hata leader wa community hajasikika akibonga kuhusu story ya extrajudicial killings. Inaonekana ni kama viongozi wamekubali maboy mtaani wanaweza madwa kiholela bila justice kutafutwa ama hata mavictims kushughulikiwa . Kila mghetto ameloose bro, mtoi, ama hata baba ya watoi wake.Ukicheki community kama hii, mayut ni wengi sana wanaolengwa na vifo vya risasi, na kwa hivyo, hakuna vile tunaweza ongea kuhusu vision 2030 bila assurance ya life. Change ni process, na change lazima ianze leo! Hakuna vile mkono tunafaa kukimbilia unapewa nguvu ya kutumia bunduki na kutugeukia- huyo anakuwa ni adui wamayut, adui wa amani na umoja. Lazima vijana wapate fursa ya kutekeleza vision ya wazazi wao- vision ya uhuru na haki kwa wote!"

INTRODUCTION



We are coming to about one hundred years of Mathare's existence. Today's settlement of approximately 250,000 people crammed into three square kilometres was originally a quarry, whose valley provided rock used to build Nairobi's characteristic colonial era stone buildings. It was settled initially by the quarry's African labour, mainly in the cave dwellings that resulted from the excised rock. Then, slowly by slowly, particularly after the Second World War, and especially the independence era, people began to build homes, though ones deemed and still deemed 'illegal' in the segregated (post-)colonial city. Mathare has been witness to many wars, occupations, and forced evictions; many everyday struggles for basic services, dignity and freedom. It was, after all, part of an area referred to as the Kenya Land and Freedom Army's ('Mau Mau') headquarters in Nairobi during the colonial 'emergency' period; forming its pulse, and for which the settlement paid the heavy price of being raised to the ground.

Yet, there is another fight that residents are taking up now, another struggle that accompanies and exacerbates the



ongoing lack of water, sanitation, housing and chronic tenure insecurity. All these violations threaten inhabitants' right to the city. But the additional struggle involves an even more fundamental level of survival, the systematic killing of Mathare's children by the police, which is the focus of this report. This struggle, though worsening, is not new. Young men in settlements like Mathare are being killed at an alarming rate. Here in this community everyone has lost a brother, a nephew, a friend, a grandchild, a son or a father, who are often the bread winners, to this violence. In forums MSJC have organized on this situation people have asked: 'Why do we even give birth?'

We ask a related question: why have these extrajudicial killings become accepted as 'normalized' common

everyday events in Kenya?

Perhaps it was the following words uttered in 1973 by Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta: 'My brothers, let us say it loudly, thieves shall be hanged; hanged until they die', through which attitudes to crime –backed by legislation– first legitimised 'shoot to kill' for the police¹. More recently, there is a widely held perception of a spike in executions during the mid 2000s in President Mwai Kibaki's first term, then a relative decline in his second, before an upsurge since 2013 with Uhuru Kenyatta's first term. In this scenario, the contradictions become more blatant: despite the hard-earned gains since 2010, with a purportedly transformational constitution and multi-sector engagement in police and policy reform, the problem of violence remains unabated². Some important

clues have been provided (see KNHRC, 2008)³; and, especially, in 2009, by Philip Alston, UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, who investigated the acceleration in police killings. He identified key factors which account for the frequency with which police can kill at will in Kenya. These include: official sanctioned targeted killings of suspected criminals; a dysfunctional criminal justice system incentivizes police to counter crime by killing suspected criminals rather than arresting them; internal and external police accountability mechanisms are virtually non-existent; there is little check on, and virtually no independent investigations of, alleged police abuses; use of force laws are contradictory and overly permissive; witnesses to abuse are often intimidated and fear reporting or testifying; and the police force lacks sufficient training, discipline and professionalism⁴. Alston therefore identified not the mere presence of so-called 'rogue' police but something far more systemic underlying these killings. All of which contributes to explaining why there is a lack of any lasting solutions. Kenya's Truth and Justice and Reconciliation Commission confirmed that extrajudicial killings are, indeed, a 'normalised' phenomenon in Kenya.⁵

In 2015 MSJC began with the core mandate to document the localised executions of, principally, young men by the police in Mathare. Because we had seen so many generations lost we decided to do this, and were emboldened by those who had embarked on similar work,

at great risk to themselves and families, before us. This is not, as ongoing and recent high profile killings attest, a safe or easy task. It makes families relive trauma, it puts the lives of our members, most of whom live in Mathare, in danger, and we are always up against the historical narrative that paints young poor people as thieves; an analysis that criminalizes poverty by not considering the limited choices available to those forced to the margins of our societies. Whether alleged criminals, or not, there is a total disregard for any due process.

As you will see in this documentation report, many youth victims were shot on their way to see family, while at work, while hanging out with friends or even on the way back from school. The police officers involved still walk around the community and are known, and the post-mortem or police report that they make usually states that their victims were thieves caught with a "homemade gun and four rounds of ammunition." Then, as is becoming more frequent, the pictures of these dead are posted by the police in Whatsapp groups to 'warn' others. At this rate, this is, in effect, serial killing.

For us this register of young victims is not separate from a larger fight for rights for all: land for the landless, food for the poor, houses, education, healthcare and as, mentioned earlier, security of tenure. By focusing on extrajudicial killings we are agitating against one very sinister way that

these injustices also lead to the criminalization of our children, and to stop the silence about these deaths—this silence inspires more deaths!

No one will do this work for us. We spend our time and our scarce resources as volunteers seeking justice for victims and their families by approaching oversight institutions and NGOs, purportedly our guardians. Yet, we are met with an ineffective response, which shows a disconnection between the grass roots and NGO and related fora.⁶ At their offices, we are often met with an endless wait for justice.

We document here over 50 cases from Mathare and surrounding areas that we have researched ourselves. But we also include a tally of police killings from 2013 – 2015 that we collated from those reported in relevant daily newspapers (see appendix)⁷. These latter killings, documented in such an offhand manner, come to 803 deaths, which alone challenges the vast underestimations otherwise circulated in the media.

At the same time, we know this is only a fraction of all extrajudicial killings in Mathare and in Kenya broadly. But without this start, without these stories, without putting a human face to this tragedy, responses will remain inadequate. Above all, we do this for ourselves and our community: for the aunty who has lost her four children;

for the families of Stephen Gichuru, Willie Kimani, Josephat Mwenda, Joseph Muiruri, Kwekwe Mwandaza and all the many young Muslim men whose names we do not always know but who we will remember. We are also tired of being told that we are liars, that we exaggerate the number of people killed every day and that these victims were nothing but thieves. This is a humble commemoration of our community members and their mothers who live with so much pain in their breasts, their pain is not a lie. This is for Dandora, Kibera, Mukuru, Biafra, Ziwani, Eastleigh, Mombasa. It should not be illegal to be young and poor in any of our homes. After all, we are human too, humans don't just exist in Muthaiga, Runda and Karen, we are also humans in Mathare. We will not keep asking: who is next?

1. Hornsby, C. (2013) Kenya: A History Since Independence (I.B. Taurus).
2. Jones, P. S., Kimari, W., Ramakrishnan, K. (2017) 'Only the people can defend this struggle': the politics of the everyday, extrajudicial executions and civil society in Mathare, Kenya, Review of Political Economy, DOI: 10.1080/03056244.2016.1269000.
3. KNCHR [Kenya National Commission on Human Rights] (2008) 'The Cry of Blood: Report on Extra-judicial Killings and Disappearances'. Nairobi: KNCHR.
4. Alston, P. (2009) Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Philip Alston, A/HRC/11/2/Add.6.
5. The Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission of Kenya (2013) Final Report. Nairobi: <http://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/tjrc/>.
6. See Jones et al, op. cit.
7. See Anneke Osse and Naomi van Stapele, Police Killings in Kenya (in press), and this newspaper research was done in collaboration with Stephen Kinuthia Mwangi and Juliet Wanjira of MSJC.

PAR PROCESS



We started incrementally collecting this data since 2015. We began by walking through our community to raise awareness, and by knocking on peoples' doors, and holding several meetings across the settlement. Residents would then bring us cases of killings or even reports of gunshots. But we would also individually hear about cases on a weekly and sometimes daily basis that we would follow up. We were limited, initially, by a lack of resources to pursue cases in a consistent manner; for transport, phone credit, among other small necessities. Though, somehow, we would always move on, even being able to organize multiple trainings with our supporters to contribute to building our ability to document these violations.

But there were additional challenges. There were also the psycho-social realities of family members reluctant to share their experiences as they were understandably reticent to relive trauma, and equally questioned us about our ability to help them get justice and to make the police accountable. Many families did not insist on a post mortem because they could not afford it, or did not register these killings with any authority also because they could not afford it. There was and



remains the very real weight of security fears; of retribution from the police who, though will make family members pay for the bullets that killed their kin, will work to sabotage any inquiries into these violations. What is more, there is also a bureaucratic civil society space that, informed by very legalistic human rights frameworks, would embed us in unending processes and in the end –with some important exceptions- deem the cases we offered not “actionable” because we did not have witnesses, or case registration numbers from the police. But we continued. We walked and we met friends in Ziwani, saw wounded young people in Korogocho, and would inquire about post-mortems. And some of these cases we have managed to complete and others we are still pursuing. These names here, some of them nicknames, are all in various stages of documentation and have emerged out of very real determination but also very real challenges; some internal but many of them external. Yet, they are here and they speak for themselves. There



are still many many many other victims we were unable to document, and we hope they will not remain unremembered. For now, this is our small barefoot contribution to memory and justice. This is equally a ‘cry from the ghetto’ but, above all, a demand. And we are here to offer any other community anywhere support to engage in similar work should they choose to do so.

CASE PATTERNS



From the cases are presented here, several clear and key patterns can be identified:

- First, the victims average age is approximately 20, and as young as 13 years of age.
- Second, the victims are all male, of mixed ethnicities.
- Third, a typical scenario is that these young men are intercepted by the police, and then have either already surrendered, or, attempt to run away. They may run because they fear extortion by the police or fatal consequences. Some victims are also shot in front of their families or neighbours.
- Four, most are shot at close range, or in the back.
- Five, several cases involve mistaken identity, with the victim wrongly identified and still shot dead.
- Six, it is apparent that many youth victims are conducting regular everyday activities when they are killed: they are on their way to see family, while at work, while hanging out with friends, or, even on the way back from school or abducted from their home while sleeping then shot.
- Seven, particular places within Mathare are associated with police executions, e.g. Huruma Sports Ground, Migingo Corner, Austins grounds.

- Eight, several police officers – associated with surrounding police stations – are identified and well-known to the community, and involved in multiple fatal incidents.
- Nine, it appears common practice amongst police officers to state in reports that their victims were thieves caught with a “homemade gun and four rounds of ammunition,” or other weapons such as knives. Yet, several witnesses suggest otherwise: that it is common police practice that these weapons (‘Bonoko’) are planted on the corpses after execution.
- Ten, some of the incidents appear pre-meditated, such as police officers presenting a list to families, who have gone to report the killing of their children, of an additional 35 young men they intend to execute.
- Eleven, there are additional scenarios whereby killings took place during political unrest and also crowd unrest (for example, perhaps involving fighting or lynching) and police officers demonstrate a reckless and fatal use of fire arms.
- Twelve, an associated pattern in that communities are intimidated and fear consequences of acting as witnesses: ‘They say that this is normal; the police are always shooting people’.
- Thirteen, as is becoming more frequent, the pictures of the dead are being posted by the police in Whatsapp groups to ‘warn’ others.

DOCUMENTED CASES

CHRISTOPHER MAINA

He was working with colleagues at a space abandoned after the failed 'NYS' project in Mathare. They were digging pits to erect firm pillars for the structure used by the 'Pirates' youth group, when a police officer picked him.

He was made to walk from the site to 'Wanjas' (an open space close to the Mlango Kubwa bus stop). There, while begging for his life to be spared, he was shot to his chest, once by a police officer known as Kisii and countless by an officer reportedly known as Rashid.

After killing him, the officer(Rashid) is reported to have smoked Marijuana and dropped a ten shilling coin to the pool of blood and uttered to himself while staring at the body.



ALLEGEDLY SHOT DEAD BY 2 POLICE OFFICERS

AGE: 27 years.

WHERE: Mlango Kubwa

WHEN: March 2017

PETER GACHICHI GITAU

He was coming from a night out with his friends and when they alighted the matatu, they were ordered to stop by Officer Rashid his friends thought they were thieves ordering them to stop so they ran away but Peter was apprehended, he was told to identify himself which he did and raised his hands as a sign of surrender, but officer Rashid just shot at him in close range and killed him.



ALLEGEDLY SHOT DEAD BY A POLICE OFFICER

AGE: 20 years.

WHERE; Matatu stage, Kwa Mkokoteni

WHEN; 1st January 2016

BRIAN, SILAS & TITO

FEATURED CASE

Allegedly shot and killed by three police officers. Brian did not have anything on him that would be considered illegal, but when his body was picked up the police officers allegedly discovered a knife on Brian which was said to be false because he did not have a knife before the police officers who shot them showed up.

When Brian was shot he was holding himself, the police officers looked shocked, Brian woke up and ran into the building where Silas ran into, the police officer who shot him followed him into the building and fired three gun shots at him hitting the wall, Brian jumped into the house next to that building, where he found the owner of the house sleeping since he was sick, the police officer followed him to that house and asked him "this is where you have come to die you dog" then shot him four times the last one to the head where he fell down dead

Brian's girlfriend (Wambui) says, if anything Brian had Tonsils medicine in his side pocket and no weapon.

Tito died on the spot while sat when he was shot.

Silas ran into the building next to where they were all sited after being shot and the police officer that shot him followed him swiftly and shot him one more time where he fell down dead.

Silas did not have anything on him that would be considered illegal, but when his body was picked up the police officers allegedly discovered a gun on Silas which was said to be false because he did not have a gun before the police officers who shot them showed up.



ALLEGEDLY SHOT DEAD BY 3 POLICE OFFICERS

AGES: Brian (27), Silas(26), Tito (-)

WHERE; Mathare slum, Bondeni

WHEN; October 2013

**Dan Wanyonyi (23) &
Robert Odhiambo (22)**

It was on the 31st December 2016 at around 10.00pm while waiting to usher the new year when Dante and two of his friends went to a certain pub within Huruma and started drinking alcohol (whisky). After sometime Dante's friend Robert (ROBA) called him aside and told him that he had a visitor who wanted to see him but not in a bar.

They went together but before they could reach where they were being waited they met police officers who just opened fire on them. They shot the two dead. After shooting them they scared off the wananchi who wanted to know the reasons for the killings of the two innocent guys who had left their drinks in Vineyard pub."

FEATURED CASE



DAN



ROBERT

ALLEGEDLY SHOT DEAD BY 3 POLICE OFFICERS

AGE: 23 & 22.

WHERE; Ngei 1, Cassanova

WHEN; December 31, 2016

KEVIN MWANGI

Allegedly shot dead by police (Oti of Pangani police station). Kevin a lame young man confronted a police officer whom had raped her mother, he was arrested by the officer called Oti, and shot nine times on 18th at Marie stopes At Eastleigh. The mother is still threatened and fears for her life, she was slapped by the OCS when she went to report the case at the Pangani police station. The officer is still attached at the Pangani police.



ALLEGEDLY SHOT DEAD BY A POLICE OFFICER

AGE: 20 years.

WHERE; Mathare 3C

WHEN: To be confirmed

OTHER DOCUMENTED CASES

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
1	Paul Munyoki Mwanthe (19), Mathare Area 1, Mlango Kubwa, 31.Dec.16, Kenyan, Male	In the wake of new year's eve, the victim was heard telling the police officer to take him to the police station, he even raised his hands saying "tafadhali nipeleke station, usiniuwe. Mimi sio mwizi" (please take me to the police station, do not kill me. I am not a thug). However, the police officer could not heed to the plead, he shot him just a few metres from his family home. The gunshots are what awoke the community that morning. Afterwards while rummaging through the pockets of the victim, the officer was heard asking "what kind of a thief is this with only 50shillings in his pockets?". The postmortem was conducted but the famiy claims they were not handed the report. Alleged perpetrator; Rashid	Afraid to come forward
2	Francis Karani (25), Mlango Kubwa, 08.Apr.17, Kenyan, Male	Francis was in the company of his friend trying to find a tank to reserve water following the announced water rationing by the Nairobi County government. While they were bargaining the price, a commotion broke out, suddenly everyone was scampering for safety. Still frightened and trying to understand the cause of the commotion, he was shot at to his chest. His friend was not spared either, he was shot to his upper arm. Both of them lost consciousness and only woke up while being attended to at the MSF emergency clinics at Mathare, Jujaroad. The police officers, unknown to the community made away after claiming that the two were thieves they were just chasing after. Efforts from the public to have them attend to the two were met by more gunshots to disperse the agitated public. Franci's friend made it after being attended to at the Kenyatta Hospital- he however died after losing too much blood. Alleged perpetrators- Unknown, new to the area	YES

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
3	Stephen Gichuru (16), Kia Maiko, May 17th 2015, Kenyan, Male	These are unclear at the moment. However the police shot him and placed a gun and knife by him after he died to frame him as though he had been armed before he was shot. His family and other groups are going to follow this up as part of a larger campaign to stop the bullet.	Afraid to come forward
4	Gideon Njuguna (25), Korogocho, 01.Aug.15, Kenyan, Male	<p>Gideon was a boda boda driver. His family learned of his death when he did not show up to the police station to bail his brother out on August 5th. His mother had spoken with him on August 4th at 10 pm to tell him that his brother was being held at Kariobangi police station. When they called him at 6 am on August 5th he was not picking up his phone. A few hours later his phone was off. His family went to Kariobangi police station at 9 am in the morning on August 5th to see if he had gone there, but they were told that he was not there. His brother was later released. After they did not hear from him they went to look for him at Kasarani, Muthaiga and Pangani police station; all the police stations in the area. They did not find him. On the morning of August 7th his boda boda compatriots decided that since they could not find him anywhere they would go and look for him in the mortuary. They found his body at city mortuary.</p> <p>When they found him they could see that he had been shot 4 times. He did not have any eyes; his sockets were empty. He had been shot in both eyes, in his mouth, it had a huge gaping hole and was falling apart, and in his chest.</p> <p>On the 14th of September his family got a letter to take to Kariobangi police station to force them to investigate what happened. On the same day they found his boda boda; it was in a nearby police station and they were told that some people had brought it on the 5th of August; they had found it in Kariobangi.</p> <p>The family believes that Gideon was shot by the police and in fact know where he was shot. No one wants to talk about it in the area where they believe he was shot, as they are too scared. They have heard that him and the two people he was carrying on the boda boda were shot on the doorstep of some houses in Korogocho. They know where those houses are but the residents do</p>	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
4	Gideon Njuguna (25), Korogocho, 01.Aug.15, Kenyan, Male	not want to be witnesses. They say that this is normal; the police are always shooting people in Korogocho. His mother says that he was not a thief and has never been a thief. Gideon was married to Mercy Nyaguthi and they have one child.	Afraid to come forward
5	DENNIS MUGAMBI (18), Mau Mau Road, Mlango Kubwa Ward, 07.Dec.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police (Rashid). The day before he was killed, Dennis and his friends had demonstrated against the killing of one of their friend. Before Dennis was killed, they went for supper with his friends Michael and Ben Nzioka, then Officer Rashid came and picked two of them and directed them to move with him, he directed them to a dark place and started shooting, Dennis was shot dead, the other one managed to escape.	YES
6	DENNIS KAMONDIA KARANJA (19), Mau Mau Road, Mlango Kubwa Ward, 07.Aug.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police. He was arrested by officers named Rashid and Nyangweso and headed towards St. Teresa Girls high school. The eye witness Charles Mwangi tried to persuade the officers to let him go but they chased him away, later, He was called by police to go and identify the body which was lying in a pool of blood. (A toy gun was placed on his body)	YES
7	MBATIA (-), MLANGO KUBWA, 30.Nov.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police. Mbatia was in the company of two of his friends when they bumped into police officers. One of the boys in the company of Mbatia had received a warning from one of the officers so on seeing them, they ran. Mbatia was shot on the back and died instantly, the others managed to escape. According to sources that were at the scene, they saw Officer Rashid place something on Mbatias body, they later claimed it was a toy pistol.	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location,	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
8	PAPA (-), Youth Foundation Mlango Kubwa Ward, -, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police. The deceased was in the company of two other friends , one of them was killed, the other released prior to the shooting. They were headed from Mathare Area 1, Mlango Kubwa and got intercepted at Youth foundation by two police officers. One of them is well known to Residents. Upon releasing one of them , gunshots were heard. Both Papa and Josh had been shot dead!	Afraid to come forward
9	JOSH (-), Youth Foundation Mlango Kubwa Ward, -, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police. The deceased was in the company of two other friends they were headed from mathare area 1 mlango kubwa and got intercepted at youth foundation by two police officers , one of the officers is well known to residents . upon releasing one of them, gunshots were heard. Both papa and Josh had been shot dead.	Afraid to come forward
10	SANTOS (-), Mlango Kumbwa, -, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police.	YES
11	Nura Malicha (17), Kiamaiiko ward, Feb, 2015, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police (Nyagaka). Nura was beaten and assaulted by a police man from Huruma police station and then shot in the mouth and chest their were training boxing at the Huruma Grounds. His friend Juma Robe was also killed in the same incident. At that time he was rushed to the Blue hse medical center, he confessed that he was shot by officers of Huruma, he died on arrival at KNH where he was reffered. The case reported at the Huruma Police Station	YES
12	JUMA ROBE (15), Kiamaiiko ward, Feb, 2015, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police (Nyagaka). Juma was shot dead in an incident where his friend Nura Malicha was also killed. Nura was beaten and assaulted by a police man from Huruma police station and then shot in the mouth and chest their were training boxing at the Huruma Grounds. At that time he was rushed to the Blue hse medical center, he confessed that he was shot by officers of Huruma, he died on arrival at KNH where he was reffered. The case reported at the Huruma Police Station.	YES

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
13	NICK (17), Mathare Bondeni, Sep, 2014, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police (Gitonga of Huruma Police Station). He was shot at the Mathare river, shot many times, they were arrested at home while sleeping and taken to the river, one was released and Nick was killed. The family is threatened by the police.	A post mortem was carried out.
14	George Otieno aka Augo (-), Eastleigh, 18.Aug.15, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police. A student at Mangu High was shot on a night he wanted to run away from home and asked his sister to pack his belongings, he was killed at 4.00 am that night at Eastleigh.	YES
15	Lincoln Ambudo (-), Huruma, 14.May.14, Kenyan, Male	Police hit him with stones at the Huruma grounds , then reported that he was killed by Mob.	YES
16	Leonard Otieno (43), -, 13.Apr.15, Kenyan, Male	Shot and injured by police. Leonard a lame man was shot on his right leg by the police from Muthaiga police station who were quelling riots in Mathare of a crowd that wanted to lynch a woman who had killed her husband, he was taken to the Kiambu district hospital, he stayed there for 4 months but the bullet was not removed, he was later refered to the KNH, the bullet is still lodged in his leg and has no resources to go to the hospital for the bullet to be removed. The case was reported at Muthaiga police station (Muthaiga police station OB no.11 26 6 16)	YES

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
17	Samuel Mwangi Mathenge (-), Dandora Phase II, 01.May.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot and killed by police. Samuel Mwangi Mathenge was among the onlookers whom were watching an accident scene between a lorry and a police car, the drunk policeman came out of the car and instead of shooting in the air to disperse the crowd, he shot straight at Samuel killing him instantly. This was reported at Dandora police station (The officer was arrested and charged, the case is ongoing at the Makadara law courts).	YES
18	KIOKO CLINTON (17), MATHARE 3C , MABATINI WARD, 19.May.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police officer from Pangani Police Station. The victim and his friend were coming from Eastleigh going to their respective homes when they caught up with the police officers who started shooting in the air where they began to run and that's when they were shot dead . The police officers refused to give the post mortem report. A complaint was lodged with IPOA on 2/6/2016.	Afraid to come forward
19	KESTA & Chege Allan (22 & 19), , 14.Mar.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police officers. It was at night on 14/03/2016 when Kesta and three of his friends were ambushed by Administration police officers from the nearby DOS CAMP while sleeping , they were ordered out of the house and ordered t lie down , the police officers started shooting them , two of them died on the spot while the other two managed o escape.Kesta was one of the guys that died on the spot after being shot.	Afraid to come forward
20	STEPHEN ODHIAMBO OWINO (22), HURUMA,NGEI 2,NEAR SIDE WALK BAR., 25.Dec.16, Kenyan, Male	Shot dead by police officers. Stephen met with his mother, Beatrice Auma Okello coming from hospital where he had gone to take his brothers' wife for treatment , they had a conversation and Stephen informed his mother that he was going to attend his friend's birthday party. The next day his mother was informed that Stephen met up with the police officers while he was in company with a lady , where the police officers and Stephen engaged in an argument later on the lady he was in company with was bundled at the back of the police car and then the police officer shot Stephen's thigh , when he realized he was not yet dead he shot his head where he died on the spot. Stephen was buried at Sindidi in Siaya County.	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
21	JOSEPH KERARE (20), MLANGO KUBWA , TOSHA PETROL STATION , -, Kenyan, Male	<p>Shot dead by police officers. Joseph left his house for the car wash where he used to work to get extra money to buy a new mattress since that day he was supposed to move out of his old house to another one. At around 4pm later that day his sister got a message from one of Joseph's friends who informed her that Joseph had been arrested and killed by a police officer . The police officers put a gun and a knife next to the victim's body and left the scene.</p> <p>EVIDENCE: A post mortem report was done. A complaint was also lodged on 28th /06/2016 at Pangani Police Station, where after lodging the complain the complainant was arrested and was been told by the police officers to produce a gun which she didn't have and also was asked to give them household electronics that she and the deceased had bought.</p>	Afraid to come forward
22	EMMANUEL KARIUKI (-), HURUMA GROUNDS, KIAMAICO WARD, 04.May.14, Kenyan, Male	<p>Shot dead by police officers. Emmanuel Kariuki was at Huruma grounds with his friends , when the Police Officers caught up with them there and started shooting at them . The victim ran into a nearby shop but while he was running one of the gunshots landed on his back , the police officer followed him to the shop where the owner of the shop informed the officer that the victim was hiding inside there , the police officer gave the victim drinking water then later on shot him in his neck , where he died on the spot.</p>	Afraid to come forward
23	JOHN MWANGI NGUGI (25), Huruma Road, -, Kenyan, Male	<p>Gunned down 25, at Huruma roads by police officers from Huruma police station. He was walking home from his place of work [car wash] along Munene road. After being gunned down they placed a toy gun on him. The police officers were Braiyo and Vaite. He was buried on Wed January 2017 at Langata Cemetery.</p>	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
24	Joseph Mbugua (Josey) & Antony Macharia (Anto) (Both 19), -, 23.Dec.16, Kenyan, Male	They were arrested together with and bundled in the boot of a Probox and taken away. They were later found murdered along Mbuthia road. It is claimed that a toy pistol was placed on there bodies after being murdered. It was on the 23rd. 12. 2016. Josey was laid to rest on the 6/01/2017. Anto was laid to rest on 04/01/17	Afraid to come forward
25	ALI KAMAU (20), BIAFRA , EASTLEIGH WARD, -, Kenyan, Male	Ali was coming from lunch going to a public toilet where he sat on a stone nearby to smoke a cigarette when Police officers who were walking towards him started asking each other if he was the guy they were looking for as he resembled the guy they were looking for . They shot him after saying "action active" and he died on the spot. His father arrived at the Shauri Moyo police station where they showed him a picture of his son. A complaint was lodged at Shauri Moyo police station on 3/09/2016 at 7pm. ALLEGED PERPETRATORS: POLICE OFFICERS FROM SHAURI MOYO POLICE STATION , ONE OF THEM NICKNAMED (MABLING MABLING).	Afraid to come forward
26	HASSAN LIO SHULE (26), INSIDE VALLEY BRIDGE , KIAMAIKO WARD, -, Kenyan, Male	The victim was taking food money when he received a phone call to go sell goat meat whereby on his way back he caught up with the police officers who arrested him and took him to a nearby school and shot him , he died on the spot.	Afraid to come forward
27	Saidi (18), Bondeni, Austins Ground, 18.Apr.16, Kenyan, Male	Saidi was attending a funeral ceremony for one of his friends. On their way back, they were stopped by a police officer(Rashid) his friends afraid of being target for extortion ran away. Saidi was led to Austins ground made to kneel down and after the officer shot a few times in the air, shot him dead. He said that this was to be a lesson to the ones who had run away. Alleged perpetrator; Rashid	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
28	Rashidi Juma (13), Huruma, 01.Apr.15, Kenyan, Male	He had his school bag with him and him and his friend were caught smoking marijuana in the sports ground and the police just shot them. When the family went to Huruma Police Station to protest they were given a list of over 35 other young people who needed to be shot.	Afraid to come forward
29	John Kiarie (13), Huruma, 01.Apr.15, Kenyan, Male	The circumstances are similar to those of Rashidi Juma as they were together	Afraid to come forward
30	Said Kimani (39), Mathare, 06.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	He was sitting eating some fruit, and the police came to shoot some people who were sitting next to him. They ran away and he was shot instead. No redress from the police.	Afraid to come forward
31	Mwas (17), Grogan, 06.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	He was said to have just been walking on the road at night and he was shot by the police.	Afraid to come forward
32	Silas (-), Mathare, 05.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	He was shot as he was friends with the people the police were looking for. They shot him continuously when they found him seated at a base. The police scared his family who did not report it.	Afraid to come forward
33	"A Boy" a Luo mandazi seller.(Early 20s), Migingo , Mathare, 01.Mar.15, Kenyan, Male	Circumstances are unclear as when we investigated at his place of work people were a bit scared to talk. What we know is that he was shot by the police in the notorious Migingo corner in Mathare.	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
34	Michael Mwangi (-), Bondeni, Mathare, 06.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	He was shot by the police in front of his family a few yards from his house by the river. His body fell in the river. The circumstances surrounding why they took him are unclear, however this police action was extremely unnecessary.	Afraid to come forward
35	Kamau (16), Bondeni, Mathare, 04.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	Four bullets by the police	Afraid to come forward
36	Eric & Friend (-), Bondeni, Mathare, To be confirmed, Kenyan, Male	They said Eric was a thief. His friend had gone to say hello to Eric, and it was very unfortunate that this was the time that the police were looking for Eric and killed both of them.	Afraid to come forward
37	Emmanuel Kariuki, Saulo, Jumalo & Kibe (-), Huruma, February/Mar 14, Kenyan, Male	While it is said that they were stealing, they surrendered when the police came and wanted to be taken to jail instead. They were mostly all 13 years old. The police followed them to where they were hiding and shot them all multiple times, and framed them with knives.	Afraid to come forward
38	Joseph Karanja (-), Mau Mau Road, April 9th 2013, Kenyan, Male	He was shot by the police after chaos broke out due to the election of Uhuru.	Afraid to come forward
39	Kura (36), Bondeni, To be confirmed, Kenyan, Male	All we were told was that he was shot by the police.	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date,	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
40	Baker (-), Huruma, 30.Jun.05, Kenyan, Male	He was last seen as he was on the way to the police station. His body has not been found to date. Alleged case of enforced disappearance.	Afraid to come forward
41	Gordon (-), Shantit/Mathare, 06.Jul.05, Kenyan, Male	He was 14 years old, they say it was mistaken identity	Afraid to come forward
42	Medi (-), Majengo, 2015, The week of June 15th, Kenyan, Male	He was killed by police in Majengo, he was about 30 years old	Afraid to come forward
43	Robadida (-), Huruma, June 6th 2013, Kenyan, Male	He came out of a club at night in Huruma and the police shot him	Afraid to come forward
44	Phillipo Odiero (-), Kariobangi, Disappeared February 1st, Kenyan, Male	He was last seen with the police on February 1st. He was taken away from home and has not been seen since.	Afraid to come forward
45	Michael Musyoki (-), Mathare, 00.Jan.00, Kenyan, Male	Circumstances being determined	Afraid to come forward

	Name (Age), Location, Date, Nationality, Gender	Alleged Incident	Witnesses
46	Tom Macharia (-), Korogocho, March, Kenyan, Male	Circumstances being determined	Afraid to come forward
47	Unknown (-), Mathare, September 4th 2015, Kenyan, Male	He was going to help a woman who was being robbed at 11 pm. At the same time that he went over to help her the police showed up and the robbers ran away. The police shot at the robbers and shot this unknown good Samaritan instead. They then threatened the witnesses not to report what actually happened.	Afraid to come forward
48	George Otieno Ochieng (21), Mathare, August 18th 2015, Kenyan, Male	Shot in Eastleigh at 12:34pm. City mortuary tag: 5420/2132/015. He was working with NYS and his ID number is 33277676	Afraid to come forward
49	Hilary Oboso (-), Mathare, February 2015 (?)` , Kenyan, Male	His leg was broken by the police when he was illegally detained earlier this year.	Afraid to come forward

'RUN KIJANA RUN: THE CRIME OF BEING A POOR YOUNG MAN IN KENYA'

BY KINUTHIA MWANGI

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"The traveller whose name is not Annah remembers thinking about all the mothers she had seen on television, clutching old photographs, speaking of sons who never made it home. She wonders how it must have been for them – sitting, waiting, hoping that each knock on the door was from their son's fist."

These words from Ndinda Kioko in *Sometime Before Maulidi* seem to speak directly to the everyday trauma of families living in Nairobi settlements, where the police bullet informs much of the street talk and young men live in constant fear of death. Most do not live to see their children grow up.



Just the other day, a friend from Dandora called asking for help. Police had arrested him during a spontaneous demonstration by residents after yet another killing of two young men by police in broad daylight, and in plain view of many. Both murdered men had been rummaging at the dumping site to find sellable goods to make their daily living when they were shot dead. One of them was deaf. Though both deaths mattered, it was especially the murder of the deaf man that sparked outrage among residents. To them, he embodied 'innocence,' as one resident put it, and they all knew him as a kind soul who kept mostly to himself.

Mathare is just one of 158 urban settlements in Nairobi, and Nairobi is just one of many cities and towns in Kenya. This leads us to conclude that the total number of police killings per year in Kenya most likely puts us in the top 10 of the world

Our friend raised his voice during the demonstration and paid for it by spending a night at Buru Buru Police Station. The next day he told us that he had been severely beaten while in custody, and charged with ‘incitement.’ This shows both how young and poor men in Kenya have become automatically ‘criminals’ in the eyes of the police and the perils of speaking up against excessive use of force by the police.

Below, we discuss both the scale and scope of police killings in Mathare, and in Kenyan in general, and the dangers involved in speaking up for the rights of crime suspects.

AT LEAST ONE YOUNG MAN SHOT A WEEK

Shockingly, the murder of these two young men in Dandora last week by the police was not a first or a single event. Only a couple of days before this incident, we documented the police shootings of two young male

students (from the Technical University of Kenya) in Mlango Kubwa (Mathare), which led to the death of one of them later that evening. And this incident, again, happened only two days after police shot and killed several young men in Kayole on April 20. In fact, such assassinations by the police have taken the lives of thousands of young and poor men over the past decade in Kenya.

To give an indication of this informed estimate, executions of young, poor and male crime suspects by the police have led to the death of at least one young man from Mathare, a Nairobi settlement, per week on average between January 2013 and December 2016. Put differently, over the past three years at least 156 poor young men in this settlement have been killed by a police bullet. Our data is not comprehensive, for it only reflects the cases we have been able to verify through multiple sources — a dangerous and arduous task in and of itself due to constant police harassment. It thus has to be emphasised that the actual death rate in Mathare as a result of a police bullet may be much, much higher.

Also, Mathare is just one of 158 urban settlements in Nairobi, and Nairobi is just one of many cities and towns in Kenya where such killings occur regularly. This leads us to conclude that the total number of police killings per

year in Kenya most likely puts us in the top-ten of the world.

WHO ARE KILLED BY POLICE, AND WHY?

All families in Mathare have lost a loved one to a police bullet. This means that all families have lost a father, son, or brother, neighbour, nephew or grandchild. Alongside the incredible pain of losing a loved one, the economic impact cannot be understated. Many young men who were killed by police over the years took care of their extended families; including their often single mother, siblings, wives and young children. Their murders have thus left entire families in a situation of dire poverty.

Most of the cases we have documented over the years concern young and poor men between 13 and 25 years of age with no criminal record, many of whom have been shot by police during school holidays, while walking around with friends or just chatting with neighbours around the corner of their own homes. Some were executed in plain view and in broad daylight, others were taken to back alleys or shot under the cover of night-time.

Police killings in Kenya are generally committed by police officers from different police units and organisations. They form an integral part of policing in Mathare (and other

urban settlements and particular rural regions in Kenya — such as North Eastern). The use of excessive force and executions should thus be considered a structural approach by the police in dealing with crime suspects (and terror suspects — but in this article we focus on crime suspects). The general narrative used to legitimise such killings is the threat these suspects allegedly pose to the officers in question, even if the suspects had no weapons on them and were shot in the back.

Police killings in Kenya are generally committed by police officers from different police units and organisations. They form an integral part of policing in Mathare

Also, the government, and by extension the police, often justify the shoot-to-kill policy by declaring it as an effective approach to curb crime in Mathare and other urban settlements, even if there is no evidence to substantiate such claims. On the contrary, crime has not gone down over the past decade. This line of thinking, however, frames such killings as an effective means of getting rid of active thieves and deterring emerging ones.

Lastly, the lack of public outcry over these killings tells us that the middle class seems to have bought into the legitimating narratives that implicate these young men as

imminent threats to society at large and to police officers in particular. Hence, shooting poor young men who are suspected of being thieves is considered quite legitimate within the public domain. This is illustrated by the widespread support for the known police officer who was filmed killing two young male crime suspects in Eastleigh in front of a large crowd of onlookers on March 31.

MOST OF THESE KILLINGS ARE UNLAWFUL

Legally, a 'suspect' is said to be a person thought to be guilty of a crime, and what exactly constitutes a crime is clearly stipulated in the Penal Code. In this sense, a crime has to be ongoing or to have been reported to the police by a witness. This means that the police either have to be present in the course of an ongoing criminal act or in the course of investigating the crime to have acquired enough evidence to arrest the person thought to have committed it. The Kenya Police Service have the duty to maintain law and order, investigate crime and apprehend offenders. In doing so, they are allowed to use force, but only to directly protect themselves and/or the lives of others.

All actions by police that result in injury to or death of a person have to be reported, a requirement of the current Kenya Police Service Act. Failure to do so is considered an offence, yet rarely are these events reported by police officers to their superiors

The emphasis here is on the term 'directly', and thus excludes killing suspects that do not instantly threaten the lives of police officers or bystanders. Our extensive documentation, however, reveals that most killings by police occur in situations where the only one under threat is the alleged crime suspect. This is constitutionally deemed illegal, since Article 48-51 of our Constitution guarantees every person the right to due process. According to our research, the majority of police killings can therefore be considered extra-judicial executions (EJEs).

LACK OF OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION AND FOLLOW-UP

All actions by police that result in injury to or death of a person have to be reported, a requirement of the current Kenya Police Service Act. Failure to do so is considered an offence, yet rarely are these events reported by police officers to their superiors. The said Act further states that the OCS shall also report any use of force by police that causes injury or death to the Independent Policing and Oversight Authority (IPOA). This government body is mandated to investigate all cases of alleged police killings, whether brought to them by the OCS or by human rights defenders like us, and work towards prosecution accordingly. Failure to do so is also considered an offence, yet IPOA rarely follow -up on either.

From one of the first cases that was brought to IPOA in 2012 to the most recent one (of the student in Mlango Kubwa), IPOA is yet to live up to its mandate. Furthermore, the Kenya National Commission for Human Rights (KNCHR) is mandated to investigate any accusation of human-rights violations by government officials, such as police officers. The Ombudsman is also mandated to keep the powers of government officials such as police officers in check through investigations and sanctions. All these are government institutions that are paid for with our tax money to provide all Kenyan citizens with oversight of police and protect our civil rights as citizens. Until now, we as grassroots human-rights defenders have not received much support from them in our continuous quest for justice.

HUMAN-RIGHTS WORK ON THE FRONTLINE

Most cases of human-rights violations are reported to community centres in urban settlements that have taken on the herculean task of confronting social injustice through documentation, referral and advocacy against normalised violence meted out on poor people's bodies. The Mathare Social Justice Centre (MSJC) is such a centre, and cases of rights violation by police are brought to us on a daily basis. Sadly, all these cases pile up in books and documentation forms on the other side of town; cases we carefully document, often with great risk to our own lives. We duly continue to try to report all these cases to IPOA,

KNHRC and the Ombudsman by sitting in empty hallways for hours on end, days even, and by walking from one office to the other, patiently pacing from one side of the city to the other on foot.

We duly continue to try to report all these cases to IPOA, KNHRC and the Ombudsman by sitting in empty hallways for hours on end, days even, and by walking from one office to the other, patiently pacing from one side of the city to the other on foot

We still hope we can move these bodies to action, to live up to their mandates and start helping us systematically protect the civil rights of Kenyan citizens. That they can be prodded into action was illustrated by their demonstrations against extrajudicial killings after the bodies of 'the Mavoko Three' were discovered last year, even if these actions were fleeting. Yet, their involvement was brought back momentarily by the recent video of the aforementioned 'Eastleigh Killings' that went viral on social media, but the sheer fact that it takes a high-profile case or social media hype to draw their attention and prompt them into actions does not give us great confidence in their commitment to structurally fight this grave social injustice side by side with us.

For us, this is a daily reality. It concerns our brothers, friends and fathers. Our children. We do not have the luxury to look away and not act, for we are losing a generation of our own young men ... yet again. Despite fear for our own lives, this drives us to continue to document and follow up cases of police killings in Mathare. Just weeks ago, one of our campaign leaders fighting police brutality was stuffed into the boot of a notorious white Probox by well-known police officers, where they mentally tortured and threatened him for three hours until they released him. What will happen next time?

CONCLUSION AND ACTION POINTS



Mathare Social Justice Centre (MSJC) has created a civic space for grassroots social movements to challenge the normalization of extrajudicial killings that erode the democratic gains we have made since the passing of the new Constitution in 2010. That space, in defense of social justice and rule of law, requires that 'The price of freedom and democracy in Kenya will be eternal vigilance and the tenacity of struggle for our people.'

To that end, we are encouraged by the recent national campaign proposed by the Police Reforms Working Group to end extrajudicial killings and the decision to reach out to community-based organizations and grassroots human rights defenders.

MSJC proposes the following for both the ongoing campaign and broader efforts to end extrajudicial killings (EJE):

1. To establish a mechanism for a rapid response network under the Police Reforms Working Group and the enhancement of the witness protection unit.

2. Political accountability forums, including protests and memorials for **Stephen Gichuru, Willie Kimani, Josephat Mwenda, Joseph Muiruri, Kwekwe Mwandaza, Oulu GPO and Kamau Kingara** as a critical way to raise political awareness on the extent of EJE.
3. Long-term engagements including community dialogues and economic justice strategies.
4. Resources made available to grassroots human rights defenders who are on the frontlines documenting cases of EJE; including trainings and the use of digital platforms to report cases of EJE and enforced disappearances.
5. Establishment by civil society of a Solidarity Fund to support community based human rights organizations.
6. Grassroots representation on the Police Reforms Working Group.
7. The revisiting of the dozens of cases referred to IPOA by MSJC and other human rights organizations.
8. A people's inquiry into EJE and enforced disappearances and counseling for the victims' families and community members.
9. Formation of a national working committee against EJE and enforced disappearances and the invitation of the UN Special Rapporteur on EJE to Kenya.
10. Compensation for the families of victims of EJE.

democracy in Kenya will be internal vigilance and tenacity of struggle for our people.

Again, to conclude: **The price of freedom and**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To the families who sat with us and gave us the names of their kin who were killed, we thank you for your time, courage and consent.

As always to Mathare residents for your courage and for supporting this work. Jill and Yash Ghai for your unwavering solidarity. Ghetto Foundation, Waikwa Wanyoike of Katiba Institute, the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) for kindly hosting our Antipode grant—especially Janet for your patience with us! Naomi Van Stapele and Anneke Osse, MSJC members, Bunge La Mwananchi, Coalition for Grassroots Human Rights Defenders (CGHRDS), and those who gave their time to provide training, especially Nduko O'Matigare.

Thanks also to Peace Brigades International (PBI) for accompanying us through stations and alley-ways in the prolonged search for justice for victims

And all our comrades who continue to walk with us - tupo pamoja!



Stephen Gichuru (Victim Killed on May 17th 2015)- included in the data.



Stephen's sister

MATHARE SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTRE



MATHARE SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTRE



In Defense of Social Justice
www.matharesocialjustice.org

WWW.MATHARESOCIALJUSTICE.ORG
MATHARESOCIALJUSTICECENTRE@GMAIL.COM

APPENDIX

MSJC has carried out a review of cases of extrajudicial killings as independently reported in the Kenyan press between 2013-2015. The summary of reported incidents is as follows:

- 2013: 308 cases
- 2014: 418 cases
- 2015: 77 cases

THAT IS A TOTAL OF 803 REPORTED CASES OF EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS BETWEEN 2013-2015

A breakdown of these cases will soon be available on our website:

<http://www.matharesocialjustice.org/>