

MOTHERS OF VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS NETWORK



FROM VICTIMS TO COMMUNITY DEFENDERS

Mothers of Victims & Survivors Network:
From Victims to Community Defenders

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INTRODUCTION

Convenors Introduction

The Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network started in late 2017, and was officially launched in February 2020. It was formed for the purposes of documenting many cases of mainly extrajudicial executions, enforced disappearances, police brutality and other inhumanities by the police.

MSJC's "Who is Next" report on extrajudicial killings, and that was launched in 2017, contributed to the birth of the Network because it had documented many cases of police killings, and worked to bring together the families of the victims. Since 2017, MSJC has worked to unite the families of victims through meetings, vigils and even planting trees to memorialize the dead. Victims' families also saw the need to come together and speak out against the violences they had faced or were facing.

We have also tried to provide suitable psychological support, through organizations like the International Justice Movement (IJM) and Peace Brigades international (PBI) who work in solidarity with us.

The Network initially started in Mathare, and later spread to other informal settlements, where the same kind of injustices were being experienced. The leadership of the Network has representation from the different social justice centres.

My name is Lucy Wambui, the convenor of the Network, and I was among the founding members of the Network. I lost my husband, Christopher Maina, in the hands of serial killer cop Ahmed Rashid in 2017. I was eight and a half months pregnant at the time.

Achievements

To date we have managed to take 22 cases to court through IJM and Amnesty, and these are still ongoing. We have also managed to grow the Network membership significantly: from roughly 30 members in 2019 to over 70 in 2021.

We have also received important solidarity and training from the Social Justice Centres Working Group (SJCWG) and local and international organizations like the Norwegian Human Rights Fund (NHRF), International

Justice Mission (IJM), Protection International (PI), Peace Brigades International (PBI), Amnesty, and others.

Towards the end of 2018, a memorial park was created at Pirates Youth Group space in Mlango Kubwa, Mathare. It was created here because many youths from this group have been executed by the police, and usually by notorious killer cop Ahmed Rashid. Trees have been planted at the park to remember them; the families sustain the memory of their kin through sustaining these trees.

We had the first “Saba Saba: March For Our Lives” demonstration in 2018. This was a protest organized by all of the different social justice centres, and we marched to Kamukunji Grounds. In 2019, we had another march which we called “Stop the Bullet.” Both of these demonstrations, that many people from poor urban settlements attended, were to demand dignity, justice and an end to the criminalization of the poor.

In 2020, the Network organized another demonstration in Mathare: from the MSJC space to Kiamaiko Community Justice Centre (KCJC). During this march we stopped and had moments of silence at the exact spots where police executions have occurred. A few days after this march, we had a coffin protest where we took coffins symbolizing our husbands and sons who had been killed by the police. We gave our petition on extrajudicial killings to the Mathare MP, and we left our coffins at the gates to parliament.

Challenges

We have many challenges. We don't have enough lawyers to deal with our cases when we get to the courts, and we also face a lot of intimidation and threats from the police, making us fearful to go to court or to testify. Members of the Network have also become targets of the police for coming out to speak against extrajudicial killings and police violence.

We also lack the money to help families in their fight for justice; for example, transport money to go to court, post-mortem fees, and just to help them with something small since, often, the sole breadwinner is the one who has been killed.

Future Plans

But we have many future plans. These are plans to expand the Network from Eastlands to the whole of Nairobi and even to the whole country. To ensure that the undocumented cases are documented and taken to court, and also ensure that those documented can get legal redress. We are also planning



6 Harrison Mumo brother to James Mwendwa

to have dialogues with youths who are the main target of police brutality and executions.

Finally, we are going to pay a visit to the Cabinet Secretary of the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, relevant government representatives of national security, the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) and the Inspector General of Police. We want to talk to them and demand an end to police impunity.

Text by Lucy Wambui

From Victims to Defenders

This is a Network comprised mainly of mothers who have lost their sons to extrajudicial executions, as well as widows whose husbands were killed by police. The Network was formed in late 2017 at the Mathare Social Justice Centre, and now has more than 70 members today, including mothers and family members from other justice centres. It is one of the committees in the social justice movement, and the leaders attend biweekly working group meetings to update members on the progress of the struggle to be free from all kinds of violations.

The Network is a safe space for women to share and encourage each other through this journey of losing a child or a husband to the police, or citizens who themselves may have been victims of police brutality. We have had several retreats and trainings to equip the Network with all the knowledge they need to work as human rights defenders. One joins the Network as victims and eventually becomes a defender. Mama Victor and Lucy Wambui are great examples of women that came as victims and emerged as powerful defenders.

The Network also gives solidarity to court cases for other members. We are currently offering court solidarity to Mama Nura Malicha whose 17 year old son was shot by police in 2015.

In 2020, we had three major demonstrations with the Network and other defenders. One in Mathare, the other outside parliament -- with coffins representing the sons they buried and will continue to bury if lawmakers don't take any action, and the other was the yearly Saba Saba March For Our Lives on 7 July. During this Saba Saba March, the mothers wore white dresses, where, written in red, were words such as "You killed my son, Yassin Moyo,

13 years old.” During this protest we faced a lot of police surveillance and violence, and over 65 activists were arrested. One Network member fainted when a policeman threw teargas at us outside our MSJC space early on the morning of the Saba Saba day protest.

But we continue. This is a resistance network that wants zero cases of extrajudicial killings. We fight knowing full well that we will never get our loved ones back, but we want to prevent another woman from going through the pain of losing a child to the state meant to protect us. We hope that this report, profiling these strong people, will help you understand better the plight of poor women in the ghetto losing their sons and husbands; losing people who are often their only hope. We also hope that you are challenged, in whatever small way, to demand a better world with equality and social justice for all.

Text by Juliet Wanjira and Rahma Wako
MSJC Secretariat & Co-coordinators of the Network

*A note on the images: not all people portrayed in these images are accounted for in the proceeding text. They are however members of the same network that has produced this document with stories and lives they wish to remember.

PROFILES



Esther Wambui mother to Martin Ndungu

1

Narrative: Judith Otemo

Relationship to victim: Sister

Victim: Elvis Emmanuel Otemo, 29

Residence: Mashimoni, Mathare

Elvis was a young man who was a casual labourer. He lived in Thayu area in Mashimoni. He was a matatu conductor and a washroom attendant. As a washroom attendant, he worked late, that is until 10.30 pm, and given the reliance on shared public toilets in Mathare, his job demanded that he work late.

On 23/5/2020, after he was done with his work and was heading home, he met with police officers who started beating him and torturing him for no reason. They did this for some time and then later shot him. He had two gunshot wounds, one on his right thigh and the other on his back, which passed through his chest and left him dead on the spot. The case was reported to the OCS of Huruma police station and was later also taken to IPOA.

Elvis had a young child and one sister whom he was left in charge of since they were orphans. After his death, the child was left under the care of the sister who is the complainant. According to her, life has not been the same without her brother. Things became so difficult for her, but since she got introduced to the Mothers of

Victims and Survivors Network, it has helped her overcome her fear, and she has become more outspoken about the incident. Being part of the Network has given her psychosocial and emotional support. She shares that since joining the Network: "I can now speak up and now I'm strong because I do not cry now and then as I used to before. I've been able to undergo counselling sessions through the Network which has been of much help to me."

2

Narrative: Hawo Jilo

Relationship to victim: Wife

Victim: Jida, 23

Residence: Kiamaiko, Mathare

Jida was arrested along with his two friends while they were chatting behind the building where they lived. Hawo was informed of his arrest by her neighbours and together they followed them. He was however not taken to a police station but was instead taken round and round for many hours. Hawo and her neighbours followed them throughout the day but when the police realised that they had gotten tired of following them around, they then took them to Huruma police station. They talked to the police officers and Jida and friends were released on 3000 KES bail each. On the way out, Mogaka, an officer at Huruma police station, called Jida and told him that he had released



Josephine Akoth, mother to Robinson Okino

him, but he would die; he would not be the one killing him but that it would happen soon. This was on 14/01/2015. On 15/01/2015 Jida was shot near his mother's house and Hawo was called again by the neighbours. On arrival to where he was lying, she saw four police officers, one known as Maletha, and they were all drunk. The officers fired gunshots recklessly, and people took Jida to Huruma Nursing Home hospital because he was still alive. The officers stopped Hawo from going with Jida to the hospital and took her to Huruma police station to record a statement. They told her that she should say that he was a thief and was shot while stealing. Hawo refused to speak and was released. The next day Jida succumbed to his injuries, and Hawo together with his dad went to Huruma police station to record a statement. They were issued with an OB [occurrence book] number, which is with Jida's father. Jida was buried on 17/01/2015. His father tried to follow up, but Jida's mother said that they should just let it go since they are Muslim.

3

Narrative: Francisca Monthe
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Paul Munyoki
Residence: Mlango Kubwa,
Mathare

Paul Munyoki was nineteen years old at the time of his untimely

death. He was unmarried and had just finished his secondary education. Being a son to a single parent, he vowed to work hard in school and after school to ensure he provides for his mother and get her out of a poverty-stricken life. He wanted to ensure his mother lives a comfortable life after she sacrificed herself by working as a casual labourer, washing people's clothes, just to make sure she educated him. After graduating from high school, he convinced his neighbours to form a youth group that engaged in garbage collection within Mathare. He worked diligently with the group providing for his sick mother and saving part of his income for college.

Unfortunately, on 31 December 2015, at about 10 am, he was taken from a building where he had been collecting garbage with other young men from his group. He was taken by police suspected to be from Pangani police station. The police frogged marched him to a corner where they shot him in broad daylight amidst pleas from Paul and the neighbours that he was not a criminal. Prior to this, the police had never issued any notice to the community that Paul was a wanted criminal who was on the run. Neither had the police tried to arrest him and arraign him before a court of law. Neither had Paul resisted any arrest, nor had any neighbour reported that he was a nuisance to the community. Paul's mother shares that, "at



Francisca Monthe mother to Paul Munyoki

the time of my son's death I was seriously ill and bedridden. I could not even see properly. I was losing my sight. My son was helping me buy food with the little he got from his garbage collection work, though many times we slept hungry. I got to learn of my son's death on the evening of 31 December 2015. I was in need of medication, but Paul had not returned home from work, and I was afraid that the chemists would close by the time he returned, and so I forced myself out of the house using a walking stick. On the way to the chemist, I noticed several people on the road staring at me with sorrowful eyes. I got curious and asked one woman what was wrong, and her response was: "Mama Paul sorry for your son's death. The police have murdered him the way they always do but one day we shall overcome." I was already weak and with the news became weaker and fell down. I was carried by the crowd which was already swelling back to my house. I never left my door until Paul's burial day."

Access to justice for her late son has faced several impediments. The documents that contained the doctor's post-mortem report, which provided solid evidence that it was indeed the police who killed her son, got burned in a fire broke out in Mathare in 2016. But the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network has helped her with psychosocial support. Before, she

says, "I was just alone anguishing in pain and regrets without any social support."

4

Narrative: Nancy Wanjiru
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Kevin
Residence: Mabatini, Mathare

In December 2006, Kevin went to play football at Stima Club in Survey along Thika Road. On his way home he was accosted by police officers who shot him in the hip. He was hospitalized for one and a half years. After getting discharged from the hospital, the police took him to Muthaiga police station where they charged him with robbery with violence. After this, he was transferred to Industrial Area Prison for one year and three months. He was later released because there was no complainant. Upon being released, he found his family had been displaced due to the 2007 post-election violence and were living at 82 Battalion Military Camp. During this time, interethnic clashes were at an all-time high in Mathare.

On 3 January 2008, neighbours from a different ethnic group attacked Nancy's husband with machetes and threw him in the contaminated Mathare river. He was removed and taken to Kenyatta National Hospital for treatment. On 4 January, on her way to visit her husband in



Nancy Wanjiru mother to Kevin Mwangi



18 Lydia M. Musangi sister to Joseph Kyallo

hospital, Nancy noticed a white Pajero following her. One of the police officers who she recognized greeted her and offered to give her a lift to the city centre. He diverted the car and entered Pangani police station, she was bare foot and smelt of raw sewage since she had not showered since the previous day. He offered to take her to his house so that she could shower. He lied that his wife was there. On getting in, she realized there was no one: he took his gun out, pointed it at her and raped her. She did not proceed to Kenyatta Hospital.

This ordeal took a toll on her, and her son Kevin noticed that something was wrong and begged to know what was going on. She finally told him that Oti had raped her. On 18 September 2008, Kevin left 89 Battalion Military Camp and never returned. Two days later, one of his friends told her that Kevin had gone to confront the police officer who had raped her. On 21 September 2008, at around 10 am, Kevin's cousin went to the mortuary and found his body: it had 9 bullets in his body and his eyes were gorged out and fingers chopped. Upon arrival at a Pangani police station to report the incident, Nancy met the same police officer who had raped her at the main desk. The police officer warned her against hosting a wake for her son.

Since she buried Kevin, Oti has

been intimidating her and her family, even to date. Her other son Brian was forced to step on burning charcoal by another police officer, who also said she should give him 10,000 KES if she did not want him to kill Brian. She has reported the matter to the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) but has not received any feedback from them.

5

Narrative: Violet Osimbo
Relationship to victim: Wife
Residence: Mathare, 4A

On 12 August 2017, during the election period, Violet and her husband were in their house when they heard a lot of screaming and shouting from their neighbours. The neighbours sounded like they were being beaten, and so Violet and her husband decided to hide under their beds. Shortly, General Service Unit (GSU) officers stormed into their house and started beating her husband, breaking one of his legs.

When the neighbours saw that the attack on this couple was getting out of hand, they started screaming and shouting, forcing the GSU officers to leave. Violet went out to seek help from the neighbours, and they carried her husband to an open space where he could get first aid from the ambulances that were on standby in anticipation of post-election violence. Later her husband was



20 Ivy Injeri wife to Sharma Nour

taken to Mpisha Hospital where he received treatment. After some time, he was released and decided to go home to the rural village to access traditional medicine. Unfortunately, he did not live for long, and he passed away on 2 July 2019. The case was never reported anywhere since the family did not know what could be done. Additionally, the family does not have any kind of document to help them launch an official complaint. Violet has been in the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network for the past two years, and says it has motivated her and encouraged her a lot, since she realized that the Network has people who go through the same pain as her.

6

Narrative: David Ochola

Relationship to victim: Father

Victim: Victor

Residence: Huruma, Mathare

Victor was a young man who lived in Huruma (Ngei). He was working in Industrial Area as a mechanic before the organization he worked for retrenched him. He then started collecting garbage and selling water with other young men. On Tuesday, 19 March 2019, at about 9: 30 pm after they were done selling water, Victor went home. A few minutes later, he left to go buy supper (chicken that is usually cut into small pieces) along the road near Meta Meta Bar. That is when he got arrested.

Victor was not alone when he got arrested; he was with his nephew. Instead of being taken to the police station, an officer called Rono patrolled with them until much later. Victor's nephew was released but he was killed. Before they shot him, he pleaded with them to spare him, but his pleas were not heard.

It was after they had killed him that they claimed that it was mistaken identity. Life was hard for the parents because they had lost their first son. As the family was in the process of healing, they also lost another son in the year 2017, and also the nephew who was the key witness to Victor's murder was at risk since he was being threatened.

The family tried to report these cases to Huruma police station, but they refused to take their statements and give them an OB number. The case was also reported to IPOA. Ever since he joined the Network, David says that at least he can now eat and sleep since he met a group of people who understand each other. But there are times that he feels that there is no justice for the poor.

7

Narrative: Merceline Auma

Victim: Merceline Auma

Residence: Mathare 4A



22 Zelpha Leihayi mother to Levin Kalisha

“It was one black Wednesday I would never wish to remember. I have never experienced such brutality and inhumanness in my life. If that is what man can do for power then humanity has lost its meaning,” says Merceline as tears roll down her face.

“It was on 9 August 2017, a day after Kenyans voted in the general election. I had just come from the bathroom and still had my towel around my waist. I heard people shouting and running, others entering people’s houses to hide. My mother ordered us to quickly close the door, and we did for fear of being robbed, for we were only females in our house -- my mother, sister and I. We would smell teargas and young men running and shouting outside saying, “wameua! wameua! wameua!” [they have killed]. On peeping through the door, my sister saw a contingent of GSU mercilessly beating people and leaving them lifeless. Then the unthinkable happened: they entered our compound and started to break doors demanding that all men should come outside. They entered people’s houses clobbered people and left them unconscious. Then our time came. We heard the GSU police counting “one, two, three,” and then they broke our door. They told us to reveal any man in the house, and I told them there was none. They would not hear that. They started beating me, and one of them

attempted to remove my towel: he wrestled me on the ground ready to rape me, and then my sister and mother came to my rescue and fell on me. They were not spared: we were all mercilessly beaten until my younger sister became unconscious. That’s when they left us and proceeded to the neighbour’s house to continue with the same evil act.

Outside, men, women and children were still crying, wailing and begging for mercy. Gun shots could also be heard from afar. After an hour, Kenya Red Cross volunteers came and took us to MSF clinic, where we received treatment. The critically injured were taken to Kenyatta National Hospital and the dead to city mortuary.

I joined the group Mother of Victims and Survivors Network in 2019. Since then, the group has helped me with psychosocial support, I am currently being helped to receive justice for the police brutality I and my family underwent. Also, during the corona pandemic, the Network has stood with me in terms of food donations, for I have been jobless since the start of the pandemic.” This case was forwarded to IPOA and is yet to reach the courts.



24 Fanie M. Mugaisi mother to Harrison Mutsotso

8

Narrative: Bereneta Kayanje
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Paul Juma
Residence: Mathare 4A

It was on a Saturday morning that Paul woke up as usual and went to check on the fish pond and poultry farm that he owned in Mathare Area 1. That day he also wanted to visit his mother who lived in Mathare 4A. He plucked some vegetables from his farm, took some chicken and fish, and then went ahead to see his mother. He also had a laptop bag on his back. On his way there he met his friend who told him not to go using that route as there were many police officers scattered everywhere. He told his friend that since he was already on his way there, there was no need of him going back, and that he would try and get to his mother's house despite the warning. While making his way to his mother's house through a short cut, three bullets shot him from behind and he fell on the ground. Because the area had been taken over by the police, and it was not safe for people to be outside, it was difficult for people to help Paul after the shooting.

Paul died on the spot and later some good samaritans took him to the mortuary and informed his mother about Paul's death. Paul left behind two wives and kids. Life was not easy after his death

as he was the bread winner of their family. He provided everything, including paying rent and other bills. Paul gave his mum a good life and to her he was the best that she could ever ask for. She has so many questions that have not been answered to date: how could people kill innocent youths and walk around free as if nothing happened? She doesn't know what to do but always asks God to be her defender. She says that in Kenya justice is just a word for the poor.

The case was reported to IPOA and Muthaiga police station. Ever since she joined the Network, she has received a lot of motivation to go on and fight for justice for her son. She appreciates the Network for ensuring that she is not alone like she was before, and she will be in the Network until all mothers get the justice they deserve.

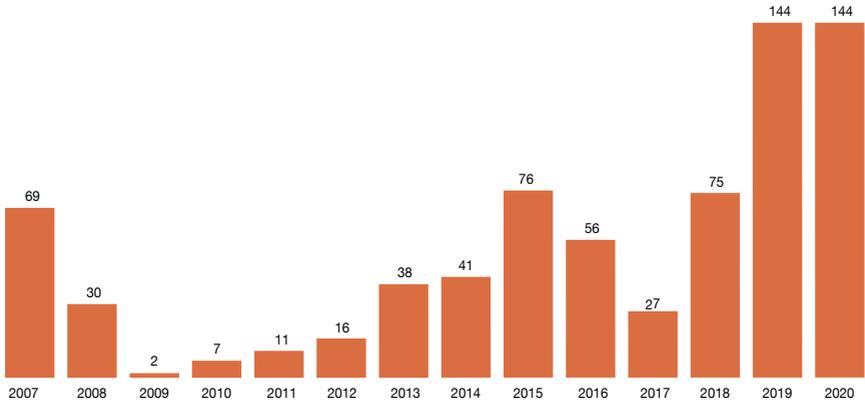
9

Narrative: Steven Ondego Milugo
Relationship to victim: Brother
Victim: Dan Onyango Milugo
Residence: Mathare 4A

It was Saturday, 12 August 2017, after the elections. We had voted a few days before and after voting we were told to go back to our houses. From 9 August, Mathare 4A was full of police everywhere -- you couldn't go anywhere. On that day, Dan and his brother were in separate houses. Dan

756 people have been killed by police or reported missing **since 2007**.

Mathare Social Justice Centre in their 'Who's Next Report' have tallied a total number of **803 deaths** from **2013-2015**. Officially reported numbers in Missing Voices highlights an even greater number of people still unaccounted for.



heard people screaming and shouting outside because the police were beating people and kicking and breaking down doors. Most people were hiding in fear. The police reached their houses, broke down the door, and forced themselves in. By the time they stopped beating Daniel he was seriously injured to the point that he could not walk by himself or sit. Fortunately, someone took a video of the incident which offered the basis to file a case. The two young men and the community in general was dismayed by the incident as they had fulfilled their civic duty and voted peacefully, but the government had still decided to send police to beat them and even kill their children. Daniel was taken to hospital and recovered very well from the injuries incurred. Now he is doing fine, but he is afraid of the police because he hasn't come into terms with what they did to him.

The Network has really helped him in terms of getting counseling and getting a space where he can meet other people who went through what he and his brother did.

10

Narrative: Stephen Mbuvi Masese
Relationship to victim: Uncle
Victim: Stephen Mbaluka
Residence: Mradi, Mathare 4A

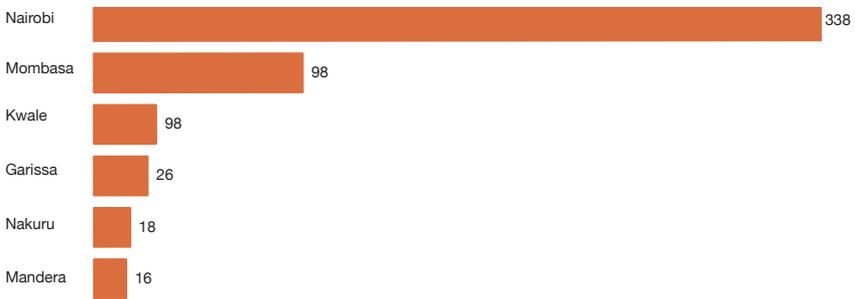
Stephen Mbaluka was shot in the head by the police on 8 August 2017. He had come to visit his

father Stephen Masese during the August school holidays. He was a form three student at Gateway High school in Machakos.

“On that fateful day, 8 August 2017, my son had gone to visit some relatives in Huruma, whom he had not met for quite a long time since he was studying in Machakos. On the way back at around 6 pm, he encountered youth running from the police. He didn't know that there were post-election demonstrations. He was still new in Mathare: he had just come to pay me a visit. He surrendered to the police while raising his hands, and said he was from a cousin's house going back to home. A police officer still just shot him at a close range in the head. That day, the police employed a lot of force to suppress the demonstrations. They used live bullets which they were firing into people's houses.”. Stephen received the news that his son had been shot and went to the scene to collect him. He was taken to Blue House hospital in Mathare, where unfortunately he succumbed to his injuries. Masese said he is heartbroken for he had placed a lot of hopes in his son, only for him to experience a premature early death.

Stephen Masese joined the Mother of Victims and Survivors Network in 2019, where he says the group is currently helping him pursue justice for his son who lost his life

Nairobi county accounts for the most deaths by Police and enforced disappearances



through a police bullet that was meant to protect him. He also says he has found a strong support system in the group, which encourages him whenever he is emotionally low.

11

Narrative: Ann Anyango
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Chris
Residence: Mathare 4A

Soon after President Uhuru Kenyatta was declared the winner of the nullified 8 August 2017 presidential election, spontaneous violence erupted in parts of the country including Mradi estate, Mathare 4A.

“Young men were out rioting and barricading roads. Others lit bonfires on the roads, while others sang protest songs in displeasure. My son Chris and the late Silas were at Silas’s place studying for they were form four candidates.” Suddenly, loud cries were heard from a far and young men seen running helter-skelter. The General Service Unit had been deployed to clear the demonstrators and were mercilessly beating people with clubs and other blunt objects. They were breaking into people’s houses and mercilessly beating men. They then broke into Mama Silas’s house and life changed from that day. They got a hold of Silas and beat him unconscious. They then got a hold of Chris who was hiding under the bed,

clobbered him on the head, leg and hand joints, and left him unconscious as they proceeded to the next neighbour’s house. It was after an hour, when the GSU officers had completely gone, that neighbours came to the rescue of Chris and his friend. He was taken to Blue House hospital for first aid, and later referred to Kenyatta National Hospital for further treatment, where he was admitted in the intensive care unit for three months. He has since recovered although he still has emotional issues and fears the police, especially the General Service Unit. He also has an eye problem, and at times during the cold season he experiences unending body aches which have interrupted his schooling, as he is often out of school to seek medical assistance.

Chris’ mother, Ann Anyango, is a member of the Mother of Victims and Survivors Network since 2019. And she shares the following on how the network has impacted her life: “the Network has enlightened me on how I can pursue justice for my son, and also help other women and community members to seek justice whenever their human rights are violated by anyone.”

12

Narrative: Esther Wanjiru Mbugua
Relationship to victim: Grandmother
Victim: Peter
Residence: Kiamaiko



30 James Mburu father to Samuel Muiru and Harrison Waithanji

Peter and his friends had been followed by police officers for some time, when one day, as they were sleeping in his grandmother's house -- with his grandmother, aunt and his friend, they were awakened at 6 am by a bang at the door. It was police officers who forced their way into their home and started shooting Peter and his friend while they were still in bed. Peter's grandmother and aunt were asked to sit down, and they watched the policemen shooting the young men. The grandmother could not bear it anymore, so she started screaming for help, but the two boys were already dead. The grandmother could not follow up on the case since she didn't know what to do and where to go. She is now a member of the Network.

13

Narrative: Halima Diramo Malicha
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Nura Malicha
Residence: Kiamaiko

Nura Malicha was 17 years old at the time he was executed by the police. He was working in a goat slaughterhouse where he earned money for his survival. At the time of demise, he was staying at his mother's house in Kiamaiko ward. On the day that Nura Malicha was executed, 21 February 2015, the deceased was working in the market and waiting for the goats to be brought in. Barely an hour after he left for work, members of the community came running, wailing

and shouting towards Nura's residence, announcing that he had been shot by the police. They said that instead of a goat truck, a police truck had arrived. Nura had run towards it thinking it was the goats but encountered the police who arrested him. Witnesses detailed how Nura got to his knees and was shot dead in this position. When she found her son lying on the market floor, she picked him up and recounts how he tried to speak with her, but blood and teeth poured out of his mouth. He was rushed to Huruma Nursing Home but unfortunately the hospital declined to offer treatment claiming it was a difficult case. Nura died on the way to Kenyatta National Hospital.

The police who shot him went to Huruma Nursing Home and were chased away by the angry public. The two officers are Rono and Abakari from Huruma police station.

Before his death, Nura had complained to his mother that the police had been threatening to execute him since they claimed he had a girlfriend that one of the officers fell in love with, yet he wasn't willing to stop seeing this girl.

MSJC and the Network helped Mama Nura get a lawyer for her son's case – they are like her family now. The case has been in the courts over the last two



32 Halima Diramo Malicha mother to Nura Malicha

years – the only case MSJC has documented that has been forwarded to the courts by the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP). We await judgment in early 2021.

14

Narrative: Judith/ Mama Shem
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Godwin
Residence: Mathare

Godwin had married, but had issues with his wife's family, so they decided to move to Saika away from the family, where they could live peaceful with no interference from anyone's family. One day Godwin was in a bar called 'Kwa Lefty,' and was accused of stealing two bottles of liquor. He was beaten by people in the bar, and they left him seriously injured. Good samaritans took him to Mama Lucy Hospital as his upper jaw was in bad shape. At the same time, he was also being pursued by the police. He was informed about this by his friend Ronald, as they were chilling at a place called Kwa Choo days after he was discharged.

Godwin's mother, upon hearing this, decided to travel back to their rural home with Godwin. One night before their day of travel, Godwin did not come home and that is when a man called Boi came and informed Godwin's mother that he was picked up by some men in civilian clothes and was locked in

the car boot with two other men. The two other men were later released. Godwin tried to plead for forgiveness, but his cries were all in vain as they told him that that was his last day. While all this was happening, his mother couldn't find Godwin, so they started searching for him in police station. It is when they went to city mortuary that they found his body: Godwin had three bullets logged in belly button, left rib and upper chest.

Mama Shem was told by Godwin's friends that he was killed by Rashid, who picked him up from the bar called "Kwa Lefty. She reported the case and has the post-mortem reports. However, the case did not go to court as she was too devastated by the death of her son to pursue it.

15

Narrative: Mama Kevin Gitau
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Kevin Kariuki Gitau
Residence: Mlango Kubwa, Mathare

On 14 April 2019, Kevin Gitau was murdered by killer cop Rashid. He worked at City Park and was on his way home, when he met with four policemen on motorcycles on Juja Road near Oil Libya petrol station. They surrounded him. Kevin asked, "kwani nimefanya nini?" [what have I done?], to which the policemen responded, "utajuliambele" [you'll soon find

out]. Kevin tried to explain his movements, saying that he was on his way to see his parents and his son as he had not seen them in a while. The policemen did not care for his explanations and took him to Amana Petrol Station on Juja Road. They beat him all the way there. The whole time, Kevin kept pleading, telling them that he was not a thief – the police were accusing him of stealing a cell phone. When he realized they would not let him go, he asked to be allowed to at least make a phone call to his mother and say his last words to her. At this point, Rashid took Kevin's phone, the packet of milk and fruits he'd bought for his son, his wallet and ID, and threw them on the road. Kevin's wallet had 9,500 KES which the police took. The other policemen then parked the car they were using in such a way that passers-by would not witness what they were about to do. Then Rashid started stepping on Kevin. After that, they took a sack and put it over Kevin's head and shot him.

Mama Kevin was in the house reading the Bible when her five-year-old son came into their room and told her that their brother, Kevin, had just been killed by Rashid. She went to the scene of the crime and found that her son's body had already been taken away. She estimates that the whole operation must have taken around 40 minutes.

The loss of her son has drastically changed Mama Kevin's life. Her heart aches for Kevin. She falls ill regularly with complications of high blood pressure and ulcers. She wonders how she will raise Kevin's two-year-old son who will have to grow up without a father and will also face the threat of extrajudicial killings by an inhumane police force.

16

Narrative: Winnie Achieng
Relationship to victim: Wife
Victim: Victor Ochieng
Residence: Huruma, Mathare

"My husband had a case in court, for he was accused of selling bhang [marijuana]. He would be going to jail for six months, and was asked to give 30, 000 KES as bond for his release. Because his family could not afford the amount, the court reduced it to 15, 000 KES. I was able to raise it alone, but the police officers who was accusing him still didn't feel that my husband deserved to be released, or that he should be allowed in the area, and so they asked for more money from my husband which he was unable to raise.

After some days, his picture was posted in the notorious "Dandora Crime Free" page on Facebook. He was posted there as criminal. Later that week, on a Wednesday night, my husband was on the



Winnie Achieng wife to Victor Ochieng

roadside hanging out, when he met his cousin who was coming from buying supper and they started catching up. It was at that moment that some police officers came and arrested them both, and they took them to a certain corner where my husband was told to kneel down and say his last words. He was shot in the head and died on the spot.

We were planning for his wake, but the police refused to issue us the necessary permit. This was made harder because after being shot, his picture was then posted on the Dandora Crime Free page again, but with a gun beside him.

17

Narrative: Lilian Njeri
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Antony
Residence: Kiamaiko, Mathare

Anton was killed on 4 May 2018. He was found chilling at his usual base with friends. This time the police showed up and arrested five of his peers, including Anton. Luckily, two of the young men escaped.

The three who were arrested were taken round and round instead of being taken to the police station. One of the family members of the arrested three heard from people that their son had been arrested and immediately started following them but was were unable to find

them.

Later, during the day, their names were posted on social media on the “Dandora Crime Free” page, announcing that they were thieves who had been found dead. One of the family members of the three boys saw the news, and its then that Lilian was called and told that her son was killed on claims that he was a thief.

The case was reported to IPOA because two of Lilian’s cousins were also put on the same page on social media, and the family didn’t want to lose them like she lost her son. Besides IPOA, the case was not reported to any police station because the family didn’t know that they were to report it there. At IPOA, Lilian gave her statement but the family members of the other two boys who were killed refused to give their statements, and so she was told that unless they did so the case could not proceed to court.

Lilian joined the Network because she wants justice for her son Anton. The Network has also helped her because she now has the strength to stand up and fight for these injustices that are happening to the young generation. The Network has also motivated her by providing psychosocial support, and she has realized that she is not the only one going through this kind of pain: there are many more and



Lilian Njeri mother to Anthony Kinuthia

through the unity from the Network they can move forward as a family.

18

Narrative: Mama Collins
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Collins
Residence: Mathare 4A

On 27 August 2017, during the immediate post-election period, Collins, then 12 years old, was shot by Rashid in front of his house at night, on his way back from the community public bathroom. Collins was taken to Kenyatta Hospital, but his mother was not allowed to see him that day because “there were a lot of people,” so he stayed alone. Collins survived and remains with a bullet mark. The family kept the bullet that shot Collins.

The incident was reported to IPOA. However, in the three years since they reported this incident to IPOA, Mama Collins has not received any assistance or feedback from them. She continues to be scared to seek justice since her son survived the incident.

In May 2019, police officers ordered Mama Collins to move from Mathare on three different occasions, but she has refused to leave the community. In her words, “police can’t dictate where I am supposed to live.” Collins, now 15 years old and living with his mother and two brothers, is still traumatized by the event and was

withdrawn and didn’t talk much when we were documenting the case.

19

Narrative: Isaiah Omollo
Victim: Isaiah Omollo
Residence: Mathare 4A

Isaiah Omollo was beaten and maimed by the police on 9 April 2020, at about 7.15 pm. The police, suspected to be from Muthaiga police station, found him closing his business, which is 50 meters away from his home, and landed on him with thorough beatings. He managed to run and fell at his doorstep where the police managed to catch up with him and continued to beat him.

From the beatings he sustained severe back and leg injuries and dislocated his hands. Since then, he is unable to walk properly. Being the sole breadwinner of his family and a father of four children, his family has found it difficult to sustain itself with no income. He has been to the hospital, but he needs assistance to help him continue with his treatment.

20

Narrative: Wilkister Cartex
Victim: Wilkister and family
Residence: Mathare 4A

On 12 August 2017, Wilkister Cartex was at home with her two daughters. They were preparing

to have breakfast when she heard commotion outside their home. She went outside to look and found that people were running from the police in their direction. Her eldest daughter advised that they lock the door so that those fleeing would not enter their house. Suddenly five police in combat gear broke down the door to their house and demanded that Wilkister and her daughters take off their clothes. The police wanted to rape them. When they refused, they started beating Wilkister and her eldest daughter brutally, who by now were huddled in a corner of the house on the bed. Her youngest daughter hid under the chair. The police tore off their clothes and beat them until they were tired and left at the sound of a low flying police helicopter. There was no one to come and help them as all around them there were screams of people being beaten by the police. In some houses, the police only asked if there was a man in the house and left the occupants alone without beating or attempting to rape them if there was no man.

When the police left, Wilkister, her daughter, and many others who had been brutally beaten were taken to Kenyatta Hospital in an MSF ambulance. At the hospital, they met many other victims of police brutality from Kariobangi, Kibra and other low-income residential areas. Wilkister was badly injured on her hands and

legs, and they were swollen. She wasn't able to cater for the cost of her treatment and had to fundraise from her friends.

Her 25-year-old daughter continued to be ill due to the police beatings and lost her job at the hotel where she used to work. Her hand is now weak, and it makes it difficult for her to work even now.

Wilkister used to work as a casual domestic worker in Eastleigh, but the beatings made her hands and feet permanently weak, and she is unable to work as she used to. Most days she is in pain especially during the cold season.

21

Narrative: Christine Lebo
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Silas
Residence: Mathare 4A

Silas was a form four student at Alego high school, Siaya County. The incident occurred during the August 2017 election period which coincided with the school holiday. Silas was visiting his friend, Crispin, when the police stormed into the house, breaking down the door. Silas hid under the bed. The police started beating Crispin who was on top of the bed. The police demanded to know where the rest of the occupants of the house were. Crispin told them that Silas was under the bed. The police called Silas to come out from

under the bed. Immediately he did, they hit Silas on the back of his neck, and he lost consciousness. The policemen left having seen that Silas was lying down with no sign of being conscious. As soon as they had left, Crispin ran outside to seek help from the neighbours. They called for an ambulance which rushed Silas to Kenyatta National Hospital. Silas was put in ICU, but he died at 9 pm, on the same day, due to his injuries.

Mama Silas, a jua kali trader, feels the pain of losing her son whom she struggled to educate. The judicial system has frustrated her efforts to seek justice. The police and OCS from Muthaiga police station do not show up in court to answer to the charges. IPOA which is responsible for ensuring the accused police show up in court are not doing their job.

Before she joined the network, she was so bitter and frustrated and didn't know what to do, but after joining the network she has received psychosocial support which has helped her heal, somehow, and she can now speak about the death of her son without shedding tears.

22

Narrative: Ann Onyango/Mama Crispin

Relationship to victim: Mother

Victims: Crispin and Michael

Residence: Mathare 4A

Crispin (18) and Michael (13) were at home with their mother. Silas had come to visit them; it was sometime in August 2017. Five police officers stormed into the house and broke down the door. It was a mud house which collapsed with the frame. The police immediately started beating the boys. When they left, Ann went to look for Mama Silas and asked her to come and take Silas to the hospital, while Ann did the same for her children. Crispin and Michael's father was not home at the time. He had left before the police arrived since they were breaking down houses looking for men; it was not safe for him to be in the house.

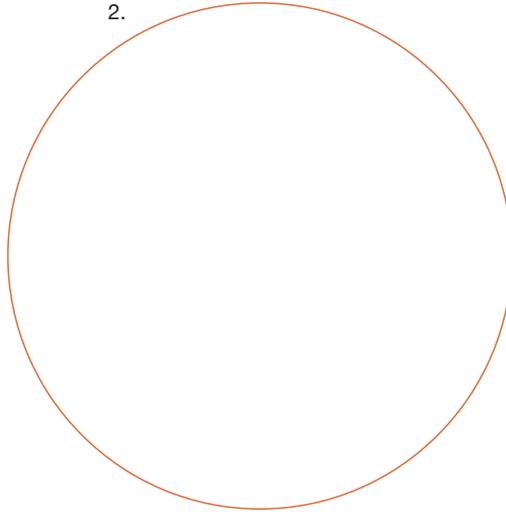
Ann took her sons to the Red Cross team, which was on standby, attending to the victims of police brutality. Police with guns, wounded victims, cars and ambulances filled the street. The Red Cross ambulances took them to Blue House Hospital for treatment.

Documents detailing their injuries, such as the medical report showing the beatings Crispin received, burned down in a fire in Ann's house, making it difficult to pursue her case for justice for Crispin. When she tried to go back to Blue Hospital to get other copies, the records department told her they cannot give them to her. Yet, it is a procedure that is normally quick and simple. They

Of all cases identified **only 28** have been charged with a crime for these cases

1. ○

2.

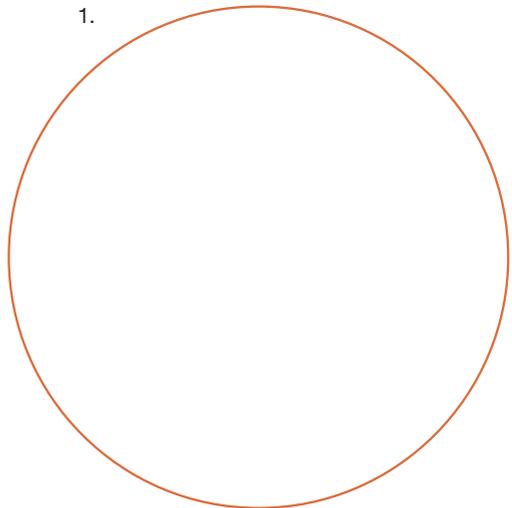
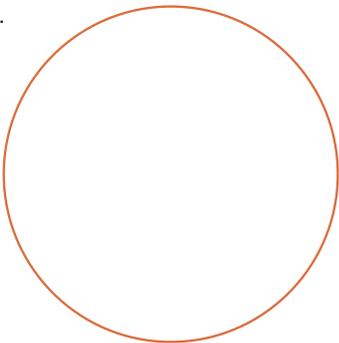


- 1. Charged with a crime
- 2. Cases still pending

Men are most likely to be killed by the police in most cases accounting for **60%** of the murders or enforced disappearances. From that percentage, **Youth** are most likely the ones to be killed by the police and suffer from enforced disappearance

2.

1.



- 1. Cases male
- 2. Cases non-male

*data taken from missingvoices.or.ke

told her that IPOA should come and request for the records. At IPOA, Ann is told she should request for the documents where her son received treatment.

Michael has complications in his eye where he was slapped by the police. He was slapped because he was shouting for the police to stop beating his brother. His eye is permanently filled with pus and is itchy. It does not see properly. Crispin is not strong either in his hands and legs because of the injuries he sustained from the beatings by the police. He cannot do strenuous tasks. Because of this he has difficulty finding work. He is also psychologically affected because of what he went through. He lost his closest friend and cannot talk about what happened to him.

23

Narrative: Susan Muthoni
Relationship to victim: Wife
Victims: Kahara and Cosmos
Residence: Mlango Kubwa

On 27 May 2017, at 5am, Kahara, an 18-year-old young man and his friend were on their way to a construction site where they worked, when they met with notorious police officer Rashid in Mlango Kubwa. Rashid asked them where they were going, but even after the young men explained, he arrested and killed them both. At the time, Kahara was married to Susan who was

only 16 at the time.

A few months following Kahara's passing, Susan married Cosmos, who was 22 years old. On 25 December 2017, at the end of Christmas day, Cosmos and five friends went to buy some soda to celebrate with their families. There were many people on the streets. They met Rashid and his group, known as "Pangani 7," in Mathare - Karambe. The group of police started beating them in the middle of the street. Rashid ordered them to lie down, and they raised their arms as a sign that they had surrendered and did not want trouble with the police. Despite this, Rashid executed all of them. He shot Cosmos 22 times.

Susan reported the cases to IPOA, but nothing has been done. Instead, the officers meant to help her started questioning her and shaming her for being so young and having already married twice. She has a two-year-old son from her first husband, Kahara. Her son was just three months old when the execution of his father happened. She has been vocal and has publicised the case in the media, which has further exposed her both to threats and intimidation by Rashid.

In Susan's words: "Ever since I joined the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network, I have become strong and managed to forget some things through the stories we share

with the other mothers, who share the same story as mine. Also, through the network I have been able to go through psychosocial support which has been of help to me.”

24

Narrative: Lucy Wambui
Relationship to victim: Wife
Victim: Christopher Maina
Residence: Mlango Kubwa

Christopher Maina (commonly known as Maich), was a very hard-working young man. He took casual job after the other and during the weekend he used to pull a handcart, fully loaded with garbage, from a few residential flats in Mlango Kubwa to get extra money.

On Tuesday 21 February 2017, Maich was murdered by police officers in Mlango Kubwa. His wife Wambui was at their new house in Githurai that fateful day, heavy with child -- she was eight and a half months pregnant. That morning, visiting Mathare was far from her mind since she had woken up extremely exhausted and nauseous., but she still went to Mathare to meet her mother. When she got to Mathare she was greeted by the sight of people gathered on the road, young and old, facing the same direction and speaking in whispers. Upon inquiry, she was informed that a young man had just been rounded up by two of the most notorious

killer policemen.

Maich, it was said, had been installing a water tank for his youth base when the police picked him. They did not let him put his shirt back on. Wambui asked if they knew the young man, but all she heard was that “he is a plump boy from Pirates youth group,” and very light in complexion, and maybe called Maich. It is this last answer that shook her: she dropped her bag at her mother’s house and started following the police in the direction she had heard they had gone.

On their way, a woman stopped Wambui’s mother and confirmed that Maich had been collected by the police, and he had pleaded for his life “with all the Swahili there is in the world and all the vernacular he could find at his disposal,” but to no avail, and that he was in grave danger should we not make it to his rescue in good time. As they continued to walk briskly, Wambui’s phone rang and a friend of hers, who was hysterical, asked her to rush to where he was, since the police had Maich there and were going to kill him.

The community members had tried to come to his defence, but the police listened to no one. In fact, they soon started to forcefully disperse people from the scene. On arrival Wambui found heavy police presence still struggling to disperse the crowd. She saw one



44 Lucy Wambui wife to Christopher Maina

policeman who knew her well, and he also knew Maich to be her boyfriend, therefore she trusted that he would help her, at least, view his body. Unfortunately, he too greeted her with coldness: “get out of here right now with that pregnancy, before I kick you and drop you in the river.” Two other policemen arrived, and they brought a motorcycle that they had confiscated from the stage, and they were going to plant it on Maich, saying it had been stolen, to justify his execution.

Later Wambui, her sister and her mother, and some other angry community members, protested and went to demand answers at the police station. The OCS responded that it was the police’s job to “sweep trash.”

25

Narrative: Benna Buluma
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Victor and Bernard
Residence: Mathare 4A

It was on 9 August 2017 at 3:00 pm, a day after voting, that Victor and Bernard went on with their usual business, leaving their mother in charge of their kids. It’s on the same day that one of the biggest demonstrations was planned in Mathare: the demonstration started from Babadogo all the way to Mau Mau road. The final destination was Nairobi city centre. And because of the huge number of people in the

demonstration, there were some helicopters that were following this crowd for security purposes, since anything could happen.

Victor and Bernard were coming from town and met the crowd of people demonstrating near the Uzima medical dispensary in Mathare. They saw a friend of theirs who was also part of the demonstration, and asked him what was happening. In the process of explaining the reason for the demonstration, policemen appeared from nowhere and they started firing their guns aimlessly. Unfortunately, one of the bullets hit Bernard on the head and Victor was shot in the stomach. They both died on the spot.

It was then that the policemen asked the demonstrators to go carry the body of Victor, but they refused since it had become the police habit to kill people then ask community members to carry the bodies. The police were forced to carry the body after the community refused to do so. But before the body was taken away, Mama Victor was already informed, by people who witnessed the police shooting, that her two sons had been killed, and so she came to see if it was true. The police were stopping her from viewing the bodies, but she insisted that they were her children and so she must see them. Only then was she allowed to view the body of Victor before the police took the bodies

to the mortuary.

The two cases were reported to IMLU, IPOA and KNCHR, and IPOA reported that the case is with the DPP and investigations are underway.

26

Narrative: Veronica Gathoni
Relationship to victim: Wife
Victim: Stephen Otieno Mukhana
Residence: Mathare 4A

It was on 5 December 2017, a Monday, while nursing her nephew at Neema Uhai Hospital, that Veronica Gathoni received a phone call from her neighbour informing her that her husband Stephen Otieno Mukhana (30) had been found dead and was lying in a pool of blood next to Baraka hospital in Mathare 4A ward (Mradi). Stephen was a mechanic in Ngara Nairobi, and before his death, he was escorting his younger brother who had paid him a visit that night. Due to the time that she received the tragic news, 11 pm, and the confusion that engulfed the entire family that night, she was prevented from leaving the hospital to go to the scene of the incident.

The next day, she was informed that Stephen's body had been taken to Chiromo mortuary by the police, but no one could tell her what police station the officers were from, nor the number plate

of the vehicle they used. Veronica and her sister-in-law went to the mortuary that day to identify the body of her husband. When they found him, they saw that his body had 12 knife stab wounds, on his stomach and abdomen. His intestines were out of his body and he was still oozing blood from the stab wounds.

Veronica and her sister-in-law requested that a post-mortem be done on Stephen's body, but the mortuary attendants refused even when Veronica and her sister-in-law showed willingness to part with the little money they had then for an autopsy to be conducted. Worse still, the attendant warned them that both their lives would be in danger if they insist on demanding that a post-mortem to be done on her late husband. Then, fearing for their lives, they both left the mortuary to go to Veronica's house for funeral preparations.

They never reported the case to any police station for fear of what would happen if they continued pursuing the case. But a few days later, on 10 December 2017, Veronica, her friends and relatives returned to Chiromo mortuary, and the same mortuary attendant now suggested that he could do a post-mortem on Stephen's body if they bribed him. They didn't have any money for this, and so they turned down the offer.

Since joining the Network, Veronica has gotten psychosocial support and counselling. She has also undergone several trainings that have given her more confidence. She now identifies as a human rights defender and is fighting to end the injustices and human rights violations in her community.

27

Narrative: Monica Nduku
Relationship to victim:
Grandmother
Victim: Simon
Residence: Mabatini

My grandson Simon had finished class eight, and because he saw how I was struggling, he proposed that he could look for a job to help in taking care of the family. A friend from our village back home helped him get a construction job somewhere near Eastleigh. Every day, the friend would come home in the morning, pick him up and they would walk to their workplace. Since he was a class eight drop out, it was very difficult for him to get a better job than that one. He worked there until the building that was under construction was finished, that's when he looked for another fetching water, from the river, for people who were constructing another building, because they could at least pay him something small. He worked there until the construction was over.

One day, the friend who had helped him get his first job came to me and requested me to call Simon on his behalf, since there was another job they were to go do in Kawangware the very next morning. I called him, and he talked with the friend. Then later Simon came to me and said "grandmother since tomorrow I'll be going to work, you cook earlier today, I'm coming back."

When he left, he was with another girl whom he studied with back in primary school. So, they went to a certain bridge that connects Mabatini and Mathare 4A; as young people they were playing their usual games as they chased each other on the bridge. The lady who left with Simon said that she heard a gunshot and unfortunately saw that a bullet had hit Simon who fell into the river. The gun was fired by a certain policeman whom they didn't know. The case was reported to the Pangani police station, but they were not given an OB number.

Ever since she joined the Network, it has been of help to her. She has been trained on security measures, and through the trainings, at least, she gets foods that boosts her when things are tough.

28

Narrative: Mary Atieno Onyango
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Stephen Agunda
Residence: Dandora Phase 4



48 Monica Nduku grandmother to Simon

On the 11 February 2019, a Sunday afternoon, Stephen Agunda, aged 18 at that time, went to watch football in the company of three friends but never returned home. Stephen was Mary's first child, and as a family they had hopes that he would grow up and liberate the family from the shackles of poverty. On the following day, Mary was restless due to her motherly instincts, which gave her the feeling that something was not right. Stephen had still not come home and so they decided to launch a search for him a day after he had left home.

For three consecutive days, they went to all the police stations within their reach, but it never occurred to them that their son had been killed. On 22 February 2019, three days later, their dreams of ever finding their son alive were shattered when they learnt of his death on a Facebook page called "Nairobi Crime Free." This page stated that three young men, who were "suspected" to be thieves, had been killed. On the same day they went to Nairobi City Mortuary and requested to see his body, which they found with bullet wounds.

Mary is not yet part of the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network, and to date her case has not been documented anywhere. In addition, as a family they have not taken any legal action. The family

is in a lot of pain and requires psychosocial support.

29

Narrative: Esther Kanoga
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: John Ngila/Spata
Residence: Dandora Phase 4

At the time of his death, Spata was 20 years old and was working at the Dandora dumpsite. In August 2018, his family learnt of his death through a family friend who saw pictures of his dead body on a Facebook page called "Dandora Crime Free." His picture had been posted by a suspected killer cop known as Saigon Punisher on Facebook. Still in disbelief, Esther called John's phone severally, but it was not answered. She then sent a text message to the phone asking about John's whereabouts, and immediately a police officer known as Maasai called her using John's phone. He told her that John was at the City Mortuary, and they should go and eat his body. The police officer also called her a prostitute before hanging up the phone.

Sadly, on the burial day the police officers sent someone to spy on the ceremony and to take pictures of the burial. On the same day, the officers used the pictures to mock the family on the same Facebook page. John left behind a wife who was pregnant at the time, but who suffered miscarriage due to his death, and one child. No

documentation or legal action have been undertaken by the family.

30

Narrative: Sarah Wangari

Relationship to victim: Mother

Victim: Alex Wangari

Residence: Bondeni, Mathare

“My son Alex used to fetch water for people in Bondeni, which is in Mabatini, Mathare constituency. I remember one day as he was coming from work at round 10pm, he met some police officers just near our home. I was home. At that time, I didn’t have milk in the house for breakfast, so I went to a nearby shop to get some milk. But because it was late in the night, many shops were closed. I decided to walk further to a shop near Kiboro that is open until 10.30 pm.

As I was walking to the shop, I saw two men lying down. I moved close to check if they were okay, but they were not moving and appeared to be dead. Suddenly some officers came to me and asked what I was doing there and pointed their guns towards me. I told them that I was going to the shop to buy milk, and they demanded that I leave the scene. However, as I was walking away, I felt uncomfortable and I was worried since I had a feeling that something was not okay, since one of the men lying on the ground had a similar jacket to my son. I really felt that for sure something

was not right, so I tried to look back and see what those police officers were doing, and I saw them making some phone calls. In that moment something pushed me to go back and confirm whether one of the men was my son or not, but I got scared since the police had pointed a gun at me. I went to my house and I told my neighbour, and she immediately insisted that we go out and confirm if it was Alex, but I stopped her because we would put our lives in danger. I waited until 11 pm just in case I was wrong, but my son didn’t show up, I immediately jumped through the gate as it was locked and went to his workplace and asked his boss if Alex had left, and he told me that he had left. That’s when it really hit me that my suspicions were right, one of the men was really my son. I went back to the scene where the two young men were lying, but the policemen had taken them away. The next morning, I went to City Mortuary to ask about them, and I was shown my son’s body: he had ten bullets -- some in his chest, and others in the hands and legs. I asked the attendants what his charges were, and he told me that he was accused of being one of the most wanted thieves in Mathare, and that he had a small gun. I was so shocked that my son could be accused of things that he had never done.”

The case was reported to Pangani police station, but Sarah was



Sarah Wangari mother to Alex Mwangi

chased away, and they refused to give her an OB number.

Sarah is part of the Network, and is very grateful that ever since she lost her son, MSJC has been with her and supported her, and it is also through the network that she was able to get psychosocial support.

31

Narrative: Joyce Adhiambo
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Anthony Oduor Odhiambo
Residence: Dandora Phase 4

At the time of his demise, Antony was 24 years old and worked as a carpenter in Awasi. He had come to Nairobi to visit his wife. On 25 August 2018, he was walking home from a pub at 10 am, when he was shot in the head from behind by a police officer known as Maasai, who was in the company of four other police officers. Those who were at the scene quickly rushed him to his mother's house, and then with her they took him to Mama Lucy Hospital, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. Joyce is part of the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network. To date no legal action has been taken to get justice for Antony.

32

Narrative: Sarah Achieng
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Michael Baraza
Residence: Dandora Phase 4

Michael was 17 years old and a form three student at Dr. Mwenje High School when he was killed by the police. His family learnt about his death through a friend who saw his lifeless body posted on the "Dandora Crime Free" Facebook page. On the day of his killing, he was picked up while at a 'disco matanga' funeral outside his home by a police officer from Dandora police station. This police officer drove away with him in a white Toyota Probox.

According to witnesses, Michael was ordered by the officers to alight from the car when they got to Dandora Phase 1, around Total petrol station. He thought that the officers were letting him go, but when he turned to walk away, he was shot in the head from behind and his eyes popped out. This case was reported to the Dandora police station and the family was issued with an OB number. They also conducted a post-mortem and the report is available. To date there has been no legal action taken for the case.

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Narrative: Agnes Wanjiku
Relationship to victim: Mother
Residence: Eastleigh

"The last day I saw my son was 23 March 2010. He woke up as usual to help me with my house chores, and later, at around midday, he told me he was going to hang out with his friends at their base



Veronica Gathoni wife to Stephen Otieno

where he loved going. I remember vividly I was preparing lunch when a friend called me and told me my son and three of his friends were taken by four policemen who were well known as 'squad ya Tom.' This was a squad of killer cops, and I was so worried. I tried to catch up with them, but they had been driven away in a police car. My first stop was Pangani police station and then Muthaiga police station, but they were not there. We later went to Central police station but still could not find them. By this time it was already late, so we had to go back home. I could not sleep the whole night as I was just trying to imagine what could have happened to them. The next morning we continued our search. A relative suggested we should also go to the mortuary, which was the last thing on my mind. It was my worst nightmare and I never wanted to go, but we had run out of places to search because we had visited all of the police stations. I remember when we got to the city mortuary my heart was beating so fast, and I was having difficulties breathing -- I couldn't bring myself to walk into the morgue; every time it was our turn to go in, I would ask them to give me more time.

As time passed, I got the courage, but I felt an emptiness as if something had vanished from my heart -- a deep feeling that my son was dead. A few bodies were brought forward, and it was my

son together with his three friends; their bodies were covered with so many gunshot wounds that it was difficult to recognise them. I cried my heart out. My son had just turned 17 years old at the time, and he was the most obedient son. He had a lot of dreams, but they are all dead with him. During the funeral arrangements, I saw the killer cop and ran straight to him because I needed to confront him, even as I also feared him, I wanted to know why he had killed my son and yet he was not a criminal. The only answer he gave me was that he had warned my son severally, but he never listened, and the only option was to kill him. To this day, I can't believe my son was a criminal. I used to live in Mathare but moved to Eastleigh because I never wanted to see the killer cop; the sight of him reminded me of my late son.

I went to Pangani police station to report the killer cop, but no one wanted to write my statement. I was supported by Catholic sisters to bury my son and later they offered me counselling. I would also like to be part of the Mothers of Victims and Survivors Network, so that we can support each other.

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Narrative: Mery Mugure
Relationship to victim: Mother
Victim: Joseph Maina
Residence: Mathare



Antonia ILaniha stands for herself, a survivor of police brutality

It was 2 February 2012, around noon, when Joseph Maina was killed as his family and friends watched. In those days, the killer cop was known as Wahome, and he used to patrol with five other plain-clothed policemen that were well known for killing youths and collecting bribes from chang'aa brewers and sellers.

Joseph was picked from his mother's house by Wahome and his squad partners. That was the third time the squad had picked him up. He had been arrested three times and released due to lack of evidence by the same squad, but this time his mother held him back while pleading with the policemen not to take him away. She knew the fate of her son if they took him away. But Joseph was taken, chained and put inside the boot of the police car that they used to patrol with. Wahome asked Joseph to tell him where they purchased their illegal guns, because there were rumours in the community that Joseph was part of a gang hiring firearms to criminals for monetary gains. Two criminals had confessed that Joseph was the one helping them hire the firearms. The other two policemen went inside the house and started searching for guns but didn't find anything. Wahome dragged Joseph out of the car boot and told him to say his last words. He then shot him five times as his family watched.

Joseph was buried at Langata cemetery because his father's relatives refused to give them a piece of land for his burial, claiming he was a criminal that would bring shame to the family. His mother says God has been so graceful because she has been able to heal and accept. May Joseph's soul continue resting in peace.

AFTERWORD

Final Words & Acknowledgements

This report has profiled the stories and lives of 35 families who have been affected by police impunity from between 2010 – 2020. Victims of police killings and beatings. Sons and fathers. Sisters. Our intention was to showcase and put a face to these victims, who often remain nameless and faceless in the public eye. Above all, it is to support a powerful network of mothers, wives and family members which is growing. Every day, this Network is enabling a groundswell that will overcome the state with their calls for justice. This participatory community report is one step towards that.

These profiles are tragic. They are extremely traumatizing and continue to be traumatizing for families whose only crime was to have a child or husband living in Mathare, in Dandora, and in other poor urban settlements where they are deemed unworthy of rights.

One mother was asked by the police: “Why are you crying when you are giving birth to thugs’? Others have had pictures of their dead children posted on vigilante police groups on Facebook. In addition, after their family members have been killed or injured, these families face hostility at the very institutions meant to support them, including the mortuary and IPOA. And despite the evidence against them, the same serial killer policemen continue to harm in their neighbourhoods: Rashid, Baraza, Maasai...

By documenting a few of these experiences of generations lost, the Network remembers, strengthens and demands. They challenge the criminalization of communities and their wombs, they come together to protest all of the collective human rights violations that they face, and they move from being victims to defenders.

MSJC would like to heartily thank the Network and the family members who shared their narratives with us. The MSJC volunteers and friends who made this report possible over the last few years including JJ, Coltrane McDowell, Ed Ram, Rachel Sittoni and Natasha Martin. Without the financial support that the Norwegian Human Rights Fund (NHRF) gave us in 2020, we would not have been able to put this report together – thank you very much for the ongoing solidarity. We also say thank you for those who continue to walk with us: all of the social justice centres and comrades, Yash and Jill Ghai, Willy Mutunga, Charles Maina, Protection International, Amnesty, Haki Africa and

many others, above all, in Mathare.

We want to use these profiles and stories as another weapon in the fight for justice, and we hope we will continue to be together in this fight. No longer will we be victims.



Lucy Wambui, Harrison Mumo, Esther Wambui, Josephine Akoth, Francisca Monthe, Nancy Wanjiru , Judith Otemo, Hawo Jilo, Violet Osimbo, Lydia M. Musangi, David Ochola, Ivy Injeri, Merce-line Auma, Zelpha Leihayi , Bereneta Kayanje, Fanie M. Mugaisi, Steven Ondego Milugo, Stephen Mbuvi Mase-se, Ann Anyango, Esther Wanjiru Mbugua, James Mburu , Halima Diramo Malicha, Judith/ Mama Shem, Mama Kevin Gitau, Winnie Achieng, Lilian Njeri, Mama Collins, Isaiah Omollo, Wilkister Cartex, Christine Lebo, Ann Onyango/Mama Crispin, Susan Muthoni, Benna Buluma, Veronica Gathoni, Monica Nduku, Mary Atieno Onyango, Esther Kanoga, Sarah Wangari, Joyce Adhiambo, Sarah Achieng, Agnes Wanjiku, Veronica Gathoni , Mery Mugure, Antonia ILani-aha