

# Performances of Injustice

Following unprecedented violence in 2007/8, Kenya introduced two classic transitional justice mechanisms: a truth commission and international criminal proceedings. Both are widely believed to have failed, but why? And what do their performances say about contemporary Kenya, the ways in which violent pasts persist and the shortcomings of transitional justice?

Using the lens of performance, this book analyses how transitional justice efforts are incapable of dealing with how unjust and violent pasts actually persist. Gabrielle Lynch reveals the story of an ongoing political struggle requiring substantive socio-economic and political change that transitional justice mechanisms can theoretically recommend, and which they can sometimes help to initiate and inform, but which they cannot implement or create, and can sometimes unintentionally help to reinforce.

GABRIELLE LYNCH is Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Warwick, and her research interests include ethnic identities and politics, elections and democratisation, and transitional justice and local reconciliation efforts, with a particular focus on Kenya. She has published numerous journal articles and book chapters. Her first book, *I Say to You: Ethnic Politics and the Kalenjin in Kenya*, was published in 2011. She is an elected member of council for the British Institute in Eastern Africa and wrote a regular column in Kenya's *Saturday Nation* from April 2014 to March 2018.





# Performances of Injustice

The Politics of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Kenya

GABRIELLE LYNCH University of Warwick





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108426213

DOI: 10.1017/9781108575164

© Gabrielle Lynch 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Clays Ltd, Elcograf S.p.A.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Lynch, Gabrielle, author.

Title: Performances of justice: the politics of truth and reconciliation

in Kenya / Gabrielle Lynch.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017053775 | ISBN 9781108426213 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108444934 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Peace-building – Kenya. | Truth commissions – Kenya. | Reconciliation – Kenya. | Transitional justice – Kenya. | Political violence – Kenya. | Kenya. Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission. | Kenya – Politics and government – 2002–

Classification: LCC JZ5584.K4 L96 2018 | DDC 967.6204/3-dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017053775

ISBN 978-1-108-42621-3 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-44493-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



In loving memory of Berenika Stefanska (1983–2016) and the echo of her voice: 'Come on girl, come on!'





#### Contents

Acknowledgements				
Lis	st of Abbreviations	xii		
M	Maps			
	Part I Haunted by Violence	1		
	Prologue: A Time of Violence	3		
1	Confronting the Past: Transitional Justice and the Politics of Time and Performance			
2	Framing the Good Citizen for Orderly Elections: The Prioritisation of Peace			
3	Enter the International Criminal Court: Performing (In)justice	57		
	Part II A Post-South African Truth Commission	91		
4	The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission: A Sense of Once-Againness	95		
5	Public Hearings: Bringing the Audience Back In	124		
6	Truth's Grand Narrative (Part I): Of Injustice and Suffering	149		
7	'The Story of the Kenyan Woman': Of the Performance of Familiar Gender Roles	183		
8	Truth's Grand Narrative (Part II): Of Injustice and Impunity	218		
9	'Only Talking Won't Help': Of Justice and Reparations	249		

vii



viii		Contents
	Part III Familiar Performances	275
10	Performed Ruptures: Whither Reconciliation?	279
Bib	pliography	293
Ind	32.7	



## Acknowledgements

This book stems from research conducted whilst working at the University of Warwick and the University of Leeds, and builds upon earlier research conducted at Keele University and the University of Oxford. The vibrant research communities at all four universities provided a stimulating work environment, and I benefited immeasurably from participation in the African studies communities at Leeds and Oxford, transitional justice group at Leeds and politics and performance network at Warwick. The analysis in this volume has been further strengthened by participation in numerous seminars and conferences and from feedback received. I also thank Jelke Boesten, Nic Cheeseman, Gregory Deacon, Joost Fontein, Irina Ichim, Yvette Hutchison, Ambreena Manji, Neo Musangi, Lionel Nichols, Naomi van Stapele and Justin Willis for reading and commenting on draft chapters.

The arguments of this book draw upon research conducted between 2008 and 2014 under the auspices of several different research projects. I am particularly grateful for the financial assistance provided by a three-year Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) First Grant entitled 'Truth and Justice: The Search for Peace and Stability in Modern Kenya'. I thank colleagues from Leeds (particularly Jelke Boesten, Ray Bush, Bina Fernandez, Gordon Crawford, Duncan McCargo and Polly Wilding) for their input into the initial project design, and colleagues from Warwick (particularly Yvette Hutchison and Shirin Rai) for their contribution to the project's later development. I worked with a number of fantastic research assistants on this project - namely, Job Bwonye, Patrick Githinji, Nina Holmes, Carrie Hough, Joseph Kirwa, Keffa Magenyi, Albert Mshonda, Samson Ngengi Njuguna, Jolly Ouko, Moritz Wassum and Cyrus Yuge - who all enriched the analysis through their hard work and critical thinking.

ix



Acknowledgements

x

The book also draws upon research funded by a British Academy grant in 2008 to investigate Kenya's post-election violence, and a second grant in 2009 to analyse local reconciliation efforts. Finally, the analysis has benefited from heading – together with Nic Cheeseman and Justin Willis - research projects on Kenya's 2013 and 2017 elections and an ESRC Knowledge Exchange project titled 'Kenya 2013-2017: From Election Monitoring to Longer-Term Reform'. It has also benefited from research conducted with Nic and Justin for another ESRC-funded project on the impact of elections in Kenya, Uganda and Ghana. Throughout these projects, Nic and Justin have provided a never-ending supply of academic insights and firm friendship, and the book draws extensively upon their expertise and support. It has also been informed by the knowledge and analysis of other members of these collaborative projects, namely, Job Bwonye, Neil Carrier, Ngala Chome, Greg Deacon, Alexander Dyzenhaus, Denis Galava, Hassan Kochore, Keffa Magenyi, Amanda Magisu, Godwin Murunga, Hassan Mwakimako, Betty Okero, Adams Oloo, Michelle Osborn, Ralph-Michael Peters, Jacob Rasmussen, Mutuma Ruteere, Hannah Waddilove and Muthoni Wanyeki. I also learnt much from Lydiah Bosire with whom I have co-authored an article on civil society and transitional justice in Kenya.

In conducting the research for this project, I spent months following the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) around Kenya, during which commissioners and staff were unstintingly generous with their time and civil society activists welcomed me into their discussions. Particular mention must go to Philip Barno, Japhet Biegon, Wafula Buke, Job Bwonye, Wesley Chebii, Chris Gitari, Lucas Kimanthi, Keffa Magenyi, Amanda Magisu, Paul Masese, Rosemary Maucha, Pastor Sammy Mbugua, Mary Mwangi, Betty Okero, Mercy Shahale, Ron Slye, Andrew Songa and Wachira Waheire for their assistance, insights and friendship.

The process of conducting research was only made possible by the generosity and willingness of hundreds of Kenyans to answer my questions; to share their memories, fears and hopes; and to correct my many errors and presumptions. In particular I must thank interviewees who talked with me on more than one occasion and who trusted me enough to share traumatic memories and security concerns. In large part, these individuals go unrecorded in this text so as to ensure



Acknowledgements

xi

their anonymity; however, the analysis is dedicated to their lives, tenacity and openness.

As a researcher I have lived a rather nomadic life and owe much to the unstinting hospitality of family and friends. This includes Nadine Beckmann, Tamara Britten, Nic Cheeseman, Lucie Cluver, Olivia Collins, Claire Davies, Greg Deacon, Laura Durrant, Neela Ghoshal, Mira Gratier, Rob Guthrie, Gabe Joselow, Sarah Longair, Katrina Manson, Michael Monaghan, Michelle Osborn, Nicola Pratt, Berenika Stefanska, Steph Wynne-Jones and Michael Wiesmann, who all opened their homes to me and my belongings in the UK, Nairobi, Paris or Warsaw.

In Kenya, Greg Aldous, Claire Beston, Tamara Britten, Greg Deacon, Claire Elder, Nilofer Elias, Nzech Emmanuel, Joost Fontein, Neela Ghoshal, Patrick Githinji, Mira Gratier, Laura Heaton, Jen Huxta, Irina Ichim, Gabe Joselow, Zihan Kassam, Keffa Magenyi, Amanda Magisu, Ambreena Manji, Katrina Manson, Alex Mayeye, Kipkorir arap Menjo, Melissa Menke, Samson Ngengi Njuguna, Kaloki Nyamai, Michelle Osborn, Anneke Osse, Emma Phillips, Lindsey Pollaczek, Els Rijke, Sarah Jane Russell, David Some, Karin Sosis, Elizabeth Spackman, Berenika Stefanska, Radha Upadhyaya, Marcis Vanadzins, Verena Waldhart and many others all helped to ensure that Kenya has come to feel like my second home.

This research project often proved tiring and emotional, while life also threw up its own challenges. Final thanks therefore go to my family – my parents, sisters, brothers-in-law, nieces and nephews – and to all of my friends in Kenya and the UK who, through their endless support and much needed light relief, collectively ensured that the ups always outweighed the downs. I am grateful and honoured to have you all in my life.



### **Abbreviations**

AfriCOG Africa Centre for Open Governance

AG Attorney General
AI Amnesty International
AMP Adversely mentioned person

AU African Union

CJPC Catholic Justice and Peace Commission

CSO Civil society organisation
DC District Commissioner
DPC District Peace Committee

DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo ESRC Economic and Social Research Council FIDA-Kenya Federation of Women Lawyers – Kenya

GiZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale

Zusammenarbeit

GSU General Service Unit
HRW Human Rights Watch
ICC International Criminal Court
ICG International Crisis Group

ICJ-Kenya International Commission of Jurists – Kenya section

ICPC International Centre for Policy and Conflict
ICTI International Centre for Transitional Justice

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the former

Yugoslavia

IDP Internally displaced person

IOMInternational Organisation of MigrationKHRCKenya Human Rights CommissionKICKenya Intelligence Committee

KKV Kazi kwa Vijana

KNCHR Kenya National Commission of Human Rights

MYW Maendaleo ya Wanawake

NCCK National Council of Churches of Kenya

xii



#### List of Abbreviations

xiii

NCIC Nat	tional Co	hesion ar	nd Integration	n Commission
----------	-----------	-----------	----------------	--------------

NGO Non-governmental organisation
NLC National Land Commission
NPS National Police Service

NSC National Steering Committee on Peace-Building and

Conflict Management

NVSN National Victims and Survivors Network

ODM Orange Democratic Movement

OP Office of the President
OTP Office of the Prosecutor
PNU Party of National Unity
PS Permanent Secretary
PTC Pre-Trial Chamber

RWPL Rural Women Peace Link

TJRC Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

TNA The National Alliance

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNSC United Nations Security Council URP United Republication Party

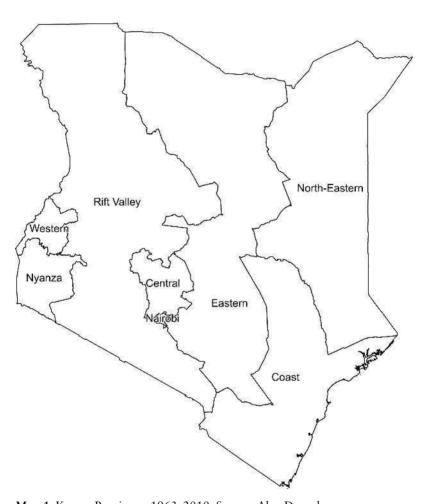
USAID United States Agency for International Development

VPRS Victims Participation and Reparation Section

VTF Victims Trust Fund



## Maps



Map 1 Kenya: Provinces, 1963–2010. Source: Alex Dyzenhaus.

xiv



> Maps ΧV Turkana Mandera Marsabit Wajir Pokot Samburu Isiolo Trans E M Nzoia I ma Uasin Meru Laikipia Kisumu Kericho Garissa Nakuru Ciambu Nairobi Machako Narok Kitui Tana River Lamu Kilifi Taita

Map 2 Kenya: Counties, 2010-to present. Source: Alex Dyzenhaus.

