AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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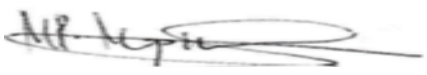
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Mr. Mahlomola Ezekiel Maphaka. I am grateful for your support throughout my academic journey. This great milestone will have my name on it but will always carry your fingerprints. I am forever grateful to have you as my husband.

May God Bless You Abundantly!!!

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EDITOR'S LETTER

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, the undersigned, hereby confirm my language and technical editing, and research methodology compatibility/ compliance check for the **Doctoral thesis** manuscript of **Mrs Maseeng Patricia Maphaka (Student Number: 47418117)**, submitted to me in respect of her fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Criminal Justice registered with the University of South Africa (UNISA), and entitled:

An exploration of metropolitan police murders in South Africa

I attest that all possible means have been expended to ensure the final draft of **Mrs M.P. Maphaka's** thesis manuscript reflects both acceptable research methodology practices and language control standards expected of postgraduate research studies at her level.

In compliance with expected ethical requirements in research, I have further undertaken to keep all aspects of **Mrs M.P. Maphaka's** study confidential, and as her own individual initiative.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AARTO	Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences
AC	Addiction Centre
ACC	Annual Awards Ceremony
AI	Artificial Intelligence
ALPR	Automatic Licence Plate Recognition
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BMU	Bylaw Management Unit
BWC	Body-Worn Camera
BWT	Broken Windows Theory
CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed-Circuit Television
CO	Central Operations
CIA	Civilian and Internal Affairs
CLAW	College of Law
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CPF	Community Policing Forums
CPA	Criminal Procedure Act
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CPL	College of Policing Limited
CRSAA	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act
CTMPD	Cape Town Metro Police Department
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DoH	Department of Health
DMPD	Durban Metropolitan Police Department
DoE	Department of Education
DSD	Department of Social Development
DV	Domestic violence
DVA	Domestic Violence Act
ECD	Electronic Control Devices
EEA	Employment Equity Act
EMPD	Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department

FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FPU	Freeway Patrol Unit
FRT	Facial Recognition Technology
FWT	Fusion Watch Technologies
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDC	Government of District of Columbia
GP	Gauteng Province
HR	Human Resource
IA	Internal Affairs
IPID	Independent Police Investigative Directorate
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
JMM	Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
LAPMF	Los Angeles Police Memorial Foundation
LII	Legal Information Institute
LEO	Law Enforcement Officers
LEOKA	Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted
LGMDA	Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act
LGMSA	Local Government Municipal Systems Act
LGSA	Local Government Systems Act
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
LMPS	London Metropolitan Police Service
LVMPD	Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MDT	Mobile Data Terminals
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MNPD	Metropolitan Nashville Police Department
MNPOM	Metro Nashville Police Officers in Memoriam
MPS	Municipal Police Services
MPD	Metropolitan Police Department
MPDDC	Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia
MPO	Metro Police Officers
MVA	Motor Vehicle Accident
MMC	Member of Mayoral Committee

NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NDP	National Development Plan
NLTA	National Land Transport Act
NMBMPD	Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department
NRTA	National Road Traffic Act
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
NPJ	National Police of Japan
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
PPCP	Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Policing
PPE	Personal Protecting Equipment
PSA	Public Servants Association
PTA	Pretoria
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
REC	Research Ethics Committee
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RSR	Road Safety Report
RTIA	Road Traffic Infringement Agency
RTMC	Road Traffic Management Corporation
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SAPU	South African Policing Union
SAPS	South African Police Service
SONA	State of the Nation Address
SOST	Surveillance-Oriented Security Technologies
SS	ShotSpotter
SWAT	Special Weapon and Tactics
TRU	Tactical Response Unit
TMPD	Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department
TMPD	Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department
UK	United Kingdom
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States
USA	United States of America

VIC	Vehicle Installed Cameras
WHO	World Health Organization
WPSS	White Paper on Safety and Security

ABSTRACT

Policing is an inherently dangerous profession worldwide, with police officers continuously facing the spectre of being murdered on, or off duty. In South Africa, Metropolitan Police Departments have experienced a total of 147 murders of police officers between 2018 and 2025. Accordingly, the purpose of this study was to explore and describe the why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered.

This study employed a qualitative research approach and exploratory case study design in order to develop a participant-focused framework for understanding the investigated phenomenon of the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. The population of the study were the metropolitan police officers in the country, while the target population comprised a total of twenty metropolitan police departments in South Africa.

Secondary data was obtained through a concerted review of academic literature sources, as well as legislative and policy documents. Primary data was collected through individual semi-structured interviews with a targeted population of twenty (20) participants comprising five Directors and fifteen Commanders who were purposively sampled from the Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD), the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD), the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD), the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department (NMBMPD), and the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD).

Both content analysis and thematic analysis were employed for identifying, evaluating, categorising, and summarising data patterns and datasets into themes that were converted into the findings of the study. The core of the study's' findings revealed that the underlying causes of South African metropolitan police murders included corruption within the metropolitan police departments, the violent nature of crime in South Africa, lack of resources, inadequate training, and the perceived poor state of the criminal justice system.

Among its range of recommendations, the study proposes that adoption of innovative technologies, review of existing policies and the amendment of the Constitution, provision of adequate resources, constant training programmes as well as addressing socio-economic factors will prevent metropolitan police officers' murders.

Key words: accidents, assault, by-laws, crime, domestic violence, firearm, hit and run, homicide, intoxication, killings, manslaughter, metropolitan police, murder, negligence, public road, reckless driving, robbery, suicide, traffic officer, vehicular manslaughter, violence.

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GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

It is the responsibility of police organisations worldwide to maintain public trust and deliver high-quality services to the communities they serve. Policing methods, models, and practices vary across countries, influenced by factors such as the prevailing cultural and ideological foundations of law enforcement in each nation (Adler & Pouwels, 2018:283; Slade, Trochev & Talgatova, 2021:178). Metropolitan Police Officers responsibilities typically include by-law management, crime prevention and traffic management depending on a country's policing culture. Therefore, criminal law is enforced through investigations to protect the lives and property of citizens, as well as public safety tasks like crowd management and traffic regulation (Cheema, 2016:487-488; Jones & Gwinn, 2017:28). Metropolitan Police Officers have been murdered on-duty and off-duty in South Africa. The high-risk nature of their occupation exposes metropolitan police officers to extraordinary threats (Perkins, 2022:2; Solomons, 2023:n.p.). Over the preceding eight (8) years (2018-2025) one hundred and forty-seven (147) MPOs out of thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-three (13,753) were murdered within Metropolitan Police Departments (JMPD, 2025; Duma, 2023:n.p.; Magubane, 2024:n.p.; Parliament Portfolio Committee on Police (PPCP), 2019:1-30). This study aimed to explore why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered and provide the insights that could potentially prevent these murders.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The background to the research problem provides context for understanding the issue of murders involving metropolitan police officers. Prior to the year 2000, South Africa created the Municipal Police Services (MPS) to oversee township government facilities (Mpulu, Motloutse & Namudi-Mashego, 2022:7). Currently, South Africa has six (6) major Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) which are listed as follows (PPCP, 2019:3; Magubane, 2024:n.p.).:

- Cape Town Metro Police Department (CMPD);
- Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD);
- Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD);
- Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD);

- Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department (NMBMPD); and
- Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD).

In the years 2018 and 2025, South Africa employed a total of 13,753 metro police officers (Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, 2021:4; PPCP, 2019:3). According to Mpulu et al. (2022:7), some municipal police personnel were involved in violent crimes, although their primary duty was to protect government buildings within townships. Prior to 2000, these MPDs operated under the name Municipal Police Services (MPS) (Rauch, Shaw & Louw, 2001:13; Maphaka, 2023:2). Their establishment is aimed at supporting the South African Police Service (SAPS) in reducing crime within urban municipalities.

In the year 2000, the MPS were replaced by Metropolitan Police Departments in Metropolitan areas, whose authority is derived from the SAPS Act (No. 68 of 1995) and Section 156(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996). This constitutional provision allows local municipalities to create, implement, and enforce by-laws to support efficient local governance (Madihlaba, 2018:37). Section 205(1) of the Constitution, together with the South African Police Service (SAPS) Act, further obliges MPDs to establish structures that facilitate effective crime prevention. Under the SAPS Act (No. 68 of 1995), MPD responsibilities include traffic control, enforcement of by-laws, and crime prevention, though they do not conduct criminal investigations (PPCP, 2019:1). According to Mdluli (2023:1), these legal frameworks align with the objectives of the 2030 National Development Plan (NDP).

The White Paper on Safety and Security (1998) also highlights the responsibility of metropolitan police officers to safeguard residents at the municipal level (Mokhomole, Khosa & Olutola, 2023:676). On the other hand, SAPS officers are responsible for crime prevention, combat and investigating crime. Whilst municipal police oversee implementing traffic safety initiatives, enforcing traffic flow, and conducting roadside inspections within their jurisdiction (Mokwena & Maphaka, 2025:919).

The Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD) in KwaZulu-Natal was the first MPD, established in 2000 (eThekwini Municipality, 2022:n.p.). At its inception, the DMPD included six (6) divisions:

- Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV), Central Operations, Civilian and Internal Affairs, Support Services, and Finance; and

- The Johannesburg MPD followed in March 2001;
- The Cape Town MPD in December 2001;
- The Ekurhuleni MPD in February 2002;
- The Tshwane MPD in April 2002;
- The Nelson Mandela Bay MPD in December 2012; and finally, the Mangaung MPD in April 2021 (Mangaung Metropolitan Police, 2021:1-14).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

A problem statement provides a concise explanation of the issue under investigation (Mukherjee, 2020:26). According to Fouché, Strydom, and Roestenburg (2021:81), it should clearly define the focus of the research. The core problem addressed in this study concerns the killing of metropolitan police officers. The increasing number of metropolitan police killings in the country's metropolitan areas indicates a serious failure within the policing system. The extent of the problem is significant, as the majority of Metropolitan Police Officers (MPO's) in South Africa have been killed while on duty or off duty since the MPDs were established (South African Municipal Workers' Union [SAMWU], 2018:n.p.). The reviewed literature revealed a distinction in the geographic and ethnic variation, as the majority metropolitan police officers' murders in areas dominated Black and Coloured area than in Whites and Indians areas. In recent years, the rate of these killings has increased, highlighting serious concerns about whether both the SAPS and the metropolitan police departments could adequately ensure the safety of officers and the general public (Bruce, 2024:7; Magadla, 2023:n.p.). This was also highlighted in Kwinika, (2019:1) and Perkins (2022:46) that the persistent killings of police officers should be considered as a national crisis, with elements resembling acts of terrorism, because police officers are constitutionally obligated to protect citizens and government property.

Approximately 147 MPOs out of a total workforce of 13,753 were killed across the country's six (6) metropolitan police departments, with most victims serving as operational constables (JMPD, 2025; Duma, 2023:n.p.; Magubane, 2024:n.p.; PPCP, 2019:1-30). In comparison, 109 SAPS officers were murdered during the 2023/2024 period alone (Ncwane, 2024:n.p.; Nkosi, 2024b:n.p.; SAPS, 2024). According to the literature, in contrast to on-duty killings, suicide and mental health problems that MPOs experiences were frequently overlooked. Supporting the above assertion, Metropolitan

police Officers often faces the constant threat of injury or death while performing their duties at a personal level (Kwinika, 2019:1).

Based on the fact that police officers play a pivotal role in maintaining safety and security, attacks on these MPO's places public safety at risk (Lekabe, 2023:n.p.). The relationship between MPOs and the public will be strained if the reoccurrence killing of MPOs is not addressed. The relationship between the MPOs and the communities had been negatively impacted by the public's perception of police working against them instead of with them. The deaths of officers are costly to the State, as the death benefit for each officer averages approximately R300,000.00 (Mlambo, 2023:n.p.). At a societal level, ongoing killings of both MPD and SAPS personnel undermine public confidence in law enforcement and the Criminal Justice System. On the other hand, South Africa's international reputation might be at risk, which might further create the perception of a malfunctioning or an incapable State which is controlled or threatened by criminals (Chantelle, 2018:n.p.).

The psychological impact on officers who witness the deaths of colleagues could be profound. Consequently, families of deceased officers experience severe emotional and financial strain especially when the deceased was the sole income earner (Noxhaka, 2019:4). Surviving MPO's might also struggle with post-traumatic stress, depression, substance abuse, suicidal thoughts, marital problems, and domestic conflict (Charman & Bennett, 2021:159; Koen, 2020:n.p.). However, the overall morale and performance of police forces is affected negatively by these murders. Social workers, psychiatrists, or spiritual advisors, officers might resign or underperform, when there is no timely professional support which includes counselling from psychologists. Families of murdered officers, especially those who were the sole earners, might experience unexpected financial hardship (Bhengu, 2022:1).

Cebekhulu-Makhaza (2023:n.p.) posits that persistent police murders could also erode community trust, with the potential of contributing to social unrest. The researcher suggests that the murder of police officers could be considered akin to acts threatening state authority, subject to further legal examination (Zagagana, 2024:n.p.). Furthermore, the tendency to prioritise the killings of SAPS officers over those of MPOs should be reconsidered. The SAPS officers and MPOs serve the same purpose, to protect the public. As such, creating distinctions between them might

damage the reputations of both organisations while giving the impression of internal divisions where none should exist. The substantial amount of MPO killings in the country may have an impact on young people's careers, as they may develop negative perceptions of the police profession and organization as they grow older, which might influence their career goals.

1.4 DEMARCATION/ DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This study concentrates on murders within seven (7) selected South African Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs). The Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD) was established in 2000 and is located in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, serving a population of 3,442,361 over an area of 2,291 km². The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD), founded in 2001, is situated in the southern part of Johannesburg, covering 1,644 km² and serving 4,434,827 residents. Johannesburg consists of 135 wards organised into seven regions, with the JMPD headquarters in Martindale. The department manages 3,751 officers across seven operational areas and specialised units (Maphaka, 2023:3).

The Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department (CTMPD) was also established in 2001 and operates in the southwestern part of Cape Town. It oversees 116 wards across 2,445 km², serving a population of 3,900,000. Its head office is located in the Cape Town City Centre, managing 565 officers distributed among eight operational units (CTMPD, 2021:4). The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD), created in 2002, is based in eastern Gauteng. It covers 1,975 km² and 112 wards, serving a population of 3,878,960, with its headquarters in Kempton Park and a total of 2,923 officers (City of Ekurhuleni, 2022:n.p.; PPCP, 2019:9). Figure 1.1 below is a depiction of the geographic location of these major metropolitan police departments in the country.



Figure 1.1: Major metropolitan police departments in South Africa

Source: Extracted from the Parliament Portfolio Committee on Police (PPCP)

The Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD), also established in 2002, is located in the northern part of Gauteng Province, serving a population of 3,275,152 across an area of 6,298 km². Its headquarters are situated in Pretoria CBD, and the department employs approximately 4,000 officers. The Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department (NMBMPD), founded in 2012, operates in Port Elizabeth, covering 1,959 km² and serving 1,152,915 residents, with a workforce of 100 officers. The Mangaung Metropolitan Police Department (MMPD), established in 2021, however, the department was not fully implemented and remaining largely non-operational, in that sense only six (6) MPD's are currently operational (PPCP, 2019:9).

Although this study focuses primarily on metropolitan police officers, SAPS officer murders are also included where necessary. This is due to the fact that all categories of police personnel combined, form an integrated law enforcement system responsible for maintaining public safety across the country (Koen, 2020:n.p.).

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Burns and Grove (2017:16) emphasise that the limitations of this study, as distinct from its delineations or boundaries, represent factors that could influence the extent to which the research objectives are fully achieved. It is imperative to note that these limitations do not undermine the relevance, justification, or significance of the study (Leavy, 2022:31).

1.5.1 Data Access

- There was a challenge in accessing information from certain organisations and individuals, due to confidentiality restrictions and the need for formal authorisation before sensitive data could be released;
- The scarcity of comprehensive and accurate data on metropolitan police murders in South Africa could limit the depth of analysis, given the relatively small number of prior studies specifically addressing this topic;
- The researcher was unable to collect data or conduct interviews at the Mangaung Metropolitan Police Department (MMPD) because the department has not been fully operational and was not successfully implemented as intended. Similarly, interviews and data collection at the Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department

(CTMPD) were not completed due to the researcher being unable to obtain access through the appropriate gatekeepers.

1.5.2 Design Constraints

- The specific focus of the study, as outlined in Section 4, might limit the generalisability of the findings to other police organisations or international contexts.

1.5.3 Theoretical Limitation

- The theories focused on the dimensions of crime and deviance while excluding criminality occurring among middle-class and upper-class groups, corporate actors, or individuals operating within positions of power and privilege.

1.6. RESEARCH PURPOSE

According to Adu and Okeke (2022:10), the primary purpose of the research study was to investigate, define, describe, explain, analyse, predict, and, where possible, influence natural phenomena, human behaviour, or individual and group interactions. The research purpose therefore serves as a statement of the study's overarching goal, outlining the reasons for undertaking the investigation and the intended outcomes (Creswell & Creswell, 2018:117; Wang, 2015:7). As noted by Kumar (2019:46) and Walliman (2016:28), the research purpose also reflects the specific steps taken by the researcher to achieve the study's overall aim.

The formulation of a research purpose is typically guided by the desire to generate new knowledge about a particular problem within social or natural contexts, thereby enhancing understanding and contributing evidence-based insights to human development and professional practice (Marshall & Rossman, 2016:75; Wang, 2015:7). In this study, the research purpose is centred on exploring and describing the various factors associated with the murders of metropolitan police officers in South Africa. In addition, the study seeks to assess and predict trends related to this issue and to provide insights that may support the professional development of those involved in policing.

1.6.1 Exploration and Description

According to Betti (2021:6), exploration and description involve expanding knowledge of the phenomenon under study and providing meaningful explanations for the findings that emerge. In this context, the proposed study sought to explore, describe and analyse the nature, causes and consequences of murders of metropolitan police

officers within the seven Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) identified in Sections 2 and 4. Out of these six (6) MPDs, the study was only conducted on five (5) MPD's.

In order to achieve this purpose, the researcher reviewed and critically analysed a wide range of relevant literature and credible sources in order to examine both regional and international perspectives on the phenomenon of police officer murders. In addition, the study investigated the role of the media in shaping public perceptions of police murders, as well as the potential contribution of responsible media reporting in reducing the incidence of this crime.

1.6.2 Evaluation and Forecasting

Evaluation and forecasting refer to the ability of a research study to systematically assess its key components and to use these assessments as a basis for anticipating possible future developments (Rubin & Babbie, 2017:27). In this study, the researcher reviewed and evaluated the findings in order to forecast potential trends and outcomes should the current patterns of police murders continue without effective intervention. Furthermore, the evaluated findings and projected outcomes served as a foundation for the formulation of the study's recommendations.

1.6.3 Empowering Those Being Researched

The data generated by this study might assist Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) in reviewing and improving their existing policies, regulations, training programmes and recruitment practices. These departments could be enabled by such improvements, in order for these departments to develop and implement strategies aimed at reducing and preventing the murder of metropolitan police officers. In addition, the study might support MPDs in prioritising the collection and dissemination of accurate and up-to-date data, comparable to that maintained by the South African Police Service (SAPS).

However, the findings of the study might assist management and policymakers within South African MPDs to formulate and implement informed policies, decisions and operational models that contribute to the prevention of metropolitan police officer murders. The findings and recommendations are also expected to promote constructive relationships between metropolitan police departments, communities, SAPS and other law enforcement agencies. Ultimately, the study may encourage

enhanced cooperation among these stakeholders in developing effective strategies to prevent the occurrence of this crime.

1.7 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1.7.1 Research Aim

Folayan (2019:5) avers that research aims provide a broad overview of the central issues or challenges that a study seeks to address. On the other hand, Betti (2021:4) describes a research aim as a statement that clearly articulates the primary purpose or overall goal of a study. Kumar (2019:91) explains that objectives are the specific targets set by the researcher in order to realise the stated aim. Similarly, Adu and Okeke (2022:45) argue that the research aim serves as a concise summary that indicates how the intended outcomes of the study will be achieved. In line with these perspectives, the aim of this proposed study is: to explore, describe and analyse the nature, causes and implications or effects of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

1.7.2 Research Objectives

Acharyya and Bhattacharya (2019:178) and Burns and Grove (2017:21) argue that research objectives outline the concrete actions, methodological steps and analytical procedures through which the aim of the study will be realised and the research questions addressed. Accordingly, the objectives of the proposed study are indicated as follows:

- To explore why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered;
- To investigate the significance of metropolitan police management in preventing murders; and
- To determine the role of society towards metropolitan police murders.

1.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A research question constitutes a central element of any investigation, as it distils a particular dimension of the researcher's broader area of interest into a clear and potentially answerable inquiry (Gatrell, Bierly, Jensen & Thakur, 2020:29). In addition, research questions function as guiding statements that align with one or more focal areas of the study and direct the research process toward achieving the stated research objectives (Adu & Okeke, 2022:44). The research questions formulated for

this study are therefore intended to ensure that the investigation adequately addresses the identified research problem:

- Why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered?
- What is the significance of metropolitan police management in preventing murders?
- What is the role of society towards metropolitan police murders?

1.9 KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Key theoretical concepts provide the foundational structure through which data are interpreted and analysed within a research study. Bairagi and Munot (2019:34) argue that such concepts offer a comprehensive overview of the measurements and technical references employed during data collection. Consequently, Leedy and Ormrod (2020:71) emphasise their function as guiding principles that enable researchers to define and operationalise key terms in a consistent and methodical manner. The careful articulation of key theoretical concepts is therefore essential, as it clarifies the manner in which terminology is applied across different sections of the study, reduces the risk of conceptual ambiguity and ensures coherence in interpretation throughout the research process (d'Aspremont & Singh, 2019:24; Hamed, 2021:11).

Conceptual framework is closely related to theoretical concepts, which provides an integrated lens through which the phenomenon under investigation is examined. Shikalepo (2020:2) describes a conceptual framework as a means of developing a comprehensive understanding of the research phenomenon. Similarly, Ravitch and Riggan (2017:35), together with Luft, Jeong, Idsardia and Gardner (2022:6), conceptualise it as an articulation of the practical significance of the research problem and the manner in which the chosen methodological and analytical approaches respond to the research questions. In this study, the conceptual framework facilitated a systematic examination of the scope, underlying causes and contributing factors associated with murders of metropolitan police officers within MPDs.

1.9.1 Accidents

An accident is commonly understood as an unplanned and unintended event or occurrence that results in harm, injury, damage or loss of life arising from negligence or lack of awareness (Rolison, 2020:n.p.). Furthermore, accidents are characterised

by their unexpected and undesirable nature, as well as their potential to cause serious consequences, including death (Cinini & Mkhize, 2023:2). In this regard, these definitions highlight the absence of intent and the harmful outcomes that characterise accidental events. The concept of accidents is analytically significant, within the context of this study, because it relates to occupational environments and operational circumstances in which metropolitan police officers might sustain fatal injuries while performing official duties.

1.9.2 Assault

Law.com (2025:n.p.) defines assault as the intentional and unlawful threat or application of force against another person, irrespective of whether physical contact is ultimately made, provided that the victim experiences an immediate apprehension of harm. Similarly, Webster (2025b:n.p.) describes assault as an attempt or threat to inflict physical injury that places an individual in imminent danger.

Central to both definitions is the element of intent and the presence of an immediate threat, rather than the successful completion of the act. The concept of assault is central to this study, as Metropolitan Police Officers are routinely exposed to hostile encounters and violent threats in the execution of their duties. A clear theoretical understanding of assault assists in analysing the precursors to violent confrontations and the conditions under which such encounters might escalate to fatal outcomes involving MPD officers.

1.9.3 By-laws

By-laws constitute a formal set of locally enacted rules that govern institutional conduct and regulate operational activities within a defined jurisdiction. Scholarly and legal sources characterise by-laws as enforceable regulatory instruments adopted by organisations or local authorities to control behaviour, guide administrative processes and ensure compliance with established standards (Webster, 2025c:n.p.; Law Insider, 2023b:n.p.).

Collectively, these interpretations underscore the normative and legal authority of by-laws as mechanisms of governance at the local level. Within the context of this study, by-laws are significant because they define the regulatory environment in which Metropolitan Police Departments operate and exercise their enforcement powers as organs of local government.

1.9.4 Crime

Maphaka (2023:10) posits that crime might be conceptualised as behaviour or conduct that contravenes established legal norms and attracts formal sanction by the State. Legal and criminological perspectives converge on the view that crime involves unlawful acts or omissions that cause harm to individuals, property or society at large and are subject to prescribed penalties (Law.com, 2025a:n.p.). This understanding situates crime within both a legal framework and a broader social context of harm and accountability. In this study, crime is a foundational concept, as the killing of a metropolitan police officer represents a serious criminal offence that undermines public safety, the rule of law and the authority of law enforcement institutions.

1.9.5 Domestic Violence

Huecker, King, Jordan and Smock (2023:n.p.) aver that domestic violence is an assault which includes psychological, emotional, sexual and financial forms of abuse, often characterised by repetition and power imbalance within the household (Law.com, 2025b:n.p.). These perspectives highlight domestic violence as a complex and multifaceted social problem rather than an isolated incident of aggression. The relevance of domestic violence to this study lies in documented cases where metropolitan police officers were attacked or killed in domestic contexts, or while responding to such incidents or as victims within personal relationships (Koen, 2020:n.p.).

1.9.6 Firearm

A firearm is defined by Collins (2025:n.p.) as a mechanically operated weapon designed to discharge a projectile through the controlled ignition of gunpowder. However, authoritative definitions consistently identify firearms by their reliance on explosive force and their capacity to inflict serious or fatal injury (Collins, 2025:n.p.; Webster, 2025d:n.p.). This functional characterisation distinguishes firearms from other weapons and underscores their lethality in violent encounters. In this study, the concept of a firearm is applied in relation to its unlawful use in fatal attacks on metropolitan police officers during the commission of violent crimes.

1.9.7 “Hit and Run”

The term "hit and run" describes a form of unlawful conduct in which a motor vehicle driver involved in a collision deliberately fails to stop, render assistance or comply with

statutory reporting requirements. Legal definitions emphasise the intentional evasion of responsibility following an accident, regardless of the severity of harm caused (Law.com, 2025c:n.p.; Webster, 2025e:n.p.). This conduct reflects both a traffic offence and a broader disregard for legal and moral obligations.

1.9.8 Homicide

The term "homicide" refers to the killing of one human being by another and functions as a broad legal category encompassing both lawful and unlawful killings. International and legal sources define homicide in terms of causation and outcome, rather than criminal intent, thereby distinguishing it from narrower offences such as murder or manslaughter (World Health Organization, 2022:n.p.; Law.com, 2025d:n.p.). This conceptual breadth allows for analytical differentiation between types of fatal violence. In this research, homicide is used specifically to denote unlawful killings of metropolitan police officers in the execution of their duties or as a consequence of targeted or opportunistic violence.

1.9.9 Intoxication

Intoxication denotes a state of impaired physical, cognitive or behavioural functioning resulting from the consumption of alcohol or psychoactive substances. Definitions consistently emphasise diminished self-control, judgment and coordination, which may increase the likelihood of risky or violent behaviour (Law.com, 2025e:n.p.; Cambridge Dictionary, 2025a:n.p.). Intoxication is therefore both a physiological condition and a criminogenic risk factor. In this study, intoxication is a critical analytical variable, as numerous cases of metropolitan police officer fatalities involved perpetrators who were under the influence of alcohol or drugs at the time of the offence.

1.9.10 Killings

Killings might be understood as acts or events that result in the death of a person through the actions of another. Even though the term is often used descriptively, legal and scholarly usage commonly associates killings with unlawful and intentional conduct that leads to loss of life (Collins, 2025a:n.p.; Cambridge Dictionary, 2025b:n.p.). The concept therefore overlaps with, but is distinct from, more precise legal classifications such as homicide or murder. In this study, killings refer to the

unlawful and deliberate deprivation of life, with specific reference to metropolitan police officers and, where applicable, members of the South African Police Service.

1.9.11 Manslaughter

Law.com (2025f:n.p.) defines manslaughter as the unlawful killing of another person in circumstances where intent to kill or premeditation is absent. In addition, legal definitions emphasise negligence, recklessness or diminished responsibility as defining features of the offence, distinguishing it from murder. Manslaughter therefore occupies an intermediate position between accidental death and intentional homicide. The concept is relevant to this study because some fatalities involving metropolitan police officers occurred as a result of reckless or negligent conduct, rather than deliberate intent, on the part of offenders.

1.9.12 Metropolitan Police

Metropolitan police could be described as municipal law enforcement agencies responsible for maintaining law and order within large urban areas, and the term may also appear as part of the official name of the police service (Definitions.net, 2023:n.p.). Law Insider (2023a:n.p.) explains that MPDs are established in major cities and that their legal authority is derived from Chapter 12 of the South African Police Service Act No. 68 of 1995. In a similar vein, Naidoo (2020:20) states that metropolitan police are created in terms of Section 64A of the SAPS Act and are administered by metropolitan municipalities. In this study, the concept of metropolitan police is important because these units operate within metropolitan municipalities and play a central role in crime prevention.

1.9.13 Murder

Murder is commonly understood as the intentional and unlawful killing of another person. Hossain and Rahi (2018:461) describe it as a deliberate and malicious act that results in the death of another individual, while Joubert (2018:137) defines it as unlawfully and intentionally causing another person’s death. Both perspectives highlight intention and unlawfulness as key elements. For the purposes of this research, murder refers to the unlawful and intentional killing of a human being. This concept is relevant because members of the Metropolitan Police Department were victims of unlawful killings.

1.9.14 Negligence

Negligence refers to behaviour that fails to meet the standard of care expected from a reasonable person in similar circumstances. Law.com (2025g:n.p.) explains negligence as either acting in an unreasonable manner or failing to act when care is required. Similarly, LexisNexis (2025:n.p.) describes negligence as the failure to do what a prudent person would ordinarily do or doing what such a person would avoid. While one definition focuses on conduct, the other emphasises the expected level of care. In this study, negligence is understood as the failure to exercise reasonable care, particularly in road usage. This concept is significant because careless driving has resulted in the deaths of police officers.

1.9.15 Public Road

A public road can be defined as any route or place that is accessible to and commonly used by members of the public. Joubert (2018:243) refers to a public road as any road, street, or place that is regularly used by the general public or to which the public has a right of entry. Likewise, Arrive Alive (2023:n.p.) defines a public road as any roadway or area that is ordinarily used by the public or a section of the public, or to which the public has legal access. In this study, a public road refers to any roadway open to public use where metropolitan police officers carry out their official duties:-

a) the verge of any such road, street, or thoroughfare;
b) any bridge, ferry, or drift traversed by any such road, street, or thoroughfare; and
c) any other work or object forming part of or connected with or belonging to such road, street or thoroughfare".

The latter authors, focus on explaining what constitutes a public road and how such roads are commonly used. In addition, a public road can be understood as any road that is accessible and regularly used by the general public with vehicles. Furthermore, this concept is vital for this study because the majority of MPD officers sustained fatal injuries on public roads, including streets and highways.

1.9.16 Reckless Driving

Reckless driving refers to operating a motor vehicle in a dangerous or unsafe manner under certain conditions. According to Law.com (2025h:n.p.), this may include behaviours such as speeding, driving after consuming alcohol (though not necessarily

intoxicated), overloading a vehicle, weaving in and out of traffic, or ignoring traffic signals. Similarly, Sohail, Cheema, Ali, Toosi and Rakha (2023:10) describe reckless driving as deliberate behaviour that increases the likelihood of a crash and is often influenced by emotions such as anger, impatience, frustration, or the desire to reach a destination quickly. While the first definition highlights specific driving actions, the second emphasises the psychological and behavioural aspects of the driver. In this study, reckless driving is understood as driving in a manner that endangers other road users without due regard for safety. This concept is essential because several MPD officers were killed as a result of reckless driving.

1.9.17 Robbery

Robbery occurs when a person forcibly takes property directly from another person through the use of violence, threats, or intimidation (Law.com, 2025i:n.p.). Similarly, Noxhaka (2019:4) views robbery as the intentional use or threat of violence to compel a victim to surrender their property. These definitions stress the element of force or coercion involved in the act. In this study, robbery refers to the unlawful and violent taking of another person's property. This concept is relevant because MPD officers were robbed of their service firearms while on duty and off duty.

1.9.18 Suicide

Suicide is defined as the intentional act of ending one's own life, or the deliberate and conscious act of causing one's own death (Chae & Boyle, 2013:91). These definitions highlight intention and self-inflicted harm as core elements. In this study, suicide is understood as the deliberate act of killing oneself. This concept is important because there are instances in which police officers have taken their own lives (Lawrence & Dockstader, 2024:n.p.).

1.9.19 Traffic Officer

Any member of a municipal police service, the South African Police Service, or any person appointed in terms of Section 3A of the National Road Traffic Act (NRTA) to enforce traffic laws is a traffic officer (Joubert, 2018:244). Law Insider (2023b:n.p.) further describes a traffic officer as an individual employed by municipal, provincial, or national authorities to regulate traffic and ensure compliance with road and driving regulations. These definitions focus on the legal authority and responsibilities of traffic officers. In this study, a traffic officer refers to a person legally empowered to control

traffic, enforce road laws, and make arrests for traffic-related offences. This concept is relevant because MPOs also perform traffic enforcement duties.

1.9.20 Vehicular Manslaughter

Vehicular manslaughter refers to the unlawful killing of another person as a result of dangerous or illegal driving behaviour, such as reckless driving, driving under the influence of alcohol, excessive speeding, or gross negligence (Law.com, 2025j:n.p.). The Legal Information Institute (2025:n.p.) explains vehicular manslaughter as a situation where a person causes another person's death while operating a motor vehicle in a negligent or reckless manner. On that note, the first definition focuses on examples of illegal conduct, the second highlights the legal elements of the offence, including unlawful action and causation. In this study, vehicular manslaughter is understood as the unintentional causing of death through reckless or negligent driving. This concept is relevant because some MPD officers died in vehicle-related incidents.

1.9.21 Violence

Violence could be described as the intentional use of physical force or power, whether actual or threatened, against oneself or others, which results in or is likely to result in injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation (Yesufu, 2022:93). Maphaka (2023:11) defines violence as the unlawful use of force to harm, abuse, damage, or destroy a person or property. The first definition highlights broader consequences, while the second focuses on the illegal nature of the act. In this study, violence is defined as the use of physical force intended to harm or injure another person. This concept is significant because it reflects the circumstances under which MPD officers were violently attacked and killed.

1.10 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the key factors contributing to the killing of metropolitan police officers in South Africa. The findings of the study may be used to inform the development of improved policies and operational frameworks that could assist in reducing the occurrence of violent attacks on police officers and promote greater accountability within MPDs. Through the identification of the main drivers of police killings, law enforcement agencies might be better positioned to design effective prevention strategies, introduce specialised training programmes, and implement targeted interventions to address the high incidence of these crimes.

From an academic perspective, the study seeks to address gaps in the existing body of knowledge identified in previous research (Babbie, 2021:35). In this context, higher education institutions may use the findings to shape future research priorities and academic programmes that focus on metropolitan police killings, particularly by examining the social, economic, and political conditions associated with such incidents. Furthermore, the study may contribute to strengthening relationships between communities and the police by highlighting the importance of accurate reporting and accountability for perpetrators. It may also raise public awareness and encourage the criminal justice system to impose stricter penalties on individuals responsible for killing police officers. Ultimately, this study aims to increase societal awareness of the scale and seriousness of metropolitan police killings in South Africa.

1.11 RESEARCH STRUCTURE

The study is structured according to the following six chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction and background of the study which covers a problem statement, research aim and objectives, research question and key terms. It further provides the demarcation, the significance of the study, the research purpose, the limitations and describes the research outline.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter mostly captures the causes, magnitude and implications or effects of the metropolitan police murders in the general South African milieu of metropolitan police departments.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter addresses the theoretical framework, in terms of which the following theories will be employed: theory of broken windows, general strain theory, and social theory in order to explore and explain the complex issues surrounding metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The chapter presents the research methodology and design, the adopted interpretivism-constructivism research philosophical paradigm. The chapter also covers the population and sampling of the study, the target population and the

sampling context, the data collection and data analysis; as well as the measures of trustworthiness and the ethical considerations.

Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Analysis

The chapter presents the empirical data obtained from the interviews concerning the causes, magnitude and implications of the metropolitan police murders in South Africa. The collected data was analysed and interpreted in the context of the reviewed literature relating to metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

Chapter 6: Summary of Main Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

The chapter provides a summary of the main findings to communicate the findings of the research in a concise, clear and informative manner, followed by conclusions and recommendations for further research to sum up the study's main conclusions and the use of the results in practical situations.

1.12 SUMMARY

This chapter served as a foundational overview of the study by introducing the research topic and providing the contextual background to the problem under investigation. It outlined the problem statement, formulated the research questions, and described the main aim and objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter defined the key concepts relevant to the research and explained the boundaries within which the study was conducted. The significance and purpose of the study were also discussed, together with the limitations and the structure of the entire research project.

The following chapter elaborates on a comprehensive review of scholarly literature on causes and implications of police killings in general, and metropolitan police in particular.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the factors contributing to the killing of metropolitan police officers, the influence of societal attitudes on these incidents, and the interventions that can be implemented to prevent such killings in South Africa. It also considers international perspectives on metropolitan police murders. The purpose of this literature review is to support the formulation of effective policies and strategies that can assist government institutions, the criminal justice system, law-enforcement agencies, and communities in responding to and reducing this challenge.

2.2 THE MAIN CAUSES OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS

Metropolitan police officers face a high-risk environment where exposure to violent crime is frequent, making them particularly vulnerable to targeted attacks. One major contributor to police fatalities is the presence of organised crime networks. Criminal groups often view MPO's as obstacles to their illegal activities, and in some instances, MPO's are deliberately targeted to intimidate them or retaliate against enforcement actions. These confrontations frequently involve firearms or other lethal means, putting officers at extreme risk during routine operations.

Internal corruption within the MPD's also plays a role in creating dangerous conditions. Trust within the MPD's and with the community is undermined when MPO engage in unethical behaviour or collude with criminal elements. This environment of mistrust and low morale could increase vulnerability, as corrupt practices often blur the lines between friend and foe and could provoke violent retaliation (Lee-Jones, 2018:3).

Another key factor is insufficient resources and poor working conditions. MPO's often operate with limited equipment, inadequate staffing, and low salaries, which can hinder effective policing and leave them exposed to harm. The latter authors indicate that underfunded forces are less able to protect officers, respond promptly to threats, or maintain the operational capacity required for high-risk metropolitan areas (Quah, 2019:199).

Community-police tensions further heighten the risk of murder. In areas where citizens perceive the police as corrupt, unresponsive, or oppressive, MPO's are more likely to face hostility. Negative community attitudes could escalate minor confrontations into

lethal encounters, and MPO's may be attacked simply because they are seen as representatives of an unpopular authority (Salame, 2020:37–43).

In conclusion, occupational pressures and peer influence contribute to the danger. MPO's who are pressured to take on high-risk duties without adequate backup or who are influenced by peers to act recklessly face a higher likelihood of fatal encounters. Implementing structured peer support, ethical guidance, and accountability systems has been shown to reduce exposure to dangerous situations and improve decision-making under pressure (Kargin, 2011:1; Maphaka, 2023:25).

In this regard, metropolitan police murders are caused by a combination of criminal targeting, corruption, resource constraints, community mistrust, and workplace pressures. Mitigating these risks requires a comprehensive strategy that strengthens police safety, addresses internal corruption, provides sufficient resources, and fosters constructive community relationships.

2.1.1 Murders Due to the High rate of Violent Crimes

South Africa continues to experience exceptionally high levels of violent crime, placing it among the most affected countries on the African continent. According to recent crime indicators, the country records a violent crime index of 75.5, a figure that reflects persistent incidents of murder, armed robbery, and assaults, including the targeted killing of police officers (Statista Research Department, 2025:n.p.). The murder of law enforcement officials represents not only a direct attack on State authority but also a fundamental violation of human rights and the rule of law.

The study demonstrates a strong relationship between MPO's killings and broader patterns of violent crime (Cameroon, 2024:n.p.). MPO's operate in environments where violent offences are routine, making them highly susceptible to lethal attacks (Noxhaka, 2019:3). Statistical comparisons further illustrate the severity of the threat: South African MPO's face a homicide rate of approximately 56 per 100,000, significantly exceeding the national average of 35.2 per 100,000 for the general population (Kwinika, 2019:12). The risk of MPO murders highlights the danger faced by metropolitan police officers across the globe, including the United States, which reported one hundred and sixty-one (161) MPO killings between 2018 and 2025, indicating an unusually dangerous policing context (Los Angeles Police Memorial

Foundation, 2025:n.p.; Metropolitan Police Department, 2024:n.p.; Metro Nashville Police Officers in Memorial, 2025:n.p.; Police Memorial, 2025:n.p.).

Contemporary incidents underline the reality behind these figures. In Vosloorus, two off-duty EMPD officers were shot during an alleged hijacking attempt in the early hours of the morning, resulting in one fatality and one critically injured officer (Nkosi, 2024a:n.p.). Similar patterns are evident in cases where MPO's are killed during active engagements with criminals, such as the fatal shooting of a DMPD officer during a confrontation in Umlazi (eThekwini Municipality, 2024:n.p.). These cases confirm earlier findings that police murders frequently occur during robbery responses, patrol duties, or suspect pursuits (Noxhaka, 2019:7).

South Africa's entrenched culture of interpersonal violence places MPO's at the centre of volatile conflicts. Cinini and Mkhize (2023:2) argue that MPO's are often drawn into high-risk encounters where the probability of lethal force is elevated. The danger is not confined to operational duties; off-duty MPO's are increasingly targeted in residential areas and public spaces. As such, a JMPD MPO was shot and killed outside her home in Diepkloof, Soweto, illustrating the vulnerability of MPO's even when not officially on duty (Zeeman, 2024:n.p.). In concurrence, Bruce (2020:7) notes that a significant proportion of police murders occur at officers' homes or in everyday public environments.

The killing of MPO's has far-reaching consequences beyond the immediate loss of life. Such incidents deepen public insecurity and erode confidence in law enforcement institutions. Yesufu (2014:1) contends that escalating violence has contributed to a widespread perception that public safety is deteriorating. This perception is intensified by sector-specific conflicts, such as taxi-related violence, which have claimed the lives of police officers attempting to intervene, as evidenced by a MPO murdered during a taxi dispute in Cape Town (eNCA, 2023:n.p.).

The scale of MPO's killings raises serious concerns about the State's capacity to prevent crime and maintain order. Maphaka (2023:37) observes that South Africa's police murder rate is several times higher than that of developed democracies, highlighting systemic challenges within crime prevention and enforcement structures. The loss of MPO also weakens community safety, as MPO's represent a critical line of defence against violent crime (Groenwald, 2023:n.p.; Vilakazi, 2022:16). Where

MPO's actions are perceived as excessive or unjustified, tensions between communities and law enforcement may intensify, further reducing cooperation and trust.

Several structural and situational factors contribute to the prevalence of police murders. These include limited experience among some officers, high exposure to armed robbery, and the widespread circulation of illegal firearms (Noxhaka, 2019:4; Cinini & Mkhize, 2023:2). The availability of illicit weapons significantly increases the lethality of criminal encounters. Lamb (2018:35) argues that illegal firearms not only endanger police officers but also create incentives for criminals to target MPO's specifically in order to steal service weapons for resale or further criminal activity. This pattern is evident in cases where officers are killed and their firearms taken, such as the EMPD officer murdered in KwaThema whose weapon was stolen by the assailants (Times Live, 2025:n.p.).

Motivations for metropolitan police officers killings also extend beyond opportunistic crime. Clarke (2021:13) suggests that some attacks are driven by resentment or revenge, often rooted in negative experiences with law enforcement. In extreme cases, hostility toward the police manifests within family structures. This was demonstrated in the Leondale case, where a JMPD officer's younger brother was arrested in connection with the murder and found in possession of illegal firearms, including the victim's service weapon (Lebjane, 2025:n.p.; Mpilo, 2025:n.p.). Such cases illustrate how unresolved grievances, and interpersonal conflict can escalate into lethal violence against police officers.

Off-duty conduct has emerged as another critical risk factor. Studies indicate that reckless behaviour, including carrying firearms in social venues, alcohol consumption, and involvement in public disputes, increases officers' vulnerability to attack (Chetty, 2016:21; Mokwena, Maboa & Maphaka, 2025:107). Empirical evidence suggests that a majority of police murders occur while officers are off duty, underscoring the need for greater behavioural discipline and risk awareness beyond formal working hours (Bruce, 2025:3; Kgosana, 2023:n.p.).

In summary, the persistent killing of metropolitan police officers in South Africa is symptomatic of deeper structural problems related to violent crime, illegal firearms, and fractured police–community relations. In examining complex factors behind

murders, different studies converge a strong relationship between violent crime and metropolitan police murders. Cameroon (2024) and Noxhaka (2029) highlighted that the police officers were vulnerable to violent attack due to operating in high-risk areas. Although this study does not investigate murder in general, there is a correlation between violent crimes and murders given that MPOs were also murdered in violent crimes. To address this phenomenon and closing the gap, different populations will be utilized. On the other hand, other authors including (Cinini and Mkhize, 2023) outlined the widespread circulation of illegal firearms as contributing factor towards MPO murders. In that sense, this study intended to address the gap uncovered from the previous studies by investigating the underlying causes of circulation of illicit firearms.

Addressing this challenge requires an integrated response that combines effective crime reduction strategies, stricter firearm control, improved training and accountability within police organisations, and meaningful community engagement. Without coordinated intervention from government, law enforcement leadership, and society at large, the cycle of violence affecting both police officers and the public is likely to continue.

2.1.2 Murders Due to Corruption Within the Police Organisations

Corruption within police organisations has been widely recognised as a significant factor contributing to the murder of police officers in South Africa. Lee-Jones (2018:3) identifies multiple forms of police corruption, ranging from minor bribery to organised criminal and political misconduct. Corruption often manifests as petty bribery during routine public interactions at lower operational levels, such as traffic officers soliciting payments from motorists (Magadla, 2023:n.p.). At an administrative level, corruption includes the abuse of internal procedures and resources for personal gain, for example the unlawful issuing of licences or failure to act on complaints against MPO's. Severe forms involve collusion with criminal networks, including interference in investigations and the manipulation of evidence. Political corruption further arises when senior officers exploit their authority to benefit themselves or associated political structures.

Perkins (2022:2) supports this view, arguing that a considerable number of police murders are linked to MPO's who were either corrupt or actively involved in criminal activities. Organisational corruption weakens police effectiveness and erodes public confidence in law enforcement institutions. Kwinika (2019:3) further notes that

associations between corrupt police officers and criminal groups increase the vulnerability of officers to targeted attacks. As such, corruption has also been linked to internal violence within police organisations, contributing to instability and unsafe working environments.

The impact of corruption extends beyond individual misconduct, as it undermines the credibility and authority of the police. Mokhomole, Khosa and Olutola (2022:120) argue that corruption damages the criminal justice system, reduces community participation in policing initiatives, and diminishes trust in law enforcement. Accepting bribes during arrest procedures further compromises investigations and discourages cooperation from suspects (Pijoos, 2020:6). Mabitsela and Govender (2022:35) identify corruption as a central factor underlying the high incidence of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

Police leadership carries a responsibility to uphold integrity, accountability, and transparency (United National Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2011:99). Ethical leadership is therefore essential in preventing corruption and promoting professional conduct. Research indicates that corrupt officers are more likely to engage in excessive use of force, thereby increasing the risk of fatal outcomes. Addressing corruption within police organisations is thus critical to reducing violence against officers.

Corruption also creates an environment that enables criminal violence, including attacks directed at fellow MPO's (Matamba & Thobela, 2024:n.p.; Perkins, 2022:2). Bello and Steyn (2019:67) note that persistent corruption within police organisations has contributed to a breakdown in trust between communities and law enforcement agencies. This erosion of trust weakens cooperation with the police and undermines the legitimacy of the justice system. Political neutrality within policing structures is therefore essential to safeguarding public confidence and protecting human dignity.

Egwu (2023:n.p.) attributes corruption within police organisations to systemic weaknesses, including compromised recruitment processes and politically motivated appointments of senior officials lacking adequate experience. Similarly, Ramavhunga (2018:43) highlights that recruitment based on patronage rather than merit promotes incompetence and unethical behaviour. Such practices increase the likelihood of police involvement in criminal activities and heighten the risks faced by officers.

Insufficient attention is given to broader structural and political influences while discussions on police corruption often focus on individual officers. Salame (2020:41) emphasises the need for stricter screening procedures and continuous oversight to ensure ethical conduct. Political interference in senior appointments has further weakened police independence and professionalism (Yesufu, 2014:2).

Inadequate leadership has also been linked to police murders, particularly where politically appointed leaders lack operational policing experience (Tintswalo, 2018:22). Motsepe, Mokwena, Maluleke (2022:181) argue that poor leadership and maladministration driven by political interference increase organisational instability and operational risks. Although recent appointments of experienced Chiefs of Police within certain metropolitan police departments suggest progress towards professionalisation (Moatshe, 2023:n.p.; Thusi, 2025:n.p.), concerns regarding political influence remain.

MPO's murders have also been associated with nepotism, flawed recruitment procedures, and bribery during selection processes. The appointment and promotion of unqualified personnel have been linked to ineffective management and increased occupational risk (South African Police Union (SAPU), 2019:13). Modipa and Rakubu (2023:231) confirm that corruption in recruitment continues to hinder efforts to professionalise police organisations. On the other hand, Taumang, Bello and Olutola (2022:575) identify corruption as a key barrier to effective policing. It is essential to improving police safety and reducing the incidence of police murders in South Africa, whilst addressing these systemic challenges.

A recent incident involving a JMPD officer illustrates the extent of administrative dysfunction within law enforcement support systems. After being shot while on duty, the officer was transported to Netcare Milpark Hospital, where treatment was reportedly denied due to an outstanding debt of approximately R35 million owed by the department (Mothoa, 2025:n.p.). He was subsequently transferred to Charlotte Maxeke Academic Hospital, where critical medical intervention was delayed for several hours. This incident reflects systemic managerial failures that further endanger police officers after they have already been harmed in the line of duty.

Law enforcement personnel are expected to safeguard communities under dangerous conditions. However, the inability of the State to ensure immediate medical care

undermines both officer morale and institutional credibility. The broader safety of the country is inevitably compromised when police officers are repeatedly attacked without adequate protection or organisational support. As such, Quah (2019:199) argues that inadequate government investment in police salaries and working conditions creates an environment that encourages corruption and weakens public trust in policing institutions.

MPO's performance is often adversely affected by perceptions of excessive workloads combined with insufficient remuneration. The study conducted by Yesufu (2014:12) and Singh (2022:4) indicates that poor salaries contribute significantly to low morale, which in turn increases vulnerability to corrupt practices. Ramavhunga (2018:42) similarly contends that some MPO's engage in corruption as a means of supplementing their income in order to survive. In addition to financial pressures, Perkins (2016:5) highlights that policing is associated with significant occupational stress, including psychological strain and mental health challenges, which may further contribute to unethical behaviour.

In contrast, Salame (2020:37) disputes the argument that low salaries justify corruption, asserting that officers are fully informed of their remuneration during the recruitment and induction process. Corruption cannot be rationalised as a response to financial dissatisfaction, from this perspective. However, MPO's might become involved in corrupt activities due to peer influence and exposure to criminal networks, where loyalty to colleagues or associates involved in illegal conduct outweighs professional ethics. The implementation of structured peer support programmes may assist officers in resisting such pressures by providing ethical guidance, emotional support, and alternative coping strategies when faced with challenging circumstances (Kargin, 2011:1; Maphaka, 2023:25).

Salame (2020) further suggests that many officers perceive a mismatch between the risks associated with policing and the incentives provided by the State, which may indirectly encourage corrupt behaviour. Reducing corruption within police organisations therefore requires strong leadership accountability, whereby senior officials are held responsible for the conduct of their subordinates. This approach is likely to compel police leadership to implement stricter oversight and disciplinary measures (Motsepe et al., 2022:9). Additional strategies include protecting and

incentivising whistleblowers, as well as empowering communities to report police misconduct without fear of victimisation.

The media also plays a vital role in addressing police corruption by publicising cases involving senior officials, which may serve as a deterrent to future misconduct. Furthermore, recognising and rewarding officers who demonstrate integrity and ethical conduct through promotion or other incentives can contribute to fostering a culture of accountability within the police service (Mokwena et al., 2025:104). In addition, sustained efforts to reduce police corruption depend on transparent feedback mechanisms between communities and law enforcement agencies, alongside regulatory frameworks that provide adequate protection for individuals who report unethical practices.

Studies concentrated on the types of police corruption and their extent within the police organization, ranging from minor to administrative (Magadla, 2023). presented a different perspective by describing how the corruption of metropolitan police contributed to their deaths while neglecting the nature and motivation of these crimes. On the other hand, Perkin (2022) and Ramavhunga (2018) collectively described the implications of corruption, including financial and psychological strain. There is a connection between corruption and murders, and this study investigated this correlation given that MPOs were also killed as a result of corruption.

2.1.3 Murders Due to Inadequate Training and Lack of Resources

Police organisations have faced criticism for providing insufficient training and failing to equip officers with the resources necessary for safe and effective policing. Studies have linked police fatalities to factors such as inadequate firearms training, poor handling of weapons during arrests, and limited operational skills (Kwinika, 2019:1). Additionally, the study indicates that most MPO's deaths occur while carrying out official duties, including responding to crime scenes, making arrests, or conducting searches indicating lack of skills and abilities (Zill, 2022:25-37). Limited training increases officers' vulnerability, particularly when confronting violent criminals and parolees who are often armed (Noxhaka, 2019:33).

A notable example occurred in Vlakfontein, where a JMPD officer was shot nine times while pursuing suspects reported by a local community group following a series of street robberies (Mpilo, 2025:n.p.). The attackers stole the MPO's firearm and fled in

a patrol vehicle, which was later disabled by JMPD Fleet Services and found abandoned. The suspects were eventually apprehended in Lenasia (eNCA, 2025:n.p.). During the incident, the survived officer had not been issued with a departmental firearm, highlighting gaps in resource allocation and preparedness.

Resource shortages are a recurring problem (Lebjane, 2025:n.p.). Maphaka (2023:112) notes that only one in ten officers possessed a firearm, and malfunctioning radios further compromised communication. The absence of essential tools such as bulletproof vests, radios, and patrol vehicles has contributed directly to officers' fatalities. Lack of support from senior management has also been linked to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which affects performance and decision-making (Sharafiza, Grande & Farr-Wharton, 2024:12). The officer's safety is jeopardised when they are expected to perform duties without adequate resources, increasing the risk of death in the line of duty.

MPO's operate in high-risk environments daily, and certain geographic areas have been identified as hotspots for attacks (Mokwena et al., 2025:105). Despite these risks, leadership often prioritises productivity over officer safety. Studies indicate that inadequate managerial support results in poor performance, low morale, and increased vulnerability to harm (Njiro, Ndumwa, Msenga, Kawala, Matola, Mhonda, Corbin, Ubuguyu & Likindikoki, 2021:1).

Standardised and continuous training is critical for reducing fatalities. Effective training equips officers with skills in firearms handling, communication, de-escalation, and conflict resolution, which are essential for operating safely in high-risk scenarios (Glascock, 2023:568; Salame, 2020:42; Engel, Corsaro, Isaza, & McManus, 2022:200). In South Africa, some police departments, including SAPS, implement nationwide standardised training, but inexperienced officers remain disproportionately affected by fatal incidents (Noxhaka, 2019:3; Commissioner Groenewald, 2020:n.p.). Regular retraining and refresher courses ensure officers maintain competence and readiness to face armed criminals (Zinn & Dintwe, 2015:24 in Maphaka, 2023:19).

Insufficient resources exacerbate these risks. During the festive season, for example, JMPD vehicles were grounded due to unpaid service fees, leaving officers unable to respond promptly to crimes or emergencies (Mafisa, 2024:n.p.). Lack of firearms, bulletproof vests, and communication devices increases exposure to danger

(Mokwena et al., 2025:104). Leadership failures, such as assigning officers to patrol without proper equipment, directly endanger lives (SAPU, 2019:13; Nkadimeng, 2024:n.p.).

The widespread availability of illegal firearms further compounds the problem. Estimates indicate that hundreds of thousands of firearms are unaccounted for in South Africa, leaving criminals heavily armed and escalating the threat to police and public safety (Lamb, 2018:35). MPO's often confront armed individuals with inadequate protection, contributing to rising fatalities (Doucet & Earglea, 2023:13). Stronger firearm regulation and effective recovery of illegal weapons are, therefore, essential to reducing deaths of officers.

Leadership competence and management practices are also central to officer safety. Poor decision-making, nepotism, and lack of strategic oversight have been linked to unsafe working conditions and low morale (Meechan, 2023:13; Motsepe et al., 2022:175). Developing effective leadership through targeted training in communication, problem-solving, and critical thinking strengthens operational decision-making and enhances both MPO's and public safety (UNODC, 2011:6).

In conclusion, MPO's murders in metropolitan areas are influenced by a combination of inadequate training, resource shortages, inexperienced MPO's, lack of managerial support, and widespread illegal firearms. Multiple studies frequently attributed these murders to dysfunctional of the MPD's due to inadequate resources, inadequate training and poor leadership (Glascock, 2023; Salame, 2020 & Engel et al., 2020). Whilst other studies brought a different opinion by outlined, unsafe working conditions, low morale as the contributing factors behind MPO murders (Meechan, 2023; Motsepe et al., 2025). Both studies suggest that inadequate training, resources and poor leadership as well as the working condition heavily contributed MPO's murders overlooking the underlying issues. In order to address these factors, a multifaceted approach is required which includes but not limited to improved training programs, provision of essential equipment, competent leadership, and stronger firearms control. Police organisations could reduce fatalities while maintaining public trust and community safety by prioritising officers' preparedness and safety.

2.1.4 Murders Due to Socio-Economic Factors

High levels of unemployment, crime, poverty, and social inequality in disadvantaged communities have been identified as key factors contributing to police murders (Nyalungu, Sithuga & Mulaudzi, 2025:357). Noxhaka (2019:49) argues that deprivation and poverty, largely stemming from unemployment, are major causes of these killings. Similarly, Bruce (2023:1) highlights that socio-economic challenges such as hunger, inequality, and joblessness contribute to the rising murder rate in South Africa. These socio-economic challenges could be addressed through the reduction of crime levels and, in turn, the risk to police officers. Groenewald (2023:n.p.) also notes that the decline in the economy, combined with the desperation of those unable to find work, drives some individuals in informal settlements to commit crimes for survival.

Limited access to education and formal employment could escalate the likelihood that individuals will engage in criminal activities, which might lead to conflicts with the police. According to Borat, Lilenstein, Monnakgotla, Thornton, and Van Der Zee (2017:1), high unemployment often means low legal income, which could make criminal activity more appealing as a method to improve one's earnings. Noxhaka (2019:94) observes that high unemployment and poverty are significant contributors to police murders, especially in townships, where people migrate in search of work but, when unsuccessful, may turn to crime.

Police fatalities are frequently reported in townships, which raises concerns about officers' safety. Noxhaka (2019:49) further, suggests that migration from other African countries also plays a role in these incidents. Townships and informal settlements often lack basic services such as water, sanitation, and electricity, and this scarcity may push residents toward criminal behaviour as a survival strategy (Ahsan, 2016:43). Mkumbo (2025:1) confirms that many MPO's murders occur in these areas, emphasising the need for officers to remain cautious both on and off duty.

MPO's in townships are particularly vulnerable because potential offenders are often neighbours or former acquaintances who knows they carry firearms (Mokwena et al., 2025:105). Instances of police abuse of power, such as excessive force during protests or crime interventions, can escalate tensions and lead to violent confrontations. Historical mistrust also plays a role; under apartheid, police killings left

communities with a lingering negative perception of law enforcement. Perkins (2018:216) notes that police may sometimes escalate violence by firing at suspects immediately, which can frustrate communities, foster resentment, and trigger social unrest.

Family and social factors also contribute to violent crime. Female-headed households often face higher poverty levels and lower education, increasing vulnerability and social marginalisation (Doucet & Earglea, 2023:11). Economic disadvantage in these households which includes unemployment and low income, has been linked to higher crime involvement. The majority of individuals responsible for police murders are youth who, due to unemployment, resort to crime (Chimoio, 2025:n.p.). This was confirmed in Modise (2025:17) that communities characterized by socio-economic factors including, low access to services, education, and economic opportunities are likely to be involved in crime. Additionally, unstable family structures and inconsistent parenting increase the likelihood of violent behaviour, while alcohol and drug abuse further amplify the risk of criminal acts. Temane, Rikhotso, Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2023:2); Saladino, Mosca, Petruccelli, Hoelzlhammer, Lauriola, Verrastro and Cabras (2021:8) highlighted multifaceted relationship between the family structure, substance abuse, and young people criminal behaviour since children and youth who grow up in disadvantaged communities are more likely to develop violent tendencies later in life.

It is essential for the government to prioritise the expansion of sustainable economic opportunities in order to achieve a long-term reduction in metropolitan police murders. Makgetla (2020:50) argues that while short-term financial support, such as the R350.00 social relief grant, might provide temporary assistance to individuals living in extreme poverty, it does not address the underlying causes of crime. Instead, the focus should be on long-term economic development strategies that create employment and income-generating opportunities. Implementing sustainable economic interventions might contribute to reducing violent crime levels and, ultimately, the incidence of police murders.

Most of the studies suggested that socio-economic factors, such as poverty and inadequate service delivery were a contributing factor to crime (Nyalungu et al., 2025 & Bruce, 2023). Whilst Mkumbo (2025) and Ahsan (2016) argued differently, citing geographic regions as a factor contributing to crime. However, in contrast these

findings from these studies, Noxhaka (2019) holds a different opinion that migration from other African countries played a role behind crimes. In this context, there is a connection between crime and socioeconomic issues that contributed to metropolitan police killings in metropolitan areas. While Chimoio (2025) and Modise (2025) emphasized the complex interaction between drug and substance abuse, family structure, and youth criminality, both factors have been identified as a contributing cause to the crimes.

2.1.5 Murders Due to Gender-based Violence (GBV)

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a serious social problem that reflects broader structural challenges within South Africa (Yesufu, 2022:96). Violence against women is alarmingly high, with South Africa ranked fourth globally in terms of GBV prevalence (Vetten, 2014:2). As such, the major concern is the involvement of MPO's in cases of GBV, including femicide, which has become an ongoing issue requiring urgent intervention. Noxhaka (2019:98) notes that intimate partner conflicts, such as infidelity and betrayal, often trigger acts of retaliation that have been linked to police murders. Hlati (2025: n.p.) reported that 115 police officers were identified as victims of GBV, while 191 officers were recorded as perpetrators. This indicates that police officers are both affected by and contributors to violence within the organisation, thereby increasing the risk of fatalities among officers themselves.

Concerns regarding domestic abuse involving police officers have persisted over time, with several reports highlighting the misuse of authority and firearms in intimate relationships. In one notable case, the wife of a Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD) captain was sentenced to life imprisonment after orchestrating his murder (Kubheka, 2024:n.p.). Evidence revealed that she had paid a hitman and attempted to conceal her involvement. Similarly, there has been a growing number of cases in which women have allegedly arranged the murders of their spouses or partners, yet such incidents are often overlooked or inadequately addressed. In another incident in Tembisa, the wife of an Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD) officer was arrested for conspiring with a hitman to murder her husband shortly after their marriage (Sithole, 2025:n.p.). Sithole further revealed that this was not her first attempt, as she had previously poisoned him. These cases highlight serious concerns regarding domestic violence within law enforcement households.

Several incidents have also been reported in which police officers allegedly used excessive force against women, sometimes resulting in serious injury or death. In one tragic case, a female TMPD officer was shot and killed by her partner at her residence in Lotus Gardens, Pretoria West, after which the suspect fled in her vehicle to Limpopo before being apprehended (Luvhengo, 2024:n.p.). Psychological factors, including severe depression, have been linked to instances where police officers murder their partners, family members, or colleagues. In Protea Glen, Soweto, a SAPS sergeant shot and killed his wife, who was also a police officer, on Valentine's Day (Zwane, 2025:n.p.). Similar incidents have been associated with jealousy, unresolved relationship conflicts, and prolonged domestic abuse. In Gqeberha, an off-duty Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department officer allegedly used an illegal firearm to kill his partner (Peexpress, 2024:n.p.). The widespread occurrence of GBV has resulted in numerous police deaths, leaving families emotionally and socially destabilised.

Substance abuse has also been strongly linked to violent behaviour and GBV. Masiko and Xinwa (2017:4) found that many cases of domestic violence and violent crimes were alcohol-related, with perpetrators admitting to being intoxicated at the time of the offence. Furthermore, individuals raised in dysfunctional households characterised by divorce, psychological distress, substance abuse, and exposure to violence are more likely to engage in similar behaviours during adulthood (Masiko & Xinwa, 2017:3). Although GBV is often perceived as a crime predominantly affecting women, it impacts individuals of all genders. Men could also be victims of domestic violence, and the seriousness and frequency of GBV against all victims should be recognised. During a protest march from Church Square to Jubilee Park in Sunnyside, SAPS members and correctional officials called on the Criminal Justice System to identify and expose all perpetrators of GBV-related crimes (Sithole, 2024:n.p.). Effective GBV interventions must therefore be inclusive and responsive to the needs of all victims.

Perkins (2022:10) highlights the risks associated with police officers taking a service firearms home, including increased domestic abuse, intimate partner murder, and suicide. It is imperative to address underlying causes and transforming societal attitudes toward gender relations in order to prevent future GBV incidents. Salame (2020:42) recommends the immediate suspension of officers accused of domestic abuse and the confiscation of their firearms. Bruce (2023:1) further suggests that both

officers and their partners can reduce lethal violence by focusing on high-risk environments, behaviours, and individuals. In Bloemfontein Hospitalpark area, a metro police officer and their partner were found dead from multiple gunshot wounds, discovered by their daughter (Haripersad, 2023:1). Factors such as anger, frustration, prolonged exposure to violence, and entrenched cultural norms have been identified as contributors to high rates of domestic violence among police officers (Maphaka, 2023:41). These conditions place immense psychological strain on children and family members, often leading to trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Psychological harm arising from domestic violence might further contribute to broader social problems, including suicide. Violanti, Owens, McCanlies, Desta, Fekedulegn and Andrew (2018:14) reported that in suicide-homicide cases, 83% of victims were women killed by male partners, while 17% involved male victims killed by female perpetrators. Even though these findings are global, they are relevant to this study, as suicide-related fatalities have occurred within Metropolitan Police Departments. The data suggests that male officers are more likely to engage in suicide/ homicide incidents, potentially influenced by untreated psychological disorders. The risk of suicide within police organisations will remain high, if there is no adequate support systems and preventative measures.

In response to the country's GBV crisis, the National Council on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide Bill was signed into law on 24 May 2024 to protect victims and ensure accountability for offenders (Naidu, 2024:n.p.; South African Government, 2024:n.p.). The enactment of this legislation was prompted by the widespread prevalence of GBV nationwide. Since its implementation, 91.1% of GBV cases have reportedly been prosecuted. The legislation has also encouraged law enforcement agencies to respond more effectively to victims of domestic abuse, thereby creating safer environments (Van Niekerk, 2017:129). Community participation remains essential in combating GBV, and citizens are encouraged to report incidents to discourage violent behaviour. Additionally, Metropolitan Police Departments should establish specialised internal units to address officers-related GBV cases and enforce disciplinary measures before referring such matters to the South African Police Service.

2.1.6 Motor Vehicle Accidents as a Factor Behind MPO's deaths (Culpable Homicide)

Road traffic accidents remain one of the leading causes of death worldwide and have also been identified as a significant contributor to MPO's fatalities in South Africa. Rolison (2020:1) reports that more than 1.2 million people lose their lives annually as a result of motor vehicle accidents. These incidents often result in the loss of family members and household breadwinners, creating severe financial hardship for affected families (Taumang et al., 2022:578). In addition to fatalities, road accidents frequently cause serious physical injuries and psychological trauma. The majority of MPO's have sustained life-altering injuries in vehicle-related incidents, limiting their ability to perform physically demanding duties.

Motor vehicle accidents (MVA) have been identified as the second leading cause of death among metropolitan police officers while on duty (Mokwena et al., 2025:102). Law enforcement officials are particularly vulnerable to fatal crashes when responding to emergencies, patrolling high-risk areas, or directing traffic on busy roads and highways. According to Solomons (2022:1), the majority of these fatalities are linked to drunk driving, reckless behaviour, and negligent driving by motorists. Environmental conditions such as poorly maintained roads, potholes, and inadequate road engineering further increase the likelihood of accidents. Cinini and Mkhize (2023:9) also note that police officers face occupational risks that include vehicle-related injuries, illnesses, and deliberate attacks that might result in serious harm or death. A case in point is the accidental death of a Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department officer in Gqeberha, who was killed in a head-on collision with a motorist driving on the wrong side of the highway (Arrive Alive, 2017:n.p.). This incident underscores the dangers police officers encounter while carrying out their duties.

Driver negligence has been identified as the primary cause of most traffic accidents (Rolison, 2020:1). In one tragic incident, three (3) Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department officers were killed in a head-on collision with a suspected intoxicated driver who was driving recklessly against oncoming traffic on a highway (Arrive Alive, 2020:n.p.). Alcohol containers were reportedly found inside the suspect's vehicle at the scene. Bruce (2023:7) confirms that many MPO's who lose their lives while on duty are responding to complaints or carrying out operational responsibilities. Noxhaka

(2019:43) supports this view, noting that numerous MPO's are killed while en-route to crime scenes. In several metropolitan police departments, including JMPD and TMPD, road accidents have been identified as a second major contributor to MPO's fatalities.

However, not all vehicle-related MPO's deaths involve civilian motorists. Noxhaka (2019:35) highlights that reckless, negligent, and intoxicated driving by off-duty MPO's also contributes to fatal road accidents. Similarly, Faull (2018:n.p.) reports an increase in MPO fatalities linked to a culture of speeding among officers, even when they are not on duty. In one instance, a police officer was arrested after being recorded driving dangerously; subsequent investigations revealed that he was under the influence of alcohol (Ngema, 2023:n.p.). There is also a perception that police officers may protect colleagues by failing to report unlawful behaviour, which undermines public trust. As a result, communities may view the police as contributing to road safety problems rather than addressing them, making it more difficult for officers to perform their duties effectively.

Further aggravated challenges were due to weak enforcement of traffic laws. Taumang et al. (2022:575) argue that the criminal justice system has not been sufficiently effective in addressing traffic-related offences, contributing to the continued loss of police lives. This is illustrated by the case of Albert Pretorius, the intoxicated driver responsible for killing two Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department officers, who received a six-year prison sentence with five (5) years suspended, provided he was not convicted of a similar offence during that period. He was also sentenced to one year's imprisonment or a fine of R10,000 for drunk driving and was allowed to retain his driver's licence (Simelane, 2020:n.p.). Such outcomes suggest that police safety is not adequately prioritised, negatively affecting morale and performance among surviving officers. Police leadership should therefore advocate for stricter sentencing for individuals responsible for the deaths of metropolitan police officers, as harsher penalties may serve as a deterrent and reinforce the seriousness of these crimes.

Raising public awareness about road safety is a crucial step toward reducing the persistently high number of road traffic deaths in the country. The World Health Organization (WHO) (2023:n.p.) identifies several effective strategies, including enhancing vehicle safety technologies, strengthening and enforcing legislation that

targets high-risk behaviours, improving road design and maintenance, incorporating safety considerations into transport and land-use planning, and ensuring effective emergency response and post-crash care. These interventions collectively address both the causes and consequences of road traffic accidents.

The Road Safety Report (RSR) (2019:4) indicates that driver behaviour remains one of the most influential factors in road safety performance, underscoring the role of human conduct in the occurrence of accidents. In the case of metropolitan police officers, vehicle-related incidents have frequently been linked to human error rather than mechanical failure. Common contributing factors include insufficient driving experience, failure to comply with traffic regulations, following vehicles too closely, distracted driving such as mobile phone use, and physical fatigue. Addressing these behavioural shortcomings through targeted training, stricter enforcement, and ongoing awareness campaigns may significantly reduce accident-related fatalities.

2.2 THE ROLE OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE MANAGEMENT IN THE MURDERS

In this section, the researcher elaborates on the role of the metropolitan police management in the murders

2.2.1 Providing Metropolitan Police Officers with Adequate Resources and Enhanced Training Programmes

Yesufu (2022:24) highlights that shortages of essential equipment such as patrol vehicles, firearms, bulletproof vests, communication radios, and pepper spray contribute to ineffective policing and increase the risk of police fatalities, both while officers are on duty and off duty. One of the key strategies for reducing police murders within Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) is the provision of adequate resources by police leadership. In support of this view, Mofokeng, Moitsadi, Aphane, and Mofokeng (2023:52) refer to the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030, which emphasises that the police service should be a well-resourced and professional institution staffed by skilled MPO’s who are committed to public service, the protection of communities from violence, and the promotion of equality and justice.

Resources are fundamental to the effective functioning of any organisation, and the absence of adequate resources inevitably undermines service delivery. While police officers are often criticised by communities for poor performance, the persistent

problem of insufficient resources is frequently overlooked. Hoeyi and Makgari (2021:2) argue that organisations must equip their employees with appropriate resources to enhance efficiency and improve service outcomes. Law enforcement agencies struggle to meet public expectations without such support.

Perkins (2022:2) notes that the government has encouraged MPO's to use all lawful measures available to protect themselves against threats, given the high incidence of police murders across the country. The state might need to reconsider the scope of authority granted to MPO's when confronting violent criminals, in order to reduce police fatalities further. However, it remains crucial to strike a balance between empowering MPO's to defend themselves and preventing the excessive use of force or abuse of power. Khumalo (2025:n.p.) has further called on the government to classify police murders as acts of treason, a position that has been echoed by the South African Policing Union (SAPU). Even though some stakeholders believe that current training programmes are sufficient, the ongoing lack of resources continues to limit their effectiveness.

Analysing data related to the frequency and circumstances of police murders might assist in identifying trends that could inform improved training and preventative strategies (SAPU, 2019:12). Ensuring public safety requires that the government be held accountable for adequately supporting law enforcement agencies. In situations involving immediate and life-threatening danger, metropolitan police officers must receive appropriate training to respond decisively in order to protect their lives, while still operating within legal and ethical boundaries (Noxhaka, 2019:35).

2.2.2 Providing Emotional and Psychological Support to MPD Officers

Metropolitan Police officers often perceive a lack of adequate emotional and psychological support from their leadership, a situation that contributes to diminished job performance and the development of negative attitudes toward their work. Yesufu (2022:23) confirms that organisational welfare structures within the police service frequently fail to provide sufficient support to officers who are at heightened risk of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and suicide. MPO's are routinely exposed to distressing and traumatic incidents, given the nature of policing which places them among occupational groups most vulnerable to psychological difficulties (Santre, 2024:n.p.).

Work-related stress arising from unsupportive and unhealthy organisational environments has been shown to adversely affect MPO's mental well-being, work efficiency, and personal lives. Hussey (2020:13) notes that the majority of metropolitan police officers experience recurring flashbacks of traumatic events encountered during on-duty, leading to chronic psychological strain and physical exhaustion. Furthermore, (Njiro et al., 2021:1) argues that insufficient support from police leadership undermines officers' ability to perform their duties effectively. This challenge is further compounded by perceptions that promotions into managerial positions are often influenced by personal affiliations rather than competence, resulting in leadership inefficiencies and poor organisational decision-making.

Metropolitan Police officers face a wide range of behavioural and psychological challenges due to the demands of their profession. They are regularly exposed to verbal abuse, threats, violent confrontations, fatal traffic accidents, suicides, and unpredictable emergencies, all of which necessitate substantial emotional and psychological support (Anders, Frapsauce, Sauvezon & Gilibert, 2024:2). In this regard, officers' well-being is often neglected, ultimately affecting service delivery and public safety. This is due to the fact that leadership lacks the capacity to respond effectively to these challenges. Incompetent leadership might struggle to implement meaningful reforms, make informed decisions, or adequately respond to community needs.

In addressing these concerns, the appointment and promotion of academically qualified and professionally competent leaders may enhance organisational effectiveness and promote professionalism within the police service. In addition, the adoption of integrated wellness approaches that address officers' physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual well-being is essential (Marx & Friedman, 2025:59). Such approaches can be strengthened through the development of a wellness-oriented leadership culture and the implementation of initiatives that foster collaboration with municipal and community stakeholders, thereby building trust and reinforcing institutional support systems.

2.2.2.1 The Implications of Metropolitan Police Murders

The murder of metropolitan police officers has profound and far-reaching consequences, affecting their families, colleagues, and society at large. These

incidents often result in reduced job performance, resentment toward the profession, and a breakdown of trust between the police and the communities they serve. According to Monyane (2008:2) and Maphaka et al. (2025:4), police killings that occur while officers are on duty have significant emotional and social repercussions for the victims' spouses, colleagues, and the government. These losses can destabilise families, potentially leading to adverse outcomes for children, such as homelessness, substance abuse, or engagement in criminal activity. Noxhaka (2019:59) further highlights that surviving spouses often experience severe mental and emotional challenges due to the loss of a breadwinner. Additionally, unresolved disputes with in-laws over inheritance can exacerbate stress and contribute to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) for the surviving partner.

Kwinika (2019:5) also underscores the substantial impact that the murder of a police officer has on both families and society. Perkins (2022:2) expands on this by asserting that such killings extend beyond organisational concerns, affecting society as a whole. Attacks against police officers are often perceived as indirect challenges to government authority, since they are tasked with serving and protecting citizens (Madzivhandila, 2019:43). The acting Minister of Police, Professor Cachalia during a commemoration at the Union Buildings, remarked that these murders "*are not merely a loss to their families and colleagues, but a profound loss to the nation, crimes against the State itself*" (Staff Writer, 2025:n.p.). The absence of law enforcement personnel could foster a sense of lawlessness, embolden criminals and create fear and instability within communities. Such conditions might perpetuate cycles of violence and retaliatory crimes, worsening existing social problems.

Gül and Delice (2011:22) note that the stress inherent in police work can impair officers' ability to enforce the law effectively, putting themselves, their colleagues, families, and the public at risk. Police officers are often concerned not only with protecting property and lives but also with ensuring the safety of their families (Public Servants Association [PSA], 2025:2). Furthermore, Noxhaka (2019:59) observes that colleagues who witness the murder of a fellow officer experience psychological trauma, including stress, fear, insomnia, and despair, which might negatively affect job performance and foster disillusionment with the profession.

Metropolitan Police officers, as public servants, are expected to act in ways that maintain societal respect and accountability (Cinini & Mkhize, 2023:2). However, the ripple effects of MPO's murders on colleagues, families, and communities can strain social relations and undermine public confidence in law enforcement. These incidents threaten the rule of law, compromise public safety, and contribute to national instability. Noxhaka (2019:49) further argues that socioeconomic factors, such as poverty and high unemployment, are fundamental drivers of police murders, emphasising the broader societal context in which these tragedies occur.

2.2.3 Sustainable Solutions in Addressing Metropolitan Police Murders

2.2.3.1 Collaboration solutions to Metropolitan Police safety

Notwithstanding the rising incidence of violent crime in the country, the police remain ineffective in addressing these crimes largely because they rely on inappropriate crime-control strategies (Lamb, 2023:n.p.). Policing methods remain largely traditional and outdated, as offenders continue to become increasingly sophisticated. The Democratic Alliance (DA) has urged the government to address the growing number of police murders by increasing financial support and equipping officers with the necessary skills and resources to manage high-pressure situations without resorting to violence, particularly when dealing with persistent challenges such as gang-related crime within communities (Cameroon, 2024:n.p.). The police organisation should implement a comprehensive and integrated strategy, to effectively combat crime. Crime affects all members of society, including law enforcement officials themselves.

Perkins (2022:13); Johnson (2021:572) highlights the importance of strengthening police–community relations, as this can contribute to risk prevention and enhance officers' safety. Positive relationships between police and communities foster trust and encourage cooperation. Similarly, Kwinika (2019:1) stresses that communities have a responsibility to safeguard police officers, as attacks on law enforcement undermine overall public safety. Incorporating de-escalation training within police departments may reduce incidents of police violence and fatalities. Additionally, assigning multiple officers to crime scenes may lower the risk of police murders while improving officers' safety (Doucet & Earglea, 2023:13).

Collaboration is required among key societal stakeholders, in order to reduce attacks and killings of MPO's. This might include academics, political figures, community

opinion leaders, and traditional authorities (Braimah, 2019:498). Alongside improving professionalism and responsible firearm use, police leadership must raise public awareness about the dangers associated with violent assaults on officers. When police officers are targeted and killed, the safety of the broader public is equally threatened (Matamba & Thobela, 2024:n.p.). During a police oversight, community safety, cultural affairs, and sports public meeting, increasing safety awareness among males aged 25 to 35 was identified as a priority, as this group constitutes a significant proportion of both violent crime perpetrators and victims (PMG, 2024:n.p.).

Mofokeng et al. (2024:53) argue that training is a critical performance-enhancement mechanism aimed at motivating police officers to acquire innovative skills and strategies to perform their duties more effectively and efficiently. Similarly, Yesufu (2022:28) emphasises the need for law enforcement agencies to adopt proactive policing approaches rather than relying solely on reactive responses, as such strategies might assist to prevent crime before it occurs. Those offenders who are apprehended are often arrested only after crimes have already been committed, whilst others evade detection due to illegal immigration status. The widespread nature of violent crime across the country further complicates police efforts to combat it. Although many offenders reside within local communities, police officers should be encouraged to engage residents in dialogue to collaboratively address crime-related challenges in their neighbourhoods. High youth unemployment, limited access to education, and social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse have been identified as contributing factors to elevated levels of violent crime in townships (Masiko & Xinwa, 2017:2). Peer pressure plays a significant role in substance abuse, as young people seek acceptance within their social groups.

MPO’s themselves are not immune to peer pressure, particularly regarding alcohol and drug use, which may lead to unprofessional conduct and undermine ethical standards. Violanti, Slaven, Charles, Burchfiel, Andrew and Homish (2011:346), cited in Mokwena et al. (2025:104), note that many police officers conform to peer expectations to avoid social exclusion, increasing the risk of inappropriate behaviour. Furthermore, officers are often bound by an unwritten code of silence that discourages reporting unethical or illegal activities, including substance abuse, corruption, and extortion among colleagues (Kargin, 2011:3; Maphaka, 2023:24).

Even though peer pressure within police organisations presents a significant challenge, it could be addressed through the implementation of clear regulations and procedures that promote ethical conduct, transparency, and professionalism (Joubert, 2018:20). Through establishing mechanisms that empower officers to resist negative peer influence, law enforcement agencies can reduce the impact of peer pressure and ensure adherence to ethical decision-making and professional standards.

2.2.3.2 Strengthening the Criminal Justice System and advocacy for policy amendment

The government should strengthen transparency and accountability by imposing stricter sanctions on police officers who abuse their authority. PSA (2025:2) notes that human rights activists and commentators are often quick to criticise metropolitan police officers when lethal force is used during the apprehension of suspects. Nevertheless, it remains evident that metropolitan police officers themselves are frequently victims of violent crimes. Yesufu (2022:28) highlights the necessity for courts to impose harsher sentences on convicted murderers, arguing that such offenders should, where possible, be denied eligibility for parole. Similarly, some members of society advocate for the denial of bail to individuals accused of murdering police officers, as this may deter the recurrence of such crimes. This view was echoed by radio personality Thuso Motaung on his programme *Makgulong a Matala*, where he indicated that "*Molao o Robetse*," meaning "the law is sleeping," expressing concern over the persistently high murder rate in the country (Motaung, 2025:n.p.).

Failure by the Criminal Justice System (CJS) to impose more severe sentences on individuals who murder police officers may result in increased attacks and fatalities. Bruce (2023:7) points out that police officers routinely operate within a violent society and confront dangerous offenders. In support of law enforcement, Sadiki (2023:n.p.) calls on the public to support metropolitan police officers as they undertake the demanding responsibility of safeguarding society. One participant interviewed by Noxhaka (2019:92) argued that the reinstatement of the death penalty is necessary for those who murder police officers. The government might need to enact new legislation or amend existing laws, in order to reduce the number of police killings nationwide. This could be possible, as the CJS exists to uphold the rule of law by ensuring that those who violate it are appropriately punished.

Metropolitan Police murders remain a persistent concern requiring urgent government intervention. Sadiki (2024:n.p.) further emphasises that the government will continue to support initiatives that encourage collective efforts towards creating a safer South Africa. Crime prevention is a shared responsibility, and cooperation between the police, communities, and the business sector is essential in fostering a secure environment (Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 2011:1). At a commemoration held at Kings Park Athletics Stadium in Durban on 27 January 2025, the Minister of Police, Senzo Mchunu stressed that crime in the country has reached alarming levels and requires immediate and decisive action. The Minister further underscored the importance of strengthening trust between law enforcement agencies and communities to ensure that all citizens feel heard, protected, and secure, regardless of their location (Govender, 2025:n.p.).

The implementation of policies aimed at enhancing the safety of both communities and metropolitan police officers may contribute to reducing the prevalence of police murders. Through analysing data related to the number of metropolitan police officers killed, policy amendments and additional interventions could assist in decreasing incidents of police violence (SAPU, 2019:12). Furthermore, ensuring that police officers operate in a safe and healthy work environment is crucial for boosting morale and enhancing the effective execution of their duties (PMG, 2022:15). Obasogie and Zachary (2017:294) argue that incorporating public health perspectives into policy reforms may reduce police brutality, prevent fatalities involving police and community members, and improve overall safety and survivability.

The reintroduction of the death penalty for individuals who attack, and murder law enforcement officers has been proposed as a deterrent to such crimes (Noxhaka, 2019:101). Advocacy for policy reform is viewed by some as a means to eliminate metropolitan police murders. However, the death penalty is prohibited by the Constitution, as it is considered cruel, inhumane, and degrading. Notwithstanding, the researcher contends that a more robust CJS could contribute significantly to addressing this issue. Denying bail to suspects accused of murdering metropolitan police officers until cases are finalised may enhance public confidence in the justice system.

The CJS should impose stricter sentences on all convicted murderers, and where feasible, deny bail and parole (Yesufu, 2022:28). When offenders are released on bail or parole, there is often a risk of reoffending, including the intimidation or murder of witnesses. Mokwena et al. (2025:108) suggest reviewing the Constitution to allow for harsher penalties, to prevent the recurrence of such crimes: life imprisonment without bail for police murderers. Additionally, Carter and Fox (2018:16) stresses the importance of reviewing existing policies and standards to ensure alignment with nationally recommended best practices. Former Minister of Police Bheki Cele also advocated for stricter laws to intensify efforts against criminals who murder metropolitan police officers (South African Government, 2024a:n.p.).

2.2.3.3 Strategies and Initiatives to Curb Metropolitan Police murders

Murders of metropolitan police officers can be prevented through the introduction of structured programmes and operational strategies aimed at improving officer safety and effectiveness. Burger (2016:156) argues that addressing police killings requires a multifaceted approach, including the adoption of non-lethal policing methods, the strengthening of community policing initiatives, and the professionalisation of police organisations while responding decisively to violent crime. In South Africa, violence has become deeply entrenched within political, economic, and social systems (Willman, Gould, Newham & Gomez, 2018:5). The post-apartheid period has been marked by persistently high levels of brutality, which continue to place police officers at significant risk.

Burger (2021:n.p.) agrees that the increase in police murders is directly linked to the country's high rate of violent crimes. The killing of a metropolitan police officer is therefore not only a criminal act but also a serious violation of human rights. Metropolitan Police Officers are tasked with upholding the law and protecting communities, yet they frequently become victims of the very violence they seek to prevent.

Mofokeng et al. (2023:103) maintain that metropolitan police officers with well-developed analytical skills are better able to identify emerging threats and design effective responses, thereby improving operational efficiency and reducing unnecessary risks. The introduction of sustainable policing solutions within MPD's may significantly reduce incidents of police murders. MPO's who can assess situations

quickly and accurately are more likely to limit excessive force, reduce operational disruptions, and enhance service delivery. MPO's are routinely confronted by dangerous criminals. On the other hand, they are required to make immediate decisions under high-pressure circumstances (Lentz, Smith-MacDonald, Malloy, Carleton & Brémault-Phillips, 2021:8).

The murder of metropolitan police officers is unacceptable, as law enforcement exists to safeguard the public. Former Police Minister Bheki Cele has emphasised that police leadership must prioritise the implementation of policies aimed at reducing metropolitan police killings in South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 2023:n.p.). Building a trust between law enforcement agencies and communities is critical, as improved communication may reduce hostility, unnecessary confrontations, and violence against metropolitan police officers (Glascock, 2023:569).

Chetty (2016) highlights the importance of community involvement in crime prevention, encouraging citizens to report criminal behaviour and guide young people towards positive social conduct. Violence against police officers also has broader implications for public safety. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD) spokesperson Zweli Dlamini noted that attacks on officers weaken law enforcement efforts and embolden criminal activity (Nkosi, 2024c:n.p.). These acts of brutality undermine the fight against lawlessness and negatively affect community security.

Raising public awareness about metropolitan police murders, including the publication of relevant statistics, may help communities understand the seriousness of the issue. Lamb (2023:n.p.) argues that the ongoing struggle against violent crime has eroded trust between the police and the public. Implementing effective crime-reduction strategies is therefore essential for restoring confidence in law enforcement. Community engagement initiatives, such as *imbizo* programmes, can educate citizens about the consequences of violence against police officers. Madzivhandila (2019:43) supports this view, stating that public safety is compromised when police officers are being killed.

Reducing police murders also requires addressing the underlying causes of crime, including unemployment, poverty, and limited access to education and social services (Krieger, Chen, Waterman, Kiang, & Feldman, 2015:135). Martin (2021:1013) argues that increased funding is necessary to improve police training and service delivery.

Proactive crime-prevention strategies can assist law enforcement agencies in rebuilding public trust and strengthening community relations (Strom & Wire, 2024:12). Even though improved remuneration might enhance morale, Yesufu (2014:12) asserts that police officers are expected to maintain ethical conduct, professionalism, and integrity, having entered the profession with an understanding of its financial challenges.

2.2.3.4 Addressing socio-economic factors and responding to public concerns

Crime levels in South Africa are strongly shaped by underlying socio-economic conditions, particularly unemployment, poverty, and inequality (Nyalungu et al., 2025:359). Violent crime across the country is unlikely to decline, without addressing these structural challenges. Noxhaka (2019:33) argues that most violent offences are driven by socio-economic pressures such as poverty, joblessness, inequality, racial discrimination, and limited access to basic resources. Even though, Noxhaka (2019) does not explicitly indicate that police murders are committed by undocumented immigrants, the influx of undocumented migrants into metropolitan areas in search of employment has placed additional strain on the economy and has indirectly contributed to rising crime levels.

Borat et al. (2017:2) further demonstrate a strong link between crime and socio-economic hardship, noting that unemployed youth often turn to criminal activities as a survival strategy. Violent crime is frequently intensified by factors such as extreme poverty, inequality, unemployment, racial exclusion, and lack of access to essential services. Similarly, Cameron (2023:4) found that many perpetrators of police murders come from disadvantaged backgrounds characterised by poor education, limited skills, and unstable upbringing, which increases their likelihood of engaging in criminal behaviour.

Individuals residing in impoverished communities are often exposed to persistent stress, overcrowding, and restricted access to opportunities, which may increase their vulnerability to criminal involvement. Factors such as alcohol abuse, drug dependency, gang activity, unemployment, domestic violence, and overpopulation further contribute to South Africa's high levels of violent crime. According to Doucet and Earglea (2023:11), low socio-economic status and unstable family environments increase vulnerability to involvement in violent offences, including attacks on police

officers. Substance abuse, particularly alcohol and drugs, plays a significant role, as offenders are more likely to engage in violent acts while intoxicated.

The Addiction Centre (AC) (2025:n.p.) highlights alcohol as a major contributor to crime, influencing both the frequency and severity of criminal behaviour. This relationship is supported by Henderson, Bourgearisis, Smith, Ferguson and Barthely (2023:297), who identified poverty as a significant predictor of criminal activity, including violent, drug-related, and property crimes. Cameron (2023:4) further notes that widespread substance abuse results in the destruction of lives and resources, often leading individuals to commit crimes or die as a result of addiction. Substance abuse negatively affects mental and physical wellbeing and contributes to dysfunctional households, thereby increasing the risk of violence.

Reducing violent crime requires a long-term sustainable intervention, including addressing socio-economic challenges through job creation and economic development (Krieger et al., 2015:135). Policies aimed at stimulating economic growth in disadvantaged areas may contribute to reducing police murders. Strengthening border control to limit illegal immigration might also assist in reducing crime levels, as Noxhaka (2019:49) argues that undocumented migration places additional pressure on the economy. Similarly, Yamani, Alkhatib, and Alnaimi (2025:589-591) highlighted that stress that persistent socio-economic vulnerabilities such as inequality and poverty require urgent policy attention.

Yesufu (2022:28) emphasises that improving service delivery and expanding employment opportunities are essential in addressing socio-economic challenges. Addressing these factors may significantly reduce crime, as many offenders originate from disadvantaged backgrounds. Youth unemployment has been shown to have a direct relationship with South Africa’s high murder rate (Akinola & Ohonba, 2023:4). Additional contributing factors include high school dropout rates, limited recreational and skills-development opportunities for young adults, and widespread substance abuse. Informal settlements in metropolitan areas have also been identified as environments where untraceable offenders often reside, further exacerbating police murders. Reclaiming abandoned buildings used by criminals may assist in reducing crime in urban areas (Maphaka, 2023:122).

Although South Africa is classified as a developing economy, it experiences extremely high unemployment rates, particularly among youth. Modise (2025:1) argues that unemployment and the poverty are significant contributors to violent crime, including attacks on metropolitan police officers. Socio-economic challenges within African-dominated communities have also been identified as key drivers of violence (PMG, 2024:n.p.). Lamb (2023:n.p.) maintains that tackling poverty, inequality, and unemployment, while investing in education and skills development, is essential for reducing violent crime nationwide.

Sadiki (2023:n.p.) argues that effective crime prevention requires cooperation between communities, police, and private security companies. Such collaboration enables the identification of crime hotspots and the development of targeted interventions. This study further argues that a multi-departmental approach involving the Departments of Education, Home Affairs, Social Development, Correctional Services, and Health is necessary to address the root causes of crime. Education, in particular, is a powerful tool for social transformation (Khunkhana, 2024:n.p.), while the Department of Social Development plays a critical role in strengthening social protection systems during economic hardship (DoSD, 2024:14).

The PMG (2023:n.p.) highlights the importance of government funding in supporting vulnerable populations. However, this study contends that such funding should prioritise job creation rather than dependency. Statements by Minister Mckenzy support this position, emphasising the need for skills development rather than financial handouts (Tshabalala, 2023:n.p.). Misuse of social grants by some youth for drugs and alcohol may inadvertently contribute to violent crimes. Failure to address socio-economic challenges effectively will likely result in continued high crime rates, including police murders.

Enhancing public trust through responsiveness to community concerns can strengthen police legitimacy (UNODC, 2011:101). Increased public awareness and cooperation between police and communities are essential in creating a stable and secure environment. Establishing specialised investigative units focused on police murders may further assist in addressing the problem. Burger (2016:156) notes that former President Jacob Zuma strongly condemned the killing of police officers and called for public cooperation in fighting crime. Similar sentiments were echoed by President Cyril

Ramaphosa, former Police Minister Bheki Cele, and SAPS leadership during a memorial held at the Union Buildings in September 2023, where collaboration among stakeholders was reaffirmed as essential for police officers' safety (Solomons, 2023:n.p.).

Strom and Wire (2024:12) argues that community-police partnerships should be actively implemented rather than remaining theoretical. Public accountability mechanisms can demonstrate that metropolitan police value community input when setting priorities. However, ongoing allegations of police brutality remain a concern. Hajra (2023:n.p.) reports a yearly increase in police brutality cases in South Africa, which may further fuel hostility and increase risks to officers. If police brutality is not effectively addressed, it may continue to undermine the rule of law and erode public trust.

2.2.3.5 Safeguarding Metropolitan Police Officers from violent threats

During routine patrols and when responding to complaints, police officers frequently experience fear for their personal safety. Although policing was once regarded as a highly respected profession, many officers today report feelings of intimidation and anxiety when beginning their duties. Bruce (2024:14) notes that a considerable number of metropolitan police officers are killed while on duty during activities such as stop-and-search operations, traffic control, accident responses, attendance at active crime scenes, and crime-prevention actions, including interventions in vehicle hijackings and cash-in-transit robberies. As a result, metropolitan police officers often commence their shifts feeling threatened and vulnerable.

Many metropolitan police officers believe that the CJS fails to protect them, as suspects they arrest are frequently released shortly thereafter. Mokwena et al. (2025:6) confirm that MPO's feel unsafe because successful arrests often lead to them being targeted by the same criminals once those suspects are released. Reflecting on their everyday experiences within communities, MPO's regularly express frustration with what they perceive as weaknesses in the legal system's ability to deter crime (Butler, Zakimi & Greer, 2022:13). One MPO remarked that repeated arrests appear meaningless, as offenders face little consequence for their actions.

While human rights are universally recognised, the rights of metropolitan police officers are often overlooked or dismissed by society (UNODC, 2011:86). Persistent

fear resulting from perceived failures within the CJS has negatively affected metropolitan police effectiveness. Kwinika (2019:4) argues that many offenders show little respect for the law or the police and are unconcerned about arrest or prosecution. This attitude is reflected in widely circulated social media content in which inmates boast about the perceived comfort of prison life. Nkosi (2024c:n.p.) quoted an inmate stating that incarceration comes with benefits such as free accommodation, electricity, and food, suggesting a lack of deterrence within the correctional system. The researcher argued that individuals convicted of serious crimes, including murder, should face harsher penalties to reinforce accountability and deterrence.

Butler et al. (2022:3) further indicate that the justice system represents only one element of a broader network of institutions that collectively fail to support police officers adequately. Similarly, Mokwena et al. (2025:102) report that metropolitan police officers become demoralised when dangerous offenders are released soon after being arrested due to procedural or systemic challenges. Such experiences might foster resentment among officers who feel unfairly treated by society or the justice system, potentially increasing the risk of retaliatory behaviour and police brutality. Conversely, Lamb (2023:n.p.) maintains that a fair and effective criminal justice system enhances successful prosecutions and discourages repeat offending.

Yesufu (2022:28) highlights the importance of education and training in equipping metropolitan police officers with the skills needed to manage provocative situations and explore alternative conflict-resolution approaches, which might contribute to reducing police murders. Based on the inherent risks of policing, MPO's are required to maintain high standards of occupational health, safety, and welfare (College of Policing Limited, 2020:n.p.). Police organisations have introduced wellness programmes aimed at addressing officers' physical, emotional, and psychological wellbeing; however, participation remains limited. Fedd (2024:n.p.); Hanover (2024:n.p.) notes that many officers perceive these initiatives as insufficient avoiding being stigmatized as unfit to perform their duties.

Based on the researcher's observation of poor attendance at a Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) wellness programme held on 13 June 2025, this concern appears valid. Low participation suggests a lack of awareness or motivation among members. During an interview at a JMPD men's conference, a

superintendent mentioned that some officers are resistant to participating in wellness initiatives, prayer sessions, and sporting activities, citing the presence of negative attitudes among members. This highlights the need for improved engagement strategies to ensure that wellness programmes effectively support police officers facing the daily risks associated with their profession.

2.2.3.6 Implementation of proactive policies and utilising innovative technologies

Metropolitan Police murders occur as a result of multiple interrelated factors, including widespread violence, persistently high crime levels, and discrimination within policing institutions. Addressing these root causes is essential if police killings are to be reduced nationally. Strengthening internal organisational policies that regulate police conduct, curb brutality, and improve the management of officers' safety and fatalities is a critical step in this process (Institute for Security Studies, 2011:1). South Africa is currently experiencing escalating levels of lawlessness that threaten national stability (PSA, 2025:1), placing metropolitan police officers at constant risk of violent attacks. Based on the researcher's perspective, perpetrators responsible for murdering officers are not subjected to sufficiently severe punishment, which weakens deterrence. As a result, there is a need for the government to acknowledge the dangers faced by police officers and implement comprehensive operational strategies that prioritise officers' safety.

Resistance to change within policing institutions has also been identified as a contributing factor to metropolitan police murders. Many senior law enforcement leaders, particularly those appointed during the apartheid era, continue to rely on outdated policing models developed in the 1970s (Monography, 1994:11). This finding was reinforced by participants in the empirical component of this study. While some traditional policing methods remain relevant, contemporary crime patterns require innovative leadership approaches. The importance of evidence-based policing through the utilisation of crime data to guide patrols in high-risk areas as well as improved technological integration for communication and tracking was emphasised by Mr Andrens during a Parliamentary Monitoring Group meeting (PMG, 2024:n.p.).

Several developed countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, have already incorporated advanced technological systems into their crime-fighting

strategies. If South Africa were to benchmark against these countries by adopting modern tools such as ShotSpotter, Automatic Licence Plate Recognition (ALPR), surveillance cameras, and facial recognition systems through Fusion Watch Technologies (FWT), this could contribute significantly to reducing violent crime (Gutierrez & Christoff, 2024:6). The adoption of innovative technologies is therefore essential in strengthening crime prevention efforts and protecting police officers.

Keeping pace with technological advancements is vital for improving management practices, ensuring adequate resource allocation, and enhancing police training (Mokwena et al., 2025:107). Investing in training, modern equipment, and progressive leadership styles may assist in reducing violent crime in metropolitan areas. Exposure to best practices and technological innovations used by other metropolitan police departments can further encourage creative approaches to preventing attacks on police officers (Longley, 2020:n.p.).

Notwithstanding these needs, police leadership often fails to provide younger, academically trained officers with opportunities to apply the knowledge and innovative skills gained through formal education. This resistance has contributed to ongoing organisational challenges. One such challenge is the lack of managerial support for officers, as highlighted by Maphaka (2023:114). This concern was echoed by a participant who reported that after being involved in a serious on-duty vehicle accident, management failed to check on her wellbeing. She indicated that the injuries sustained, including permanent surgical implants, had permanently altered her life. This experience illustrates how ineffective leadership can negatively affect subordinates, particularly when leaders lack awareness of occupational trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and the risk of suicide among police officers.

Equipping officers with adequate resources and advanced technology may significantly reduce the incidence of police murders. Mokwena et al. (2025:107) identifies several tools that could enhance officers' safety, including in-vehicle cameras, electronic ticketing systems, body-worn cameras, wireless communication devices, handheld scanners, virtual training platforms, intelligent policing systems, and digital intelligence technologies. The integration of these resources has the potential to improve situational awareness, accountability, and metropolitan police officers' protection, thereby contributing to a reduction in police killings.

2.3 THE ROLE OF SOCIETY IN PREVENTING METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS

2.3.1 Maintaining a Healthy Relationship with the Metropolitan Police

Preventing murder of metropolitan police officers requires fostering a healthy and collaborative relationship between them and the communities they serve. Public perceptions of metro police vary depending on individual interactions and prior experiences. Mokwena et al. (2025:104) argues that police killings are often linked to community hostility and resentment. Some community members feel that metro police are not sufficiently engaged with local neighbourhoods, particularly because they do not conduct regular foot patrols, creating an impression of distance or absence compared to SAPS officers (Govender, 2019:387). Nevertheless, it is important to note that SAPS officers, despite their visibility, are also vulnerable to attacks. Police officers are sometimes perceived as a threat, and hostility toward them can manifest in protests or public demonstrations (Clarke, 2021:13). Such attitudes often stem from perceptions of social rejection, abuse, or humiliation, with some community members viewing the police as adversaries rather than partners.

It is crucial to maintain public trust, especially when officers' lives are at risk due to violent crimes (Cano, 2021:10). The murder of police personnel not only compromises public safety but might also destabilise the broader society (Madzivhandila, 2019:43). According to Bruce (2020:3), issues such as police brutality, public mistrust, internal corruption, and a lack of transparency or impartiality can negatively impact law enforcement effectiveness, community safety, and crime prevention. Disorganised communities, where criminality is normalised, often display lower police legitimacy, with offenders more likely to resist law enforcement to evade consequences (Doucet & Earglea, 2023:11). This dynamic has contributed to growing animosity between communities and police.

Criticism of police work also arises from community members' limited understanding of legal regulations and enforcement procedures (Ramavhunga, 2018:24). The majority of individuals perceive police performance as inadequate, emphasizing the need for law enforcement to build trust and credibility through regular communication and community engagement (Glascock, 2023:569). The UNODC (2011:8) asserts that effective policing requires active public participation, and that improving police accountability and integrity is essential for developing or restoring public trust. The

Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG, 2022:15) further highlights that society must treat officers fairly, respect human rights, and protect them from harm.

Community policing initiatives play a vital role in promoting accountability and equity within law enforcement (Mokwena et al., 2025:17). Often, MPO's efforts go unrecognised by the communities they serve, despite being essential for ensuring safety (Sadiki, 2024:n.p.). Strengthening police-community relations requires raising awareness about the risks faced by the officers, promoting mutual respect, and collaborating with the public to prevent crime. As noted by Mofokeng et al. (2024:52), well-resourced, professional police organisations with skilled personnel are critical for protecting communities, upholding justice, and supporting the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030.

However, instances of police brutality have eroded trust between law enforcement and the public. Establishing community policing forums provides opportunities for officers to engage with citizens, demonstrate accountability, and rebuild confidence. UNODC (2011:76) emphasises the importance of effective internal disciplinary systems administered fairly by police leadership to enhance organisational credibility.

Public criticism and negative perceptions of law enforcement undermine officers' ability to perform effectively. (Noxhaka, 2019:4) notes that police often feel under constant scrutiny, perceiving themselves as under attack from the very communities they serve, which can diminish performance. Lamb (2023:n.p.) argues that engaging communities in crime prevention initiatives can help restore public trust and confidence in the police. Innovative technologies, such as citizen safety applications, are being explored to improve community safety and provide tailored support for urban and rural populations (PMG, 2024:n.p.). Furthermore, strengthening community safety forums, enhancing communication systems, and improving municipal law enforcement capabilities, including neighbourhood watch programs, are critical for ensuring public security (PMG, 2024).

Additionally, Mr. Arendse highlights the need for sustainable strategies to address gangsterism, improve conflict management, and support rehabilitation for both victims and perpetrators (PMG, 2024). He underscores the importance of integrating strategic initiatives, focusing on reducing murder rates, and leveraging technology and collaboration to enhance public safety.

2.4 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS

2.4.1 London Metropolitan Police Service (United Kingdom)

The London Metropolitan Police Service (LMPS) is recognised as one of the oldest and largest metropolitan policing institutions globally. Established in 1829, the organisation employs approximately 50,000 personnel, including sworn officers, civilian staff, and over 5,000 volunteer officers who form part of the Employer Supported Policing (ESP) initiative under the Metropolitan Special Constabulary (MSC) (Metropolitan Police, 2019:2). The LMPS is responsible for providing policing services to a population of approximately 8.3 million people across the Greater London area, which spans 620 square miles and consists of 32 boroughs.

Furthermore, the organisation is mandated to maintain public order, prevent crime, and uphold the rule of law while remaining accountable for the lawful exercise of its powers. Oversight and accountability are provided through reporting to the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC), which ensures effective policing, responsible resource allocation, and financial oversight (MP, 2019:5). London's policing model has achieved notable success, contributing to the city's reputation as one of the safest metropolitan areas globally.

Wirtz and Sullivan (2009:3) describe the core responsibilities of the Metropolitan Police as encompassing crime prevention, protection of life and property, and the maintenance of law and order within the criminal justice framework. These duties include routine patrols, emergency responses, and policing public events to ensure community safety. However, attacks and murders of police officers significantly undermine their ability to perform these responsibilities effectively. Tengpongsthorn (2017:39) emphasises that police officers worldwide play a vital role in safeguarding citizens and preserving social stability. Violence directed at police officers is therefore widely regarded as unlawful and illegitimate, as it falls outside the boundaries of legally sanctioned force (Nanan, 2023:3). Furthermore, policing is recognised as a highly stressful occupation that routinely exposes officers to dangerous and potentially violent situations (Blair, Fowler, Fetz & Baumgartner, 2016:188).

Police officers in the United Kingdom have been attacked and killed while carrying out their duties, including at checkpoints and roadside operations (Sky News, 2020:n.p.) According to the Metropolitan Police (2024:n.p.), approximately 150 police officers

died while in service between 2017 and 2024. These figures highlight the inherent risks associated with policing, particularly given the prevalence of armed offenders. Violence against police officers presents a serious threat not only to law enforcement personnel but also to broader public safety. Mitchell and Roberts (2010:11) found that public opinion strongly favours severe sentences, including life imprisonment, for individuals convicted of murder, suggesting that harsher punishment for police killers may enhance deterrence.

In addition to external threats, police officer' suicides have emerged as a significant concern within policing globally. Krishnan, Steene, Lewis, Marshall and Ireland (2022:2) report that the United Kingdom experiences an average of 21 police suicides annually. The policing profession involves unique occupational stressors that might intensify pre-existing mental health conditions, increasing vulnerability to suicidal ideation and behaviour. Regular exposure to trauma, violence, and high-pressure decision-making places officers at elevated risk of psychological distress.

In addressing both crime and officers' safety, the LMPS has increasingly relied on advanced technological solutions. In response to evolving criminal methods and rising crime trends, the organisation has implemented modern technologies to enhance operational efficiency (Metropolitan Police, 2025:51). These innovations include the introduction of "smart lockers," which allow frontline officers to access radios and essential equipment as needed, as well as the distribution of approximately 30,000 mobile devices to improve communication. The establishment of a centralised Data Hub has further enabled officers and staff to access real-time analytical data, supporting evidence-based decision-making.

Additional digital tools such as MetMaps and MetInsights have been introduced to strengthen crime response capabilities. MetMaps assists officers in identifying crime hotspots within their jurisdictions, while MetInsights provides detailed insights into local crime patterns and trends, including offender modus operandi (Metropolitan Police, 2025:52). The integration of these technologies has contributed to reduced crime levels in the United Kingdom, demonstrating the effectiveness of technological innovation in modern policing. In particular, the adoption of surveillance-oriented security technologies (SOSTs), which focus on crime detection and prevention through data collection and monitoring, has played a central role in enhancing public safety.

Laufs and Borrion (2022:191) argue that examining the institutional realities of technological innovation in policing is essential for understanding how such tools can address violent crime in the UK. Emerging data science capabilities further enable police organisations to explore the application of automation and artificial intelligence in resolving operational challenges (Metropolitan Police, 2024:54). In addition to technological advancements, the LMPS has introduced initiatives aimed at supporting officers' emotional and psychological wellbeing, recognising the importance of mental health support in sustaining an effective and resilient police workforce. To support the police officers the following methods were implemented including:

The department has implemented several initiatives aimed at supporting the mental, emotional, and physical wellbeing of officers and staff. A trauma support service was introduced to provide local peer support to Basic Command Units (BCUs) and other frontline teams immediately following critical incidents. Offering consistent emotional and psychological support ensures that officers are better equipped to perform their duties safely and effectively.

2.4.2 Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia (MPDDC), United States

The Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia (MPDDC) was founded in 1861 in Georgetown, Washington, initially consisting of one captain and fifteen officers (Columbia Metropolitan Police Department, 2024:3; National Archives and Records Administration, 2013:1). At its inception, the department was divided into ten precincts, each led by a sergeant and staffed with fifteen officers, tasked with patrolling both urban streets and rural areas, as well as maintaining security for Union soldiers stationed in the city. By the year 1899, MPD had expanded to employ 443 officers, including three female matrons. Nowadays, the department has over 3,400 sworn officers dedicated to serving the city while collaborating with the community to create safer, healthier neighbourhoods (MPD, 2023:n.p.).

The department encompasses a variety of operational units, including patrol, investigations, and homeland security services, alongside specialised units such as motorcycles, bicycles, mounted units, and harbour patrols (Metropolitan Police Department, 2008:1). Community policing is delivered across 46 service areas within seven police districts, with the Patrol Services and School Security Bureau also

overseeing the safety of public schools. MPDDC serves over 700,000 families in the Georgetown area.

In order to support crime reduction, MPDDC has implemented modern technologies such as body-worn cameras and crime-mapping tools integrated with social media platforms (Professional Standards, 2024:5). The department has experienced on-duty fatalities, despite these innovations, reporting four (4) deaths of officers from 2018 to date, with no off-duty murders recorded. All four (4) victims were males. Furthermore, one died from COVID-19-related complications while performing their duties, whilst the second one succumbed to complications of the surgery he had due to an accident sustained while on duty. One the other hand, third victim passed away from injuries sustained in a car accident, while the last one died from a gunshot wound. These deaths occurred in places including Eastern Avenue NE and Interstate in Washington, DC (Metropolitan Police Department, 2024:n.p.). Comparatively, South Africa records significantly higher metropolitan police murder rates, highlighting the urgent need for comprehensive strategies to protect officers and restore public confidence, particularly to sustain investment and economic activity (ISS, 2021:n.p.).

2.4.3 Los Angeles Metropolitan Police Division (LAPD), United States

The Los Angeles Police Department, originally established as the Reserve Unit, initially focused on suppressing political dissent and controlling vice industries, including gambling and liquor operations, in segregated South-Central Los Angeles (Bryan, Patlan, Dupuy & Lytle, 2019:1). Headquartered at 2710 West Temple Street, the LAPD operates across 21 divisions covering 468 square miles and serving roughly 4 million residents. The department includes specialised units such as K-9, Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT), mounted, and crime suppression platoons and is authorised 8747 sworn officers (Donohue, Peterson, Harrison, Hill, Sobol, Contreras, 2025:4)

Since 2018, ten (10) LAPD officers have died while performing their duties and the circumstances for these deaths have not been disclosed (LAPMF, 2025:n.p.). This department did not elaborate on the current strategies employed to reduce the number of police killings in metropolitan areas. However, the department highlighted that they cover funeral expenses, and dependants are provided with long-term support, including higher education grants. Violence against officers has significant

consequences for families, potentially leading to social challenges such as substance abuse and economic hardship (Blair et al., 2016:55; Noxhaka, 2019:62). Historical patterns of police hostility toward marginalised communities have also influenced public perceptions of justice and safety (Alexander, 2012:41).

2.4.4 Nashville Metropolitan Police Department (NMPD), United States

Founded in 1870, the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department serves Davidson County and the city of Nashville, covering roughly 526 square miles. MNPD currently employs approximately 1,384 officers, despite being authorised for 1,511, due to attrition and other limitations (National Public Strategy Partnership (NPSP), 2016:1; Metropolitan Nashville Police Department (MNPD), 2024:n.p.). The department operates from eight precincts and utilises a fleet of 1,361 vehicles equipped with mobile data terminals, alongside eight aircraft and thirteen police boats.

Recent policy amendments reflect evolving community expectations, legal challenges, and social changes, with an emphasis on de-escalation and preserving life in line with the department's use-of-force guidelines (MNPD, 2024:2). On the other hand, from 2018 to date, MNPD has reported three (3) on-duty officer murders resulting from firearm and road accidents related fatalities, with no off-duty fatalities (Metro Nashville Police Officers in Memoriam, 2025:n.p.; National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, 2025:3-4). The department successfully decrease the number of the fatalities by enhancing training programs and concentrating on the physical and mental health of the men and women who serve and protect the communities (Officer.com News, 2026:n.p.). Despite relatively low numbers, these incidents underscore that police officer murders are a global issue requiring proactive responses.

2.4.5 Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD), Japan

The Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department was established in 1874 to maintain public order in Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda Ward, and the broader Tokyo metropolitan area (Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department, 2020:2; TMPD, 2025:n.p.). Officers receive specialised training, including foreign languages and forensic techniques, to enhance operational readiness (Bryant, 2024:n.p.). Police murders in Tokyo are relatively rare but remain a serious concern. For example, NDTV World News (2023:n.p.) reported an incident in which two officers were killed with a hunting rifle while responding to a stabbing and shooting emergency.

The TMPD officers also face significant occupational stress, with suicide being a pressing issue. A notable case involved an officer committing suicide at the Prime Minister's offices in Chiyoda Ward (The Asahi Shimbun, 2023:n.p.). Police are more likely to experience depression and suicidal behaviours compared to the general population due to repeated exposure to traumatic events, including shootings, accidents, and fatalities (Njiro et al., 2021:1; Maphaka, 2023:49). Suicide has been identified as a leading cause of death among officers in several countries, although reporting practices vary internationally (Perkins, 2016:50–51).

Access to firearms in officers' homes and psychological conditions such as stress, anxiety, and PTSD have been linked to higher suicide risk (Lawrence & Dockstader, 2024:1). These findings highlight the need for robust mental health support and organisational policies designed to mitigate stress, prevent burnout, and reduce both occupational fatalities and adverse behaviours, including police brutality (Perkins, 2016:51).

2.4.6 Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD), United States

The Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) was created in 1973 to provide law enforcement services to the residents of Las Vegas and surrounding communities. Its responsibilities include patrolling neighbourhoods, responding to emergencies, conducting criminal investigations, and ensuring safety during major events such as concerts and sporting activities (Gutierrez & Christoff, 2024:1). Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) covers a jurisdiction of roughly 1.7 million people across 7,560 square miles, including Las Vegas, Laughlin, and adjacent areas. The department employs more than 4,000 sworn officers, who operate from ten area commands and the Harry Reid Airport Bureau (LVMPD Office of Intergovernmental Services, 2019:4).

In the United States, police fatalities are often caused by firearms, unlike in other countries where vehicle accidents are more common (Kyriacou, Monkkonen, Peek-Asa, Lucke, Labbett, Pearlman & Hutson, 2006:9). As such, between the year 2018 and the present, 144 LVMPD officers were killed while on duty, including incidents related to domestic disputes, traffic accidents, or shootings during off-duty hours

(Police Memorial, 2022:n.p.). These figures underscore the high risks associated with police work in the city.

In order to address these challenges, LVMPD has implemented a range of technological solutions. Officers are equipped with body-worn cameras and Electronic Control Devices (ECDs) to ensure transparency and accountability (Poirier, Charbonneau & Boivin, 2023:170). The department also uses Fusion Watch Technologies, which integrate Automatic Licence Plate Recognition (ALPR), Facial Recognition, and ShotSpotter systems (Gutierrez & Christoff, 2024:6). ShotSpotter detects gunfire within an 82-foot radius and identifies the number of rounds fired, enabling rapid response to violent incidents. ALPRs monitor vehicle movement, and the Vegas Safe-Cam program allows residents and business owners to register private cameras for law enforcement use. Movable camera towers further help commanders identify crime hotspots and direct patrols more effectively (Gutierrez & Christoff, 2024:7; Khan, 2025:2).

The Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department (LVMPD) (2022:n.p.) also emphasises the wellbeing of its officers. The department provides programmes to support mental and physical health, helping officers manage occupational stress and perform their duties effectively (Sheriff, 2024:80). Training in de-escalation, interpersonal skills, and strong supervision has also contributed to reducing police brutality and improving public trust (Konesavanh, 2025:n.p.).

Through these combined strategies such as technology, wellbeing initiatives, and accountability measures, LVMPD has created safer working conditions for officers. South African metropolitan police departments could potentially reduce police murders by adapting similar approaches to improve officer safety and operational efficiency.

2.5 SUMMARY

Across the six (6) international metropolitan police organisations reviewed, several common approaches to reducing police officer' fatalities are evident. The adoption of modern technologies and data-driven policing enhances situational awareness and enables rapid responses to threats. Wellbeing programmes targeting stress, PTSD, and mental health challenges support officers' resilience and reduce the risk of suicide. Policy and procedural reforms, particularly the implementation of ethical use-of-force guidelines, further improve safety within the organisations. Finally, active community

engagement fosters trust, reduces violent encounters, and strengthens collaboration between police and the public.

South African metropolitan police departments can benefit from these lessons by integrating advanced technologies, prioritising officers' mental health, applying evidence-based operational policies, and building strong partnerships with communities to reduce police murders effectively. In conclusion, this chapter has examined the multifaceted causes of metropolitan police murders, including violent crime, organisational weaknesses, socio-economic pressures, and insufficient support mechanisms. It also highlighted management interventions, preventative measures, and community involvement, alongside international best practices that can guide improvements. These insights offer a strategic framework for enhancing officers' safety, optimising operational efficiency, and reinforcing public confidence.

The next chapter will present the theoretical and empirical framework underpinning this study.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presented the theoretical foundations guiding the study, with attention given to perspectives such as broken windows theory, strain or anomie theory, and social theory. It also examined relevant empirical frameworks that informed the analysis. An empirical research design was selected as the most appropriate approach for achieving the objectives of the study. In relation to murders involving metropolitan police departments, empirical data were drawn from five MPDs, namely EMPD, DMPD, JMPD, NMBMPD, and TMPD.

3.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are constructed to interpret, predict, and explain events, enabling scholars to understand why phenomena occur and how often they arise within different contexts of the natural and social world (Maphaka, 2023:55). Webster (2025g:n.p.), together with Luft et al. (2022:4), defines a theory as a systematically developed explanation of phenomena that is grounded in prior empirical evidence. In this study, theoretical perspectives are used as analytical tools to clarify the underlying why SA MPO's are being murdered.

3.2.1 Broken Windows Theory

Shelden (2017:1) explains that the Broken Windows Theory was introduced by Wilson and Kelling in 1981 following a foot patrol experiment conducted in Newark in cooperation with the New Jersey Police Administrators and social scientists in the United States of America. The ideas underpinning the theory were influenced by the earlier "*Safe and Clean Neighbourhoods*" policing initiative implemented in New Jersey during the mid-1970s. This programme demonstrated that foot patrols were more effective than motorised patrols in improving public perceptions of safety and encouraging community cooperation with the police (Jefferson, 2016:1272). The theory also builds on psychological research conducted by Philip Zimbardo in the late 1960s, which showed that neglected and poorly maintained environments tend to attract vandalism and escalate into more serious criminal activity. As a result, the theory seeks to explain how crime develops within communities and proposes methods for crime prevention in metropolitan settings (Serpa & Ferreira, 2018:6).

Piston (2023:141) notes that the Broken Windows Theory was designed to guide police organisations in managing minor offences such as loitering, vandalism, and prostitution. According to Van der Weele, Flynn, and Van der Wolk (2017:2), visible signs of disorder convey a message of weak enforcement and social indifference, which can increase fear of crime and weaken shared community values. This erosion of social norms might create conditions conducive to more serious criminal behaviour. Lanfear, Matsueda, and Beach (2020:3) identify two dimensions associated with the theory, namely social disorder and physical disorder. Social disorder refers to behaviours such as public drinking, panhandling, and loitering that may increase the risk of criminal escalation (Kivisto, 2020:16). Physical disorder relates to visible neglect, including abandoned buildings, graffiti, and litter, which can signal the absence of control and encourage offending.

Van der Weele et al. (2017:2) argue that neglecting minor offences such as trespassing and public drunkenness can contribute to the emergence of serious crimes, including murder, rape, armed robbery, and hijacking. The theory has also been applied to discussions on police violence, particularly in environments characterised by weak accountability and persistent lawlessness (Green, 2015:266). In such contexts, police officers might be more inclined to use excessive force, increasing incidents of brutality and damaging trust between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. The Broken Windows Theory has strongly influenced policing strategies in several major cities in the United States, leading to the adoption of zero tolerance and disorder focused policing approaches.

Friedman (2015:1) identifies three key elements of the Broken Windows Theory. These include social norms that define acceptable behaviour, monitoring processes that communicate expectations, and signals that reinforce compliance with established standards. Friedman (2015) further argues that addressing visible disorder is often viewed as more achievable than confronting broader structural problems such as poverty, inequality, and limited access to education. Examining the interaction between norms, monitoring, and signalling provides insight into how orderly and safe communities can be fostered.

Conversely, Pandey and Pathak (2021:1729) caution that the theory is sometimes perceived as a quick solution, based largely on altering policing methods rather than

addressing underlying social conditions. Mabitsela (2022:35) highlights that the theory outlines three (3) crime prevention strategies, which include reducing antisocial behaviour, addressing minor offences, and encouraging active community involvement in crime prevention. The likelihood of serious crime might be reduced when communities collaborate with the police, particularly through community policing forums.

The theory further suggests that visible signs of neglect, such as a broken window left unrepaired, communicate a lack of informal social control and might encourage further disorder (Mabitsela, 2022:35). This reflects the broader principle that problems should be addressed promptly to prevent escalation. Pandey and Pathak (2021:1729) support this view by arguing that informal social control, which includes adherence to social norms and community vigilance, plays a critical role in regulating behaviour. Strengthening informal social control can limit the progression of minor offences into more serious crimes by reinforcing collective responsibility and positive conduct.

Maphaka (2023:58) asserts that high levels of disorder within a neighbourhood may signal indifference towards community wellbeing, thereby creating conditions that facilitate criminal activity. In the South African context, the Broken Windows Theory might assist metropolitan police management in recognising broader social, political, and historical influences, including the legacy of apartheid, systemic inequality, and police corruption, which have contributed to police violence (Serpa & Ferreira, 2018:6). Furthermore, this theory suggests that recurring incidents of metropolitan police murders might be reduced through effective community policing, proper maintenance of public spaces, and consistent enforcement of the law. In conclusion, the Broken Windows Theory underscores the importance of addressing minor offences as a proactive strategy to prevent more serious crimes.

3.2.2.1 Criticism of Broken Windows Theory

The broken windows theory has attracted substantial criticism for concentrating primarily on minor infractions and observable signs of physical disorder. In this regard, limited attention should be implemented to broader structural contributors to crime such as poverty, inequality, and social injustice (Friedman, 2015:2). The theory presents an overly simplistic explanation of crime and fails to account for the complex interaction of social, economic, and political forces that influence criminal behaviour,

through emphasis of visible disorder as a predictor of criminal activity. Even though socio-economic disadvantage is often linked to disorder, the theory tends to accept this relationship without sufficient critical examination, thereby ignoring alternative explanations for criminal conduct.

Additionally, the theory presumes that certain behaviours are inherently indicative of disorder and criminality, resulting in a narrow and selective focus on particular forms of misconduct. This approach has been criticised for encouraging discriminatory policing practices, as law enforcement officials may disproportionately target communities labelled as “disordered,” often along racial and class lines (Shelden, 2017:13). Pandey and Pathak (2021:1729) note that African Americans and other minority groups are more frequently associated with crime and disorder than white populations, illustrating how broken windows policing might reinforce racial and socio-economic inequalities by criminalising low-income and marginalised communities.

However, Berg and Kim (2019:2) point out that the theory largely overlooks serious crimes such as murder, rape, and robbery, while placing disproportionate emphasis on minor violations including public intoxication, littering, and public urination. As a result, enforcement efforts are often directed toward low-level offences rather than addressing the underlying social and economic conditions that give rise to crime. Consequently, the application of broken windows theory has been criticised for contributing to the over-policing of disadvantaged communities and perpetuating existing patterns of social and class-based inequality.

3.2.2.2 Applicability of theory to study’s findings

Impoverished communities may be more inclined to encounter the "Broken Windows” effect which occurs when minor crimes remain overlooked and ultimately lead to serious offenses. Disorder is frequently more prevalent in metropolitan areas with substantial socio-economic issues. In such an environment, tensions can escalate and there may be an increase in violence against the police. Furthermore, a significant amount of corruption and disorder within the police organization could suggest a failure in the integrity of law enforcement, which contributes to public unrest. Communities might lose confidence as well as cooperation with the police when they believe that they are corrupt. This could lead to an environment that encourages violent crimes, placing police officers’ lives at greater risk.

3.2.3 Anomie / Strain Theory

The Anomie or Strain Theory asserts that deviant and criminal behaviour arises when social norms, values, and regulatory frameworks weaken or fail (Serpa & Ferreira, 2018:6). This theory was particularly relevant to the present study as it assisted the researcher in understanding the social and structural conditions that contribute to the high incidence of metropolitan police murders, as well as the motivations behind such crimes (Nickerson, 2025:n.p.). At its core, anomie theory explains criminal behaviour as a response to normlessness and social instability. Societal underdevelopment, characterised by high unemployment, persistent poverty, inequality, and limited access to education, places individuals under pressure that may increase their likelihood of engaging in criminal conduct (Yesufu, 2022:26).

Meulendijks (2018:4) identifies three primary sources of strain that might intensify the risk of deviant behaviour. The first involves the failure to achieve socially valued goals, which commonly occurs when individuals are unable to attain success, status, or financial security expected by society, particularly when others around them have succeeded. The second source of strain is the loss of positively valued elements, such as employment, family relationships, or social standing, which can generate frustration and emotional distress. The third source is the introduction of negatively valued stimuli, including experiences such as poverty, illness, discrimination, or social marginalisation. These adverse conditions can provoke feelings of anger, resentment, and hostility, thereby increasing the potential for criminal behaviour. Similarly, Plum (2023:n.p.) explains that strain theory centres on the imbalance between culturally approved goals and the legitimate means available to achieve them, an imbalance that often results in deviance.

Crime may be viewed as a coping mechanism, when individuals experience prolonged stress or frustration arising from these strains. Strain theory may be understood both as a social process and as an individual experience. Zhang (2019:5) defines social processes as forms of social stress that influence individuals to behave in ways that deviate from their usual conduct. Personal strain, on the other hand, refers to the emotional and psychological pressures individuals face while attempting to satisfy their needs, often serving as a motivational force behind criminal behaviour. In the context of metropolitan police murders, perpetrators may be influenced by a combination of personal and social strain (Nickerson, 2025:n.p.). Frustration may escalate into violent

acts such as robbery or murder when individuals perceive themselves as defeated or unable to achieve their goals through legitimate means (Yesufu, 2022:26).

In some instances, police murders in the post-apartheid era have been motivated by retaliatory sentiments. Maphaka (2023:56) notes that individuals from disadvantaged communities, particularly those who have lost loved ones to police violence, may be driven by a desire for revenge. This illustrates how historical and structural injustices can intensify strain and contribute to extreme forms of violence against law enforcement officers.

Brezina (2017:2) argues that unresolved strain may compel individuals to engage in criminal or deviant behaviour, particularly when feelings of frustration, desperation, or anger remain unaddressed. Merton further identified various adaptive responses to strain, some of which involve criminal activity. Jang and Agnew (2015:2) explain that individuals might resort to illegal means such as theft, drug dealing, or prostitution in an attempt to achieve financial success. In situations of heightened emotional strain, individuals may turn to substance abuse or violent behaviour, including assault or murder, as a way of managing their frustrations. Yilmaz and Koca (2015:172) add that some individuals are more inclined toward criminality because they believe that societal systems operate against their interests rather than facilitating their goals.

Zhang (2019:5) emphasises that strain is fundamentally emotional in nature, arguing that intense negative emotions such as anger, resentment, or hopelessness are critical catalysts for criminal behaviour. This perspective broadens strain theory beyond financial aspirations to include discrepancies between expectations and lived realities, as well as losses of valued elements such as health, relationships, or employment. Additional sources of strain may include community mistrust and the absence of social support, within policing contexts. Bishopp and Boots (2014:539) highlight that police officers are frequently exposed to traumatic events, heavy workloads, and inadequate organisational resources, which may foster feelings of isolation, dissatisfaction, anger, and even suicidal ideation. Strain could manifest in harmful psychological outcomes in cases where officers perceive job demands as overwhelming or feel undervalued.

Strain theory offers valuable insights for metropolitan police management by highlighting the importance of addressing the underlying causes of police violence. Through recognition of occupational and social stressors, police organisations might

implement preventative strategies aimed at supporting officers and reducing the likelihood of excessive force or violent conduct (Apaza, 2017:7). The theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the behavioural, psychological, and interpersonal factors associated with both police violence and suicide. Strain theory is particularly relevant to this study as it explains how such pressures might contribute to aggressive or violent behaviour, based on the fact that metropolitan police officers are exposed to multiple social and occupational stressors. Overall, the theory was essential in demonstrating how societal norms and values influence individual actions within high-stress environments (Kivisto, 2020:16).

3.2.3.1 Criticism of Anomie/Strain Theory

Numerous scholars who criticised Merton's work subsequently proposed alternative theoretical frameworks intended to refine or extend his original arguments. However, Anomie theory, has struggled to gain widespread acceptance, largely due to its conceptual complexity and the difficulty many researchers experience when attempting to operationalise it. Moreover, Merton's approach centres primarily on the link between social structure and deviance, relying heavily on illustrative case studies and theoretical reasoning rather than systematic empirical investigation.

Another major limitation is that the theory largely neglects violent forms of criminality, focusing instead on economically or materially motivated deviance (Noxhaka, 2019:67). On the other hand, Merton's framework does not sufficiently account for deviant behaviour within middle- and upper-class populations while it provides insight into deviance among lower-class individuals it. In addition, the concept of anomie itself has been criticised for its abstract nature and the absence of clear indicators for measurement. The theory also fails to adequately explain variations in deviance or the relationship between conformity and non-conformity.

Police murders might be interpreted through an anomie perspective as manifestations of social disorganisation and a breakdown in normative regulation, representing a violation of legal and moral order. As such, these incidents might occur when police officers resort to excessive or unethical conduct due to perceptions that society has failed to provide clear and consistent behavioural expectations. This sense of normative ambiguity, coupled with frustration, could contribute to actions that exceed socially acceptable boundaries. Nonetheless, it is important to recognise that

Durkheim's anomie theory represents only one possible explanatory lens. Other contributing factors, including systemic racism and insufficient accountability mechanisms for police misconduct, must also be taken into account.

Meehan, Forrester and Haaja (2024:n.p.) argue that strain theories alone offer an incomplete explanation of deviant behaviour, suggesting that criminal conduct cannot be attributed solely or predominantly to social strain. Strain theory proposes that certain combinations of social and economic pressures may increase vulnerability to deviance. On the other hand, it acknowledges that not all working-class individuals engage in criminal activity (Thompson, 2023:n.p.). However, Thompson has been criticised for overstating crime rates among the working class while underestimating middle-class and white-collar crime. In practice, middle- and working-middle-class individuals frequently engage in white-collar offences, particularly for financial benefit. Additionally, strain theory posits that 22222. Critics further argue that strain theory places disproportionate emphasis on the relationship between crime, deviance, and socio-economic status (Brym and Lie, 2007:197 in Plum, 2023:n.p.), while neglecting the complex interplay of social, cultural, and psychological factors that shape criminal behaviour.

3.2.3.2 Applicability of theory to study's findings

Poverty and high unemployment rates can lead to feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction. Individuals might perceive law enforcement as representatives of an unjust system, which could result in violence against the police. Additionally, some members of the community may engage in violence when they believe that there are obstacles in their way. Police officers may become more susceptible to attacks because of this increased violence.

3.2.4 Social Theory

Social theory was developed in the early 1960s by prominent American sociologists Hughes and Moore, alongside contributions from Malaysian sociologist Alatas during the same period (Moosavi, 2023:140). The theory introduced diverse analytical approaches for examining social interactions, structural patterns, power relations, and criminal behaviour (Boudreaux, 2023:n.p.). Its primary objective is to explain how social structures, norms, and institutions influence human behaviour. Social theory conceptualises society as a multifaceted and evolving system shaped by power

dynamics, cultural forces, and institutional arrangements (Harrington, 2005:3). Communities characterised by weak social cohesion, fragile interpersonal relationships, and ineffective social control mechanisms are therefore more susceptible to crime and instability.

As a form of critical reflection, social theory seeks to deepen understanding of social life, particularly in relation to power and inequality (Harrington, 2005:3). Its application within law enforcement has enhanced public understanding of police mandates and informed organisational strategies aimed at achieving institutional objectives (Wahab, Ajiboye, Ogbeyemi & Isaiah, 2023:10). Klinger (2005:1) further emphasises that theoretical frameworks guide both police and community behaviour by promoting strategies that prevent confrontations from escalating into violence. Through this lens, police murders are understood not merely as isolated acts of violence but as outcomes shaped by broader social conditions, including racial and economic inequality, poverty, and social marginalisation embedded within societal structures.

The enduring legacy of apartheid continues to manifest in inequality, racial discrimination, and social exclusion, resulting in persistent socio-economic challenges such as limited access to employment, education, housing, and essential resources (McGuire, Al-Zu'biñ, Boa-Alvarado, Luu, Sylvester & Leñero, 2024:3). These conditions contribute to elevated levels of poverty, social instability, and crime. Recurrent incidents of metropolitan police murders in South Africa have had a detrimental impact on police organisations, underscoring the relevance of social theory in uncovering the structural roots of such violence and highlighting the need for sustained systemic reform. In this study, social theory is particularly pertinent to the present study, as it facilitates a deeper understanding of police culture and its interaction with broader societal forces (Nwakanma, 2015:55).

Conversely, Klinger (2005:2) highlights how societal norms, values, and institutional pressures shape police decision-making, especially in high-risk and life-threatening situations. Social theory therefore promotes the use of minimal force and encourages strategies aimed at de-escalation to reduce the likelihood of future violence within the MPD's. Its relevance to this study lies in its potential to inform the development of improved policing policies, enhanced social engagement, and specialised training

programmes designed to prevent violent encounters and promote ethical law enforcement practices.

3.2.4.1 Criticism of Social Theory

Contemporary critiques of social theory largely concentrate on modern societal challenges, particularly issues of perceived injustice and the nature of social relationships within society (Blanchard, 2022:1-2). These criticisms highlight the limitations of social theory in fully accounting for the complexity of present-day social realities. In this regard, two (2) notable forms of social criticism are outlined below.

3.2.4.1.1 Archetypal criticism

Archetypal criticism argues that the meanings embedded in literary texts are rooted in shared cultural and psychological myths. According to this perspective, archetypes function as universal patterns that shape both the genre and the intended purpose of literary works. These archetypes exist as fundamental, impersonal forms that recur across narratives through images, symbols, or motifs (Blanchard, 2022:1-2). Common examples include symbolic acts such as execution, supernatural figures such as heroes or tricksters. The theory provided insight into recollections surrounding police brutality, yet it frequently ignores the underlying circumstances. Although police officers are regarded as heroes and frequently expected to provide protection for the public, most imminent threats that require them to apply the maximum force its mostly overlooked.

3.2.4.1.2 Cultural materialism

Cultural materialism provides a theoretical and analytical framework for examining the relationship between economic development and material conditions. This approach emphasises how access to physical resources influences social organisation while also shaping societal beliefs, values, and attitudes. Material conditions, cultural materialism seeks to explain how economic forces interact with culture to produce and sustain social structures (Blanchard, 2022:1-2). Despite cultural materialism provides a strong framework for comprehending the socio-economic factors, it neglected the deliberate political and legal influence of cultural narratives on public opinion. This theory disregarded the multidimensional reality of police violence and viewed it as an unnatural phenomenon.

3.2.4.2 Applicability of theory to study's findings

Police can develop a negative attitude towards the communities which may result in violence if they are perceived as corrupt or enforcing unjust laws. The criminal justice system's corruption and inefficiencies could be a sign of an imbalance in the social norms and values that support law and order. Furthermore, the increased crime rates within metropolitan areas and violence against the metropolitan police officers may result from law enforcement organizations failure. Understanding police culture and the narratives shared in communities could provide insight into how police operate. Building a good relationship between the MPO's and communities, balancing there is a need for structural transformations that can restore social organizations.

3.3 EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

Empirical research refers to investigations in which conclusions are derived from observable, measurable, and verifiable evidence. The term empirical denotes reliance on systematically collected data obtained through scientific observation, experimentation, or direct engagement with real-world phenomena (Bouchrika, 2025:n.p.). A study is therefore considered empirical when its findings are grounded in actual data rather than speculative reasoning or theoretical abstraction alone. Similarly, Viorela (2017:1) explains that empirical research is distinguished by its dependence on primary data obtained directly from respondents or documented sources, enabling conclusions to be substantiated through factual verification rather than conceptual interpretation.

In line with this definition, the present study adopted an empirical research design. Data were collected from five metropolitan police departments (MPDs) concerning incidents of metropolitan police murders. These departments include the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD), Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD), Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD), Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department (NMBMPD), and Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD).

3.3.1 The Durban Metropolitan Police Department Empirical Evidence

According to records supplied by the Durban Metropolitan Police Department (DMPD) Professional Standards Unit (2025:n.p.), a total of fourteen (14) metropolitan police officers were killed between 2018 and 2025. It should be noted that the unit indicated

the absence of a dedicated internal database for police murder statistics, with information instead extracted from the media reports. The murders occurred across various locations, including Phoenix, Mpumalanga, Illovo, Verulam, Queensburgh, and Umlazi.

Of the fourteen victims, ten (10) were male officers aged between 24 and 60 years, while four (4) were female officers aged between 21 and 57 years. The rank distribution comprised one (1) Superintendent, one (1) Captain, two (2) Inspectors, two (2) Sergeants, three (3) Constables, and three (3) Traffic Wardens. Eight (8) officers were murdered while on duty, whereas six (6) were killed while off duty. In terms of circumstances, seven (7) incidents involved firearms, two (2) case was classified as a murder–suicide in which an officer killed his spouse before taking his own life, three (3) deaths resulted from MVA, and two (2) officers were attacked and killed. Lieutenant General Godfrey Lebeya emphasised that an attack on a police officer constitutes an attack on society and the State itself, calling for urgent and decisive intervention (Dawood, 2025:n.p.).

3.3.2 The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department Empirical Evidence

Data obtained from the EMPD Spiritual Care Unit System (2025:n.p.) indicate that thirty-one (31) metropolitan police officers were killed between 2018 and 2025. These incidents occurred in areas such as Kempton Park, Springs, Tembisa, Germiston, Boksburg, Nigel, and Vosloorus. Of the thirty-one (31) victims, twenty-six (26) were male and five (5) were female, with deaths occurring both on and off duty.

The rank profile of the deceased officers included three (3) Chief Superintendents, one (1) Inspector, twenty-four (24) Constables, and three (3) Traffic Wardens. Sixteen (16) of the deaths were firearm-related, including three (3) cases classified as suicides. Fourteen (14) officers died as a result of vehicular accidents, three (3) attacks, while one (1) death was attributed to electrocution. In response to the escalating number of police killings, calls have been made for harsher penalties against perpetrators. Deputy President Paul Mashatile emphasised the need for the strictest legal consequences, stating that any assault on a police officer should attract the most severe punishment permitted by law, with provisions for strengthening existing legislation where necessary (South African Government, 2025a:n.p.).

3.3.3 The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department Empirical Evidence

According to the JMPD New Deaths System (2025:n.p.), forty-six (46) metropolitan police officers lost their lives between 2018 and 2025, both while on duty and off duty. Of these fatalities, twenty-nine (29) occurred off duty, while seventeen (17) took place during official duties. The gender distribution indicates that ten (10) of the deceased officers were female and thirty-six (36) were male.

In terms of rank, forty-three (43) of the victims were Constables, with one (1) holding the rank of Inspector. Analysis of the circumstances reveals that thirty (30) of the deaths were firearm-related, including two (2) suicides, while sixteen (16) resulted from vehicular accidents. The majority of these incidents occurred in areas such as Meadowlands, Dobsonville, Diepkloof (Soweto), Braamfontein, the Johannesburg Central Business District, Randburg, Alexandra and Vlakfontein. The South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU, 2018:n.p.) has urged law enforcement officials to remain vigilant, particularly given the prevalence of firearm-related attacks on officers who are often armed at the time of their deaths.

3.3.4 The Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department Empirical Evidence

Data from the NMBMPD Death Data System (2025:n.p.) reveal that two (2) metropolitan police officers were murdered between 2018 and 2025. Both victims were male officers aged between 31 and 40 years. One (1) officer was shot and subsequently burned to death, with the incident reportedly linked to corruption-related activities. The second officer was brutally stabbed, sustaining fatal injuries including a slashed throat; the motive for this murder remains unknown.

Both incidents occurred while the officers were off duty, in the areas of Kwalanga and Kwanobuhle, Kariega. These findings underscore the need for officers to exercise heightened personal safety measures, including appropriate defensive use of firearms. Mokwena et al. (2025:108) argue that reducing police murders and internal corruption requires government intervention that addresses the underlying structural causes of violence and unethical practices within law enforcement institutions.

3.3.5 The Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department Empirical Evidence

According to TMPD Employment Wellness Services (2025:n.p.), a total of fifty-four (54) metropolitan police officers died as a result of unnatural causes between 2018

and 2025. Of these deaths, nineteen (19) occurred while officers were performing official duties, whereas thirty-five (35) occurred outside of duty hours. The gender profile of the deceased indicates that eight (8) were female and forty-six (46) were male. With respect to rank distribution, the majority were constables thirty-six (36), followed by sergeants (18).

Further examination of the records shows that detailed information regarding the circumstances of death was available in only eighteen (18) cases, while the remaining thirty-six (36) cases lacked full disclosure. The available data identified firearm-related incidents, including suicide, as well as motor vehicle accidents, as major contributing factors to these fatalities. Certain geographic areas, including Pretoria Central Business District, Pretoria West, Olievenhoutbosch, Soshanguve, Denville, and Mamelodi, were identified as areas with a higher concentration of incidents involving metropolitan police officers.

Metropolitan police officers play a vital role in maintaining public safety, and their deaths highlight a broader societal challenge that requires urgent attention. The South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU) (2024:n.p.) has called upon all sectors of society to actively address the root causes of violence against police officers, including domestic violence, and to prioritise measures that enhance officer safety. The empirical findings clearly indicate that police officers operate under constant threat, placing their lives at significant risk on a daily basis.

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter explored both the theoretical and empirical frameworks relevant to understanding why South Africa metropolitan police officers are being murdered. Key criminological theories, including broken windows theory, anomie or strain theory, and social theory, were critically discussed alongside their respective limitations. In addition, empirical data obtained from the DMPD, EMPD, JMPD, NMBMPD, and TMPD were analysed to strengthen the study's evidence base and to minimise reliance on theory alone.

The next chapter presents and discusses the research methodology applied in this study.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research methodology adopted for the study. Accordingly, the chapter details the selected research approach and design, the underlying research paradigm or philosophical worldview, and the study population, including the target population and unit of analysis. The chapter further explains the sampling framework and study location, as well as the data collection methods employed, encompassing both primary and secondary sources of data. In addition, relevant statutory provisions, legislative instruments, and policy frameworks applicable to the study are identified and discussed.

The chapter also presents the procedures for data analysis and interpretation, which are undertaken following the data collection phase. Measures implemented to enhance the rigour of the study are subsequently described, with specific attention given to reliability and validity considerations. These measures address the criteria of dependability, confirmability, credibility, and transferability to ensure the trustworthiness of the research findings.

4.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM/ PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW OFFERED IN THE STUDY

The research paradigm, or philosophical worldview, provides a conceptual framework that guides the research process by clarifying the underlying assumptions informing the study. Turin, Raihan, and Chowdhury (2024:1) describe research paradigms as the foundational belief systems, theoretical orientations, assumptions, and modes of reasoning that shape how researchers conceptualise and conduct their inquiries. Similarly, Gannon, Azer, and Taheri (2021:3) argue that a research paradigm reflects a researcher’s beliefs about the most appropriate ways of generating knowledge, both in general and in relation to the specific objectives of a study. In the present research, the chosen research paradigm informed and guided the investigation by providing an interpretive lens through which the underlying issues related to metropolitan police murders were examined and understood.

The study was grounded in both ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontology is defined by Fouché et al. (2021:7) as a concept used in the social sciences

and philosophy to examine the nature of reality. Within the social sciences, ontology refers to the theoretical perspective through which social entities, social phenomena, and their meanings are understood (Faroque, 2023:127). Drawing on empirical data generated from participants' responses, this study identified multiple interrelated factors contributing to metropolitan police murders. The findings reflect the socially constructed and context-dependent nature of the reality under investigation.

Epistemology, often referred to as the philosophy of knowledge, concerns how knowledge is produced, validated, and acquired through research design and engagement with reality, truth, and human experience (Gannon et al., 2021:3). Fouché et al. (2021:8) further emphasise epistemology as a social science theory of knowledge that supports researchers in interpreting data and selecting appropriate methodological approaches. Guided by epistemological considerations, the researcher was able to meaningfully address the central research question: *Why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered?* Accordingly, this study adopted interpretivist and constructivist paradigms, recognising that knowledge about metropolitan police murders is co-constructed through participants lived experiences and the researcher's interpretive engagement with the data.

4.2.1 Interpretivism and Constructivism and its Relevance to the Study

Interpretivism emphasises the exploration of individuals' subjective experiences, interpretations, and meanings (Turin et al., 2024:2). In this study, interpretivism intended to understand people's subjective opinions regarding the reality. Whereas constructivism is grounded in the assumption that reality is socially constructed through individuals' experiences and interactions within specific social contexts (Turin et al., 2024:2). Additionally, central to the interpretivist paradigm is the recognition that understanding social phenomena requires engagement with participants' perspectives, as meanings are not fixed but are shaped by lived experience. Constructivism maintained a strong emphasis on how individuals actively construct those meanings through social interactions.

In this study, these philosophical assumptions informed the research process by guiding the researcher's engagement with participants and the generation of empirical data. Senior officials, including directors and commanders from Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs), were interviewed to elicit diverse subjective interpretations and

lived experiences related to metropolitan police murders. Through in-depth, face-to-face interviews, the researcher was able to capture nuanced insights and contextual meanings, thereby facilitating a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The empirical data generated were subsequently integrated with existing knowledge derived from prior experience and the literature review, enabling the construction of a comprehensive and contextually grounded understanding of the research problem.

4.2.2 Research Approach

Bailey (2018:13) describes qualitative research as an approach that seeks to explore and understand the deeper meanings individuals or groups attribute to social or human phenomena from their own perspectives. Similarly, Babbie (2021:26) explains that qualitative research enables researchers to observe and interpret experiences within the social world in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the behaviour and actions of individuals or groups. This approach is inherently inductive in nature, as it facilitates the development of theories or hypotheses derived from empirical observations and contextual evidence rather than from predetermined assumptions (Islam, Khan & Baikady, 2022:61).

The qualitative research approach was therefore considered appropriate for this study, as it allowed for an in-depth exploration of the underlying why South Africa Metropolitan Police Officers were being murdered. By prioritising participants' perspectives and lived experiences, the approach enabled the researcher to develop a nuanced and context-sensitive understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the qualitative approach was applied in conjunction with narrative inquiry. Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that the primary purpose of qualitative research is not to generalise findings broadly but to gain a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon (Falk & Guenther, 2021:1055; Hamed, 2021:22). This study adopted a narrative enquiry. Narrative inquiry is a methodological strategy grounded in storytelling, through which individuals' personal accounts and experiences are examined to gain insight into their lived realities and socio-professional contexts (Islam et al., 2022:102). In this study narrative inquiry, allowed the researcher to explore how participants' actively constructed narratives in order to make sense of their social context and life experiences.

4.2.3 Research Design

Research design constitutes a critical stage in the research process, transforming an initial idea, curiosity, or research question into a systematic and meaningful investigation of social or physical phenomena (Gatrell et al., 2020:1). The research design provides a structured framework through which data are collected, analysed, and interpreted in order to generate credible and coherent knowledge. In this study, an exploratory and descriptive case study design was adopted to address the research objectives.

Exploratory research is particularly suited to investigating phenomena that have received limited scholarly attention or remain insufficiently understood (Islam et al., 2022:22). According to Babbie (2021:91), exploratory research seeks to generate insights into unfamiliar, ambiguous, or under-researched situations, events, groups, or social contexts. Given the limited empirical research focusing specifically on metropolitan police murders in South Africa, an exploratory approach enabled the researcher to identify key issues, patterns, and relationships relevant to the phenomenon.

The study further employed a case study design, which facilitates an in-depth and contextualised examination of a social phenomenon as it unfolds within a real-life setting (Bairagi & Munot, 2019:8). Johnson and Christensen (2020:49) describe a case study as an approach aimed at understanding individuals' experiences and perspectives within their natural contexts. Case study designs allow for the integration of multiple data sources, including interviews, documents, and observations, thereby supporting a comprehensive and holistic analysis of complex issues. Accordingly, the case study design was appropriate for examining the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa in depth.

Overall, the combined use of exploratory and descriptive case study design strengthened the study by enabling a detailed exploration and systematic description of the causes, scale, and implications of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

4.3 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

A population in research refers to a defined group of individuals who share one or more common characteristics from which a research sample may be drawn (Thomas, 2021:136). Babbie (2021:199) further explains that a study population consists of

elements that can be theoretically identified and described in relation to specific dimensions of the research under investigation. Clearly defining the study population provides a foundation for systematic sampling and supports the generalisability of the research findings.

In this study, the population comprises a total of (13,753) metropolitan police officers employed across all Metropolitan Police Departments 7(MPDs) in South Africa. From this broader population, a specific target group was identified and selected for participation in the study in accordance with the research objectives.

4.3.1 Target Population

The target population refers to a specific subset of individuals or elements drawn from a broader population that a study seeks to examine, analyse, or influence in alignment with its research objectives (Willie, 2023:2). Focusing on a defined target population enables the researcher to generate relevant and meaningful conclusions by concentrating on characteristics and attributes deemed pertinent to the inquiry (Acharyya & Bhattacharya, 2019:183). Within an organisational context, Willie (2024:76) further describes the target population as comprising particular members of the larger accessible population whose roles, experiences, or attributes are of direct relevance to the research problem.

The identification of an appropriate target population is a critical methodological consideration, as it is often impractical to involve the entire study population due to constraints such as time, cost, and logistical limitations (Dhir & Gupta, 2021:585). Accordingly, this study defined its target population as five (5) Directors and fifteen (15) Commanders drawn from the victims' units across the selected five (5) Metropolitan Police Departments in South Africa. This targeted selection ensured that participants possessed the requisite organisational insight and experiential knowledge necessary to address the research objectives effectively. This number of participants was adequate for this study, considering that qualitative research seeks to understand human behaviour, experiences, and perceptions rather than numerical or statistical data to draw conclusions. The study's data saturation was attained when no new themes or insights emerged from participant responses, indicating that sufficient data had been gathered to effectively accomplish the study's objectives. As outlined by

Fouché et al. (2021:373) data saturation is achieved when participants provide no new information.

4.3.2 Sampling Technique/ Strategy

Sampling is the methodological process through which a suitable and representative subset is selected from a larger population for the purposes of empirical investigation (Acharyya & Bhattacharya, 2019:183). Thomas (2021:136) further conceptualises sampling as a systematic procedure for selecting a smaller group from a broader population, enabling the researcher to draw informed inferences and generalisations about the entire population while optimising time and resource efficiency. This study comprised a total of 20 sampled participants, delineated as indicated in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Sampled participant categories

Metropolitan Police Department Name	Participant Category		Total Number of Participants Per Sample Category
Durban Metropolitan Police Department	1 Director	2 Commanders	3 participants
Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department	1 Director	6 Commanders	7 participants
Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department	1 Director	2 Commanders	3 participants
Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department	1 Director	2 Commanders	3 participants
Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department	1 Director	3 Commanders	4 participants
Total	**5**	**15**	**20**

4.3.2.1 Sampling Technique/ Method

This study employed a non-probability purposive sampling strategy for the selection of prospective participants. According to Babbie (2021:192) and David and Thomas (2018:26), non-probability sampling refers to a sampling approach in which elements of the target population do not have an equal or known chance of selection at each stage of the sampling process. Such an approach is particularly appropriate in qualitative research, where the emphasis is placed on depth of understanding rather than statistical representativeness.

Purposive sampling, in particular, is based on the deliberate selection of participants according to the researcher's judgement, informed by an understanding of the research context and the specific characteristics required of participants to address the research objectives (Burns & Grove, 2017:13). In this regard, the adoption of a non-probability purposive sampling strategy was considered suitable for the present study, as it enabled the selection of participants with relevant expertise and experiential knowledge. The appropriateness of this approach was further supported by the researcher's professional background and practical experience within the metropolitan police sector, which facilitated informed and context-sensitive participant selection.

4.3.3 Sampling Criteria

Selection criteria refer to the standards or considerations used to determine which prospective participants are eligible for inclusion in a study (David & Thomas, 2018:36). These criteria form the basis for deciding whether participants should be included or excluded from the research (Kumar, 2019:116).

In this study, the researcher selected Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) officials who had served as Directors for a minimum of two years. An additional sample of Commanders was included, comprising individuals who had permanent employment status and had worked for at least two years alongside a colleague who had been murdered within their units. Participation in the study was entirely voluntary; both Directors and Commanders provided informed consent after the researcher fully disclosed the purpose and procedures of the study (Wang, 2015:12). This approach ensured that participants possessed the requisite experience and contextual knowledge necessary to provide rich and relevant insights into the phenomenon under investigation.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is the systematic and structured process of gathering and analysing information related to specific variables relevant to a research problem or study (Bairagi & Munot, 2019:131). The collection of data also involves the organised acquisition of qualitative and/or quantitative data to test hypotheses, validate research outcomes, or address a particular research question (Walliman, 2016:84). In the

present study, data were collected from both primary and secondary sources to ensure comprehensive coverage and triangulation of information.

Fouché et al. (2021:347) describe secondary data as information that has been re-examined or re-analysed from existing datasets, where the researcher was not directly involved in the original data generation nor had control over its production. Similarly, Hamed (2021:12) defines secondary data as information sourced from published materials, indicating that such data were originally collected for purposes other than the current study but can be repurposed to address new research objectives. In this study, the selection of documents relied on the ability to provide comprehensive, contextual insights into the phenomenon under investigation, as well as their relevance to the study questions and objectives.

On the other hand, primary data sources refer to information that is directly generated by the researcher through methods such as surveys, interviews, and observations (Kumar, 2019:215). Primary data collection constitutes the methodological approach through which the researcher gathers original data for the purposes of the study, employing both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Such data become accessible to a wider audience only once they are formally disseminated or published (Hamed, 2021:14). In the present study, primary data were collected through the use of in-depth interviews, which enabled the researcher to obtain detailed and context-specific insights relevant to the research objectives. As a result, knowledge was generated through storytelling, employing quotes and stories that illustrate the themes emerged from the participants' responses.

4.4.1 Literature Review

According to Thomas (2021:263), a literature review entails a critical and analytical synthesis of publications produced by previous scholars on a subject relevant to the study under consideration. Johnson and Christensen (2020:83) further assert that a literature review provides a foundational understanding of conceptual and empirical findings from prior studies, which assists in contextualising the current research and identifying gaps in existing knowledge that may warrant further investigation.

In this study, the literature review constitutes a secondary data collection technique, as it draws on information obtained from a range of existing sources, including books, academic journals, artificial intelligence, court dockets, annual reports, online

databases, and other published materials, all of which are classified as secondary data (Terosky, Barker & Sun, 2023:58). To support this process, search engines and relevant websites focusing on police-related murders were consulted, alongside scholarly publications, peer-reviewed journals, annual reports, court dockets, and both published and unpublished dissertations and theses.

4.4.2 Pilot Study

Fouché et al. (2021:236) define a pilot study as a preliminary procedure used to test and validate a research instrument by administering it to a small group of participants drawn from the target population, who are not included in the final study sample, prior to the commencement of the main investigation. Similarly, Lowe (2019:117) describes a pilot study as an exploratory exercise aimed at assessing the feasibility and effectiveness of the procedures planned for a larger, more comprehensive, or confirmatory study.

In this study, a pilot test was conducted with five (5) participants to evaluate the practicality and reliability of the interview technique before the main data collection phase. Following the pilot study, participants' responses were analysed, and the interview questions were refined and modified to enhance clarity and ease of understanding. Improving the comprehensibility of the interview questions increased the likelihood of obtaining accurate and meaningful responses during the main interviews.

4.4.3 Document Review

Document review refers to the systematic process of collecting information through the examination of existing documents (Bezuidenhout, 2021:14). Rubin and Babbie (2017:34) further describe document review as the analysis of previously published materials to gain an understanding of their substantive content as well as their underlying or contextual meanings.

In this study, document review was conducted through the examination of applicable legislation governing the metropolitan police sector, as well as policy documents from relevant organisations and institutions that constitute key stakeholders within the sector. Accordingly, the researcher reviewed and analysed the content of relevant policies, legislation, Acts, annual reports, case dockets, human resource data from

metropolitan police departments, and online news articles relating to murders involving metropolitan police officers in South Africa.

4.4.3.1 Applicable/ Relevant Acts

Metropolitan Police Departments are regulated by multifaceted approach that incorporates several laws, rules, regulations, and frameworks. These legislatives are central to the present study, as it provides the legal basis for the effective investigation of cases and the administration of justice in instances where a metropolitan police officers have been murdered, killed or died. The following documents were reviewed in relation to the research topic, insofar as they address various aspects of metropolitan police officers:

4.4.3.1.1 Criminal Procedure Act (CPA) (No. 51 of 1977)

This legislation is intended to provide guidance on criminal procedural processes. It stipulates that every member of a municipal police department is regarded as a peace officer and is therefore vested with the powers conferred upon such officers (Maphaka, 2023:67). Van Biljon (2014:28) further notes that members of metropolitan police departments are authorised to exercise the full range of legal powers accorded to peace officers.

These powers include the authority to search, seize, arrest or detain suspects, issue administrative notices, and conduct examinations of the physical characteristics of suspects or arrested persons. The Act was enacted to ensure that criminal justice processes are conducted in a fair and efficient manner.

4.4.3.1.2 National Road Traffic Act (NRTA) (No. 96 of 1993)

The National Road Traffic Act (No. 96 of 1993) was enacted to regulate road traffic management and control traffic-related matters in South Africa. The Act governs all aspects of road traffic regulation, thereby ensuring uniformity and consistency in traffic administration across the country (Lekubu, 2024:42). On the other hand, Ramavhunga (2018:11) further notes that the legislation addresses several critical areas, including licensing and registration, road usage guidelines, vehicle standards, as well as traffic offences and associated penalties.

This statute is fundamental to the present study, as it provides the legal framework in order to create safer communities within which Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) operate and underpins their statutory mandate and existence. The act

additionally, ensures that MPD maintains road safety and driver compliance in order to promote responsible driving practices.

4.4.3.1.3 Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) (No. 209 of 1993)

The Local Government Transition Act (No. 209 of 1993) enabled South Africa's transition during the final phase of democratic local government reform by restructuring the local government system (South African Government, 1994:n.p.). The Local Government Transition Act (No. 209 of 1993) provides the legal framework for the establishment and reorganisation of municipalities, the determination of municipal boundaries, and the allocation of municipal powers, functions, and responsibilities.

In terms of Section 10(1) of the Act, local municipalities are empowered to formulate and enact by-laws within their jurisdictions, with the procedures for such enactments clearly defined (Mabitsela & Govender, 2022:34). The legislation further authorises municipalities to deliver services to their communities. Therefore, the Local Government Transition Act (No. 209 of 1993) is pivotal to the present study, as it underpins equitable service delivery and regulated municipal governance across all communities.

4.4.3.1.4 Labour Relations Act (LRA) (No. 66 of 1995)

The Labour Relations Act (No. 66 of 1995) is a key piece of legislation governing the rights and obligations of employers and employees in South Africa (Schulenburg, 2023:n.p.). It aims to protect employees' rights and prevent unfair labour practices in the workplace. The Act establishes dispute-resolution mechanisms, including the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA), bargaining councils, and labour courts, and regulates the operations of employers' organisations and trade unions (Van der Merwe, 2023:n.p.).

This legislation is relevant to the study as it governs the employment rights of all personnel within Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs).

4.4.3.1.5 South African Police Service/ SAPS Act (No. 68 of 1995)

The South African Police Act (No. 68 of 1995) was enacted to provide a legal framework for municipal police services. It mandates the regulation and governance of the Municipal Police Service (MPS), outlining key functions such as by-law enforcement, crime prevention, and traffic policing within municipal jurisdictions

(Maphaka, 2023:69). Officers may, however, exercise these powers outside their jurisdiction when pursuing a suspect reasonably suspected of committing a crime, provided the pursuit originated within the municipality (SAPS, 1995:50). Naidoo (2020:44) further highlights that maintaining traffic flow and enforcing municipal parking regulations are central responsibilities of the MPS.

Given the MPD's role in upholding law and order at the local level, the SAPS Act is critical to this study.

4.4.3.1.6 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (No.108 of 1996)

Section 11 of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) guarantees the right to life for all individuals in the country (Maphaka, 2023:68). This provision protects every person from inhumane, degrading, or humiliating treatment or punishment. Given that murder constitutes a violation of this right, the Constitution is directly relevant to this study. Furthermore, Section 12 safeguards individuals' rights to personal freedom and security, including the right to safety and protection from harm (Naidoo, 2020:26). The following rights are protected in terms of Section 11 of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996):

(a) freedom from unjust or arbitrary deprivation;
(b) freedom from detention without trial;
(c) freedom from all forms of violence from either public or private sources;
(d) freedom from any form of torture; and
(e) freedom from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment.

This legislation is central to the study, as it guarantees the protection of citizens' rights and the equitable treatment of all individuals in South Africa. Section 156(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) empowers municipalities to formulate and enforce by-laws to ensure effective governance within their jurisdictions (Freedman, 2014:568). The provision is intended to uphold law and order, safeguard community rights, and enhance safety and security. In this regard, it is particularly relevant to the study, as it provides the legal basis for Metropolitan Police Departments to develop and enforce by-laws.

Furthermore, Section 205 mandates the establishment of a national police service to ensure the protection and security of all residents, a fundamental right enshrined in

the Bill of Rights (Naidoo, 2020:26). In terms of policing, Section 205 of the Constitution advocates that:

(1) The national police service should operate across national, provincial and, where appropriate, local government spheres.
(2) National legislation defines its functions and powers ensuring service can fulfil its duties effectively, while accommodating provincial requirements.
(3) The service's core objectives are to prevent, combat, and investigate crime; maintaining public order; protecting and securing the Republic's inhabitants and their property; as well as upholding and enforcing the law.

This Act is critical to the study, as it defines the objectives, organisation, and authority of the South African Police Service (SAPS), ensuring the effective execution of its core duties: enforcing the law, preventing crime, and maintaining public order. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) further guarantees the right to life and protects all individuals from inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment (South African Government, 1996:n.p.). Additionally, Section 206(7) of the Constitution mandates that national legislation provide a framework for the establishment, management, and responsibilities of metropolitan police services, recognising SAPS as the country's primary law enforcement authority (Mabitsela & Govender, 2022:34).

Accordingly, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) is relevant to the study, as it establishes the framework governing the powers, functions, and oversight of municipal police services.

4.4.3.1.7 Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) (No. 75 of 1997)

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997) was established to advance minimal standards and impartial labour practices in the workplace. According to the South African Government (2025b:n.p.), the legislation was intended to determine and provide for the regulation of basic employment conditions to fulfil the Republic's obligations as a member state of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). In addition, Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997) was intended to advance the right to fair labour practices mentioned in Section 23(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996), while also providing for related matters in this regard.

This legislation was deemed to be relevant in this research study because it promotes and protects fair labour practices within the MPDs.

4.4.3.1.8 Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (LGMDA) (No. 27 of 1998)

The Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (No. 27 of 1998) was established to provide rules and regulations for an impartial authority to determine municipal boundaries and to address relevant issues in that regard (South African Government, 2025c:n.p.). Naidoo (2020:7) acknowledges that the primary objective of the LGMDA was to address all municipal boundaries within South Africa. Accordingly, the envisaged impartial authority of board exercises the following duties:

- determination and redetermination of municipal boundaries,
- delimitation of wards for local elections,
- assessment of the capacity of district and local municipalities to perform their functions as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) and the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (LGMSA) (No. 117 of 1998); and
- the declaration and withdrawal of the declaration of district management areas.

Therefore, the Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act (No. 27 of 1998) is relevant in this research study in terms of understanding the metropolitan boundaries' demarcation.

4.4.3.1.9 Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences Act (AARTO) (No. 46 of 1998)

The Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences Act (AARTO) (No. 46 of 1998) was enacted to address traffic-related challenges in South Africa. Its primary objectives are to enhance road safety and reduce accidents caused by negligent or reckless driving (Maphaka, 2023:69). Traffic violations are regulated under Section 34 of the Act. Additionally, the legislation seeks to minimise opportunities for corruption by promoting compliance with traffic laws and regulations (Ramavhunga, 2018:12).

By improving adherence to road traffic rules, AARTO also reduces the burden on courts that prosecute offenders and encourages nationwide compliance with traffic regulations (Siebrits, Du Plessis & Jansen, 2020:4). This Act is relevant to the study,

as Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) are responsible for enforcing traffic rules and determining traffic-related consequences within their jurisdictions.

4.4.3.1.10 Employment Equity Act (EEA) (No. 55 of 1998)

The Employment Equity Act (EEA) (No. 55 of 1998) was enacted to eliminate unfair discrimination and address the historical inequalities created during the apartheid era. The Act requires organisations at all occupational levels including management to collect, record, and monitor the representation of designated groups, including women, historically marginalised populations, and individuals with disabilities (Khosa, 2019:7). Across all occupational categories, the EEA ensures equitable representation and provides fair employment opportunities.

4.4.3.1.11 Domestic Violence Act (DVA) (No. 116 of 1998)

The Domestic Violence Act was introduced to enable the issuance of protection orders in cases of domestic abuse. Van Biljon (2014:28) notes that Sections 2, 4, and 8 of the Act are relevant to Metropolitan Police Departments, provided implementation aligns with national guidelines approved by the National Commissioner. Under this legislation, metropolitan police officers are empowered to:

- Provide appropriate assistance to a complainant at the scene of a domestic violence incident;
- Apply for a protection order on behalf of a complainant, ensuring that the complainant's written consent accompanies the application; and
- Accept a warrant of arrest from a complainant and detain the respondent in cases of protection order violations; if immediate arrest is not feasible, officers must issue a formal notice specifying the respondent's court appearance date and time.

4.4.3.1.12 Local Government Municipal Structures Act (LGMSA) (No. 117 of 1998)

The Local Government Municipal Structure Act (LGMSA) (No. 117 of 1998) was enacted in pursuance of the establishment of categories and types of municipalities (Southern African Legal Information Institute (SAFLII), 2022:1; South African Government, 2025d:n.p.). Accordingly, the LGMSA (No. 117 of 1998) proposed to achieve the following:

- defining the types of municipalities that could be established within each category;
- establishing criteria for decisions concerning the municipality category to be established in a given area;

- providing for an appropriate division of duties and powers among municipality categories;
- regulating the municipalities' internal processes, structures, and office-bearers;
- providing for electoral systems appropriately and related matters in that regard.

The LGMSA (No. 117 of 1998) is viewed as relevant to the study insofar as it promotes sustainable, effective, and efficient municipal services by ensuring that municipalities can provide services to their communities.

4.4.3.1.13 Local Government Municipal System Act (LGMSA) (No. 32 of 2000)

The Local Government Municipal System Act (No 32) was established to ensure municipalities' optimum execution of their legally designated responsibilities and mandates. The legislation aimed at ensuring that towns execute their designated responsibilities with the establishment of a successful and efficient municipal governance framework, which included community involvement, human resource development, local public administration, and service delivery (Naidoo, 2020:30). According to the South African Government (2025e:n.p.) the Local Government Municipal System Act (No 32) is crucial in the study as it relates to accountability and transparency in the MPDs.

4.4.3.1.14 National Land Transport Act (NLTA) (No. 5 of 2009)

The National Land Transport Act (NLTA) (No. 5 of 2009) was mandated to facilitate the transformation and restructuring of the country's land and transportation system (South African Government, 2025f:n.p.). The legislation was intended to regulate and monitor public transport conveying passengers for profit.

In the context of the study, the NLTA (No. 5 of 2009) was pertinent, considering that MPDs are entrusted with overseeing and regulating vehicles that transport passengers for reward in public roads.

4.4.3.2 Relevant Organisations/ Bodies/ Institutions

The following organisations, bodies or institutions relate to various aspects of road traffic management in the contexts of both metropolitan municipalities and metropolitan police departments.

4.4.3.2.1 South African Local Government Association (SALGA)

The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) is a constitutionally recognised body tasked with representing and safeguarding the interests of local

government within South Africa's system of governance. The Association fulfils two interrelated strategic functions: firstly, it acts as an advocate by assertively protecting the rights and autonomy of the local government sphere; and secondly, it plays a transformative role by constructively challenging institutional and systemic constraints that hinder municipalities from effectively executing their constitutional mandate (South African Government, 2025g:n.p).

In this study, the South African Local Government Association is relevant insofar as the protect and promotion of the interests of the municipalities and local metropolitan police departments are concerned.

4.4.3.2.2 Road Traffic Management Corporation 1999

The Road Traffic Management Corporation (RTMC) was established in 1999 with the objective of addressing a wide range of traffic-related challenges, including the regulation of vehicle overloading, freight and public transport operations, the prevention of drunk and reckless driving, pedestrian law enforcement, and the assessment of driver and vehicle fitness (RTMC, 2021:n.p.). Central to its legislative mandate was the intention to eliminate the fragmentation of road traffic management responsibilities across the different spheres of government by consolidating authority, resources, and institutional capacity (RTMC, 2016a:16).

Furthermore, the legislation explicitly addresses the prevention of corruption within traffic law enforcement by mandating close collaboration with relevant law enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute traffic officers implicated in corrupt activities (Lekubu, 2024:44). It also confers authority on traffic officers appointed in terms of Sections 32(5)(a) and (b) to enforce traffic laws across national, provincial, and municipal jurisdictions. This legislative framework is therefore particularly significant to the present study, as the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) bears primary responsibility for enforcing traffic laws and regulations within the municipal context under review.

4.4.3.2.3 Road Traffic Infringement Agency (RTIA)

The Road Traffic Infringement Agency (RTIA) was established in South Africa in terms of the Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences (AARTO) Act, 1998 (Act No. 46 of 1998). The Agency was subsequently listed as a public entity under the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA), with effect from 1 April 2010. The primary

mandate of the RTIA is to administer and implement the AARTO framework, with the overarching objective of promoting compliance with road traffic legislation and enhancing road safety.

According to Mokoena (2019:19), the AARTO legislation was introduced to provide oversight of an administrative adjudication system for road traffic infringements. Its implementation seeks to alleviate the burden on the judicial system by shifting the resolution of traffic offences from criminal courts to administrative mechanisms. In doing so, the Act aims to improve road safety outcomes, strengthen compliance with traffic laws, and ensure the efficient adjudication of road traffic violations. The AARTO Act is therefore particularly relevant to this study, given its central role in the administration and enforcement of traffic regulations in South Africa.

4.4.3.2.4 Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID)

The Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) was established to provide impartial oversight and conduct independent investigations into allegations of police misconduct. As noted by IPID (2025:n.p.), the legislative framework governing the Directorate seeks to ensure objective, unbiased, and high-quality investigations into criminal conduct allegedly committed by members of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Metro Police Services (MPS). In addition, the legislation mandates IPID to formulate appropriate recommendations, while consistently upholding principles of professionalism, integrity, and accountability.

This legislative framework is particularly relevant to the present study, as it facilitates the independent monitoring of police misconduct and reinforces the importance of impartiality and accountability within law enforcement institutions.

4.4.3.3 Relevant/ Applicable Policies

4.4.3.3.1 White Paper on Safety and Security (WPSS) (1998)

The White Paper on Safety and Security (WPSS) of 1998 was formulated to address issues of crime, violence, and public safety within municipal jurisdictions. Maphaka (2023:68) underscores the critical role of municipal police officers in maintaining safety and security at the local government level. In situations where delays occur in the response of the South African Police Service (SAPS), municipal police services are

mandated to provide visible policing by responding to complaints and implementing preventative measures aimed at limiting further harm to persons or property.

In addition, the White Paper lays the foundation for a system of local governance that prioritises collaboration with local residents and communities in developing sustainable approaches to meeting their needs and enhancing overall quality of life (Wall, 2022:269). Within this framework, the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) is tasked with enforcing law and order within municipal boundaries.

The White Paper on Safety and Security is therefore highly relevant to this study, as it provides the policy basis for municipal policing and community-centred safety interventions at the local level.

4.4.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

An interview is a qualitative data collection technique that involves direct interaction between the researcher and one or more participants, typically conducted on a face-to-face basis for research purposes. Interviews are commonly understood as a form of purposeful communication aimed at eliciting detailed information through the use of open-ended questions (Bezuidenhout, 2021:219). In this study, data were collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews (see Annexure D), guided by an interview schedule comprising broad themes and key questions to be addressed by the selected participants (Busetto, Wick & Gumbinger, 2020:1).

Semi-structured interviews are characterised by the use of a predetermined set of questions, while allowing flexibility in their sequencing and phrasing in response to the dynamics of the interview process (Gatrell et al., 2020:1). This approach was considered appropriate in this study, as it enabled the researcher to obtain rich and diverse insights into the phenomenon of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. The study involved interviews with a total of five (5) Directors and fifteen (15) Commanders drawn from five (5) selected Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs) across the country.

As noted by Fouché et al. (2021:358), semi-structured interviews are informed by an extensive review of relevant literature and are designed around a series of open-ended questions. This method facilitates the collection of detailed and nuanced data, allowing for in-depth exploration of complex issues across both smaller and relatively larger

samples. In this study, the researcher interviewed a total of five (5) Directors and 15 Commanders from the five (5) selected South African MPDs.

4.4.4.1 Administration of the Semi-structured Interviews

In this study, the informed consent form and participant information sheet provided comprehensive and relevant details, including the purpose of the research and the intended use of its findings (see Annexure C). Data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews conducted at pre-arranged venues within the sampled Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs), as outlined in Section 1.4. The interviews were held at the MPDs' offices in order to promote trust, ensure participant comfort, and enhance the quality of engagement. Each interview was conducted in the participant's office and lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes, scheduled at a time most convenient for the participant.

After obtaining ethical clearance from the University of South Africa, the researcher formally contacted the selected MPDs to request permission to conduct in-person interviews. Approval to proceed with face-to-face interviews was granted by all five (5) MPDs included in the study. In four (4) MPDs (i.e., DMPD, EMPD, NMBMPD, and TMPD) the identification and arrangement of potential participants were facilitated through the offices of the respective Chiefs of Police or Commissioners. In contrast, at JMPD, the researcher was permitted to independently arrange interviews with potential participants due to her employment within the department.

Appointments were subsequently scheduled with the identified participants, and both the interview schedule and the official permission letter authorising face-to-face interviews were distributed via email. This ensured that participants were fully informed and able to exercise their right to voluntary participation. Participants were further informed of their rights to privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, and the option to withdraw from the study at any stage without penalty (Burrel, 2017:24). All participants consented to be interviewed in their offices at times suitable to them. One-on-one interviews were conducted at participants' offices located in Durban, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Pretoria, and Port Elizabeth.

At the commencement of each interview, the researcher introduced herself to promote transparency and establish rapport, while reiterating the purpose of the study. Participants were also informed that ethical principles would be upheld throughout the

research process and that the interviews would be audio-recorded. In accordance with ethical requirements, participants were assured that their identities would not be disclosed and that pseudonyms would be used to maintain anonymity and confidentiality. They were also informed of their right to seek clarification or ask questions at any point during the interview.

Audio recording was employed to ensure accurate capture of participants' responses and to minimise the risk of misinterpretation or omission of data. Probing questions were used where necessary to elicit deeper insights into the central research topic, namely the causes of murders involving metropolitan police officers. In addition, the researcher remained attentive to participants' non-verbal cues to ensure their comfort throughout the interview process. At the conclusion of each interview, the researcher expressed sincere appreciation to the participants for their time, cooperation, and valuable contributions to the study.

4.4.5 Personal Experience

Personal experience encompasses the distinctive encounters, situations, and interactions that individuals undergo over the course of their lives, which in turn shape their attitudes, values, and belief systems (Fiveable, 2024:n.p.). Law Insider (2024:n.p.) further defines personal experience as the knowledge, skills, or competencies acquired through self-directed learning, practical work exposure, professional training, participation in seminars, workshops, or other structured educational opportunities.

In the context of this study, the researcher draws upon both professional experience and academic background as sources of insight to investigate issues surrounding metropolitan police murders in South Africa. This reliance on personal expertise allows for the application of contextual understanding and informed interpretation in analysing the phenomenon under study.

4.4.5.1 Researcher's Professional Experience

The researcher has been employed as a Metropolitan Police Officer within the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) since 2007. Currently, the researcher serves in the By-Law Management Unit (BMU), where responsibilities include the preparation of reports, ensuring effective implementation of performance management systems and providing strategic management support to the Office of

the Director. Prior working at BMU, the researcher was stationed at the Midrand 10111 Communication Centre, collaborating closely with the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department, the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department, the South African Police Service, and other law enforcement agencies nationwide.

During this tenure, the researcher's duties encompassed the reception and transmission of routine and emergency communications, coordination and dispatch of police, fire, animal control, and other municipal resources, assisting members of the public in life-threatening situations, as well as processing, monitoring, and maintaining records, logs, and various communications documentation. This professional experience provided the researcher with comprehensive operational insight and practical exposure to law enforcement processes, which informed the analysis of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. Research studies conducted within one's organization could be considered being bias. As outlined in Alaba, Osaretin and Rocha (2026:152) bias refers to deviation in the collection or interpretation of qualitative data that systematically favour certain responses or misrepresent participants' true perspectives.

In this study, the researcher avoided bias by standardising data collection instruments, asking questions that were impartial, straightforward, and non-leading. This enabled the researcher to generate accurate, trustworthy, and ethically acceptable findings.

4.4.5.2 Researcher's Educational Background

The researcher holds extensive academic and professional qualifications in policing and related fields. Academically, the researcher earned a Master of Arts in Police Science, a Bachelor of Arts Honours in Police Science, a Bachelor of Arts in Police Science, and a Diploma in Policing from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Professionally, the researcher graduated from the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) Academy with a Diploma in Traffic Officers Course and the Basic Municipal Police Officers Course.

In addition, the researcher has completed specialised certifications, including a certificate in Operating Speed Cameras from Traffic Management Technologies and a Basic Computer Skills certificate covering MS Windows, Word, Excel, and PowerPoint from Innovec Computer School. The researcher also holds a diploma and certificate in Basic Ambulance Training from the Netcare School of Emergency and Medicine.

Further professional credentials include Security Grades E to A from Motlhabane Risk Management Services and Assessor and Moderator Certificates from Prestige ETD Group. These qualifications collectively reflect the researcher's comprehensive expertise and practical competence in policing, emergency response, traffic management, and related administrative and technical skills, which underpin the researcher's ability to conduct this study.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Vithal and Jansen (2019:26) describe data analysis as the process of characterising and summarising data, determining the connection between variables, comparing variables, and consequently generating the anticipated results of the study. Vithal and Jansen (2019:26) allude further that data analysis is a short strategy used to perceive and break down the gathered information appropriately.

4.5.1 Data Analysis Method

This study employed thematic analysis as a primary method of qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis is a systematic technique used to identify, analyse, and synthesise recurring patterns or themes within qualitative data (Bezuidenhout, 2021:278). Johnson and Christensen (2020:552) describe thematic analysis as a data reduction process that involves the classification, interpretation, and organisation of themes in order to generate meaningful findings aligned with the research objectives. To enhance the rigour, reliability, and accuracy of the analysis, data were processed using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software. The use of this software facilitated efficient management of multiple data sources, reduced the potential for analytical error, and promoted transparency and consistency throughout the analytical process (Bezuidenhout, 2021:278).

In addition to content analysis was applied as a complementary analytical approach to analyse documentary and secondary data sources. Content analysis involves the systematic examination and transformation of extensive textual data into a structured and concise representation of key findings (Bezuidenhout, 2021:22). Wade (2021:129) further conceptualises content analysis as a method for analysing and interpreting various forms of communication or media to determine how such messages reflect and contribute to broader cultural and social contexts. This method was particularly relevant to the present study, as it enabled the critical review and evaluation of the

documentary and secondary data sources utilised in the research, by creating an extensive knowledge of the subject and ensuring sure that the findings were substantially supported by various sources of information.

4.6 MEASURES TO ENSURE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

Trustworthiness in research refers to a set of quality assurance measures designed to ensure that research findings are credible, transparent, dependable, and consistent (Ahmed, 2024:1). Within qualitative inquiry, trustworthiness is regarded as a rigorous methodological framework that ensures research outcomes accurately and faithfully represent participants' perspectives and lived realities, while minimising researcher bias. According to Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2021:296), this approach enhances the usefulness and applicability of the findings to other contexts with similar characteristics that prevailed in the initial research setting or environment. In this qualitative study, the trustworthiness measures were ensured through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

4.6.1 Credibility

Credibility in research refers to the extent to which the findings accurately reflect the participants' perspectives and experiences, as verified by the participants themselves rather than being shaped by the researcher's interpretations (Fouché et al., 2021:394). Bailey (2018:21) further explains credibility as the consistency and coherence of research findings, ensuring that the research process is logical, transparent, and adequately documented.

In this study, credibility was enhanced through the application of member checking, a technique used to validate the authenticity of the findings. This was achieved by providing participants with interview transcripts to review and confirm the accuracy of their responses, thereby ensuring that the interpretations were a true representation of their intended meanings.

4.6.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the extent to which research findings can be applied or adapted to contexts beyond the original study setting, as assessed by readers or other researchers rather than the researcher alone (Almalki, 2016:288). While qualitative research does not primarily aim for generalisation, transferability enables the

production of comparable insights across similar contexts when sufficient contextual detail is provided (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2021:297).

In the present study, transferability was enhanced through the maintenance of a comprehensive audit trail that documented each stage of the research process, including data collection procedures and analytical methods used to derive the findings. This level of transparency allows other researchers to assess the applicability of the results to comparable research settings (Almalki, 2016:288).

4.6.3 Dependability

Dependability is regarded as a qualitative equivalent of reliability and refers to the stability and consistency of research findings over time (Fouché et al., 2021:394). It reflects the extent to which the processes of data collection, data analysis, and the theoretical interpretations derived from the data are systematically aligned and coherently integrated (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2021:297).

In this study, dependability was enhanced by ensuring methodological consistency throughout the research process and by collecting data at different intervals. These measures contributed to the stability of the findings and strengthened the overall reliability of the research outcomes.

4.6.4 Confirmability

Confirmability emphasises the importance of ongoing reflexivity in research and ensures that study findings are shaped by the data rather than by researcher bias or personal assumptions (Fouché et al., 2021:394). In this regard, confirmability relates to the extent to which research findings and interpretations are derived from systematically analysed data and subjected to verification by independent parties (Bougie & Sekaran, 2016:18).

In this study, confirmability was strengthened through continuous engagement and consultation with the research supervisor, who provided guidance across various stages of the research process. In addition, an independent research methodology expert was consulted to assess the logical coherence and consistency of the findings and conclusions. Furthermore, senior officials within the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) were consulted to verify whether the findings accurately reflected the lived experiences and operational realities of the MPD environment, rather than

representing subjective interpretations or preconceived assumptions of the researcher (Babbie, 2021:62).

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in research refers to the principles and values that guide researchers in maintaining appropriate moral conduct and professional standards throughout the research process (Bailey, 2018:67). Ethics and morality are closely interconnected, as both address considerations of right and wrong, fairness, justice, and equality within the context of research activities (Babbie, 2021:62). Researchers have an ethical responsibility to demonstrate competence, reliability, and appropriate expertise when undertaking a research study (Fouché et al., 2021:120). In this study, the researcher was considered suitably competent based on prior experience in conducting ethically approved research, as well as established professional and academic expertise in the subject area.

In this study, ethical clearance was obtained from the University of South Africa, as well as the relevant authorities within the selected Metropolitan Police Departments. The researcher adhered to all prescribed ethical standards, institutional regulations, and procedural requirements governing the conduct of research. In addition, the following ethical considerations were applied throughout the study.

4.7.1 Permission to Conduct the Study

The empirical phase of the study could only commence following formal approval from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Accordingly, the researcher applied for and obtained ethical clearance to conduct the study from the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the College of Law (CLAW) at UNISA (Ref: 6449) (see Annexure A). Thereafter, additional authorisation was secured from the respective Metropolitan Head Offices and the Research Divisions of the participating Metropolitan Police Departments, who granted permission for the study to be conducted within their jurisdictions (see Annexures E–J).

4.7.2 Informed Consent

Informed consent refers to the voluntary agreement of participants to take part in a research study after being fully informed about the nature, purpose, and implications of the research (Chatterjee, 2021:19). Babbie (2021:66) emphasises that such consent must be given freely, without coercion or undue influence.

In this study, informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to their involvement. The researcher provided comprehensive information regarding the objectives of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the rights of participants throughout their interview-based participation, including the right to withdraw at any stage without penalty (Burrel, 2017:24). Signed consent forms were obtained and are included as Annexure C.

4.7.3 Voluntary Participation

Laryeafio and Ogbewe (2025:102) stress that participants must not be coerced into taking part in a study, as voluntary engagement is essential for obtaining authentic and reliable data. Similarly, Babbie (2021:63) asserts that participants should have the freedom to participate or withdraw from a study at any point without facing any form of penalty or disadvantage.

In this study, participants were explicitly informed prior to their interviews that participation was entirely voluntary. The researcher ensured that no participant was coerced, and all individuals willingly agreed to take part in the research. Furthermore, participants were assured that all information shared during the interviews would be treated with strict confidentiality, and they retained the right to withdraw from the study at any stage without consequence (see Annexure C).

4.7.3.1 Incentives

In research, it is generally considered unethical to offer participants financial or material incentives that could influence their decision to participate or affect the integrity of the data collection process (Mirza, Ballalem & Mizra, 2023:444). Participation should be voluntary, and participants should not feel obliged to meet any requirements or provide services in exchange for inclusion in the study (Wassie, Gebre-Mariam, Tarekegne & Rennie, 2019:11). Conversely, Fouché et al. (2021:125) note that compensating participants in certain contexts is not inherently unethical, provided it does not create undue influence.

In practice, this means that participants may receive recognition or appreciation only after their voluntary participation, while offering incentives prior to participation is inappropriate, as it could generate a sense of obligation or bias the responses. In this study, the researcher adhered to ethical standards by maintaining transparency and refraining from providing any rewards or incentives to participants, thereby

safeguarding the voluntary and unbiased nature of their participation (see Annexure B).

4.7.4 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity in research is achieved when responses cannot be linked to specific participants, neither by the researcher nor by those accessing the findings (Babbie, 2021:67). Burrel (2017:24) further defines anonymity as the protection of participants' identities, ensuring that even the researcher cannot identify individuals after the formal data collection process. In this study, participant identities were safeguarded through the use of pseudonyms. For instance, Metropolitan Police Officers were designated as "MPOs," Commanders as "CMND," and Directors as "DIR," in full compliance with ethical standards pertaining to anonymity.

Confidentiality, on the other hand, refers to the secure handling of data to prevent unauthorised access and to assure participants that their information remains private (Bailey, 2018:67). In the context of this study, the identities of offenders, victims referenced in reports, and victims of police murders were not disclosed. Confidentiality also entails that participant information remains inaccessible to anyone other than the researcher (Adu & Okeke, 2021:174).

To ensure confidentiality, all hard copy and digital interview materials were securely stored: physical documents were kept in a combination-lock safe, and electronic files were stored on a password-protected computer, inaccessible to others (Almalki, 2016:291). All confidential communications were further protected through encryption. These measures collectively ensured that participants' autonomy, privacy, and dignity were maintained throughout the research process (see Annexure B).

4.7.5 Privacy

Privacy in research refers to the safeguarding of participants' involvement within protected settings and the assurance that their personal information is not disclosed to any unauthorised third parties during or after data collection (Bougie & Sekaran, 2016:33). Johnson and Christensen (2020:133) similarly define privacy as the restriction of access to research data, ensuring that only authorised individuals may view or handle it.

In this study, participants' privacy was rigorously protected. No personal information was disclosed without participants' explicit consent. Electronic devices used to record

interviews were secured with passwords, and all audio recordings were encrypted to prevent unauthorised access. These measures ensured that participants' privacy was maintained throughout the research process (see Annexure B).

4.7.6 Respect for Participants' Dignity

Every research study must be conducted with due respect for participants, regardless of their age, gender, ethnic background, political orientation, lifestyle, or any other characteristic that distinguishes them from the researcher (Mirza et al., 2023:442). Adu and Okeke (2021:173) further emphasise that ethical research requires demonstrating respect, compassion, and a willingness to acknowledge participants' autonomy and dignity. In this study, the researcher ensured that all participants were treated with respect and consideration, irrespective of their demographic, cultural, or personal differences.

4.7.6.1 Relationship with Participants and Conflict of Interest

Mirza et al. (2023:443) highlight the importance of maintaining clear, transparent, and professional relationships between researchers and participants throughout all stages of a study. Personal relationships or prior familiarity with participants should be carefully distinguished from professional interactions, as such overlaps may introduce bias or negatively affect the research process.

It is also essential to disclose any potential conflicts of interest, including prior conduct or relationships, when submitting an ethics application, allowing the relevant committee to provide guidance on how to manage them (Fleming, 2018:211). Simultaneously serving as a practitioner and researcher, for example, can constitute a direct conflict of interest if not properly managed (Fouché et al., 2021:121). In this study, the researcher mitigated any potential conflict of interest by maintaining open, transparent, and professional communication with all participants throughout the research process, ensuring that the study remained impartial and ethically sound.

4.7.6.2 Debriefing

Participant debriefing is an ethical practice that provides participants with feedback about their involvement in a study and communicates any previously undisclosed information (Babbie, 2021:70). In studies that involve more than minimal risk, it is particularly important to conduct debriefing promptly after participation. This allows participants to reflect on their experiences, seek clarification, resolve any

misunderstandings, and address any potential negative effects resulting from their participation (Fouché et al., 2021:126). Prior writing the final report, the researcher in this study consulted with the participants to validate their responses from the transcripts and to clarify and correct any issues encountered during the interviews (see Annexure L).

4.7.7 Beneficence and non-maleficence

The ethical principles of beneficence and non-maleficence outline a researcher's duty to avoid causing deliberate harm to participants and to proactively identify and mitigate any potential risks associated with the study (Laryeafio & Ogbewe, 2025:102). Research activities may pose risks not only to participants but also to the researcher, the institution, and the wider public. Such risks can be physical, emotional, reputational, or involve a loss of resources, including time (Fleming, 2018:211).

Babbie (2021:64) emphasises that researchers must carefully identify and minimise any potential harm or injury to participants. Beneficence further requires that the welfare of participants be prioritised and that the potential benefits of the research for the broader public are considered (Fouché et al., 2021:120). In this study, the researcher actively identified potential risks to participants and took measures to prevent any form of deliberate harm, thereby upholding these fundamental ethical principles (see Annexures B and C).

4.7.8 Maintaining Integrity of Research

Maintaining research integrity is essential for ensuring trustworthiness, accuracy, and adherence to ethical standards throughout the research process. It involves conducting studies with honesty, transparency, and methodological rigor, while ensuring that findings are reproducible and verifiable (Busetto et al., 2020:3). Core principles of research integrity include honesty in data collection and reporting, accountability for research practices, and respect for study participants. Upholding these principles helps prevent research misconduct, such as fabrication, falsification, and plagiarism. Practical measures to promote integrity include effective data management, transparent disclosure of potential conflicts of interest, and adherence to rigorous ethical and scholarly peer-review processes (Faulkner & Faulkner, 2019:17).

4.7.8.1 Deception

Deception in research involves deliberately providing participants with misleading information or withholding the true purpose of the study (Fouché et al., 2021:121). Ethical research requires that participants are treated with honesty and transparency, including full disclosure of the researcher's identity and role (Babbie, 2021:70). When studies involve any form of deception, careful planning is necessary to safeguard participants' rights and well-being. In this study, the researcher upheld ethical standards by being fully transparent, clearly disclosing her identity to all participants throughout the research process (see Annexure B).

4.7.8.2 Falsification of Information

Falsifying information is considered unethical and involves the deliberate creation, misrepresentation, or distortion of data (Bezuidenhout, 2021:307). Chatterjee (2021:19) further explains that falsification refers to the manipulation of research data by the researcher, compromising the accuracy and credibility of the findings. In this study, the researcher mitigated such risks by first verifying preliminary findings with participants to ensure accuracy and subsequently corroborating the data with independent reviewers. Additionally, all literature-based sources of information were properly cited and acknowledged to maintain academic integrity and transparency.

4.7.9 Data Protection

Given that audio and video recordings often contain sensitive information, researchers have a responsibility to safeguard these data and prevent unauthorised access (Newman, Guta, & Black, 2021:6). For example, participants in focus groups could potentially record discussions and share them on social media, posing a risk to confidentiality. Bezuidenhout (2021:303) highlights that ethical research requires the careful protection of data and strict avoidance of disclosing confidential information to third parties. In this study, the researcher ensured that all data were securely stored, with electronic files protected by passwords and hard copy materials locked in a secure cupboard, thereby preventing unauthorised access (see Annexure B). After a period of five (5) years, the researcher will ultimately dispose of all the materials that were stored. Corbin and Strauss (2019:22) outlined that hard copies will be destroyed by shredding machine, and electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the computer's hard drive using the appropriate software.

4.8 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the research methodology employed in the study, highlighting the use of a qualitative approach. It detailed both primary and secondary data collection methods and discussed the relevant legislation, policies, and regulatory frameworks applicable to the study context. The chapter further described the processes for data analysis and interpretation, as well as the strategies employed to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, addressing credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability.

In addition, the chapter demonstrated the researcher's understanding of the ethical and legal responsibilities inherent in conducting research, including the proper treatment of participants and adherence to the policies of the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the Metropolitan Police Departments (MPDs). Ethical considerations discussed included obtaining formal permission to conduct the study, the researcher's competency, informed consent, voluntary participation, respect for participants, beneficence and non-maleficence, deception, researcher–participant relationships and conflict of interest, participant incentives, anonymity, confidentiality, privacy, falsification of information, data protection, and debriefing.

The next chapter presents a detailed analysis and discussion of the data collected during the study.

CHAPTER 5
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the empirical data gathered from in-depth interviews with open ended questions, regarding the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. Data gathered would be analysed and interpreted in accordance with the literature review on South African Metropolitan Police Department's murders. Data presented in this research revealed the total number of police officers murdered over a 7-year period (2018–2025) in various metropolitan police organisations in different regions.

Furthermore, data gathered from this study was word-to-word with twenty (20) sampling participants' were the researcher interviewed them to get their perspective, opinion, knowledge, experience and observe the during the interview. A total number of one hundred and forty-seven (147) police officers within MPDs were murdered due to various reasons including when performing their duties, domestic violence and robbery. In addition, fourteen (14) DMPD police officers murdered in areas including KwaMashu, Amanzimtoti and Pinetown.

In contrast, the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD) reported that thirty-one (31) police officers were killed, primarily as a result of firearm-related incidents, followed by road accidents. These incidents occurred in areas such as Tembisa, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Kwa Thema, and Germiston. Similarly, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) (2025:n.p.) recorded forty-six (46) police officer fatalities, with firearms being the leading cause, followed by vehicular accidents in locations including Vlakfontein, Alexandra, the Central Business District, and Soweto. The Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department (NMBMPD) reported two (2) police officer deaths during the same period; one officer was fatally stabbed, while the other was shot and subsequently burned, reportedly due to involvement in criminal activities (NMBMPD, 2025:n.p.). In addition, the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) documented fifty-four (54) police officers who were killed in various areas, including Pretoria CBD, Mamelodi, Danville, Olievenhoutbosch, and Soshanguve. Each Metropolitan Police Department provided relevant data during the data collection phase.

This chapter seeks to present and analyse the data in order to examine the underlying causes of metropolitan police officer murders in South Africa. Sections 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 outline the key themes and sub-themes that emerged from the participants' responses. Participants were purposively selected from directorates directly affected by metropolitan police murders, with commanders and directors sampled based on their professional exposure to such incidents within their respective units. Accordingly, participants were identified as Commanders (CMND 1–15) and Directors (DIR 1–5). The chapter also presents the demographic profile of participants, including their professional background, years of experience, age, race, gender, current rank and unit, duration of service in the current rank, specialised training received, and experience in providing court testimony.

5.2 PARTICIPANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES/ CHARACTERISTICS

The researcher had twenty (20) participants who participated in this study. Figure 5.1 below indicates participants' gender distribution.

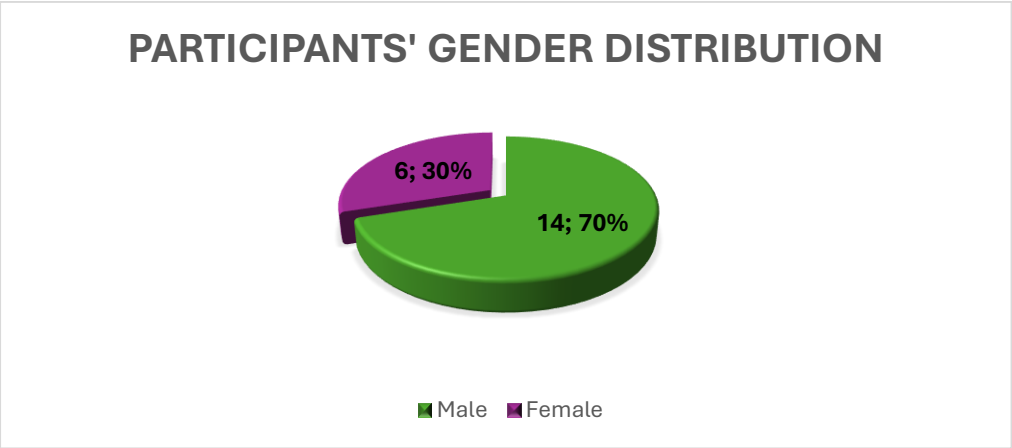


Figure 5.1: Participants' gender distribution

In Figure 5.1 above, the majority of 14 participants (n=14, 70%) were males, only six participants (n=6, 30%) were females. This is evident that the department is male dominated. Figure 5.2 below depicts participants' educational background.

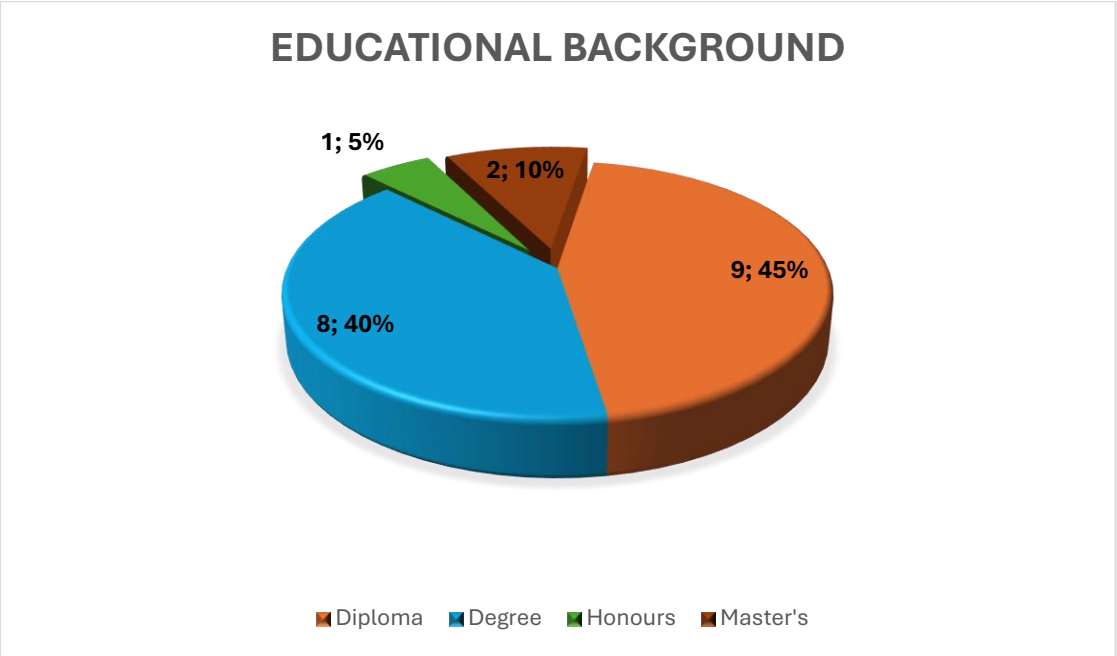


Figure 5.2: Participants' educational background

The majority of nine participants (n=9, 45%) have Diploma, followed by eight participants (n=8, 40%) who are undergraduates, only two participants (n=2, 10%) have Master's Degree and one participant (n=1, 5%) has Honours Degree. Figure 5.3 below is participants racial group.

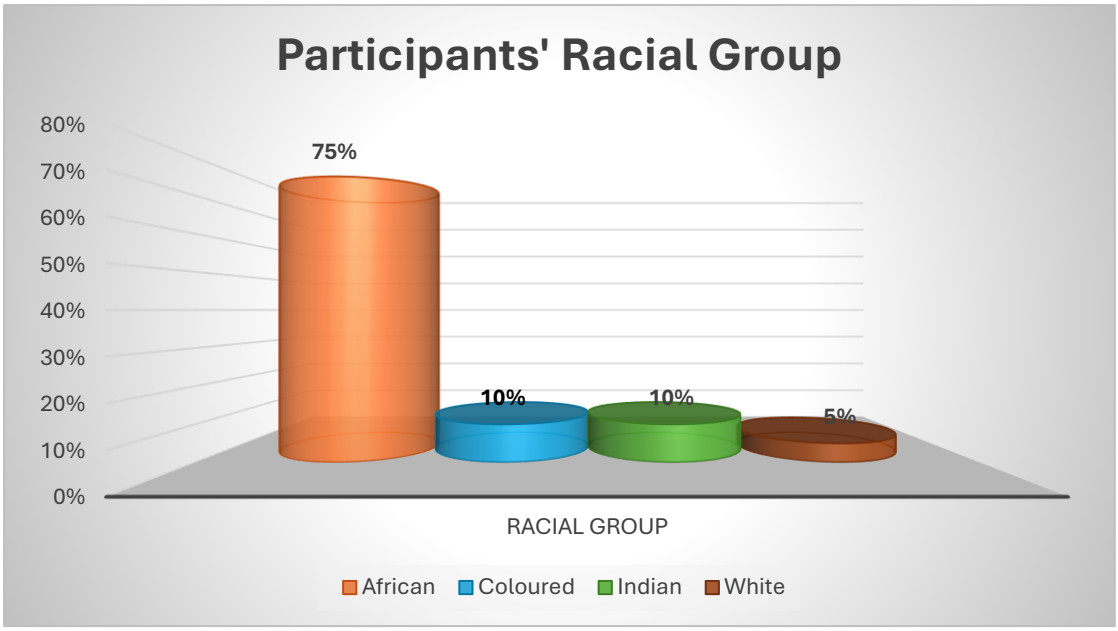


Figure 5.3: Participants' racial distribution

Figure 5.3 above depicts the participants' racial group. The majority of participants are Africans, followed by equal number of Coloureds and Indians. Only one participant is White. Table 5.1 below, depicts the participants' years of service and experiences in court proceedings.

Table 5.1: Participants' years of service and experiences in court proceedings

Age in Years	41-50 Yrs (9)	51-60 Yrs (8)	61-Yrs and above (3)	
Years of Service	1-5 Years (0)	6-10 Years (2)	11-20 Years (3)	21- Years and above (15)
Years of Service in Same Rank	1-5 Years (7)	6-10 Years (6)	11-20 Years (4)	21-Years and above (3)
Current Unit	Academy (1)	By Law Unit (1)	Specialised Units (17)	Internal Affairs (1)
Previous Units	0-5 Years (16)	6-10 Years (4)		
Years of Service in Current Unit	1-5 Years (9)	6-10 Years (6)	11-20 Years (3)	21- Years and above (2)
Any Work Training Received	Yes (20)	No (0)		
Any Court Testimony	Yes (2)	No (18)		
Number of Court Testimonies	Yes (30) (2)	No (0)		
Any Special Training Received	Yes (8)	No (12)		

5.3 THE KEY THEMATIC FINDINGS RELATING TO THE EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The researcher elaborates on Key Themes emerging from the investigation of Metropolitan Police Murders in South Africa. The following is Theme 1 and its sub-themes.

5.3.1 Theme: 1 Contributing Factors to South African Metropolitan Police Murders in the Study Area (DMPD, EMPD, JMPD, NMBPD and TMPD)

5.3.1.1 Sub-theme: Murders Due to Corruption Within the Police Organisation

Corruption within police institutions has remained a persistent problem over time and has been linked to the killing of police officers. According to Kwinika (2019:3), such killings might be connected to corrupt practices and the involvement of certain police officers with criminal networks. Similarly, Perkins (2022:2) notes that the murder of police officers is often driven by unsafe engagements between police personnel and criminals. Participants in this study also indicated that some officers maintain

relationships with criminals, which may increase their vulnerability. This observation was reinforced by the participants' statements presented below.

> ***DIR 1****"…due to the behaviour of some of the members and the corruption and everything that's going on".*
>
> ***CMND 7*** *"…police officers associate with criminals or conduct acts of corruption by mixing with criminals or collecting from criminals".*
>
> ***CMND 9*** *"one of our own was involved in an armed robbery and he was a getaway vehicle. So, he was shot dead at that particular time".*
>
> ***DIR 3*** *"…a corrupt officer can sell you out…".*
>
> ***DIR 4*** *"…some officers have made corruption their way of life… So, our officers, our officers are corrupt. Not all of them, but our officers are corrupt".*

Even though corruption has been acknowledged as one of the factors associated with the killing of police officers, Participant **CMND 1** presented an alternative perspective, emphasising that corruption does not characterise all members of the police service. The participant indicated that many officers carry out their responsibilities professionally and render effective services to the community. This position aligns with the UNODC (2011:99), which highlights that police officials, in their role as public servants, are required to uphold ethical principles such as integrity, transparency, accountability, and honesty. This stance is evident in the response provided by participant **CMND 1** below.

> ***CMND 1*** *"… there is some of our members that deliver an excellent service".*

The above response suggests that corruption does not define all police officers, as there are still committed members of the service who perform their duties with professionalism and pride in serving their communities. Conversely, political interference within police organisations has been identified as a contributing factor to the killing of police officers, particularly where political actors misuse their authority for personal or self-serving interests.

> ***CMND 2*** *"…Politicians are the ones that influence communities not to respect the police".*

On the other hand, political interference in the recruitment and selection processes was identified as a serious and ongoing challenge, as it is perceived to undermine public confidence in the police and encourage disrespect from the communities.

Ramavhunga (2018:43) posits that politically driven recruitment practices often involve the abuse of authority during candidate selection, where individuals are appointed through political connections rather than on the basis of relevant qualifications, skills, or experience required for service in law enforcement.

> **DIR 5***: "…counsellor will try to push their influence so that we as the panel will appoint people…".*

Egwu (2023:n.p.) further notes that corrupt practices within recruitment, selection, and promotion processes contribute significantly to the killing of police officers, particularly when individuals who lack the necessary competencies are appointed or advanced to senior positions. Ineffective police leadership was also identified as a key factor associated with elevated levels of violent crime, which in turn increases the risk of police murders. Moreover, corruption manifested through the appointment and promotion of underqualified personnel has been highlighted as a critical challenge within police organisations. These concerns were echoed in the response provided by participant **CMND 2** below.

> **CMND 2:** *"How can you appoint a person who's got no 10 years at director's level? And who's got no qualification?".*

SAPU (2019:13) emphasised that police murders also have been correlated with incompetent candidates who were hired or promoted to senior positions with or without necessary documentation for the required positions. On the other hand, corruption within police organisation occurred in different kinds. As mentioned below by participant **CMND 12** highlighted that the corruption in terms of procurement was also found to be a challenging issue within the police organisation since they buy cheap equipment and this has compromised the safety of the police officers.

> ***CMND 12:*** *"Because sometimes you end up buying cheap stuff in order to save for purposes of corruption… this compromises the safety of members".*

Based on the above response, corruption within the police organisation is constantly an ongoing issue. Police officers are unable to successfully carry out their responsibilities effectively and efficiently due to incompetence and corruption within the police organisation (Taumang et al., 2022:575). This was confirmed by participant

CMND 15 highlighting that there are corrupt officials within the police organisation that receiving gratitude from the criminals to make them favours.

> ***CMND 15:*** *"Members corruption prevents criminals from being arrested and detected because of corruption and the receiving of gratuities and favours".*

Participant **CMND 15** highlighted that some police officers compromise their duties by accepting payments from criminals to avoid enforcing the law. Mokwena et al. (2025:103) emphasise that such collaboration with criminal networks has become a serious challenge within the police service. Additionally, certain officers engage in unlawful business ventures for personal financial gain.

> **DIR 5:** *"…he was involved in some shady business, that he ended up being killed".*
>
> **CMND 10***: "…people want to be rich overnight, which are illegitimate….members must learn to live through their salary that they have…".*

Based on the above participants statements, police officers get involved in corrupt activities due to their greediness. Salame (2020:37-43) notes that newly recruited police officers are informed of their monthly salaries during the induction process. However, Yesufu (2014:12) argues that low remuneration can negatively affect morale and contribute to the prevalence of corruption within the police service. Furthermore, the participants suggest that corruption within the police organisation is a critical issue that requires urgent attention.

5.3.1.2 Sub-theme: The High Rate of Violent Crimes Within the Metropolitan Areas

Police officers, due to their possession and use of firearms, are often exposed to significant risks and become targets of attacks. Noxhaka (2019:3) links these assaults to the high levels of violent crime in communities, noting that such incidents have contributed to numerous police murders in recent years. Most on-duty killings occur while officers are actively performing their duties. In this regard, participants indicated that the widespread violent crime in the country has reached an unmanageable level, placing police officers in constant danger as they carry out their responsibilities.

> ***DIR 5:*** *"…crime in South Africa is at the level where, let me say, it's almost unmanageable. It's out of hand".*

CMND 3: *"…most of the time is with contact with the criminals when they are performing their duties…".*

Participants' responses note a high rate of violent crimes which indicate that the country is under surge. The high levels of violent crime in South African society have been identified as a key factor contributing to the recent rise in police murders (Maphaka et al., 2025:6). In this study, participants emphasised that simply being a police officer anywhere in the country exposes individuals to significant risks, including the possibility of being attacked or killed. Furthermore, they argued that officers' possession of firearms increases their vulnerability, making them frequent targets of violence.

DIR 1: *"… members are being murdered for their firearms".*
DIR 2: *"They want guns from our officers".*
CMND 9: *"…criminals out there, they are looking for tools to commit their crimes. So, it makes us metro police officers to be target number ones for criminals so that they can acquire our firearms".*
CMND 12: *"So they kill you for a firearm".*
CMND 14: *"The crime rate and the targeting of police firearms".*
CMND 15: *"The main cause is to disarm members and take their firearms".*
DIR 3: *"…they are after our firearms".*

Firearm appears to be the most wanted tool by criminals. In order to commit further crimes. In this regard, the police officers are at risks of being attacked, murdered and robbed of their firearms. Maphaka (2023:29) revealed that firearms are being targeted by criminals who operate their own market by buying or selling firearms in underground economy and illegally furthering their criminal activities. However, in terms of police officers being murdered whilst they were off duty, they were victims of crime such as robbery. This was attested by the below participant **CMND 2** response.

CMND 2: *"…it can be a criminal robbery".*

Even though the participant indicated that some murders committed by criminals were primarily motivated by robbery, other participants reported that police officers were killed when offenders attempted to conceal ongoing or prior criminal activities, ultimately resulting in the deliberate killing of a police officer.

DIR 2: *"…they could be murdered because criminals would not want to be identified and be arrested".*

Participant **CMND 9** further highlighted that there are instances where police were assassinated by criminals due to unknown reasons. However, Clarke (2021:13) highlighted that police murders have been attributed to community hatred and resentment. This was attested by **CMND 9**,

CMND 9: *"…our member was actually brutally murdered in one of the locations. He was not on duty and that it was like an act of assassination…".*

Participants **CMND 8** and **CMND 11** maintained that while robbery was a dominant factor in off-duty police killings, officers' social practices also heightened their exposure to lethal violence. Existing literature suggests that certain lifestyle patterns associated with policing may increase the likelihood of victimisation. Such patterns include inappropriate conduct in social settings, visible possession of service firearms in recreational venues, alcohol consumption in public spaces, and reduced situational awareness when intoxicated, all of which might render officers more susceptible to being targeted (Chetty, 2016:21; Matamba & Thobela, 2024:n.p.).

These views were echoed in the empirical findings, where participants consistently identified police social lifestyle as a contributing element in incidents of police murder. In addition, participants **DIR 2, CMND 8**, and **CMND 11** emphasised that the occupational demands and identity of policing exert a strong influence on officers' social interactions and leisure choices, often placing them in environments associated with increased risk.

CMND 8: *"…you cannot, as a police officer, go and drink in a tavern".*
CMND 11: *"Your job determines what type of social life you live".*
DIR 2: *"…carrying firearms in places of entertainment...".*
CMND 7: *"…two officers from the south were coming from place of drinking".*

The collective responses of the participants emphasised the importance of upholding professional conduct at all times, irrespective of whether police officers are on or off duty. In addition, peer influence emerged as a significant contributing factor to police murders, particularly where officers associate with individuals who engage in risky or inappropriate behaviour. Previous research supports this finding, noting that many

police officers experience pressure from colleagues and co-workers to conform, which may result in misconduct aimed at gaining acceptance within peer groups (Mokwena et al., 2025:104). This concern was further reinforced by Participant **DIR 1**, who expressed the following view:

> ***DIR 1:*** *"…be aware of your friends, people that you associate with, because they might also be a danger…".*

However, in another instance, murders due to violent crimes were not found to be only the factor behind metropolitan murders, participant **CMND 2** alluded that there was an instance were the member was drowned.

> ***CMND 2:*** *"…one of the members drowned…".*

Based on the above responses from the participants, this indicates that police officers' lives are at risks daily due to the nature of their profession. Although there were several instances of contributing factors behind police murders, Mokwena et al. (2025:104) emphasised that each case should be treated carefully to avoid generalisation.

5.3.1.3 Sub-theme: Murders Due to Inadequate Resources and Equipment

Insufficient access to essential resources and equipment may significantly increase police officers' exposure to violent attacks. Previous studies have linked police fatalities to shortages of critical operational equipment, including service firearms, bullet-resistant vests, and reliable communication devices such as radios (Maphaka, 2023:112). Consistent with this study, responses provided by the participants below indicated that police officers often operate without adequate resources, thereby increasing their vulnerability to fatal incidents.

> ***CMND 2:*** *" I mean, we don't have, we don't have enough tools".*
> ***DIR 3:*** *"I think they're not fully equipped and trained…".*
> ***CMND 4:*** *"With our special shooting range, they'll tell us there's no ammunition".*

Firearms training constitutes a fundamental element of police organisational preparedness, and shortcomings in this area may place officers at heightened risk. Limited access to essential training resources, such as sufficient ammunition at shooting ranges, can undermine officers' operational readiness and compromise their safety in the field. Supporting the views expressed by the preceding participants,

Participant **CMND 9** further emphasised that persistent resource shortages expose police officers to increased levels of danger during the execution of their duties.

> ***CMND 9:*** *"…the lack of resources exposes or create a risk for us…".*
> ***CMND 6:*** *"…when they don't have a backup. And then the other ones would be job-related issues".*

Although several participants acknowledged persistent shortages of operational resources, others pointed out that some police officers do not consistently utilise the equipment that is available to them. Proper and consistent use of protective equipment, particularly bullet-resistant vests, has been shown to enhance officers' capacity to safeguard both the public and themselves (Mokwena et al., 2025:104). This concern was echoed by participant **DIR 1**, who noted that officers frequently failed to wear their standard equipment while on duty. Similarly, participant **CMND 2** emphasised that a lack of vigilance among officers further increased their susceptibility to harm.

> ***DIR 1:*** *"…our members when they stand on the parade, they all dress nicely with their bullet-proofs. And when they go out and they take their bullet-proofs off".*
> ***CMND 1:*** *"…has been provided to them, but not all of them is wearing it…".*

In addition to the resource constraints already identified, some participants drew attention to concerns regarding the poor quality of equipment issued within the police organisation. Participants indicated that, beyond shortages, the effectiveness of available resources was compromised by substandard equipment. The consistent use of bullet-resistant vests while on duty is regarded as a critical measure in reducing firearm-related fatalities and serious injuries among police officers. Such protective measures not only enhance officers' safety but also provide a level of security for officers' families in the event of fatal or life-threatening incidents (Perkins, 2018:163). These concerns were further emphasised by the participants below.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"…we don't have PPEs like the bulletproof and the bullet-proofs that we have, unfortunately they don't have armour plates…".*
> ***CMND 15:*** *"Members that are currently wearing bullet-proofs, they're not even sufficient because their expired".*

CMND 4: *"Remember, we're given bullet-proofs, but we don't have plates, bulletproof plates".*

Based on the responses of the participants, both the lack of adequate resources and the improper use of issued equipment, including uniforms, were identified as contributing factors in police murders. Mokwena et al. (2020:103) emphasise that it is the responsibility of police management to ensure that officers are provided with the necessary tools and equipment to perform their duties safely and effectively.

5.3.1.4 Sub-theme: Murders as a Result of Inadequate and Inefficient Training

The majority of participants indicated that insufficient training played a significant role in certain police fatalities. According to Doucet and Earglea (2023:13), the quality and comprehensiveness of police training can greatly influence how officers execute their duties in the field. Similarly, Noxhaka (2019:33) notes that inadequate training has been linked to increased vulnerability, placing officers at higher risk of being murdered. These findings were consistently reflected in the responses provided by the participants below.

CMND 7: *"Majority of officers can't shoot…".*
CMND 1: *"…but there's members that don't even go on one course".*
DIR 3: *"I think they're not fully equipped and trained…".*
CMND 8: *"I feel that the metropolitan police don't get sufficient training".*
DIR 4: *"Mostly negligent and then a lack of training".*
DIR 5: *"…the members as well are not adequately trained".*

The participants' feedback highlights that inadequate training significantly increases the vulnerability of police officers to violent attacks. When officers are not properly trained, they might respond inappropriately to critical situations, sometimes resorting to excessive force, which can escalate conflicts and contribute to incidents of police brutality. Insufficient training also limits officers' ability to manage encounters with high-risk individuals, including parolees and other offenders armed with firearms or dangerous weapons (Noxhaka, 2019:33). Participant **CMND 8** further noted that many officers rarely engage in in-service training, which reduces their preparedness and increases their exposure to potential harm.

CMND 8: *"Sometimes a year passes without in-service training".*

DIR 4: *"There's other officers that have not seen the inside of a shooting range since they passed out".*

CMND 4: *"… but they cannot use them until it's late for them".*

It is evident that insufficient and inadequate training has a direct impact on the safety of police officers. Zill (2022:25–37) notes that a substantial number of police fatalities can be linked to gaps in training within police organisations. Participant **CMND 4** further emphasised that the lack of sufficient equipment for training purposes undermines officers' preparedness, while **CMND 8** suggested that metropolitan police academies should adopt standards and practices aligned with those of the South African Police Service (SAPS) to improve effectiveness and safety.

CMND 3: *"sometimes it takes two years for them to go for training".*

CMND 8: *" I prefer that all metropolitan police academies, they must all be in line with the SAPS training".*

The responses from the participants suggest that both a lack of adequate resources and the improper use of available equipment contribute to police murders in South Africa. Mokwena et al. (2025:103) further emphasise that inadequate training is a key factor in these fatalities. Regular and comprehensive training allows less experienced officers to enhance their performance, acquire new skills, and take a proactive role in their professional development, thereby reducing their vulnerability while on duty.

5.3.1.5 Sub-theme: Murder Arising from Social Lifestyle and Ill Discipline

Police officers' social lifestyles have been identified as a factor contributing to off-duty murders. Many of these fatalities were associated with risky behaviours, such as frequenting high-risk areas and the use of alcohol or drugs, which increased their exposure to danger (Mokwena et al., 2025:105). A significant number of off-duty deaths have also been linked to unprofessional conduct and a lack of discipline. This perspective was supported by the responses of participants **CMND 11** and **CMND 10**, who highlighted the role of officers' personal choices in their vulnerability.

CMND 11: *"Oftentimes communities have lost respect for police. And that is because of police unprofessional behaviour".*

CMND 10: *"…it is because of socialising style after work".*

However, participant **CMND 12** and **CMND 8** response highlighted the need for the police to conduct themselves in a professional manner as they are recognised as police officers whether on duty or off duty.

> ***CMND 12:*** *"…officers are not aware that when you are off duty, you are still an officer".*
> ***CMND 8:*** *"…we also emphasise this on a daily basis to the members to actually conduct themselves in a professional way".*
> ***DIR 3:*** *"…although you're officially off duty, you're still a police officer".*

In addition to a lack of discipline within the police organisation, Chetty (2016:21) highlighted several issues, including being intoxicated in public spaces, carrying firearms in taverns, acting arrogantly, and the risk of being targeted by people with personal grudges or concerns. This was confirmed Maphaka (2023:24) in participant **DIR 2** responses that police officers were not disciplined.

> ***DIR 2:*** *"…carrying firearms in places of entertainment…".*
> ***CMND 7:*** *"I would say it's mainly everything to do with the officer's behaviour. Because in the recent killings of murders that we had in the City of Ekurhuleni, two officers from the south were coming from place of drinking".*
> ***CMND 9:*** *"….our members now going to places where they are not supposed to or hanging around with wrong groups".*

Police officers encounter serious occupational risks through peer-related pressures and have been identified as a contributing factor to incidents involving the killing of police personnel (Maphaka, 2023:25). Evidence from participant **DIR 2** suggests that associations with certain peers may expose officers to fatal outcomes. Moreover, participant **CNMD 10** highlighted the importance of officers exercising discernment in their social relationships by identifying credible individuals and avoiding unreliable associations.

> ***DIR 2:*** *"…the friends that they are connected to as well could mislead them and then get them into trouble…".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…as a police officer, you understand…, your job also determines your friends".*
> ***CMND 10:*** *"Members must differentiate their friends outside the work. And also, within the work".*

Based on the above participants responses it is clearly showing that lack of discipline, social lifestyle and unprofessional behaviour has contributed to police murders. This was confirmed by Mokwena et al. (2025:104) that the majority police officers succumb into peer pressure from their colleagues, risking misconduct to "*fit in*" with their peers, which leads to them engaging in unethical conduct. Establishing efficient policies and processes that encourage integrity, transparency, professionalism and minimise peer pressure among police officers (Joubert, 2018:20).

5.3.1.6 Sub-theme: Occupational stress as a Contributing Factor to Police Suicide

Adverse and traumatic experiences encountered in the line of duty often result in PTSD, which has a profound negative effect on the personal and professional lives of police officers and, in some cases, leads to suicide. Compared to the general population, police officers demonstrate a higher vulnerability to depression and suicidal behaviour due to multiple factors, including repeated exposure to traumatic incidents and sustained occupational stress (Njiro et al., 2021:1). The participants interviewed in this study corroborated these findings, indicating that police officers face an elevated risk of suicide as a consequence of work-related stressors.

> ***CMND 2:*** *"Sometimes it can be suicide".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"… suicide of course...".*
> ***DIR 5:*** *"…they even commit suicide…".*
> ***DIR 4****: "Our workers lead officers to kill themselves, unfortunately… I was an alcoholic because of work".*

The responses from the participants suggest that police officers are particularly susceptible to depression, which might ultimately lead to suicidal behaviour. Statistical evidence indicates that approximately 44% of police officers experience psychological difficulties, including stress, anxiety, and PTSD, which have been associated with suicide (Lawrence & Dockstader, 2024:1). In contrast, participant **CMND 11** contended that some officers neglect fundamental coping principles. According to this participant, unmanaged anger and poor financial management skills contribute to psychological distress, including PTSD, which may increase the risk of suicide and are also implicated in incidents involving the killing of police officers.

CMND 11: *"Post Traumatic Stress Disorder caused by anger and lack of financial management as factors behind police murders".*

Compared to the general population, police officers experience substantially higher levels of occupational stress, which may lead to the development of PTSD. Studies by Maphaka (2023:49) and Anders et al. (2024:2) indicate that the prevalence of excessive stress and associated alcohol-related problems is considerably higher among police officers than among to the general public. This heightened vulnerability is largely attributed to the demanding and traumatic nature of police work and may adversely affect officers' job performance.

CMND 4: *"Honestly, their performance drops… they start drinking too much alcohol".*

DIR 4: *" Our officers' mental health is not stable".*

The participants' responses indicate that police officers experience significant mental health challenges arising from the nature of their occupation. Hussey (2020:13) notes that the majority of police officers are routinely exposed to highly traumatic events, which have enduring effects on their psychological wellbeing. Similarly, Yesufu (2022:23) argues that police organisational welfare departments often lack adequate guidance and responsiveness to effectively address the heightened risk of suicide among officers. These findings suggest that police organisations need to prioritise the mental wellbeing of their personnel in order to promote effective and efficient service delivery.

5.3.1.7 Sub-theme: Murders Induced by Vehicle Accidents

Vehicular accidents were identified as the second leading cause of police deaths within the country. Research indicates that road accidents are largely attributable to negligent driving behaviour, which accounts for a substantial proportion of fatalities in metropolitan areas (Rolison, 2020:1). Police officers are particularly vulnerable to such incidents due to their continuous presence and operational duties on public roads. This finding was supported by the response of participant **CMND 2**, who confirmed the risks faced by officers in relation to vehicular accidents.

CMND 2: *"…it can be an accident".*

Motor vehicle accidents have been identified as one of the most frequent causes of death among police officers, resulting in fatalities while officers are performing their official duties (Mokwena et al., 2025:102). Such accidents have been established as the second most significant contributing factor to police deaths. This finding was corroborated by participants **CMND 8** and **CMND 11**, who indicated that the deaths of metropolitan police officers often occur as a result of vehicular accidents while officers are engaged in traffic control duties.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"We have instances whereby our metropolitan police officers, they get killed while controlling traffic".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"The murders range from accidents… He was run by a car while on duty".*

Police officers are particularly susceptible to vehicular accidents as a result of the operational demands of their profession. The risk of fatal incidents involving police officers on duty is often intensified by road crashes caused by human factors such as drunk driving, reckless behaviour, and driver negligence (Maphaka, 2023:16). In addition, deficiencies in road infrastructure further exacerbate these risks. Addressing human error and improving infrastructural conditions are therefore essential measures for reducing the incidence of police fatalities associated with vehicular accidents.

5.3.1.8 Sub-theme: Murdered Due to the Poor Criminal Justice System

Strengthening the Criminal Justice System (CJS) through legislative reforms is essential for reducing the high incidence of police murders nationwide. Revising relevant policies and regulations may help curb the prevalence of violence against police officers (SAPU, 2019:12). This perspective was supported by the participants, who expressed that the current CJS has failed to provide adequate protection and support for law enforcement personnel.

> ***DIR 3:*** *"I feel that the justice system fails us. Because I arrest a suspect today, tomorrow he's out. Committing the same crime".*
> ***CMND 4:*** *"I think that our laws are failing us. You have to see a gun first before you can shoot".*

The participants' responses highlighted that police officers perceive the CJS as having failed them. Furthermore, several participants noted that the judicial system is often

lenient and does not adequately address cases of police killings. Officers expressed the belief that the legal system is ineffective, as individuals who pose a threat to society might be arrested, yet inexplicably released shortly thereafter (Maphaka, 2023:28).

> ***CMND 11:*** *"Sometimes our law, it seems to be very lenient".*
> ***CMND 14:*** *"It's just that the judicial system is not addressing the issue".*

The perceived failures of the criminal justice system have contributed to a significant erosion of trust among police officers, as reflected in the participants' responses. In addressing this challenge, several participants emphasised the need for stronger legislation and the implementation of stricter sentencing measures as a means to reduce the high incidence of police murders.

> ***CMND 2:*** *"…the national must come up with various strict laws".*
> ***CMND 15:*** *"I believe that there should be stricter penalties imposed on criminals that attack the police".*
> ***DIR 4:*** *"…can the death penalty come back… our judiciary is so weak and everybody else within the judiciary".*

The participants' responses suggest a widespread loss of public trust in the CJS. Some participants further argued that the legal framework appears to offer greater protection to criminals than to police officers. They expressed frustration that individuals who are arrested for criminal activities are often released shortly afterward, undermining both officer safety and confidence in the CJS.

> ***CMND 3:*** *"I think they cover more criminal than the police…".*

One of the participants argued that the legislation and laws are sufficient to address crime in the country, their ineffective implementation has contributed to the prevalence of police murders. Therefore, it is crucial to review current rules and regulations to ensure they align with nationally established best practices, which could play a key role in reducing the high incidence of police fatalities (Maphaka, 2023:102).

> ***CMND 7:*** *"Rules and regulations are there, but they can't be adequate if they're not followed effectively by those who are supposed to be following them"*.
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…our policies are good to best, but the supervision thereof, that is a challenge".*

According to the participants, the current rules, policies, and regulations are capable of addressing crime in the country. Nonetheless, Gasela (2021:n.p.) points out that organisations often struggle to perform effectively and implement strategies successfully due to insufficient financial and human resources, coupled with leadership that lacks the necessary qualifications.

5.3.1.9 Sub-theme: Murders Induced by Socio-economic Factors

Socio-economic challenges have been identified as a contributing factor to police murders, as many offenders turn to crime as a means of survival. Makgetla (2020:4) notes that South Africa consistently ranks high in terms of inequality, which in turn affects economic, social, and political stability. Participants in this study also confirmed that socio-economic factors play a significant role in the occurrence of police murders.

> ***CMND 5:*** *"High level of violent crimes due to socio-economic factors".*
> ***DIR 1:*** *"Murders due to impoverished".*
> ***DIR 3:*** *"I just think it's a social ill…".*

In addition to the responses of previous participants, socio-economic factors were identified as significant contributors to violent crimes. The country's persistently high youth unemployment, along with other socio-economic challenges, has been linked to the increasing crime rate in South Africa (Akinola & Ohonba, 2023:3). Noxhaka (2019) further notes that the migration of individuals to metropolitan areas in search of employment has also contributed to these incidents, as a large proportion of metropolitan police officers (MPOs) were killed by offenders from impoverished backgrounds. This perspective was supported by participant: **CMND 7** observed that unemployed individuals might resort to violence when committing crimes; **CMND 11** highlighted the role of poverty; **CMND 4** pointed to the high levels of both poverty and unemployment; and **CMND 14** emphasised that socio-economic conditions are a key driver of criminal behaviour.

> ***CMND 7:*** *"There are socio-economic… reflections basically to say some people are unemployed, and they resort to crime, but they tend to be violent when they commit it".*
> ***CMND 4:*** *"High rate of poverty and unemployment rate".*
> ***CMND 14:*** *"…crimes that are happening, it's more socio-economic driven".*

The participants' responses indicate that socio-economic factors are major drivers of criminal activity. Bruce (2023:1) supports this view, highlighting that poverty, unemployment, and inequality contribute significantly to the high rate of violent crimes across the country. In addition to socio-economic issues, substance abuse as well as drugs and alcohol were identified as a key factor in police murders. The majority of offenders consume drugs or alcohol prior to committing crimes, and in some cases, substance abuse itself appears to influence criminal behaviour. Cameron (2020:4) underscores the economic impact of drug and alcohol abuse, noting that the government incurs substantial costs in combating substance misuse. Substance abuse has become a social challenge that also strains economic resources within communities. Participant **CMND 10** confirmed that drug and alcohol abuse are major contributors to police murders, as individuals often engage in criminal acts while intoxicated.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"…the drugs are too much in our communities".*

Based on the above participant responses drugs and alcohol play a great role in commission of crime. Noxhaka (2019:99) highlighted that psychological issues including drug abuse, absenteeism, and domestic violence are becoming more prevalent within the police families. However, GBV was also found to one of the contributing factors behind police murders. As outlined below by the participants, police officers were also found to be involved in domestic violence that results in suicide and murders.

> ***CMND 3:*** *"…also their own personal life that include domestic violence is cause of the murder…".*
> ***CMND 15:*** *"The second cause would be domestic nature".*

GBV became a contributing factor for police murders, in other instances spouse murder was orchestrated. According to reports 115 police officers were found to have been victims of GBV, whereas 191 police officers were determined to have perpetrated GBV (Hlati, 2025:n.p.). This was attested by participants **DIR 5** and **DIR 4** below.

> ***DIR 5:*** *"…the one that was assassinated by the wife"… we had a couple of them, where a spouse would even kill the wife too…".*
> ***DIR 4:*** *"…the spouse, she orchestrated or arranged for the officer to be murdered…".*

The responses from the participants' statements, suggest that gender-based violence (GBV) among police officers is a significant concern, contributing to both police murders and suicides. The South African Government (2024b:n.p.) notes that improved community engagement and a strengthened legal framework could help reduce GBV. Addressing this issue requires long-term, sustainable solutions that tackle its underlying causes, including poverty, entrenched societal norms, and limited access to education.

5.3.2 Theme 2: The Role of the Metropolitan Police Management in Preventing the Murders

5.3.2.1 Sub-theme: Ensuring Adequate Resourcing of Police Officers

Maphaka (2023:23) identifies inadequate resources within police organisations as a significant issue that contributes to the occurrence of police murders. Ensuring that police officers are provided with sufficient resources is therefore essential. Police management reported facing challenges related to procurement and training, as well as the provision of poor-quality personal protective equipment (PPE). These concerns were confirmed by participant **CMND 8**.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"The challenge is the procurement and the training".*

It is evident that inadequate resources and equipment within police organisations have a negative impact on service delivery. Hoeyi and Makgari (2021:2) emphasise that providing police officers with sufficient resources is essential for ensuring effective service delivery. Participant **CMND 9** highlighted the critical need for adequate resources to enable officers to perform their duties efficiently and effectively.

> ***CMND 9:*** *"…to make sure that we provide them with the necessary tools of trade so that they are able to then perform their functions. And also making sure that our members are utilising their uniformed gears…".*
>
> ***CMND 12:*** *"…to make sure that all their equipment, they do have in their possession, that will make them safe".*
>
> ***CMND 14:*** *"More vehicles, more manpower to address that".*
>
> ***DIR 3:*** *"…to make sure that your member is fully equipped for the necessary PPEs".*
>
> ***CMND 15:*** *"Members should be working in pairs, should never be alone".*

Based on the participants' responses, providing adequate resources and deploying additional police officers to high-risk areas could enhance officers' safety and reduce the likelihood of fatalities (Doucet & Earglea, 2023:13). When properly equipped, officers are better able to protect themselves, the community, and property. Participant **CMND 11** also emphasised the importance of deploying officers in pairs, as this strategy can reduce their vulnerability and improve overall safety.

> ***CMND 11:*** *"Police officer cannot get in the marked vehicle alone. So, members always need to work in pairs".*

Even though providing adequate resources would assist in minimising the prevalence of police in murders in the country, however, participant **CMND 12** argued that some of police neglect their responsibilities and this makes them to be vulnerable to attacks.

> ***CMND 12:*** *"Some officers, they ignore their responsibilities".*

The above participant highlighted the issue of some police officers ignoring their responsibilities. This indicates that police ignorance was also a contributing factor behind metropolitan police murders in SA.

5.3.2.2 Sub-theme: MPD Officers' Regular Attendance of In-service Training

A lack of support from senior management has been identified as a contributing factor to police murders, as it directly affects officers' ability to perform their duties effectively (Sharafiza et al., 2024:12). The participants highlighted that ongoing training to enhance officers' knowledge and skills is essential, as it equips them to protect themselves and helps prevent further fatalities.

> ***CMND 9:*** *"I think upskill members in terms of tactical training".*
>
> ***DIR 3:*** *"…educating your members on ways and means to prevent becoming a victim".*
>
> ***CMND 4:*** *"I think training, more training and more training".*
>
> ***DIR 5:*** *"The role of Metro Police in our department is to send members for retraining".*

The participants' responses indicate that training is a critical component of any organisation. Accordingly, management should prioritise continuous training, as inadequate leadership support negatively affects officers' performance in any organisational setting (Njiro et al., 2021:1). Several participants also emphasised the

importance of awareness programs to enhance officer safety. Such programs can help reduce the incidence of police murders by improving officers' alertness and vigilance. According to **DIR 1**, **DIR 2**, **DIR 3**, **DIR 5**, and **CMND 9**, police officers must remain constantly aware of their surroundings to protect themselves effectively.

> ***DIR 1:*** *"… Just be vigilant, be careful where you are. when we deploy members, deploy them in groups or in teams…".*
> ***DIR 2:*** "…*our officers are not that vigilant, are not that extra careful".*
> ***DIR 3:*** *"…to make sure that your members are always alert".*
> ***DIR 5:*** *"Members are not alert. And even though they were taught in college…".*
> ***CMND 9:*** *"…to be vigilant in what they are doing on a daily basis*…".

It is clearly obvious that police officers are not aware of the surroundings, this was confirmed in the above participants' responses. Additionally, police management to deploy police officer work in pairs and ensuring that hotspot analysis is done prior deployment. Police officers' vulnerability is increased by inadequate and specialised police training, which can result in officer murders or fatal confrontations with criminals possessing firearms and other lethal weapons (Noxhaka, 2019:33). The below participants responses highlighted the need for police management to analyse hotspot prior deploying members.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"Members must not work as individuals. They must have partners".*
> ***CMND 14:*** *"…we analyse the data hotspots, and we deploy accordingly".*

The participants' responses indicate that it is essential for police management to conduct hotspot analyses and deploy officers in groups to reduce their vulnerability to attacks. Additionally, participant **CMND 8** suggested that standardising Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) training in line with South African Police Service (SAPS) training protocols could help reduce the incidence of police murders.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"I view the training of SAPS is much better than the one the metropolitan officers are getting. So, I think to improve the training, it needs to be nationalised".*

The participants' responses indicate that continuous training within police organisations enhances officers' safety while also improving their interpersonal skills. Strengthening police leadership and management establishes clear normative

standards for high performance, thereby improving members' knowledge and competencies (ISS, 2015:4). Additionally, retraining and refresher courses have been shown to enhance officers' ability to carry out their duties effectively (Zinn & Dintwe, 2015:24 in Maphaka, 2023:19).

5.3.2.3 Sub-theme: Building Viable Community Relationships

Fostering positive relationships between the police and the communities could assist in reducing police murders. Maphaka, Maboa & Mokwena (2025:13) emphasise that officers must conduct themselves professionally to regain public trust, which could be achieved through regular and meaningful engagement with community members.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"…we must create relations with the community…".*
>
> ***CMND 11:*** *"This thing, it needs schools. It needs families. It also needs the church. It is supposed to be a collective effort".*
>
> ***CMND 15:*** *"…to engage with the members of the public and educate them and show them that we're on their side".*

Effective policing is dependent on the police and community good relations, and this could be achieved through open communication and community involvement (Maphaka et al., 2025:10). Additionally, participant **DIR 3** indicated that interacting with community assist in terms of minimising police murders.

> ***DIR 3:*** *"I can proudly say a community in Nelson Mandela Bay, whether it's in the townships or in the suburbs, they know me".*
>
> ***DIR 5:*** *"…the community, like I said, we partner with the Community Policing Forums, and the Neighbourhood Watches".*

The participants' responses suggest that collaboration between the police and communities is essential for improving relationships and rebuilding trust. Strom and Wire (2024:12) highlight that police departments should implement proactive strategies to reduce crime and restore public confidence. Since crime affects the entire population, the police, the public, and the private sector all share a collective responsibility to combat criminal activity and ensure a safer and more secure society (ISS, 2011:1).

5.3.2.4 Sub-theme: Institutionalisation of Disciplinary Measures Against Corrupt Members

Some officers engage in associations with criminals and exhibit a lack of discipline, inadequate training, and unprofessional behaviour within police organisations. However, UNODC (2011:99) emphasises that, as public servants, police officers have a duty to maintain high standards of honesty, accountability, transparency, and integrity. Having taken an oath to serve and protect the community, officers are expected to conduct themselves respectfully and avoid any involvement with criminal elements.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"… if our police officers can stay away from hanging out with criminals and it will also prevent them from getting murdered".*
> ***CMND 1:*** *"My view is a lack of discipline, training, and unprofessional behaviour of members".*

On the other hand, participant **CMND 9** outlined that the police organisation needs to have policies that will regulate police officers' behaviour.

> ***CMND 9:*** *" … that you need to have your policies in place, your code of conduct must be in place, which will regulate the discipline of members and the professionalism of members where they need to conduct themselves professionally".*

In addition to addressing corruption within the police organisation participant **CMND 13** highlighted the need to encourage the communities to report corrupt activities by police.

> ***CMND 13:*** *"…we are also encouraging the community to come forward if there's any corruption of some sort".*
> ***DIR 5:*** *"So we tell the members that, look, corruption doesn't pay".*

In order to avoid information leaked by the corrupt officers, participant **DIR 5** outlined that as DMPD, they decided to change the method of operating.

> ***DIR 5:*** *"So that's why now, we've changed the way we do things. We say we're going to have an operation; we don't tell them where the operation is…".*

Based on the above participants' responses it is clear that police management should implement the policies that will instil discipline towards corrupt members within the

police organisation. In this regard, communities would be more likely to report corruption if strategies to eradicate corrupt practices and accountability is promoted within the police organisation.

5.3.2.5 Sub-theme: Amendment of the Constitution

There have been calls to amend the Constitution to help prevent the recurrence of police murders in the country. Mokwena et al. (2025:108) emphasise that constitutional revisions should include stricter penalties, such as life imprisonment, for individuals found guilty of killing police officers. This perspective was supported by participants **CMND 8**, **CMND 10**, **CMND 11**, and **DIR 4**, who stressed the importance of stronger legal deterrents to safeguard police personnel.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"I think the Constitution needs to be changed whereby the police killers; they must get a harsh sentence".*
> ***CMND 10:*** *"I think they must be a revisiting of our legislation".*
> ***DIR 4: "****…higher penalties for people that kill police officers".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…these people should get a very harsh judgment that will remind others".*

As indicated by the above participants, it is clearly evident that the amendment of the Constitution or reviewing of the legislation and implementing strict measures will assist in minimising the prevalence of police murders. On the other hand, **CMND 4** emphasise the need to improve Section 49.

> ***CMND 4:*** *"We need to improve on Section 49 here".*

The improvement of laws and policies to empower police with more authority and power would discourage criminals in doing crime and promote a more equitable justice system. Yesufu (2022:28) emphasised that all convicted murderers should receive harsher sentences from the justice system and, if possible, should not be granted parole. On the other hand, **DIR 3** highlighted that there is little assistance by the government to the metropolitan police killings.

> ***DIR 3:*** *"…government don't much focus or put the public's eye on metropolitan police officers being killed".*

Based on the **DIR 3** responses government should take the metropolitan police murders into consideration and implement long-term sustainable solutions to metropolitan police murders.

5.3.2.6 Sub-theme: Reporting Any Criminal Activities

Society has been urged to report criminal activities, including incidents of police brutality, as part of efforts to reduce police murders. However, police officers are sometimes known to misuse their authority under certain circumstances. To address police misconduct and prevent outcomes that may lead to officers' fatalities, DeAngelis (2021:2) emphasises the importance of allocating resources for training programs that enhance communication and conflict-resolution skills. This view was supported by the participants, who highlighted the critical role of such initiatives in promoting accountability and safety.

> ***CMND 9:*** *"…trying to minimise police brutality…".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…it's wrong for a police officer to abuse authority".*
> ***DIR 4:*** *"…some of them that have been murdered, like when you go into the background, you hear people saying like… but he never treated people right".*

Participants **CMND 9** and **CMND 11** indicated that police murders are sometimes linked to instances of police brutality, as some officers have been found to misuse their authority. In addition, **DIR 4** suggested that inappropriate behaviour by officers, including the mistreatment of civilians, contributes to these fatalities. Addressing police brutality requires strengthening accountability measures, such as implementing body-worn cameras, enhancing internal disciplinary frameworks, and providing comprehensive training for officers (Bruce, 2020:4). Participant **CMND 10** further emphasised that fostering respect for the community is essential in reducing instances of misconduct and preventing related fatalities.

> ***CMND 10:*** *" The respect is earned through what you are doing".*

Even though police are blamed for police brutality, the public as well have no respect toward the police. However, one should know that the respect is earned, the community should also respect for the police. This was confirmed in Participant **CMND 11** responses.

> ***CMND 11:*** *"I witnessed a female slapping a police officer".*

Based on the above participants' responses police brutality has been contributed by disrespect from the community. However, the police are expected to act in a professional manner and maintain high ethical to avoid hostile situation. Ensuring the safety and efficiency of law enforcement police officers requires active community involvement (Maphaka, 2025:14).

5.3.2.7 Sub-theme: Addressing the High Level of Violent Crimes

A high prevalence of violent crime in the country has been identified as a key factor contributing to police murders. Noxhaka (2019:49) notes that the presence of a large number of undocumented immigrants has been associated with increased violent crime and a general disregard for law and order. Participants **CMND 10** and **CMND 11** confirmed this perspective, emphasising the link between societal violence and the risks faced by police officers.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"…also the undocumented immigrants are causing a lot of problems".*
>
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…especially our brothers from within the continent, … they are very much disrespectful to our law and order".*

The participants' responses suggest that undocumented immigrants contribute to violent crime, often due to a disregard for the country's laws. Based on the high levels of violent crimes, several participants emphasised the importance of involving all relevant stakeholders in crime prevention. They argued that collaboration among government agencies, the private sector, and community members can significantly reduce the prevalence of violent crimes.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"All stakeholders, from the government to police, to private sectors, community".*
>
> ***CMND 11:*** *"It cannot only be TMPD. But together, all the security sectors need to come up in fighting this…".*
>
> ***CMND 12:*** *"…participate in community programs".*
>
> ***CMND 13:*** *"If we can focus on the building relationship with our communities, I think we'll be able to fight this crime together".*
>
> ***CMND 14:*** *"Engaging with the community, being part of the community policing programs and responding to the current issues".*

The prevalence of violent crimes will undoubtedly be eliminated with a multidisciplinary strategy approach. This was confirmed by the above participants' responses. To accomplish their primary objective of ensuring public safety and security, law enforcement organisations should employ a variety of policing strategies (Motsepe et al., 2022:175).

5.3.2.8 Sub-theme: Implementation of Innovative Technologies

The adoption of innovative technologies within police organisations can help reduce the prevalence of police murders. Participants indicated that tools such as a gunshot detection system (ShotSpotter) plays a critical role in enhancing officer safety. Christoff and Gutierrez (2024:7) explain that ShotSpotter can detect gunfire within an 82-foot radius, determine the number of shots fired, and enable law enforcement agencies to respond more quickly to firearm-related incidents. Participant **CMND 10** noted that the use of these detectors significantly aided in identifying gunfire incidents in Nelson Mandela Bay.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"…like the area that has got a lot of shootings. We've got even the ShotSpotter... it tells you there's a shooting at street number, how many rounds that have been fired".*

Based on the above participant **CMND 10** responses, implementation of innovative technologies within the metropolitan areas will play a crucial role in preventing police murders. However, participant **DIR 4** outlined that the private security utilises innovative technologies more than the police organisation.

> ***DIR 4****: "…private security, they've got more resources, and they use technology more than we do as officers, you know".*

The integration of innovative technologies within police organisations is essential for transforming law enforcement practices and enhancing public safety. Participant **CMND 12** emphasised that police organisations must adopt and utilise new technologies to effectively address high crime rates. Similarly, **DIR 3** noted that some police organisations have been reluctant to serve communities efficiently due to their inability or unwillingness to adapt to technological advancements.

> ***CMND 12:*** *"Because of what was happening 10 years ago is not the same as today".*

DIR 4: *"They still want to operate as if we are in the 80s, but then we are in 2025".*

The participants' responses indicate that reluctance to adopt innovative technologies can significantly delay their implementation within police organisations.

CMND 15: *"…unfortunately, we sit with a lot of… I can say, older senior managers, and they're inclined to use traditional methods and not be too keen on using technology…".*

In addition to the previous responses, senior managers were observed to be hesitant in embracing new technologies. Improving technology integration for purposes such as enhanced communication, data-driven patrols in high-crime areas, and evidence-based policing can contribute to reducing police murders (PMG, 2024:n.p.). Furthermore, participants highlighted the use of body-worn cameras as an innovative technology that promotes transparency and accountability, thereby helping to prevent fatalities among police officers (Poirier et al., 2023:170).

CMND 8: *"Body cams as well…can help us to prevent the murders on our metropolitan police officers".*

Based on the above participant responses, adapting from old policing method and introducing innovative technologies including ShotSpotter, Drones, Body-warn and Dash Cameras will assist in minimising police murders within the country. Emerging to innovative technologies will enhance police safety, improve their operation and increase public safety as well.

5.3.2.9 Sub-theme: Addressing Socio-Economic Factors

Socio-economic factors including poverty, high unemployment rate, were found to be contributing factors behind police murders within the country. Investing in basic needs including food, shelter, energy, healthcare, security, education, and water may be essential to reduce crime and inequality (Mokwena et al., 2025:105).

CMND 11: *"I say it's because of poverty…".*

Addressing socio-economic factors by implementing sustainable solutions is vital as it will minimise the high level of poverty, high unemployment rate, lack of education and social status.

5.3.3 Theme 3: The Role of Society Regarding Metropolitan Police Murders

5.3.3.1 Sub-theme: Involvement of Community Policing Forums in Preventing Police Murders

Police officers perform a crucial function within society and therefore require support and protection from the communities they serve. Integrating efforts from community members, law enforcement agencies, and other governmental and non-governmental stakeholders can play a significant role in reducing police fatalities (Modise & Raga, 2022:1271). Participant **CMND 10** further stressed the importance of mobilising local institutions, such as churches, to participate in preventive initiatives aimed at curbing police murders.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"The churches also must be encouraged to be close with police".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *" Once again, social activities, social interaction, both police and communities, I think change from the police will bring about positive change to the communities".*
> ***CMND 13:*** *"Having imbizos community meetings".*
> ***CMND 15:*** *"I believe that officers should now get off their vehicles and directly engage with the local community".*

The participants' responses indicate that collaboration with communities is essential for effective crime prevention. The majority of participants further emphasised the importance of community members actively sharing information with the police. Timely and accurate intelligence from the public can significantly reduce the incidence of police murders in metropolitan areas. Participants **CMND 12**, **CMND 13**, and **CMND 14** specifically urged communities to provide such information to enable the police to take appropriate action.

> ***CMND 12:*** *"…give us information so that we can act on it".*
> ***CMND 13:*** *"…we are also encouraging the community to come forward if there's any corruption of some sort".*
> ***CMND 14:*** *"…phone in and give us information".*

From the above participants' responses, providing the information to the police is essential as it will assist them to arrest the perpetrators. However, the below participants argued that the community is working against them rather than working with them. **CMND 11** and **CMND 15** attested to this as follows.

CMND 11: *"Community is not doing enough. In a way that actually sometimes community is also part of the challenges that we're having".*

CMND 15: *"I'm going to say nothing… I'm going to say the community doesn't play a role".*

The participants highlighted that a lack of community involvement in police programs presents a significant challenge. Negative public perceptions and constant scrutiny of police officers could undermine their productivity and lower morale, leaving officers feeling unsupported by the very communities they serve (Maphaka, 2023:44). In addressing the above, some participants emphasised the importance of community support through awareness initiatives and public meetings, which allow the public to better understand police work and build trust. Participant **CMND 11** noted that these meetings provide an opportunity to educate society about the roles and responsibilities of the police, fostering greater cooperation and mutual respect.

CMND 13: *"…participating also in the programs of the police".*

CMND 10: *"…in these public meetings. You win part of the community".*

CMND 11: *"…public should know that when officers are on duty, the aim is not to harass but to protect and prevent".*

The participants' responses suggest that active community engagement in crime prevention is crucial. Strengthening the relationship between the police and the public not only enhances cooperation but also fosters greater trust, which is essential for effective policing and overall crime reduction.

5.4 SUMMARY

This chapter presented empirical findings drawn directly from the participants regarding the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. It explored four main themes and eighteen sub-themes derived from the responses of the twenty participants, alongside their demographic profiles. The discussion focused on the factors contributing to police murders, the role of police management in prevention strategies, the involvement of society in reducing such incidents, and potential measures to prevent metropolitan police murders.

The findings highlighted several factors associated with both on-duty and off-duty murders. On-duty fatalities were linked to corruption, violent crime, vehicular accidents, insufficient resources and equipment, inadequate training, and

occupational stress, which in some cases resulted in suicide. Off-duty murders were influenced by social lifestyle choices, weaknesses in the criminal justice system, and socio-economic pressures. In addition, the chapter also examined the critical role of management in mitigating police murders, including the provision of adequate resources and equipment, continuous training, fostering positive relationships with communities, and disciplining officers involved in misconduct.

Furthermore, the role of society in prevention was emphasised, particularly through mechanisms such as policing forums and active community engagement. Strategies to prevent metropolitan police murders included constitutional amendments, reporting criminal activities and police misconduct, addressing high levels of violent crime, and the implementation of innovative technologies. The subsequent chapter will provide a synthesis of the main findings, draw conclusions, and offer recommendations based on the evidence presented.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher presents a comprehensive summary of the main findings, conclusions, and recommendations derived from this study. The issue of police murders within the country has remained a persistent and alarming concern, attracting public attention and raising questions about the safety, accountability, and operational challenges faced by law enforcement officers. Notwithstanding ongoing discussions and interventions, these incidents continue to highlight significant gaps within the policing system that demand thorough investigation.

The primary aim of this study is to explore and analyse the underlying factors contributing to metropolitan police murders in the country. The study sought to provide a clearer understanding of the social, operational, and structural challenges that might influence the safety of police officers. In this chapter, the researcher summarises the key findings from the previous chapter, highlighting the most critical insights uncovered through the study. Additionally, this chapter elaborates on limitations encountered during the research process, ensuring transparency and providing context for the conclusions drawn.

The researcher emphasises that it is imperative to provide an overview of the main findings in this concluding chapter. By so doing, does not only reinforce the relevance and significance of the study but also connects the research objectives with practical implications and recommendations. In addition, this chapter underscores the broader importance of addressing police murders through reflection of the study's outcomes, both as a matter of public safety and as a critical step toward strengthening law enforcement effectiveness.

Furthermore, through these insights, the study aims to contribute meaningfully to ongoing discussions, policy development, and strategies designed to prevent police murders, ensuring a safer and more accountable policing environment in the country.

6.2 MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The main findings of this study were derived from the central research question: *"Why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered?"* The study focused specifically on metropolitan areas, with particular attention to the Eastern Cape,

Gauteng, and KwaZulu-Natal Provinces, where such incidents have been most prevalent.

The findings indicate that police murders in metropolitan areas are influenced by multiple interrelated factors. Key causes identified in the study include corruption, violent crime, a lack of resources, inadequate training, vehicular accidents, deficiencies in the criminal justice system (CJS), suicide, socio-economic challenges, social lifestyle factors, and a lack of discipline among officers. These findings highlight that police murders are not caused by a single issue but are the result of a combination of systemic, operational, and societal factors.

Additionally, the study revealed the critical importance of promoting community engagement initiatives within the police organisations. Such initiatives could assist bridge the gap between law enforcement and communities, fostering trust, collaboration, and proactive measures to reduce the risk of police murders.

6.2.1 Main Research Findings

Through the analysis of data collected, eight (8) main research findings emerged. Each finding aligns directly with the research question and the objective of the study as follows:

- Corruption within law enforcement and society was identified as a significant factor. The study found that corruption creates vulnerabilities that increase the risk of MPO's being deliberately targeted for attacks especially when their participating in corruption themselves (involved in criminal activities) or refusing to participate in corruption activities (trustworthy MPO);
- The high prevalence of violent crime in metropolitan areas places police officers at greater risk. Officers working in high-crime environments are more likely to encounter situations that might result in fatal outcomes;
- Insufficient resources were highlighted as a major concern. A lack of essential equipment including (firearms, paper sprays and portable hand radios), personnel (manpower and backup), and protective (bullet proof vests, helmets and reflective jackets) measures exposes officers to dangerous situations, increasing their likelihood of being harmed;

- Inadequate training contributes to the risk of MPO's fatalities, particularly the tendency to employ deadly force more rapidly and the inability to handle volatile situations. Officers with limited tactical skills, conflict management abilities, and
- vehicle accidents were identified as another significant cause of police deaths. Traffic-related incidents contribute substantially to fatalities among officers in metropolitan areas;
- Inefficiencies in the criminal justice system were found to indirectly increase risks for law situational awareness are more susceptible to fatal incidents;
- Motor enforcement officers. Delays, backlogs, and systemic failures within the CJS can leave officers vulnerable and reduce the effectiveness of protective measures;
- Socio-economic and social lifestyle factors were shown to influence the likelihood of police murders. Poverty, social inequality, and certain lifestyle choices can increase officers' exposure to dangerous circumstances; and
- A lack of discipline among officers was found to heighten their vulnerability. Disciplinary lapses, non-compliance with operational protocols, and engagement in risky behaviour can result in fatal consequences.

These findings demonstrate that addressing police murders requires a holistic and multi-faceted approach. Internal police practices and broader societal issues should be considered. The study emphasises the need for comprehensive strategies, including improved training programs, stricter disciplinary measures, better allocation of resources, and strengthened community engagement initiatives, to effectively mitigate the risk of police murders in South Africa.

6.2.1.1 Findings Concerning the Contributing Factors to Metropolitan Police Murders in South Africa (Research Question 1) (RQ1)

RQ1: Why South African Metropolitan Police Officers are being murdered?

The primary findings of this study, which were derived from the research question, identified the key causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. The study revealed that corruption within law enforcement and society, the high prevalence of violent crime, inadequate resources, and insufficient training within police organisations are significant contributing factors.

In addition, vehicle-related accidents, deficiencies in the criminal justice system, suicide, socio-economic challenges, and certain social lifestyle factors were also found

to play a role in increasing the risk of police murders. The researcher concluded that the study effectively addressed the research question through the identification and analysis of these factors and provided a comprehensive understanding of the underlying causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

6.2.1.2 Findings Concerning the Significance of the Metropolitan Police Management in Stopping the Murders (Research Question 2) (RQ2)

RQ2: What is the role of the metropolitan police management in stopping the murders?

In this study, the findings demonstrated that a crucial role is played by the metropolitan police management in preventing police murders. The research revealed that management's responsibilities extend beyond routine oversight and include providing officers with adequate resources, ensuring continuous and relevant training, fostering trust and engagement with the communities they serve, and taking decisive action against corrupt members. By addressing these areas, police management could create safer working conditions and reduce vulnerabilities that contribute to the targeting of officers. Furthermore, the research revealed several strategies to reduce the risk of such incidents, including amending the relevant constitutional provisions, improving mechanisms for reporting police brutality and criminal activities, tackling high levels of violent crime and gender-based violence, and adopting innovative technologies to enhance police safety and operational efficiency. The researcher concludes that the study effectively examined and highlighted the role of metropolitan police management, providing a clear understanding of how management actions can help prevent police murders in metropolitan areas.

6.2.1.3 Findings Concerning the Role of Society in Preventing the Metropolitan Police Murders (Research Question 3) (RQ3)

RQ3: What is the role of society towards metropolitan police murders?

The study's findings further highlighted the significant role of society in addressing metropolitan police murders. The research revealed that involving community members in policing initiatives, such as community policing forums, could play a crucial role in reducing the high rate of police murders. Collaboration between law enforcement and local communities, trust and mutual accountability are strengthened, creating a safer environment for police officers. Based on these findings, the researcher concluded that the study effectively addressed and provided a satisfactory

response to the research question concerning society's role in preventing metropolitan police murders.

6.2.1.4 Findings Concerning the Contributing Factors to Metropolitan Police Murders in South Africa (Objective 1)

In addressing the primary objective of the study, the findings indicate that the prevalence of police murders is closely linked to the country's elevated levels of violent crime. This conclusion aligns with the observations of Cinini and Mkhize (2023:3), who reported that incidents of police officers being killed in the line of duty are largely influenced by widespread violent criminal activity and interpersonal disputes. Furthermore, the study identified several organisational factors contributing to police fatalities, including corruption, persistent violent crime, insufficient resources, and inadequate training within the police service. Additional contributing factors were also noted, such as deficiencies within the criminal justice system (CJS), suicide, road-related incidents, high-risk social behaviour, and poor discipline among some police officers. The following section outlines participants' responses that substantiate these findings.

6.2.1.4.1 Corruption within the police organisation

Even though encounters with criminals remain a significant driver of police officer murders, Kwinika (2019:3) and Perkins (2022:2) argue that such incidents are also closely associated with police corruption and the involvement of corrupt officers in criminal networks. This assertion is reinforced by the participants' responses presented below.

> ***DIR 1:*** *" …due to the behaviour of some of the members and the corruption and everything that's going on".*
>
> ***CMND 7:*** *"…police officers associate with criminals or conduct acts of corruption by mixing with criminals or collecting from criminals".*
>
> ***CMND 9:*** *"...one of our own was involved in an armed robbery and he was a getaway vehicle. So, he was shot dead at that particular time".*
>
> ***DIR 3:*** *"…a corrupt officer can sell you out…".*
>
> ***DIR 4:*** *"…some officers have made corruption their way of life… So our officers, our officers are corrupt. Not all of them, but our officers are corrupt".*

6.2.1.4.2 Proliferation of violent crimes

One of the primary factors contributing to the recent rise in police murders is the persistently high level of violent crime within South African society (Maphaka et al., 2025:6). These killings are often associated with violent criminal activity, as offenders frequently target police officers to obtain their service firearms. As indicated in the participants' statements below, the widespread nature of violent crime significantly increases police officers' exposure to life-threatening attacks.

> ***DIR 5:*** *"…crime in South Africa is at the level where, let me say, it's almost unmanageable. It's out of hand".*
>
> ***CMND 3:*** *"…most of the time is with contact with the criminals when they are performing their duties…".*

6.2.1.4.3 Lack of resources

Adequate resources are essential for police officers to reduce their vulnerability to violent attacks. However, this study identified shortages of equipment and operational resources as a significant contributor to police murders. Maphaka (2023:112) noted that inadequate access to essential equipment, such as firearms, bullet-resistant vests, and communication devices, has been linked to increased risks to police officers' lives. These issues are reflected in the participants' responses presented below.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"…we don't have PPEs like the bulletproof and the bullet-proofs that we have, unfortunately they don't have armour plates…".*
>
> ***CMND 15:*** *"Members that are currently wearing bullet-proofs, they're not even sufficient because they expired".*
>
> ***CMND 4:*** *"Remember, we're given bullet-proofs, but we don't have plates, bulletproof plates".*

6.2.1.4.4 Inadequate training

Insufficient and poorly specialised police training increases officers' exposure to risk, thereby heightening the probability of fatal encounters with armed criminals. Noxhaka (2019:33) notes that inadequate training limits officers' capacity to respond effectively to situations involving firearms and other dangerous weapons. As a result, officers who are not adequately prepared to manage high-pressure situations are more likely to become targets of violent attacks, including fatal assaults.

CMND 7: *"Majority of officers can't shoot…".*

CMND 1: *"…but there's members that don't even go on one course".*

DIR 3: *"I think they're not fully equipped and trained…".*

CMND 8: *"I feel that the metropolitan police don't get sufficient training".*

DIR 4: *"Mostly negligent and then a lack of training".*

DIR 5: *"…the members as well are not adequately trained".*

6.2.1.5.5 Poor criminal justice system

Yesufu (2022:28) emphasised that, to deter the recurrence of such crimes, the CJS should enforce more stringent penalties against all individuals convicted of murder. Weaknesses within the criminal justice system (CJS) were identified as a significant contributor to police murders, particularly due to the perception among police officers that the law is overly lenient toward offenders. This view is further supported by the participants' responses presented below.

CMND 8: *"I think the Constitution needs to be changed whereby the police killers; they must get a harsh sentence".*

CMND 10: *"I think they must be a revisiting of our legislation".*

DIR 4: "*…higher penalties for people that kill police officers".*

CMND 11: *"…these people should get a very harsh judgment that will remind others".*

6.2.1.5.6 Preponderant suicide

Compared to other occupational groups, police officers experience a notably higher incidence of suicide. This elevated risk is attributed to multiple factors, including sustained exposure to workplace stressors and traumatic events, which make police officers more vulnerable than the general population (Njiro et al., 2021:1). The participants' responses presented below confirm these findings.

CMND 2: *"Sometimes it can be suicide".*

CMND 11:*"… suicide of course...".*

DIR 5: *"…they even commit suicide…".*

6.2.1.4.7 Vehicle accidents

A significant proportion of these deaths, particularly within metropolitan areas, were linked to reckless driving while officers were performing their duties, which has been recognised as a major contributing factor to traffic-related fatalities (Rolison, 2020:1).

Vehicular accidents were identified as the second leading cause of police fatalities in the country. These concerns were highlighted in the participants' responses presented below.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"We have instances whereby our metropolitan police officers, they get killed while controlling traffic".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"The murders range from accidents… He was run by a car while on duty".*

6.2.1.4.8 Social lifestyles and ill discipline

The social lifestyle and lack of discipline among police officers have been linked to off-duty murders. Mokwena et al. (2025:105) note that such incidents are often influenced by unprofessional behaviour, including visiting high-risk locations and engaging in substance abuse. Officers have been associated with various risky behaviours, such as public intoxication, displaying arrogance, and carrying firearms in bars, taverns, and clubs, which increases their likelihood of becoming targets (Chetty, 2016:21). This concern was emphasised in the participants' responses, with **DIR 2**, **CMND 7**, **CMND 8**, **CMND 10**, and **CMND 11** highlighting that the demands of police work can shape and sometimes compromise an officer's social life.

> ***CMND 8:*** *"…you cannot, as a police officer, go and drink in a tavern".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"Your job determines what type of social life you live".*
> ***DIR 2:*** *"…carrying firearms in places of entertainment...".*
> ***CMND 7:*** *"…two officers from the south were coming from place of drinking".*
> ***CMND 11:*** *"Oftentimes communities have lost respect for police. And that is because of police unprofessional behaviour".*
> ***CMND 10:*** *"…it is because of socialising style after work".*

6.2.1.4.9 Socio-economic factors

Nationwide, crime has been found to be largely influenced by socio-economic factors such as high unemployment and widespread poverty. Makgetla (2020:4) highlights that South Africa's high levels of inequality contribute to social, political, and economic instability. The respondents cited below also indicated that these socio-economic challenges play a significant role in contributing to police murders.

> ***CMND 5:*** *"High level of violent crimes due to socio-economic factors".*
> ***DIR 1:*** *"Murders due to impoverished".*

DIR 3: *"I just think it's a social ill…".*

6.2.1.5 Findings Concerning Role of the Metropolitan Police Management in Preventing the Murders (Objective 2)

In tandem with the study's second objective, several strategies were identified to help police management prevent officer murders. According to Hoeyi and Makgari (2021:2), providing officers with sufficient resources and ongoing training is essential for effective policing. The study further highlighted that management played a key role by ensuring proper resourcing, supporting continuous professional development, strengthening community relationships, enforcing discipline among corrupt officers, and engaging actively in community policing initiatives.

6.2.1.5.1 Provision of adequate resources

A lack of sufficient resources within the police service has been identified as a key factor contributing to police officer murders (Maphaka, 2023:23). Ensuring that officers have access to the necessary equipment and support could assist them protect themselves from violent criminals. The participants highlighted this issue in their responses, as presented below.

CMND 9: *"…to make sure that we provide them with the necessary tools of trade so that they are able to then perform their functions. And also making sure that our members are utilising their uniformed gears…".*

CMND 12: *"…to make sure that all their equipment, they do have in their possession, that will make them safe".*

CMND 14: *"More vehicles, more manpower to address that".*

DIR 3: *"…to make sure that your member is fully equipped for the necessary PPEs".*

CMND 15: *"Members should be working in pairs, should never be alone".*

6.2.1.5.2 Ensuring frequent in-service training

Insufficient training leaves police officers more vulnerable to attacks, increasing their risk of being harmed or even killed (Noxhaka, 2019:33). Regular and ongoing training can help reduce police murders by enhancing officers' skills and equipping them to handle high-pressure and dangerous situations effectively. The participants expressed this concern in the responses presented below.

CMND 9: *"I think upskill members in terms of tactical training".*

DIR 3: *"…educating your members on ways and means to prevent becoming a victim".*

CMND 4: *"I think training, more training and more training".*

DIR 5: *"The role of Metro Police in our department is to send members for retraining".*

6.2.1.6.3 Building good relationships with communities

A strong relationship between the police and the community is crucial for maintaining public safety. Police departments should adopt proactive strategies to reduce crime, rebuild public trust, and strengthen their engagement with community members (Strom & Wire, 2024:12). The participants' responses, presented below, support this view.

DIR 1: *"We need aggressive engagement with the community, with communities".*

CMND 10: *"…we must create relations with the community…".*

CMND 11: *"This thing, it needs schools. It needs families. It also needs the church. It is supposed to be a collective effort".*

CMND 15*: "…to engage with the members of the public and educate them and show them that we're on their side".*

6.2.1.5.4 Institutionalisation of disciplinary measures against corrupt members

Police officers have been found to engage in corrupt practices as a result of unprofessional behaviour, poor discipline, and associations with criminals. In addressing this, UNODC (2011:99) emphasises that officers are expected to uphold high standards of honesty, accountability, transparency, and integrity in their role as public servants. This concern was reflected in the participant response presented below.

CMND 9: *" … that you need to have your policies in place, your code of conduct must be in place, which will regulate the discipline of members and the professionalism of members where they need to conduct themselves professionally".*

6.2.1.6.5 Engaging community policing forums

Participation in community forums can help reduce police murders by strengthening relationships with the public and promoting transparency and accountability. Maphaka et al. (2025:13) emphasise that engaging in community policing initiatives allows the police to rebuild trust through direct interaction with community members. This view was supported by the participants' responses presented below.

CMND 10: *"…we must create relations with the community…".*

CMND 11: *"This thing, it needs schools. It needs families. It also needs the church. It is supposed to be a collective effort".*

CMND 15: *"…to engage with the members of the public and educate them and show them that we're on their side".*

The study further suggests that the police organisation should move beyond traditional crime-fighting methods and adopt innovative technologies to address these incidents (Lamb, 2023:n.p.). Specific measures identified include amending the Constitution, strengthening the reporting of police brutality and criminal activities, addressing high levels of violent crime and GBV, and implementing modern technological solutions to enhance police safety and crime prevention.

6.2.1.6.6 Amending the Constitution

Reviewing existing laws and making amendments to the Constitution can help reduce the high rate of police murders by discouraging such crimes. Mokwena et al. (2025:108) argue that harsher penalties, including life imprisonment for individuals who kill police officers, should be incorporated into the Constitution to prevent repeat offenses. This perspective was supported by the participants' responses presented below.

CMND 8: *"I think the Constitution needs to be changed whereby the police killers; they must get a harsh sentence".*

CMND 10: *"I think they must be a revisiting of our legislation".*

DIR 4: "*…higher penalties for people that kill police officers".*

CMND 11: *"…these people should get a very harsh judgment that will remind others".*

6.2.1.6.7 Reporting police brutality and any other criminal activities

Police brutality has been identified as a contributing factor to police murders. DeAngelis (2021:2) highlights the importance of implementing training programs for officers that focus on improving communication and conflict-resolution skills to reduce incidents of brutality. This issue was also reflected in the participants' responses.

CMND 9: *"…trying to minimise police brutality…".*

CMND 11: *"…it's wrong for a police officer to abuse authority".*

DIR 4: *"…some of them that have been murdered, like when you go into the background, you hear people saying like… but he never treated people right".*

6.2.1.6.8 Addressing high levels of violent crimes and gender-based violence

Reducing violent crime and gender-based violence (GBV) in South Africa is critical, as these factors significantly increase police officers' exposure to fatal attacks. Police murders are often linked to violent criminal activity, which Noxhaka (2019:49) attributes in part to social instability and the presence of undocumented immigrants, contributing to widespread disregard for the law. Additionally, Hlati (2025:n.p.) reports that 191 police officers have committed acts of GBV, while 115 have been victims, highlighting that both external threats and internal misconduct intensify risks within the service. Participants' responses further underscore that tackling violent crime and enforcing accountability among officers are essential strategies to protect police personnel and strengthen overall public safety.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"…also the undocumented immigrants are causing a lot of problems".*
>
> ***CMND 11:*** *"…especially our brothers from within the continent, they, they are very much disrespectful to our law and order".*

6.2.1.6.9 Implementing innovative technologies

The incidence of police killings can be lowered by adopting evidence-based policing strategies, conducting patrols guided by crime data in high-risk areas, and improving communication through modern technology (Longley, 2020:n.p.; PMG, 2024:n.p.). Moving away from traditional policing methods and embracing innovative technological tools can help reduce the frequency of such incidents. The participants' responses presented below provide further support for this perspective.

CMND 15: *"…unfortunately, we sit with a lot of, I can say, older senior managers, and they're inclined to use traditional methods and not be too keen on using technology…".*

6.2.1.7 Findings Concerning the Role of Society in Prevention of Metropolitan Police Murders (Objective 3)

The findings related to the third objective highlight the important role of society in preventing metropolitan police murders. Mokwena et al. (2025:17) confirm that promoting community policing programs that encourage transparency and fairness within law enforcement can help reduce such incidents. In line with this objective, the study found that fostering a positive and cooperative relationship between the police and the community is essential for minimising metropolitan police murders.

6.2.1.7.1 Maintaining a healthy relationship between the society and the police

Strengthening relationships with various non-State actors, including security agencies, community policing forums (CPFs), non-profit organisations, and the broader community, can help reduce the frequency of police murders (Modise & Raga, 2022:1271). The participants expressed support for this approach in their responses, as presented below.

> ***CMND 10:*** *"The churches also must be encouraged to be close with police".*
>
> ***CMND 11:*** *"Once again, social activities, social interaction, both police and communities, I think change from the police will bring about positive change to the communities".*
>
> ***CMND 13:*** *"Having imbizos community meetings".*
>
> ***CMND 15:*** *"I believe that officers should now get off their vehicles and directly engage with the local community".*

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Reducing the high rate of police murders requires a coordinated approach involving the government, police organisations, communities, the criminal justice system, and future researchers. At the government level, efforts should focus on addressing the underlying socio-economic factors that contribute to violence. This includes promoting equitable employment opportunities and fair salaries, expanding access to economic activities through township upgrading projects and support for small businesses, and tackling issues related to undocumented immigration with assistance from the Department of Home Affairs. Road safety should also be prioritised through regular maintenance of infrastructure, as vehicle-related accidents remain a significant contributor to police fatalities.

6.3.1 Recommendations Pertaining to Police Organisations

Strict anti-corruption measures are essential to prevent misconduct and enhance public trust within police organisations. Officers should be provided with adequate resources and continuous professional training to improve their operational safety, and they should be required to wear uniforms and protective gear, such as bulletproof vests, correctly at all times. Strengthening community policing programs and fostering strong relationships with the public will allow officers to work more effectively and reduce the likelihood of violent encounters. The establishment of a specialised

research unit to monitor crime trends, evaluate safety measures, and implement best practices will further support officers' security.

The use of modern technologies, including body-worn cameras, facial recognition systems, drones, license plate recognition tools, AI monitoring, and virtual reality training, should be incorporated to enhance both preventive and responsive policing. Officers should also be encouraged to maintain responsible conduct off duty, avoiding high-risk social environments such as taverns or clubs.

6.3.2 Recommendations Pertaining to Communities

Communities have a vital role in supporting police efforts. Active participation in community policing initiatives and timely sharing of information can significantly aid in preventing crime. Citizens are encouraged to report any corrupt or unethical behaviour by officers, while entertainment venues should enforce rules that prevent officers from carrying firearms into their premises.

6.3.3 Recommendations Pertaining to the Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system must be strengthened to ensure swift and effective prosecution of offenders who target police officers. Legislation should be reviewed to restrict bail for serious offenses, including armed robbery and murder, while strict penalties should be imposed on those convicted of killing police officers to deter recurrence. Reinforcing firearm control regulations will also help curb violent crime nationwide.

6.3.4 Recommendations Pertaining to the Government

Addressing socio-economic factors is crucial in reducing police murders, as poverty, lack of access to basic necessities, and inequality can contribute to higher crime levels and unsafe conditions for law enforcement. The government should focus on creating more equitable employment opportunities and ensuring fair salaries, which are essential for promoting economic justice and stability. In addition, regular maintenance of roads and public infrastructure is necessary to reduce vehicular accidents, which are the second leading cause of police fatalities. Measures should also be implemented to manage undocumented immigration, ensuring that individuals residing in the country without proper documentation are identified and appropriately processed, thereby enhancing overall public safety.

6.3.5 Recommendations Pertaining to Future Research

In conclusion, future research should focus on public involvement in policy development to ensure community perspectives are considered. Guidelines should be established to facilitate easier access to police organisations for researchers, enabling evidence-based improvements and promoting safer policing practices. Through the integration of these multi-faceted strategies, it is possible to reduce police murders, improve officer safety, and foster stronger relationships between the police and the communities they serve.

6.4 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

The study has contributed to the practical relevance by emphasizing the adoption of innovative technologies in detecting shots fired since the firearms were the most commonly used weapons in the killing of metropolitan police officials. Reports indicated that nearly 500,000 illegal firearms were reported as missing across the entire country (Lamb, 2018:35-36). Based on this analysis, 150,000 firearms were lost or stolen from private owners, while 200,000 firearms were obtained from the government including from police officers.

The study also advocates for the strengthening of laws that govern firearm control in order to minimise the prevalence of police murders. Countries such as Japan have lower rates of police killings as they have strengthened laws regarding civilian ownership of firearms. As such, they are rarely confronted by armed suspects during active crime scenes. Therefore, adopting policies from countries such as Japan will assist in reducing the high rate of police murders in South Africa.

The study's contribution is in the development of a model that will assist in prevention of police murders by reducing the availability of firearms by civilians in the country. The model is also premised on implementation of strict licence application requirements for new and existing applicants, as well as ensuring a deeper background check. Tracking devices should also be installed on all legal firearms and encourage communities to report every individual with a firearm in order to trace and discover the illegal firearms within the communities. The installation of ShotSpotter's and Visual AI Gun Detection will enable the determine and location of the origins of shot fired. Figure 6.1 below is a depiction of the ShotSpotter's and Visual AI Gun Detection framework.

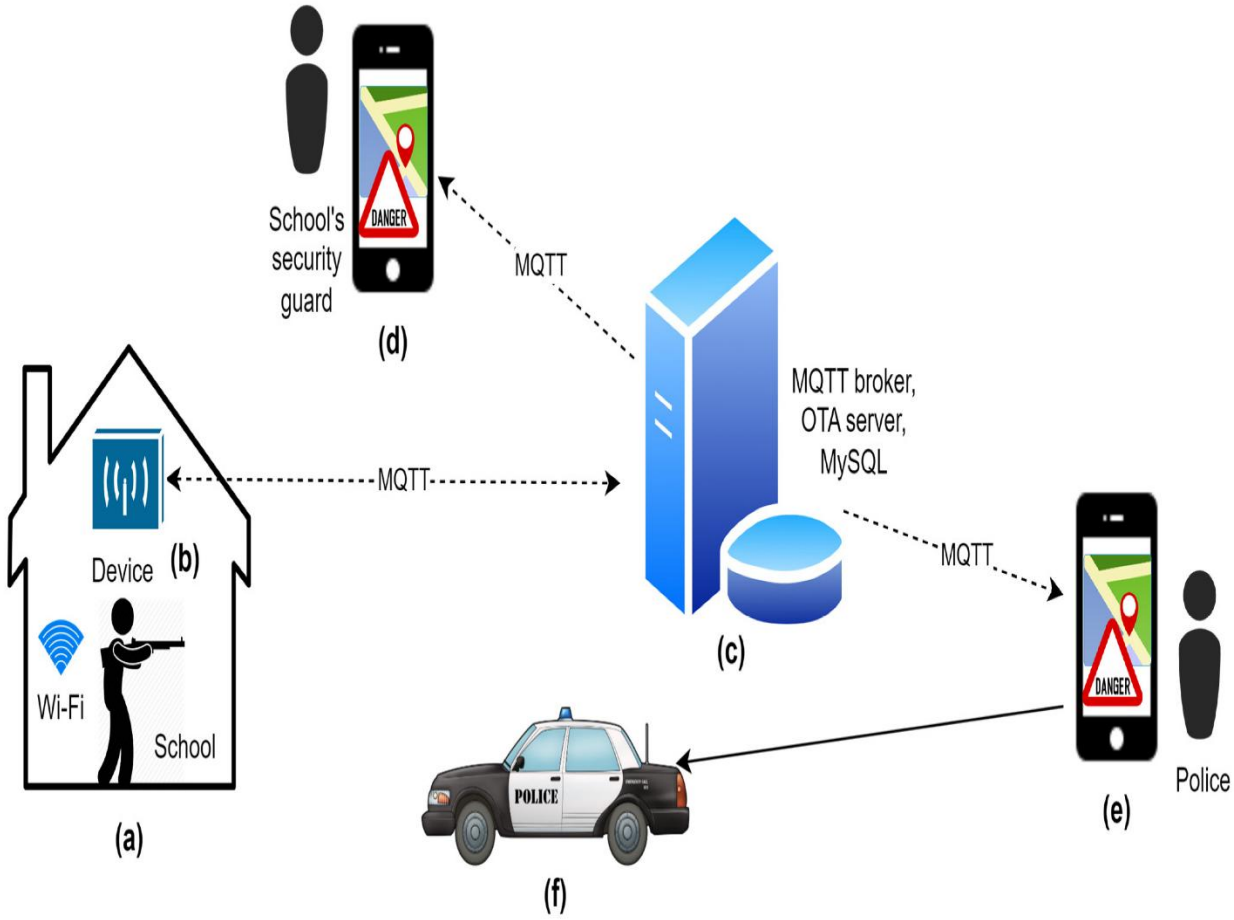


Figure 6.1: ShotSpotter's and visual AI gun detection framework

Source: Khan

Figure 6.1 above depicts the following:

(**a**) Shot fired. ShotSpotter device;

(**b**) ShotSpotter connected to local Wi-Fi and the MQTT broker server as a client;

(c) This device detects gunshot sounds and sends notifications to smartphones linked to MQTT clients such as the security guard;

(**d**) police;

(**e**) using secured MQTT protocol;

(**f**) The police car is dispatched.

This model will assist in reducing MPO murders by identifying and locating a gunshot fired from the legal and illegal firearm in real-time within the metropolitan areas. As it will be linked area commander's smartphones in order to receive the notification within six seconds after shot being fired. Furthermore, implementing rigorous applications including through background check and psychological evaluation report from the

expects will strengthen the access of firearms and this will make the metropolitan cities gun free areas. Moreover, to those who already own the firearms, this can be achieved by introducing periodical renewal (yearly basis) and during the renewal process the owners produce the firearm for verification as well as psychological evaluation report from the expect.

By identifying and pinpointing the precise location where gunshots were fired, this will enable law enforcement to effectively respond and recover illegal firearms and ammunition shortly after the crime has been committed. As a result, the availability of illegal firearms will decrease leading to reduction of the metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Metropolitan police officers have continued to face serious threats, with murders of officers remaining a persistent problem that requires coordinated action from the government, police organisations, local communities, and the private sector. This study examined incidents over the eight-year period from 2018 to 2025 to determine the extent, causes, and potential strategies to prevent police murders. High-risk locations were identified across several provinces. In KwaZulu-Natal Province, Phoenix, Mpumalanga, Illovo, Verulam, Queensburgh, and Umlazi were among the areas most affected. In Gauteng Province, hotspots included Tembisa, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Springs, Germiston, Vlakfontein, Alexandra, Johannesburg CBD, and Soweto, while Pretoria CBD, Pretoria West, Mamelodi, Olievenhoutbosch, Denville, and Soshanguve were also significant. The Eastern Cape Province reported cases in Kwalanga and Kwanobuhle Kariega.

The methods of killing varied, with firearms being the leading cause, followed by vehicle accidents, stabbings, drownings, and electrocution. Vehicle-related accidents were identified as the second-highest contributing factor to police deaths, highlighting the importance of road safety measures for officer protection. Addressing the root causes of these murders is critical for improving the safety of police officers, strengthening public trust, enhancing the integrity of law enforcement institutions, and fostering safer urban environments.

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ANNEXURE A: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNISA university of south africa

College of Law_RERC

NHREC Registration # : (if applicable)
Ref #: 6449
Name: Mrs Maseeng Patricia Maphaka
Student #: 47418117
Staff #:

Date: 29/01/2025

Dear: Mrs Maseeng Patricia Maphaka

Decision: Ethics Approval from 29/01/2025 to 30/01/2028

Researcher: Mrs Maseeng Patricia Maphaka

22 Wemmer Complex, Village Road

Selby

47418117@mylife.unisa.ac.za 0113755252

Supervisor: Dr Rakgetse Mokwena mokwerj@unisa.ac.za

AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Qualification: Phd in Criminal Justice (Police Science, Forensic Science and Technology)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the College of Law_RERC for the above mentioned research study Ethics approval is granted for three years.

The **medium risk application** was **reviewed** by College of Law_RERC on 30/01/2025 in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College of Law_RERC.
3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.

6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data requires additional ethics clearance.

7. No field work activities may continue after the expiry date (30/01/2028). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal, for Ethics Research Committee approval.

Additional Conditions

1. Disclosure of data to third parties is prohibited without explicit consent from Unisa.
2. De-identified data must be safely stored on password protected PCs.
3. Care should be taken by the researcher when publishing the results to protect the confidentiality and privacy of the university.
4. Adherence to the National Statement on Ethical Research and Publication practices, principle 7 referring to Social awareness, must be ensured: "Researchers and institutions must be sensitive to the potential impact of their research on society, marginal groups or individuals, and must consider these when weighing the benefits of the research against any harmful effects, with a view to minimising or avoiding the latter where possible." Unisa will not be liable for any failure to comply with this principle.

Note

The reference number 6449 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Kind regards,



Prof TO Magadze
Chair of College of Law_RERC
E-mail: magadto@unisa.ac.za



Prof Budeli-Nemakonde
Executive Dean / By delegation from the Executive Dean of College of Law_RERC
E-mail: budelm@unisa.ac.za

ANNEXURE B: PARTICIPANT INVITATION

31 January 2025

Research Title: An exploration of metropolitan police murders in South Africa

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Maseeng Patricia Maphaka and I am doing research with Prof. R J Mokwena a senior lecturer in the Department of Police Practice towards a PhD in Criminal Justice (Police Science, Forensic Science and Technology) (90039) at the University of South Africa. We do not have funding from any organisation. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled **"An exploration of metropolitan police murders in South Africa".**

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

I am conducting this research to explore the causes of police murders in the Metropolitan Police Department (MPDs) in South Africa due to high-rate violent crimes and corruption within the police organisation. This study will assist in identifying the underlying issues behind the metropolitan police murders in South Africa. Data collected from this study may be utilized to develop enhanced policies and processes that may contribute to the reduction of brutal police killings and highlight the need for increased accountability within metropolitan police departments. Identifying the root causes of metropolitan police killings in the country will assist the police organisations in developing new strategies, advanced training campaigns and programs that will reduce the high rate of these murders.

Academically, the study will assist in identifying the gaps in the body of knowledge provided by previous researchers. In this regard, universities may create new research agendas and curricula that may address the metropolitan police murders in the country by investigating the social, economic, and political reasons that lead to these murders. This study will also enhance community relations with the police and demonstrate the need for improved reporting of the perpetrators. The study will also contribute to increasing public awareness and exerting pressure on the Criminal Judicial System (CJS) to establish harsh sentences for police murderers.

This study will also ensure that society understands the extent of metropolitan police murders in South Africa. Following the identified problem and the study aim, the study objectives are:

- To explore the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa;
- To investigate the role of the metropolitan police management in stopping the deaths;
- To investigate the role of the society towards metropolitan police deaths;
- To determine the measures that can be utilized to prevent police deaths; and
- To establish how the metropolitan police leadership can address police deaths.

This study will assist in identifying the underlying issues behind the metropolitan police murders in South Africa. Data collected from this study may be utilized to develop enhanced policies and processes that may contribute to the reduction of brutal police murders and highlight the need for increased accountability within metropolitan police departments. Identifying the root causes of metropolitan police murders in the country will assist the police organisations in developing new strategies, advanced training campaigns and programs that will reduce the high rate of these murders.

Academically, the study will assist in identifying the gaps in the body of knowledge provided by previous researchers. In this regard, universities may create new research agendas and curricula that may address the metropolitan police murders in the country by investigating the social, economic, and political reasons that lead to these murders. This study will also enhance community relations with the police and demonstrate the need for improved reporting of the perpetrators. The study will also contribute to increasing public awareness and exerting pressure on the Criminal Judicial System (CJS) to establish harsh sentences for police murderers. This study will also ensure that society understands the extent of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

I selected these MPD Directors and Commanders who are permanently employed and who worked for at least two years with a deceased colleague who had been killed in their units.

WHY I CHOSE THIS PARTICULAR PERSON/GROUP AS A PARTICIPANT?

I sought permission from the MPD Research and Development Committee and your department since you are the head of MPD.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves *in-depth semi-structured interview questions.* The questions to be asked are attached as an appendix to this document. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. The researcher will take notes during the interview process. The main research site is MPD offices at Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Tshwane, Durban, Cape Town, Mangaung and Nelson Mandela Bay.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

Participation will be purely voluntary, and no participant will be coerced to do so voluntarily or involuntarily hence there won't be any disbursements of gifts, presents money, or any other personal benefits for your participation in the research. The potential research benefit is to gain a deeper understanding of the causes of police deaths and to combat and prevent this crime.

ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

The researcher will guarantee that no participants will be physically or psychologically harmed as a result of their participation in this study. Possible benefits or social harm, if any, will be well explained to participants.

The only foreseeable risk of harm is the potential for minor discomfort or inconvenience, thus research that would not pose a risk above the everyday norm.

This study will use in-depth semi-structured interviews with the utilization of a guide list with some broad questions or issues, which should be answered by the sampled individuals in an interview.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

Participants will be kept anonymous so that their names will not be traced back to the data associated with that participant. Only the Researcher will have a list of all the individuals who participated in the interview.

Your answers will be given a code number or a pseudonym, and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you permit other people to see the records.

Your anonymous data may be used for other purposes, such as a research report, journal articles, and/or conference proceedings. The Researcher will ensure that the individual participants will not be identifiable in the report of the study submitted for publication.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password-protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. Hard copies will be shredded and/or electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer through the use of a relevant software programme.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

Participation will be purely voluntary, and no participant will be coerced to do so voluntarily or involuntarily hence there won't be any disbursements of gifts, presents and money or any other personal benefits for your participation in the research.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the *College of Law,* Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings or any aspect of this study, please contact Maseeng Patricia Maphaka on 076 6866930 or *47418117@mylife.unisa.ac.za*.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Prof. Rakgetse Mokwena on 0124339407 or *mokwerj@unisa.ac.za* .

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Thank you.

Name of Participant:
Signature:

ANNEXURE C: PARTICIPANTS' INFORMED CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

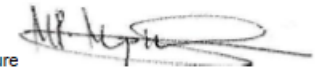
I agree to participate in the interview.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname.....

Participant Signature.....Date.....

Researcher's Name & Surname: Maseeng Patricia Maphaka

Researcher's signature 

Date.....

ANNEXURE D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Research Title: An exploration of metropolitan police murders in South Africa

SECTION A : DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please mark with X in the appropriate spaces below.

1.1 Please introduce yourself.

1.2 Please specify your highest educational qualification by crossing X

Matric	
Certificate	
Diploma	
Degree	
Honours	
Master's	
Doctoral	

1.3 What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

1.4 What is your age in years?

21-30 years		31-40 years		41-50 years		51-60 years		61 years and older	

1.5 How many years of service?

Less than 1 year		1-5 years		6-10 years		11-20 years		21 years and more	

1.6 What is your rank?

Constable ☐ **Sergeant** ☐ **Inspector** ☐ **Superintendent** ☐

Chief Superintendent ☐ **Deputy Director** ☐ **Director** ☐

1.7 How many years have you been in the same rank?

Less 1 year		1-5 years		6-10 years		11-20 years		21 years and more	

1.8 In which unit do you work currently?

1.9 How many units did you worked for?

1.10 For how long have you been working in the current unit?

1.11 Did you receive training in any aspects relating to the work you are doing?

1.12 Have you testified in court with regard to the murder of your colleague? If 'yes', how many times?

1.13. Have you received any special training in the department? If Yes, please specify the training.

1.14 Date of Interview

1.15 Time start **Time end**

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Ways to contact the researcher if any issues arise:

Researcher: Maseeng Patricia Maphaka

Contact number: 076 6866930

Email Address: 47418117@mylife.unisa.ac.za

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. The purpose of the interview is to investigate the causes of the METROPOLITAN police murders in South Africa. The interview will consist of five main themes that I would like to explore namely:

I. To explore the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa;

II. To investigate the role of the metropolitan police management in stopping the murders;

III. To investigate the role of the society towards metropolitan police murders;

IV. To determine the measures that can be utilized to prevent police murders; and

The duration of the interview will be about 45-60 minutes. Please feel free to ask for clarification if you do not understand the question.

Will you allow me to record the Interview?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

No.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
1.	What are the causes of MPDs police murders?	
2.	What is the role of the metropolitan police management in preventing further murders?	
3.	What can be done to improve management style and to keep up with technology?	
4.	What measures can be utilized to prevent police murders?	
5	What measures are taken to prevent future murders of metropolitan police officers?	
6.	What is the government's response to the recent murders of metropolitan police officers?	
7.	How does the Metropolitan Police Department honour the fallen officers?	
8.	How was the morale of the colleagues when the officer was murdered?	
9.	How are risk assessments conducted for metropolitan police operations?	
10.	What can be done to improve the safety of the officers?	
11	How are metropolitan police officers trained to deal with stressful situations?	
12.	What safety equipment and resources are provided to the officers?	
13.	Any intentions to provide the officers with more resources?	
14.	How often do officers attend the in-service training?	
15.	Have the existing policies, procedures and guidelines concerning police safety improved recently?	
16.	What effects do stress and trauma have on the mental health of surviving colleagues?	
17.	How many officers are affected by post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)?	
18.	What measures are being taken by the management to address mental health issues affecting the officers?	
19.	How are incidents of police deaths being documented in MPDs?	
20.	How frequently are MPD officer's death statistics released?	
21.	Where do we get the statistics of murdered police officers?	
22.	To improve safety, are there any collaborations with other law enforcement organisations?	
23.	What is the community's role in preventing the murders of police officers?	
24.	What is the media's role in bringing attention to police murders?	
25.	How do the families of the victims of police murders cope with their loss?	
26.	What does the organisation do to support the families of the victims?	
27.	How does corruption in the police organisation impact the safety of officers?	

28.	What measures can be taken to reduce corruption within the organisation?	
29.	Are there any improvements in recruitment selection and promotion processes?	
30.	What kind of technology is being utilized to increase officer safety now that we are in Artificial intelligence (AI)?	
31.	What measures have been taken to increase awareness and education surrounding the dangers officers face when off duty?	
32.	What initiatives are in place to increase the officers' safety?	
33.	How can the prevalence of violent crimes be minimised?	
34.	Do you believe that the rules and regulations in place are adequate in addressing the level of violent crimes?	
35.	Do you believe the officers can handle violent crimes?	
36.	In your opinion, is the organisation doing enough to prevent the officer's murder?	
37.	What can police officers do to reduce violence and improve community relations?	
38.	What can be done to improve relationships between police and local communities?	
39.	What can be done to regain trust and credibility with the public?	
40.	How can the public support police officers in their work?	
41.	How does the department apply its practices?	
42	What is the MPD training duration and what is covered?	

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATION!!!

ANNEXURE E: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE SELECTED METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Research Title: An exploration of metropolitan police murders in South Africa

31 January 2025

To: The Chief of Police
Metropolitan Police Department

Dear

I, Maseeng Patricia Maphaka am doing research with Prof. RJ Mokwena, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Police Practice towards PhD in Criminal Justice Police Science, Forensic Science and Technology at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled "AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA".

The study aims to explore the causes of police deaths in MPDs and to determine the challenges faced by JMPD management and officers. The study, therefore, aimed to identify the methods that can be used to curb and reduce the murders and to establish how society can play a role in reducing the high rate of murders in MPD.

Your organisation (MPD) has been selected because you are the curator and authority responsible for the investigation of police murders.

The study will entail *in-depth semi-structured interviews.* The questions to be asked are attached as an appendix to this document. The interview will take about 45-60 minutes. The researcher will take notes during the interview process. The main research site is MPD offices at Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Tshwane, Durban, Cape Town, Mangaung and Nelson Mandela Bay.

The benefits of this study are to establish the methods that can assist in preventing and curbing the police deaths in MPDs.

The only foreseeable risk of harm is the potential for minor discomfort or inconvenience, thus research that would not pose a risk above the everyday norm.

The feedback procedure will entail a feedback meeting with your site/departmental management.

Yours sincerely



Maseeng Patricia Maphaka
Candidate PHD CJ

ANNEXURE F: CITY OF JOHANNESBURG APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

City of Johannesburg
Department of Corporate & Shared Services
Office of the Group Head: Group Human Capital Management

6th Floor, B Block
Metropolitan Centre
158 Civic Boulevard
Braamfontein

PO Box 1049
Johannesburg
South Africa
2000

Tel +27(0) 11 407 6926
Fax +27(0) 11 339 1878

www.joburg.org.za

10 February 2025
Maseeng Patricia Maphaka
PHD in Criminal Justice
University of South Africa

Ref: Permission to conduct research study

This letter serves to acknowledge receiving the letter requesting permission to conduct research in the City of Johannesburg under the title: **"AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDER IN SOUTH AFRICA."** I am aware that the study entails the collection of information from the city, city officials and participants from communities through semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, observation participation and other fora of the city.

The City of Johannesburg promote the research study because it helps both students and practitioners to gain an understanding of the sociology of the city, as it evolves and contributes towards the building of developmental local government.

I, Tersia Johanna Groenewald, as delegated authority of the City of Johannesburg Municipality (the City), hereby give permission to the primary researcher Maseeng Patricia Maphaka, the following:

To collect and publish information about the city is publicly not available, for the research project titled: **"AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDER IN SOUTH AFRICA".**

- This authorisation is based on mutual understanding that the City's name can be revealed in her/his project; and
- The researcher contacts the relevant department for arrangements pertaining to the research; and
- The information provided by the employees or any other means (such as company's archived documents or reports) of the city is purely for academic purposes and cannot be used for any other purpose.

Please note that on completion of the study, a copy of the research report should be submitted to the City of Johannesburg in honour of your commitment.

I urge you to present this letter of permission whenever you come across officials and participants in the research study. I thank you for choosing the City of Johannesburg to conduct the study.

Kind Regards

Takalani Maria Wakpo (On behalf of Tersia Groenewald)
Administration Officer
Tel. 011 407 6847
Email: takalaniw@joburg.org.za

Page 1 of 1

ANNEXURE G: CITY OF EKURHULENI APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

City of Ekurhuleni
Metropolitan Police Department
City House
Cnr Margaret Avenue and Long Street
Kempton Park
South Africa

Private Bag X23
Kempton Park
1620

Tel : (011) 999-0188
Website : www.ekurhuleni.gov.za
E-Mail: liezel.tyres@ekurhuleni.gov.za

To : M P Maphaka
UNISA Student nr 47418117

From : N Lynch
Director - Brigadier
Research and Policy Development
EMPD

Cc : JD Mkwanazi
Deputy Municipal Police Commissioner
Operations and Specialised Services
EMPD
Acting HOD Community Safety

Enquiries : I du Plessis
Staff Officer: Deputy Director - Colonel

Date : 14 March 2025

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE EMPD FOR THE RESEARCH TOPIC: "AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA" UNISA STUDENT NR 47418117 MP MAPHAKA.

Dear Ms.MP Maphaka

This subject heading refers.

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police department hereby confirms receipt of your proposed research study as dated 31st January 2025 within the City of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department.

The permission granted and subject to the following condition:

- That this research only be published after authorised by the EMPD compliance division.

Your identified general research objectives:

- To explore the causes of metropolitan police murders in South Africa;
- To investigate the role of the metropolitan police management in stopping the deaths.
- To investigate the role of the society towards metropolitan police deaths;
- To determine the measures that can be utilized to prevent police deaths; and
- To establish how the metropolitan police leadership can address police deaths.

It is accepted in good faith that this study will also ensure that society understands the extent of metropolitan police murders in South Africa.

Taking your targeted audience sample EMPD officers into account we propose that the following senior members of the EMPD be contacted to set up your individual focus interviews or questionnaires depending on your research method.

Ivan du Plessis
Staff Officer - Deputy Director (Colonel)
Chief of Police Office
ivan.duplessis@ekurhuleni.gov.za
072 258 92920 mobile

The EMPD wishes you well during this research endeavour and trust that a positive contribution will be made within the metropolitan police environment.

Should you have any questions and or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact my office.

Your faithfully,

Research Recommended	**OR**	**Research Not Recommended**

N Lynch
Director (Brigadier) Research and Policy Development
EMPD

ANNEXURE H: NELSON MANDELA BAY MUNICIPULITY APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

nelson mandela bay
MUNICIPALITY

Corporate Services

Your ref:

Our ref:

Date: 25 February 2025

Who deals with this: Ms S Nofilita-Doni

Tel: +27 (0) 41 506 2543

PO Box 215, Port Elizabeth, 6000
Republic of South Africa

e-Mail: snofilita-doni@mandelametro.gov.za

Dear Ms MP Maphaka
PO Box 392
UNISA
0003

LETTER OF AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE NELSON MANDELA BAY MUNICIPALITY (NMBM)

This letter serves as authorization for you, a registered student in PhD in Criminal Justice at University of South Africa, to conduct a research project under the supervision of Prof R.J. Mokwena, in the Department of Police Practice within the Criminal Justice (Police Science, Forensic and Technology, entitled: ***"AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA"***.

Upon a review of the letter sent to us, we are pleased to offer you an opportunity to conduct the relevant study in the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality. All interviews and surveys in the Municipality and the distribution of questionnaires are to be treated as confidential and will be supervised by the Office of the Executive Director: Corporate Services (Skills Development & Employment Equity sub-directorate). Please note that due to the nature of the research, there might be a potential risk to be allowed access to sensitive documents.

You are welcome to contact the Office of the Deputy Director: Skills Development & Employment Equity with inquiries. We wish you all the best in your research.

Yours faithfully

.....
MS S NOFILITA-DONI
DEPUTY DIRECTOR: SKILLS DEVELOPMENT & EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

www.nelsonmandelabay.gov.za

ANNEXURE I: CITY OF TSHWANE APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

CITY OF TSHWANE
IGNITING EXCELLENCE

City Strategy and Organizational Performance

Room COE011 | Ground Floor Block C West Wing | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria | 0002
PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 1673/9999
Email: anishad@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOf Tshwane

My ref:	**Research Permission/ Maphaka**	Tel:	012 358 4559
Contact person:	**Pearl Maponya**	Email:	PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za
Section/Unit:	**Knowledge Management**	Date	12 February 2025

Ms Maseeng Patricia Maphaka
20 Haneda Cresent
Rooihuiskraal North Extension 19
7015

To whom it may concern,

RE: AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Permission is hereby granted to Ms Maseeng Patricia Maphaka, PhD in Criminal Justice (Police Science, Forensic Science and Technology) degree candidate at the University of South Africa (UNISA), to conduct research in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

It is noted that the study seeks to assist in identifying the underlying issues behind the metropolitan police murders in South Africa. The City of Tshwane further notes that all ethical aspects of the research will be covered within the provisions of UNISA Research Ethics Policy. You will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement form with the City of Tshwane prior to conducting research.

Collection of data will only be permitted when the Research Ethics Approval is presented to the City of Tshwane. Failure to comply with this requirement, the signed permission letter will be treated as null and void.

Relevant information required for the purpose of the research project will be made available as per applicable laws and regulations. The City of Tshwane is not liable to cover the costs of the research. Upon completion of the research study, it would be appreciated that the findings in the form of a report and or presentation be shared with CoT.

Yours faithfully,

PEARL MAPONYA (Ms.)
DIRECTOR: KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

ANNEXURE J: ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THE STUDY

ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

COMMUNITY AND EMERGENCY SERVICE CLUST
DURBAN METROPOLITAN POLICE SERVIC

16 Archie Gumede Place, Durban,
PO Box 1172, Durban,
Tel: 031 311 1111, Fax 031 306

Enquires : Stha Mpungose
031 311 2804

15 May 2025

Maseeng Patricia Maphaka
Joburg Metropolitan Police Service

Dear Maseeng

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT DURBAN METRO POLICE

Your request dated March 14, 2025, refers .

Permission is hereby granted for you to conduct your research on EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE SERVICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA using the Durban Metropolitan Police Service data.

Commissioner :Sbonelo Mchunu
Durban Metropolitan Police Service

Page 1 of 1

ANNEXURE K: TRANSCRIBERS CERTIFICATE

VHANYAI TRANSCRIBERS (PTY)LTD

transcribers Certificate

I hereby certify that this transcripts provided is a true and accurate representation of the recording with the following reference Number:

Participant 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, 3, 4,5, 6, 7, and 8

Inaudible to occur and uncertain clarity of speakers are labeled with speaker Numbers.

All transcribers have signed NDA. I affirm the transcript's accuracy and authenticity.

Munyai S.R

Rinah Munyai
Director of Vhanyai Transcribers Pty Ltd

Date: 2025/04/10

ANNEXURE L: DEBRIEFING FORM

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEBRIEFING FORM

AN EXPLORATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICE MURDERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Thank you for your participation in this research study. For this study, it was important to clarify and correct the problems experienced during the interview and for participants to validate their responses from the transcripts before writing the final report about some aspects. Now that your participation is completed, I will describe the transcripts to you, answer any of your questions, and provide you with the opportunity to make a decision on whether you would like to have your data included in this study.

What you should know about this study

Participation in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Right to withdraw data

The participants were given the opportunity to withdraw the data provided prior to debriefing, without penalty or loss of benefits to which they are otherwise entitled. Please initial below if you do, or do not, give permission to have your data included in the study:

_____I give permission for the data collected from or about me to be included in the study.

_____I DO NOT give permission for the data collected from or about me to be included in the study.

If you have questions

The main researcher conducting this study is Maseeng Patricia Maphaka, supervisor Dr RJ Mokwena at the University of South Africa Department of Police Practice. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact the researcher Maseeng Patricia Maphaka at 47418117@mylife.unisa.ac.za or at 076 6866930. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact Professor L Fitz the Chair of Collage of Law_ at fitzlg@unisa.ac.za.

Your signature below indicates that you have been debriefed, and have had all of your questions answered.

Maseeng Patricia Maphaka

Name of Researcher Signature:  Date: _____

Name of Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participants were asked not to disclose research procedures and/or purpose to anyone who participated in this study as this could affect the results of the study.

Participation in this study was voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. Participants were given this information sheet to sign and keep a copy.

Participation was purely voluntary, and no participant was coerced to do so voluntarily or involuntarily hence there were not no disbursements of gifts, money, or any other personal benefits for your participation in the research.

Final Report: If you would like to receive a copy of the final report of this when it is completed, please feel free to contact the researcher.

ANNEXURE M: PORTFOLIO OF EVIDENCE[1]



[1] The researcher (in green attire) and Commissioner Andrew Moses (left) of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Police Department, who played a critical role in securing participants and making appropriate logistical arrangements pertinent to the researcher's arrival, stay, and departure from Nelson Mandela Bay

ANNEXURE N: TURNITIN REPORT

